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LEARNING FOR LIFE

Educational Provision at Cadbury, 1831 - 1981

Henry William Bull

Doctor of Philosophy

THE UNIVERSITY OF ASTON IN BIRMINGHAM

September, 1991

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Cadbury showed concern for the welfare of its labour force in a variety of ways and not least in the provision of educational and educative-recreational facilities. The firm regarded the education of employees as having a positive effect on the efficiency of the business at the same time as being of benefit to the individual, the local community and the nation. The life-long education of people was seen as essential for personal fulfilment, social improvement, economic competitiveness and the proper functioning of democratic procedures. The educational system built up at Cadbury, and the philosophy on which it was founded, acquired both a domestic and international reputation. Its main components were the day continuation education of juniors; the Bournville Works Evening Institute; vocational and non-vocational scholarships; emphasis on the primary importance of general education as a basis for life, work and technical training; stress on equality of educational opportunity for females; and leisure and sporting amenities which the firm felt to be educative in the sense that they contributed to personal psychological and physical development and social skills. The system was primarily shaped and constructed in the first three decades of the twentieth century and went into decline and eventual demise in the 1960's and 1970's as a result of economic pressures, social changes, enhanced state arrangements for education, shifts in Cadbury management thinking and the merger with Schweppes in 1969.

ABSTRACT KEYS

Education : Cadbury : 1831-1981.

DEDICATION

**To my Mother: a selfless, caring lady of
great courage, fortitude and determination.**

PREFACE

Educational provision at the firm of Cadbury has never before been the subject of scholarly investigation. There has been much written at a generalized macro-level about the national economic and social importance of education and training, but very little research has been carried out into what was actually being done at the micro-level of production plant and office. This study of the genesis, development and decline of educational provision at Cadbury is set in the complex web of interactions and interrelationships between the economy, society and education. What has emerged is a pioneering biography of the educational provision made by a single firm for its employees and the philosophy and rationale which underlay that provision. It is an original, archive-based study of educational policy-making at the workplace of the factory and enterprise. Educational policy analyses are usually directed at the instigators and administrators of policy in government. To the best of the author's knowledge this is the first time an investigation of educational policy-making, formulation and implementation at a single firm has been attempted.

History incorporates re-creation, explanation and inference : investigating the past in as objective a manner as possible, asking questions about what is unearthed and arriving at valid conclusions through the application of logic and reason to the evidence uncovered. It should not consist of a modus operandi in which the past is mined to bolster preconceived theories and notions so that questions are posed to which the answers are already, in effect, known. That can result only in a distortion of historical reality and hence is a methodology that must be regarded as highly suspect. It is the historian's task to ensure history gets the better of ideology: political prejudices should not be allowed to affect historical judgement. Historians can be too preoccupied with structure and process at the expense of the personal. At base history centres around the lives of ordinary people but it can be written in an obscure and abstract manner which belies that fundamental fact. This thesis tries to avoid the difficulties such an approach can bring by focussing attention on the life-long education of ordinary people doing ordinary jobs and on the far-sighted men and women who helped make that life-long education available.

Cadbury evolved an educational system at Bournville that was sophisticated and comprehensive in its philosophy and provision and reflected the company's view that education was of inestimable worth to the individual, the community, business and the nation and that it went far beyond the academic to embrace a wide range of social and physical activities. What happened at Cadbury does have significance. It is illustrative of the way in which economic and social change generates educational change and vice versa. It also has implications for the direction of

the country's educational policy now and in the future - the place of education in an urban, industrial economy and democratic, leisured society is of growing concern. The status education is given determines the priority it is accorded in national thinking and in the consumption of national resources. Those resources are inevitably limited and the Cadbury experience indicates, for example, that it may be more efficacious and cost-effective to put money and effort into compulsory day release for young workers than into raising the school leaving age when there is increasing truancy amongst pupils in their last year or two at school. What, perhaps, above all the Cadbury experience clearly demonstrates is the great value of life-long, all-round education for the individual and the profoundly beneficial impact it can have on the quality of the lives led by ordinary people.

Compiling this thesis entailed the author incurring a massive debt to those who assisted the major research and writing exercise undertaken in its composition. Of the many involved mention must be made of Helen Davies and the other staff in the Cadbury Schweppes library and archive service at Bournville who coped very patiently with innumerable requests for material and information; and also of my supervisor at Aston, Dr. Dennis Smith. It is difficult to acknowledge the crucial role of a thesis supervisor without resorting to the usual conventional clichés. My discussions with Dr. Smith widened the parameters of my thinking and stimulated lines of thought that might not otherwise have occurred to me. However, perhaps the most vital part he played was acting the academic nymphomaniac: always unsatisfied, forever urging me on to an improved performance. The support of Dr. Smith was, too, a key element in my surviving a long succession of (still continuing) crises and problems that began with the sudden and unexpected death of my mother in 1987 and which seriously delayed completion of the thesis. I feel immense regret that my mother died before it was finished. Without her it would never have been started and it is dedicated to her memory.

Henry W. Bull

Aston University Business School
September, 1991.

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CHAPTER ONE**THE EFFICIENCY OF WELFARE**

In considering the expansion of the firm after the move to Bournville in 1879 A.G. Gardiner, the biographer of the elder George Cadbury (1839-1922), wrote in the early 1920's:

"it was open to the Cadburys as to other manufacturers to float their business, when established, as a limited liability company, with shares issued to the public and quoted on the Stock Exchange. In their case, as in other cases, the transference from private to a species of public ownership would have weakened the obligation of the family to the firm and modified, perhaps fatally, the supreme discretion of the directors... The business would have belonged to others as well as themselves. They would have been managers rather than proprietors. If welfare schemes were proposed the shareholders would have had to be convinced, and it is doubtful whether the enthusiasms of the social idealist would have survived the atmosphere of Cannon Street Hotel. It was this doubt that led the brothers to resist the temptation to float their business." (1)

George is cited as saying that "if we sold any of the shares they would probably come into the hands of men whose ideals are not those of my brother and myself. We might realize our fortune, and relieve ourselves of responsibility, but our experiment would be imperilled."

(2) That experiment was intended to make Bournville a contribution to the solution of social and industrial problems. As such it had to be more than an isolated and self-sufficient experiment; more than a simple expression of high ideals. In Gardiner's words, the scheme had to "be rooted in sound economics as distinct from sentiment and charity." (3) It had to be applicable throughout industry and not be the mere quixotic fad of middle-class philanthropist cocoa and chocolate manufacturers. Hence it had to appeal to the business community as a whole, to which it was primarily addressed; a business community

unlikely to be moved by sentiment and idealism. Thus the Bournville experiment was advocated by the Cadburys not only on social grounds but also as essential to the efficiency of the enterprise.

The experiment was an attempt to create a community free of the poverty, deprivation and squalor that was so common in the industrialised nation that Britain had become in the nineteenth century. It consisted of a model village with decent housing amid green open spaces developed under the aegis of the Bournville Village Trust; and at the factory a pleasant working environment together with the provision of welfare facilities like medical and dental services and pension and sickness fund arrangements. A wide variety of educational and educative-recreational opportunities was also made available for employees of all ages. In fact, the educational system built up at Cadbury was a comprehensive and coherent structure that enabled individuals at the firm to take advantage of it throughout their working lives - and beyond.

Under the system at its most extensive a young employee would go to the Bournville Day Continuation School for one day a week until eighteen years old, when compulsory attendance ended. However, voluntary attendance could go on and the particularly ambitious student could even aim as high as the university scholarships offered by the firm. Time off for study and return of class and examination fees were among the stepping-stones to promotion for those who wished to add to their technical and professional qualifications. Classes at the Bournville Works Evening Institute run by the Education Department at Cadbury, and the activities of the numerous Works clubs and societies, were at the disposal of those who sought to broaden their general education and their recreational interests. The Works Councils also devoted about half their income to the award of scholarships for various kinds

of non-vocational study supplementary to those scholarships offered by the firm itself, which were usually for courses of a vocational or semi-vocational nature. All this comprised the core of the education system - but there were many ancillary aspects of it, notably Initiation Schools, Camp Schools, lectures and film shows, residential courses of a weekend or longer, visits to locations at home and abroad, and domestic and foreign holidays. The whole consisted of an educational structure that promoted learning for life - learning for life in the three senses of that phrase: learning during the entire extent of an individual's life; learning for work, leisure, and day-to-day living; and learning for zest, for liveliness, and for personal exuberance and vitality.

The achievement of "learning for life" (4) meant that the main emphasis in the Cadbury educational system was on non-vocational, general education - which was held to include the complete process of cultivating the mind and developing ways of thought, attitudes, and personality - rather than on more narrow vocational education and training. However, the latter was acknowledged to be of vital necessity in modern industry and was carried out at Cadbury in large and increasing variety. Nonetheless a distinction was always drawn between vocational and non-vocational education, (5) although it was realized that the line between the two could be blurred (6) in that

"a great deal of education can have a directly 'vocational' bearing and indirectly all education in so far as it helps to develop the whole man, contributes to the health and well-being of an enterprise. Similarly, training has an obvious educational value... [but] any training course for particular responsibilities in industry must be regarded not as complete in itself but as the coping stone of a fabric of education to the building of which industry can itself make an important contribution. Continued education at a Day Continuation College may have much more effect in producing the right man or woman for a management or supervisory post twenty years later than a short

training course on the eve of appointment. In this there is no suggestion that the training course may be unnecessary... but by itself, without a sound basis of education, training may be a coping stone without a building to sustain it - hastily acquired techniques without an adequate understanding of human and social values".(7)

Thus the firm recognized that there was no rigid demarcation between education and training in terms of "vocational" and "non-vocational" activities, but believed strongly that education and training, though connected, were not synonymous.(8) Of the two, education was regarded as having the wider meaning and richer heritage: it involved every facet of the individual's being and, starting in the home and at school, went on for as long as the mind retained its awareness and receptivity. Training on the other hand was defined as all the immediate means used to prepare people for particular skills and responsibilities in the setting of a factory community.(9) The Cadbury educational outlook involved no doubts about the vital necessity of a non-vocational base and the conclusion arrived at was clear: "it is felt at Cadbury that the desirability on all counts, of general rather than narrowly vocational, education has been amply proved."(10)

In exactly the same way the firm contended that the education (and training) of female workers was as important as that of males and reaped considerable benefits, not merely for the business, but also for the individuals concerned and society as a whole. This stress on female education applied not only to young girl employees but extended to older women also. In fact, the majority of Cadbury students at Bournville Day Continuation School were girls; there was a special training department for women; and in the 1930's a successful experiment took place under which groups of female employees were sent to Loughborough College for courses in basic engineering. Unlike many

other employers who reckoned the education of female workers to be questionable because most of them would sooner or later leave to get married, Cadbury had no prejudices about the value of education for females. The firm had a guiding principle of providing equal educational opportunities for male and female employees and this set an example that influenced other employers both locally and nationally.

Cadbury stress on non-vocational, general education and the equal importance of education for females was matched by a strong view on the school leaving age. Though sympathetic to raising the school leaving age, the firm always argued that if limited resources meant that it was a matter of either raising the school leaving age or day continuation education after leaving school then priority should definitely be given to the latter. This belief was most clearly expressed by A. Tegla Davies, the Education Officer, in an assessment of the Crowther Report (1959) in the Bournville Works Magazine. He wrote that the Report's recommendations to give primary emphasis to raising the school leaving age instead of setting up County Colleges for day continuation education was mistaken.

"Without going so far as the schoolmaster who wrote to the Times Educational Supplement to complain he already has to teach 'large toughs and brazen hussies of 15' and may now be expected 'to cope with a tougher and more brazen breed of 16', many will question the Report's conclusion that practically all young people will benefit from another year at school (it does make provision for some exceptions). The fact that there was a minority report on this point suggests that there was a difference of opinion in the Committee itself. It does not betray lack of interest in education to suggest that there are more boys and girls than the majority of the Committee allows who will do better to leave full-time schooling at 15 and start work so long as their education is continued part-time through day continuation work." (11)

The Cadbury view had been succinctly summed up in a booklet

on the firm's educational scheme over twenty years before, where it was stated that "an early acquaintance with real work, under suitable conditions, is in many ways an ideal introduction to life, provided that it is combined with some form of continued education." (12)

That continued education, for both the school leaver and the older worker, could only be achieved given a positive attitude on behalf of the employer. However, many employers were very sceptical of the economic benefits of continued education for their business - certainly continued general education, though the value of technical training was somewhat more widely recognized. Hardly any felt a moral or ethical obligation to provide opportunities for continued education because it had benefits for their employees as individuals in terms of their personal development - assuming it did have such benefits, which most employers seem to have doubted anyway.

The debate on the efficacy of education for the working mass of the population was of long-standing - and it was not, of course, confined to industrialists. For most of the nineteenth century it had centred around the provision of a basic education for the children of the "labouring poor". There were those who saw it as a prerequisite of the developing industrial society and there were others who considered it to be unnecessary or burdensome. Between these two extremes there were all shades of opinion, reflected in the diverse views of industrialists. Some saw educational provision for their workers and their workers' children not only as a means of improving society but also as an essential element in any programme for the improvement of production. Others held that "schooling" could lead to industrial unrest, and that, moreover, it was a waste of resources. (13)

With the establishment of compulsory elementary

education for most children up to 14 years of age under the Education Acts of 1870 and 1880 attention tended to shift towards the provision of further education - both non-vocational and technical - and the extension of secondary education to a larger proportion of the child population. With the achievement of the latter in some measure under the Education Act of 1902, the discussion began to focus primarily on the idea of compulsory day continuation classes. (14) These were enshrined in the Education Act of 1918 but to the limited extent they had by then been established they were practically wiped out in the holocaust of public expenditure cuts in the early 1920's. This was much to the approval of the majority of industrialists, who had opposed the day continuation clauses of the 1918 Act. However, the debate about the importance of education for both the individual and the economy, far from becoming more subdued, actually intensified. A valuable, if seemingly forgotten, contribution to that debate was made by the younger George Cadbury (1878-1954) in June, 1926. His Presidential address, delivered to the Eighth Annual Conference of the Association for Education in Industry and Commerce held in Birmingham, was on the theme of the industrialist and education. (15) Though couched in the language and values of the 1920's the message George junior proclaimed is as relevant for today and the future as it was for the time of its delivery.

Beginning with school leavers he said that "the boys and girls we employ ... must be mentally alert, physically strong, and spiritually free. Translating this into actual facts, they must not suffer by being confined for long hours on monotonous work in unhealthy conditions, without ample opportunities for developing their minds and bodies and imbibing some of the beauty and grandeur of life." (16) He proceeded to argue that only the foundations of their education had been laid when boys and girls left the

elementary school at 14 years of age. Hence the necessity of young employees receiving at least part-time education up to 18 or 19. As in normal development the most important formative years were up to that age the system of part-time education should apply also even to those who had been to secondary schools and left at 16. Compulsory day continuation schools were the best means to achieve this part-time education for young workers. Day continuation education would have three main aims:

"...first to produce good citizens. The privilege of using the cheap labour of these young people should only be allowed by the community on the understanding that we do not warp their growth as intelligent citizens. Hence the education given should be of general cultural value. The second aim should be to cultivate physical fitness... Our third aim must be to develop general intelligence. This can best be done by relating the general education to their everyday experience and so keep them keen and alert, bringing their intelligence and interest to bear on their daily lives by making the education given have a practical or topical application." (17)

All this will produce, by age 18, "healthy, alert, clean youths and girls, who are ready to tackle the more specialized aspects of their calling, and we shall have prepared a thoroughly sound basis for a good, reliable self-reliant body of employees in our industry, and a race of men and women who will become responsible citizens." (18)

Adult education was of great significance as well and George Cadbury appealed to employers to enable older workers to develop their powers and abilities. Employers could do this either by themselves organizing classes or by facilitating access to local education authority evening classes, notwithstanding that might affect night work and overtime. They should also consider granting time off for those on the pay-roll who showed use would be made of it during working hours to take classes at Universities or

other educational centres. In a few selected cases employers should allow and even help a worker to go into residence for a simple college course. "My own experience with the Fircroft Working Men's College", said George, "has proved to me the value of this work, especially the value of communal life, where problems can be thrashed out with their fellows and where freedom from daily toil allows their minds the opportunity of full concentration." He summed up this section of his address by indicating how very noticeable it was at his own firm "how the men who have taken up adult education are those who become leaders and who can intelligently discuss their problems with the management and their fellows." (19)

Education in industry was not to be confined merely to the mass of the workforce - "it must include all persons ... employed from the management downwards." Though "the education of the directors and the managers on a scientific basis still has to be worked out" it "should include a course of training in the workshop and social club which will give the worker confidence in the judgement of those over him." This was important, too, because "we cannot desire that our workers should take an intelligent interest in our problems without we ourselves take the same interest in theirs. If co-operation is to be fostered a sympathetic understanding must be shown by both sides if we are to succeed." It was therefore vital that "education must ... be applied to all grades of industry, especially if we mean by the term education, enlightenment and knowledge." (20)

The necessity for education in industry, maintained George Cadbury, was very clear.

"The efficiency of business nowadays cannot be ensured by military methods - that is by a highly organized management and a docile, mechanical, unthinking rank and file. To reach the highest point of efficiency we must have an intelligent rank and file whom we not only can direct, but with whom we can co-operate, and

who will also bring their contributions to the problems of our industry. The more highly organized our industries become the more an intelligent rank and file is needed to enter into and understand their part of the organization General intelligence apart from skill in craft is necessary for efficiency. I could multiply instances to prove this point. It must be obvious that any system of education which produces intelligent workers will react favourably in producing efficiency. Then, again, industrial disputes are nearly always due to ignorance or suspicion - both bred of lack of education in its widest sense. If both sides can get together and discuss their problems frankly with a full appreciation of the issues involved, there is a great likelihood of accommodation being reached." (21)

Herein lay the importance of non-vocational education, which "awakens the mind, stimulates the imagination and is an investment from which follows dividends not only in business, but in politics, in co-operation and in the joy of life." The conclusion to be reached, therefore, was self-evident - "the important place which education must play in industry in the future will compel all progressive industries to make adequate provision for it, not only for the young people to whom we owe it as a duty, but also for the older people for whom it is a necessity." The country's international economic and political survival depended upon it.

"That nation will excel industrially which makes use not only of the skill of hand and eye, but also brings to bear on the problems to be solved the concentrated brain power of all who are engaged in it. Potentially the greatest forces we have at our command are not our natural products, nor our geographical position, nor even our native skill in various crafts, but the power for thought, the intelligence, and the high character of our race." (22)

Thus education in industry was vital because it promoted efficiency. "Upon the efficiency of labour depends very largely the success of our undertaking", but there was a wider dimension that could not be eschewed. "A great responsibility falls on us as employers, not only that our

industry shall be efficient but, also, as members of the community, that we shall not injure in any way that community through the operations of our industry." This meant that "labour in our offices and factories shall not only be the most efficient labour possible for our own sakes" but that "we shall not in any way make our workpeople less efficient citizens either physically, mentally, or morally, as a result of this work". Such a moral obligation was especially pertinent with respect to the employment of school-leavers. "Social justice... demands that we may not in any way exploit their young life for our own ends, and enlightened selfishness teaches the same lesson. As employers we only have the right to use the labour of young people if we make sufficient provision for their development. I believe these ideals of our moral responsibilities as employers are becoming more and more widely recognized, and we must see that we fully accept the responsibilities of our position." (23)

Some of the arguments in George Cadbury's 1926 address reflect those put forward by the advocates of the provision of day continuation schools in the discussion surrounding their inclusion in the 1918 Education Act. This applied particularly to the role of education as a crucial element in producing good citizens and intelligent workers; in promoting the idea of service to the community; and in fostering warmer relations between capital and labour (and thus by implication, encouraging class harmony). (24) Hence, to this extent, the content of the address was not unfamiliar but it did bring together in an original way many contemporary ideas and put them into a coherent and cohesive philosophy of the value of education in industry. That philosophy was being carried out in full at Bournville, where it was held that the fundamental precept that education in industry was of benefit to the individual, the business, the local community and the nation at large was being decisively proved in practice.

It is evident, therefore, that educational provision at Cadbury was not a simple question of economic functionalism - it had a profound social significance also. This, however, is to be expected since members of the family were social reformers and Quakers who were active in the Liberal Party interest and who believed that it was "the duty of every employer and Christian citizen" (25) to bring about social betterment. In doing so this was not inimical to the efficiency of the business but actually enhanced it. Business success was not only consistent with a high regard for the welfare of the workpeople but the corollary of it: the efficiency of the enterprise and the welfare of the workers were not separate ideas but, ultimately, one. The business should be used for social reform and this could only be to its benefit - and not only to its benefit but also to the benefit of individuals, of the community and of the nation.

The provision of educational facilities was intimately bound up in that process and hence, in the words of noted educational historian Harold Silver, can be seen "in terms of social policy - the attempt to use education to solve social problems, to influence social structures, to improve one or more aspects of the social condition, to anticipate crisis. All schooling and all education have involved such 'social dimensions', whether it be the medieval song or grammar school, the aristocratic 'grand tour', the eighteenth century charity school or the nineteenth century mutual improvement society of working men." (26) Given that the development of educational facilities by Cadbury can be seen in this light, then a number of questions suggest themselves: firstly, why did the firm make available educational opportunities to the very considerable extent that it did? Secondly, what kinds of social policy ends were being pursued through education, both overtly and covertly? Thirdly, in whose interests were they being pursued and who actually benefitted?

Fourthly, what kinds of outcomes ensued, both intended and unintended? In analyzing a century and a half of educational provision at Cadbury the perspective opened up by these questions is of education as an activity that offers benefits to individuals who receive it and education as an activity designed to meet social, economic and political needs. Taking these two views of education to extremes, educational provision at Cadbury could be perceived as either about opportunities offered to individuals from which they derived personal benefits; or about moulding and controlling people in the interests of the economy, the state and society, with the idea that individuals actually derived personal improvement from it as merely an illusion, perpetuated to ensure co-operation. The Bournville reality was somewhere in between these two extremes. (27)

CHAPTER TWO**GENESIS, 1831-1913**

Cadbury began making cocoa and chocolate in the polluted and congested heart of Birmingham in 1831. There were initial exigencies in the fortunes of the business, but by the early twentieth century great success had been achieved in both the domestic market and in the development of export sales. To ensure space was available to produce increased levels of output, the company built a new factory in a much cleaner environment on the outskirts of Birmingham. It was occupied in 1879 and was the basis on which the village of Bournville was founded.

The firm had strong views on the importance of education for the individual, the company, the local community and the nation. This meant a growing provision of educational facilities and opportunities, especially once the move to Bournville had been accomplished. Classes at the Works were offered to employees of all ages. They were extended considerably in volume and variety after 1900 and most of them came to be recognized for grant aid by the Board of Education. In 1906 attendance at public evening continuation courses was made a condition of employment for juniors and in 1913 compulsory day continuation studies for them commenced at a local authority institution set up on Cadbury's initiative. This was the first day continuation school in the country. Scholarships for residential adult education at a university or working men's college were introduced from 1909. The firm gave physical and social health equal status with the health of the mind. Compulsory physical training for juniors started in 1902. Works clubs and societies, sport and other leisure-time, recreational pursuits were encouraged with enthusiasm and conviction. Physical and social activities were regarded

as an essential component of the educational system the company was creating at its "factory in a garden".

THE ROAD TO BOURNVILLE

In 1824 a young Quaker, John Cadbury, established himself as a cocoa, tea and coffee dealer in premises at 93, Bull Street in the centre of the rapidly expanding industrial town of Birmingham. He was particularly interested in the cocoa and chocolate aspects of the business and in 1831 he rented a warehouse in Crooked Lane, nearby his shop, in order to experiment in roasting and grinding cocoa and in preparing chocolate. He was soon selling his own products in his shop and to the trade in general. It was with these very humble beginnings that the giant international company of the present day originated.

The cocoa and chocolate preparations of John Cadbury gained in esteem and favour. His turn-over grew steadily and larger accommodation eventually became necessary. In October, 1847, after the use for a few months of a place in Cambridge Street, he switched to the factory in Bridge Street that was to be the home of the business for the next thirtytwo years. It was in 1846 or 1847 that John's brother, Benjamin Head Cadbury, joined him as a partner and thus the style of the firm changed to what was to become the world famous name of "Cadbury Brothers".

The firm made steady progress and the Bridge Street factory required so much attention that in 1849 John Cadbury handed over the Bull Street shop to his nephew Richard Cadbury Barrow and it ultimately developed into the well-known Barrow's Stores. In 1853 Cadbury Brothers received the Royal Appointment as Cocoa Manufacturers to Queen Victoria. John's sons joined him in the business - Richard in 1850, at the age of 15, and George in 1856, at

the age of 17. In 1861 they assumed responsibility for the management of the firm in a very depressed period for the cocoa and chocolate industry when a number of rival enterprises failed. However, by dint of hard work and innovation - for example the development and marketing of chocolate cremes and an absolutely pure cocoa without any additives - Richard and George Cadbury survived and demand once again began to rise. (1)

Concern with the welfare of its workers, especially in the provision of education facilities, was demonstrated even during the first decades of the firm. Educational provision dates back at least to the 1850's and the Bridge Street era. Pens and copybooks were bought for the boys and instruction was given at the factory in spare time. Female employees were allowed to leave work early to attend evening school. (2) It also appears that sewing lessons were made available at the Bridge Street site at some stage during the firm's stay there (3) and, though there seems to be no record of them, it is possible that other types of classes were provided, too. A paragraph from an article headed "Visit to a Chocolate Manufacture" in Chamber's Edinburgh Journal for October 30th, 1852 gives an indication of how Cadbury philosophy in respect of the workforce was applied in practice.

"No girl is employed who is not of known good moral character Their hours of work are from nine a.m. to seven p.m., with an hour off for dinner - tea is supplied on the premises. Their earnings range from five shillings to nine shillings per week. Once a week, during the summer season, they have a half holiday, for a little excursion to the country, and twice a week they leave work for evening school an hour before the usual time. With few exceptions, these elevating influences are found to tell favourably on their conduct; and besides the direct benefit to themselves, we may be permitted to take into account the benefit to the homes and families to which the girls belong. Accustomed to order and cleanliness through the day, they can hardly fail to carry these virtues with them to their dwellings. The men employed exhibit the good effects of proper

management not less than the girls Factories conducted on such a system must be at once schools of morality and industry." (4)

Williams comments that "it must surely have been a very unusual thing, in 1852, for a firm to take so strong an interest in the welfare of its workpeople, to organize half-holidays in the country, and - especially - to allow the girls away early from work, twice weekly, to attend school". (5)

It is clear, therefore, that Cadbury regarded education not simply as a question of learning subjects from books but as something with a much wider connotation that would improve every aspect of the lives of the firm's employees. Such a view was more than just a matter of mere idealism - it was a recognition by the firm of the right of the worker to a fuller life of his own. It demonstrated as well the very strong feeling that this fuller life could come only through education, and only through education in the very broadest sense of the term. Hence education was seen not purely as an issue involving copybooks and factory instruction, or of early leaving for night school, but of recreational provision also. "During winter it was nothing unusual for Mr. George and Mr. Richard to send us off for a half-day's skating", recalled F. Restall in 1909. (6) Games of football and cricket would be played (with equipment given by the firm) on occasions when production was slack. Walks in rural areas on the outskirts of Birmingham were organized, too. As Rodgers puts it, "the brothers' own love of the country and sport led them to provide opportunities for rambles and games whenever possible". (7) Other forms of recreation were also encouraged - for example, instruments were bought for the use of budding young musicians. All this educational and educative-recreational activity at Bridge Street was the basis of the very extensive facilities that were to be seen later at Bournville.

The emphasis on education was not perhaps surprising. Both Richard and George Cadbury were actively connected with the Adult School movement. Adult Schools were a predominantly Quaker initiative. They normally met on Sunday morning for study of the Bible and for teaching reading and writing, though to this basic fare much more might be added - for instance, debates and lectures, libraries, athletic activities, social functions such as tea meetings and entertainments, a sick fund, and sometimes a savings bank. (8) George Cadbury taught a class at Adult School for fifty years during which time around 4,000 men passed through it. With some of them he maintained almost unbroken contact, even though many went abroad. (9) "His experience as a teacher in connection with this work coloured his whole outlook in regard to the problems of life, and the duties he felt called upon to perform. The Adult School brought him face to face with great social wrongs. The horrors of the slums, the miseries of devitalized childhood and stunted womanhood, and the sorrows of the aged poor entered like iron into his soul, and out of his experience came that vision of the ideal city, the realization of which he set himself to further. The problem of the nation he saw as that of the great millions of toiling masses who produce our supplies - the problem of giving them a chance to live, to achieve their manhood, and to realize their destiny." (10)

This outlook was one of the factors behind the move to Bournville. The congested and polluted town centre was neither healthy for the workforce nor a suitable location for a food factory. By the late 1870's rapid expansion of the business also made it imperative to increase capacity. Improving the existing premises, or taking on bigger ones in the middle of Birmingham, would probably be only a temporary expedient if trade continued to grow so markedly. Hence in 1878 Richard and George began looking round for a country site and found it four miles from Birmingham town

centre within that extensive triangle of land lying between the villages (as they then were) of Stirchley, King's Norton and Selly Oak. It was close to a railway line and canal and so gave transport access to Birmingham and the rest of Britain. On the north side was a little trout stream known as the Bourn and this was the origin of what was to become the internationally famous name of Bournville with its "factory in a garden". (11)

The intentions of the Cadbury brothers were criticized by their fellow businessmen as wild and potentially disastrous at a time when manufacturing industry tended to be concentrated in town centres close to all the services that were provided there. It was felt strongly that the problems of a country site could not be compensated for by illusory advantages like fresh air and a natural environment. However, Richard and George carried on with their scheme, saying that "we consider that our people spend the greater part of their lives at work, and we wish to make it less irksome by environing them with pleasant and wholesome sights, sounds and conditions". (12) This, they held, could only promote the efficiency of production by ensuring happier and healthier employees through the provision of more attractive and comfortable living and working arrangements. The move from Bridge Street to Bournville took place in the second half of 1879 and it proved to be an outstanding example of the perception and foresight of the two businessmen brothers. Without this step their firm could scarcely have become the great concern that it did and in a town centre situation it could never have attempted the industrial experiments which it was to pioneer.

Even in its infancy the new factory and its surroundings showed many of the ideas subsequently demonstrated on so large and elaborate a scale. Richard and George Cadbury had an undoubted personal affection for

their workpeople, but they also saw with a clarity rare in the industrial world of the time that the efficiency of their business in the final analysis depended most upon the human element engaged in it. Their attitude to their workpeople, therefore, was inspired by a dual motive - they knew that their consideration was profitable from the business as well as the social point of view. It was this belief in the business factor in industrial betterment that was at the root of their experiments, and the new premises at Bournville bore witness to this belief from the beginning. Thus, when the workpeople arrived they found a cricket and football field for the men together with a cultivated garden and playground for the girls containing swings and other equipment for their outdoor enjoyment. Sixteen semi-detached houses had also been erected on the road to the south of the Works. These houses were the beginning of the extensive estates of the later Bournville Village Trust. (13) Within the factory great attention was paid to the comfort and welfare of employees. For example, the kitchen arrangements and dining rooms that were eventually provided were very extensive by the standards of the period. The old custom, originated by John Cadbury, of all the girls wearing washing dresses while at their occupation was continued. This gave the girls that clean and self-respecting appearance, both within and without the Works, which then and afterwards made so deep an impression on visitors to Bournville.

About the factory were fields and woodland, and away on the horizon stretched the Lickey Hills. "Those were happy days", recalled one of the original female employees many years later. "In nice weather it was delightful to go into our first garden, and we would hurry over our dinner to get out there soon, or to explore the fields and lanes, for we all loved the country". (14) The Cadbury brothers were well satisfied with the new scene of their labours. They had exchanged the squalid outlook of Bridge Street for

pleasant rural surroundings and a chance to realize fully their hopes and aspirations for themselves and their workpeople.

The number of employees on leaving Bridge Street was some 230 and the decision of the firm to move to Bournville was confirmed as the right one in the massive expansion of trade, output and jobs that followed. By 1900 the workforce exceeded 3,000 and during the next fifteen years climbed to 7,000. (15) The Bournville factory was extended again and again - in fact, building seems to have gone on almost continuously until the First World War. New lines like Cadbury's Dairy Milk and Bournville Cocoa were developed and a consistently high quality of production promoted demand at home and abroad.

The partners at Bournville had been gradually joined in the business by their sons. Barrow Cadbury, the eldest son of Richard Cadbury, had started work at Bournville in 1882, and he was followed by his younger brother, William A. Cadbury, in 1887. In 1893 George Cadbury's eldest son, Edward, joined the business, and his second son, George, in 1897. In 1899, on the death of Richard Cadbury, the organization was converted into a private limited company with a Board of Directors. George Cadbury, senior was Chairman with Barrow Cadbury, William Cadbury, Edward Cadbury and George Cadbury, junior as his fellow Directors. The change from personal control of the business by its two proprietors to its management by a Board of Directors meant that, instead of there being two men who were, in the last resort, responsible for the whole conduct of affairs, there were now five. All five were Managing Directors and responsibility was divided between them, each Director having charge of a particular sector of the business. This naturally made more specialized and detailed control possible, thus giving the Board a clearer view of the opportunities available for continued development and

expansion - not only in terms of new products and markets but also in terms of making the "factory in a garden" a contribution of value to the industrial and social problems of the time. However, the family nature of the business was preserved intact. This remained the case even in 1912, when more capital was required to help finance further growth. The firm became a species of public company with 200,000 £1 preference shares offered to investors, priority being given to customers and staff. No ordinary shares were issued because the Board felt family control was in the best interests of the business. (16)

There is only sketchy information about what went on in the early days at Bournville with regard to educational provision. Some evidence comes from Fanny Price, one of the original employees, in her recollections thirty years later of the period following the move from Bridge Street in 1879. She said that "cooking classes were arranged and a lady engaged to give lessons to the girls". (17) This was confirmed by Edward Cadbury when he wrote just before the First World War that

"on the removal of the Works to Bournville in 1879, sport and outdoor games were still further encouraged; a recreation ground was set apart for men, and in the course of time the services of a coach were secured for cricket. Gardens were also put at the disposal of the employees, and prizes were offered for the best results. Girls were given the use of a playground and a cultivated garden for rest and recreation, and cooking classes were also arranged for them." (18)

Of course, there may very well have been other classes than merely those for cookery provided at the Bournville Works in the years immediately after operations began there, but the next definite record of a specific subject being taught was the start of Boot Repairing in 1897. (19) Also about this time - probably from 1898 - attendance by young male employees at technical and other classes was encouraged by the return of fees. (20) An entry in the

Foreman's Committee Minute Book in the autumn of 1901 notes that the Committee secretary reported 113 boys had joined technical education classes at a cost to the firm in fees of £17 4s.6d. (21) There is also extant a Memorandum sent in October, 1902 by J. H. Whitehouse to the Board of Directors indicating that he is conducting a class in English at the Youths' Club and "is much pleased at the way in which the subject is being taken up". He requested the Board to approve the setting of an examination at the end of the session with prizes of £1 and 10/- to be awarded to the best candidates. The approval was readily forthcoming. (22)

All this activity was symptomatic of what appears to have been an increased level of attention given to educational matters at Cadbury around the turn of the century. This stemmed from, and was made possible by, the prosperity of the business and resulted in an expansion of the facilities and opportunities available. There certainly seems to have been a growing number of classes at the Works, though whether or not there was any actual definite policy pursued as to exactly what subjects should be offered is difficult to discover. However, a clue may be discerned in the contents of the following notice about "Classes For Girls" dated September 23rd, 1903 and displayed in the factory by order of the Board of Directors.

"As a great number have entered for the dressmaking and needlework classes in various districts, and these do not include plain sewing, the Firm is willing to have an evening class formed, to be held at the Works, and provide a fully qualified teacher, if a sufficient number of the employees are wishful to join. Intending members should send in their names to their forewoman without delay. Two classes would probably be held each week during the winter months, members to provide their own materials, fee 1d. per evening. These fees will be returned to those under 19 at the end of the session if a sufficient number of attendances are registered."

The wording suggests that if a subject was not being taught by other agencies such as the local authority then the firm was prepared to organize a class in it at the Works if a large enough demand for it existed amongst employees. The inference might also be made that if there was a demand at the Works for a subject, and if classes available in it elsewhere were full, then, again, the firm itself might meet the evident need for lessons.

The first systematic provision of classes by Cadbury at Bournville seems to have been in connection with the physical training of junior employees. Concerned as always about the physical well-being of their workforce, and particularly the youngest section of it, in the early years of the twentieth century the Board of Directors decided on what was then a quite remarkable step. From 1902 it was made compulsory for all young employees to attend classes in physical training. These normally took place during working hours, though no loss of wages occurred as a consequence. However, some of the physical training periods for older juniors were held in the evenings after work. Full-time physical training instructors were appointed as permanent members of the firm's staff. The argument "mens sana in corpore sano" was an old one, but the approach was probably unique in contemporary British business practice. Edward Cadbury explained the rationale behind it a decade later.

"The development of character and intelligence requires a concurrent development of a healthy physique. And education on careful and ordered lines is as necessary for the latter as the former ... Training is essential if a full and well-balanced physical development is to be obtained. The moral and intellectual qualities resulting from physical training are also valuable in themselves, apart from the fact that a sound and harmonious physical development is a necessary basis to education".

He went on to point out that even in the best factories occupations tended to be sedentary and involve restricted movements and automatic tasks. Such monotonous and restricted movements retarded development of the growing body, hence the importance of physical training for the boy and girl just starting work. Properly organized physical education strengthened the physique and had "a mental and moral effect in bringing out the qualities of alertness, concentration and self-control." The physical training that the younger employees had to undergo comprised principally gymnastics and swimming instruction that was intended, wrote Edward Cadbury, to have "an educative and recreative effect" by cultivating "healthy minds and sound bodies". (23) Apart from the compulsory physical training for juveniles, the firm also arranged voluntary classes for older workers in gymnastics, swimming and related activities like life-saving. These were frequently over-subscribed with consequent strain on the facilities available for them at the Works. (24)

The pattern of educational provision at Cadbury that emerged in the decade up to 1905 thus seems to have involved two main strands. Firstly, there was the inducement to attend evening classes both of a technical and leisure nature at public institutions and the Works through an arrangement for the return of fees. Secondly, there were the purely internal classes for employees held at the Works. These consisted of the compulsory and voluntary physical training classes plus other technical or leisure classes that were required. In fact many of these other classes seem to have been directed at young female employees, who formed the bulk of the workforce - the number of males employed was relatively small and there was no employment of married women. In the autumn of 1903 the Bournville Works Magazine carried a report regarding a discussion on girls' classes between the forewomen and Edward Cadbury, Mrs. Edward Cadbury, Barrow Cadbury and

George Cadbury, junior and his wife. Edward Cadbury had said it was important that forewomen took an interest in the matter of girls' education and, according to the Bournville Works Magazine, had gone on to argue that

"where work was to some extent mechanical and did not require any mental effort, the intellect in time became dull unless outside things were taken up. Special attention should be given to girls of 19 years of age and under, and they should be encouraged to take up some subject, for example, music, drawing, embroidery, shorthand, cookery, etc., which would occupy at least one evening a week during the coming winter; this would cultivate their minds and awaken their intelligence. [Girls who left to get married] would be better fitted to take up household duties, for example, if they had a good knowledge of cookery, so that attending a class for this subject would be of practical use".

He had concluded by stressing that

"there was no reason why girls over 19 should not be encouraged to join these classes but ... it was easier to begin this sort of thing when the girls were young and they were the ones that should be especially encouraged. Many of them were spending their evenings probably doing very little good, and wasting much time. The Library Committee were arranging a very wide series of classes that would practically meet everybody's taste in one way or another." (25)

It is clear that Cadbury's attempt to encourage employees - especially the younger ones - to attend classes was not just a matter of technical subjects that would be of benefit to them in their jobs, but also other subjects that would be of practical or leisure use to them in their lives outside the factory. This applied not only to the girls, but also the boys: the minutes of the Foremen's Committee and the Men's Works Committee for 1905 indicate considerable discussion about boys attending a "hobby class" as well as their technical classes. (26)

The internal classes run for employees only, which were usually held at the Works (but sometimes at Ruskin

Hall, near the factory) perhaps epitomize the approach adopted by the firm. They ranged from sewing, (27) cookery and gardening (28) tuition for females through English, Mathematics and General Science classes for boys (29) to instruction in confectionery-making and sugar-boiling techniques for people engaged on those tasks. (30) Of other classes that took place, those for Boot Repairing, which started in 1897, were a popular option available to male employees, while also popular were the voluntary physical training and Ambulance (i.e. First Aid) classes open to both sexes. (31)

Apart from attendance at classes, educative-recreational activity at Cadbury was also furthered by the firm through the increasing provision of facilities for sporting and other forms of leisure pursuit. This was made possible by the growing expansion and profitability of the business. In 1896 twelve acres of land adjacent to the factory was made into the Girls' Recreation Ground and for the men another twelve acres was laid out as a fully-equipped sports ground with an open-air swimming bath and a cricket pitch so good that county matches were to be played on it. Improvements to these facilities were frequently being made. For example, in 1902 the firm financed the erection of a pavilion in the Men's Recreation Ground to commemorate the coronation of King Edward VII. It included dressing accommodation with showers, a gymnasium, and even tea-rooms. The Girls' Swimming Bath, which was built in 1904 and formally opened in 1905, was a model for industrial organisations and local authorities both at home and abroad. (32)

By the early twentieth century a diversity of clubs and societies had already come into existence. In the sporting field prominent amongst these was the Bournville Athletic Club, or B.A.C., founded in May, 1896. The successor to the separate Football and Cricket Clubs

established in 1883, the B.A.C. was divided into a wide variety of sections that catered for the sporting interests of older male employees. Sport for younger male employees was organized by the Bournville Youths' Club, or B.Y.C., set up in 1900. The B.Y.C. provided not only sporting and leisure opportunities for male juvenile workers but also many other kinds of social and holiday facilities - including a very popular Summer Camp each year. (33) The B.A.C. was followed in 1899 by the Bournville Girls' Athletic Club, or B.G.A.C., for female employees of all ages. Unlike the B.A.C., which was almost exclusively a sporting organization, and more like the B.Y.C., the B.G.A.C. offered leisure, social and holiday as well as sporting opportunities. Apart from the three major ones represented by the B.A.C., B.G.A.C. and B.Y.C. there were a number of other clubs and societies. Probably the biggest of these was the Musical Society, which was founded in 1900. It embraced several sections including an orchestra, brass band and choir. (The orchestral section could trace its origins back to at least 1883, when there is a record of an orchestra of six members meeting for practice). (34)

The overall total of clubs and societies at the Works tended to grow steadily as time went on. The various activities were not under a single organization and the management of them was generally independent and distinct: they were autonomous entities. The different objects of them, and the very magnitude of some, necessitated such a separation but behind them all was the essential unity of the whole and the pioneering industrial concept represented by the Bournville factory. (35) The essence of this was, perhaps, summed up by George Cadbury, junior when speaking to the Annual Gathering of employees on December 29th, 1903. According to the report of his speech in the Bournville Works Magazine he looked forward to England being "covered with" garden villages like Bournville as a

means of alleviating the poor conditions of workers in many areas of the country. Employees of the firm "had a fuller interest in life than many of those working in England today" and the directors were together in attempting to encourage them "in trying to forward the useful life". George went on to say that the past year had in a certain respect been a crucial one: people who went round and saw the recreation grounds, the men's gymnasium, and the plans for the Girls' Swimming Bath, said it was all very fine, but did it pay? "He thought that the answer was in the fact that, in a year of depression, while other firms had gone back, we had gone forward. We know the factory was spoken of in America, Germany, and in the furthest corners of the world, and all should realize that upon each one of us depended its success." The "excellent results" obtained were due to one cause - "the individual and departmental co-operation that ... existed ... throughout the Works". (36)

EVENING CONTINUATION COURSES AND OFFICIAL RECOGNITION

A significant factor in the continuing success of the firm was clearly felt to be the educational opportunities and facilities it provided for those whom it employed. Edward Cadbury argued that the opportunities and facilities made available promoted the "increased intelligence of employees" thereby enhancing efficiency and "the scientific organization of their work." (37) In order to further develop educational provision at the firm administrative changes were introduced in 1906. In July of that year a Bournville Works Education Committee and a Bournville Works Classes Management Committee were formed to centralize and co-ordinate educational arrangements at the factory. (38) (According to a biographical note in the Bournville Works Magazine on the occasion of his retirement in the early 1940's the Director behind the reorganization was George Cadbury, junior. George junior had a life-long interest in

education that was reflected in the important part he played in educational developments at the Works). (39) The role of the two committees - each of which had men's and women's sub-committees - seems to have been quite closely delineated. The Works Education Committee formulated overall policy, negotiated with outside bodies like the local authority and national government, and was responsible for encouraging employees to use the educational opportunities and facilities available to them; while the Works Classes Management Committee controlled the classes held at the factory. (40) This rationalization of educational administration carried out in 1906 was essential if Board of Education grant aid was to be claimed for the Works classes. Up to that time these classes were "being conducted in a haphazard way" and needed to be put on a coherent basis. (41)

A letter of application for recognition of the new structure, together with a list of classes for which grant aid was being sought, was sent to the Board of Education in the late summer or early autumn of 1906. (42) Towards the end of the year a definite number - 64432 - was bestowed on what the Board referred to as Bournville Works School, thereby indicating that official recognition had been realized. (43) Some fourteen classes seem to have secured grant aid in the 1906-07 session: the subjects involved included Home Nursing, Ambulance, Physical Training-Gymnastics and Swimming, Home Dressmaking, Plain Sewing, Cookery and Boot Repairing. The Board's acceptance of the Physical Training classes for grant aid demonstrated its confidence in them since this was the first time it had ever recognized such classes at a private works. Though only a minor one, it is just another instance of Cadbury pioneering in educational provision. (44) The firm had held classes of various types and sorts from the Bridge Street era onwards and in an article in 1946 commemorating "Works Classes of 40 Years Ago" the Bournville Works

Magazine commented that recognition in 1906 by the Board of Education "set the seal of official approval on what Cadbury had gradually achieved in the then largely uncultivated field of education for industrial workers." (45)

The classes which were grant aided by the Board of Education were open to its inspection and for the 1906-07 session, the first for which grant aid had been sought, the Board's assessment was that "the classes are of great benefit to the employees, and the teachers, who take great interest in their work, have obtained good results. The organization and management is most creditable to all concerned." The total number of students involved in the classes in 1906-07 was around 1,600 (the exact figure is unknown) (46) and the amount received from the Board for those which were grant aided was £89 6s.0d. According to the minutes the Bournville Works Classes Management Committee "noted that the report from the Board of Education was very satisfactory". (47) The Bournville Works Magazine did, though, point out that "the grant from Government defrays only a fraction of the cost of the classes, the remainder, of course, being defrayed by the firm". (48)

There is no doubt that the Board of Education was very interested in the educational developments being undertaken by Cadbury. In August, 1906 the Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes record that "a letter has been received from Dr. Leicester, in which he says that he intends to give us all the help he can, and also intends to make an early visit here." (Dr. Leicester seems to have been the Board Inspector whose area included Bournville). (49) This early concern by the responsible department of central government with the educational opportunities and facilities offered by the cocoa and chocolate firm to its employees was a reflection of an involvement that was to

continue for the next sixty years and which played its part in the formulation of some aspects of national education policy.

The need to gain Board of Education recognition in order to seek grant aid for classes at the Works was one of two major reasons for the reorganization of educational administration at Cadbury of Bournville in 1906. The other was the introduction of compulsory attendance for juvenile employees at evening continuation school. As the policy-making body it was the Bournville Works Education Committee that was responsible for planning and implementing this innovation in close liaison with the local education authority - Worcestershire County Council. (50) The scheme was drawn up in the summer of 1906 and put into operation in the autumn. It is clear that the County Council was reluctant to undertake the extra teaching involved at such short notice because the expenditure that would be incurred had not been allowed for in the rates for the current financial year. However, when Cadbury threatened to pay for and run the scheme themselves the Council, not wanting rival institutions in the area, agreed to provide the classes. In the event the cost to the local education authority was only £73, "this being wholly due to the fact that Messrs. Cadbury have encouraged good attendance with excellent results and correspondingly high grants" from central government. (51)

The scheme meant that it became a condition of their employment for all new and existing juvenile recruits to attend evening continuation classes on two nights a week until the end of the session in which they attained their sixteenth birthday. Parents or guardians were required to sign a form agreeing to this. Accompanying the form was a letter which indicated the advantages of such attendance.

"We beg to inform you that we have had under consideration the question of continuing the education

of the boys and girls in our employment. We are most desirous to have your co-operation in this matter as we feel much benefit will be derived from attendance at evening continuation classes, and that the knowledge obtained will be of great benefit to them in the future. In the case of applicants for employment preference will be given in future to those willing to attend evening classes. It must be obvious to you that boys and girls now in our service who avail themselves of these advantages are the most likely to obtain advancement in our employment.

"You will be advised as to the best course of education available in your district. Pupils will be required to attend for two evenings a week and the fees will be refunded to those scholars at the end of the session who have made 85 per cent of possible attendances."

When the enclosed form was returned signifying the consent of parents or guardians to compulsory attendance at evening classes, a further letter was sent giving some account of the reasoning behind its introduction.

"We think a short explanation of our policy with regard to boys and girls in our employ may be of interest to their parents as we know they will wish to co-operate with us in giving the best education to their children.

"We think that all boys and girls in this country should have every chance of continuing their education up to the age of 16 in the ordinary things useful in everyday life, and thus lay a good foundation for their future at the age when they are best able to take advantage of it. Following this, after the age of 16, a variety of courses will be open to them, of which they can take their choice, according to whether they intend to take up a commercial, technical or general career.

"It is essential that the best use should be made of the best years of their life, and in order to accomplish this we have laid down a continuous course of instruction, so that one year's work leads on to the next and all lead up to the course that each student chooses for his final career. In this way it is also possible to get the best teachers and the best results A properly graded course, besides ensuring that all shall have a thorough grounding in things necessary to life, also means making the best of the boys' and girls' time and means generally

increased efficiency all round. It is only by treating the subject scientifically as is done in Germany and other countries, that we can hope to keep our supremacy in the world, and take our lead amongst the nations.

"As no two years' course has yet been planned out by the local authority, we have thought it wise to obtain the aid of the council this year in starting a school at Bournville on these lines, but in future we hope the necessary facilities will be granted nearer the homes of those who require it.

"In order to make it easy for those who live at a distance, we are arranging to provide a good tea at 1d. per night and are having the classes fixed at the early hour of 6.45, closing at 8.45. The dining room and lodge will be kept open until 6.30." (52)

The contents of the letters taken together give a succinct, but nonetheless clear, indication of the rationale behind the initiation of compulsory attendance at evening classes and the sort of courses it was intended should be followed. The underlying philosophy was expounded by George Cadbury, junior in two notable speeches. The first was given on September 20th, 1907 at a function for the distribution of prizes to students who had attended the inaugural 1906-07 session of the Bournville Evening Continuation School; the second was given to about sixty teachers from various local evening continuation schools who were visiting the Works on September 5th, 1908. (53) George quoted the famous late nineteenth century artist John Ruskin as saying, "You do not educate a man by telling him what he knew not, but by making him what he was not." That particular dictum, said George, showed the aim of the Bournville Works Education Committee, which was to have courses that would not cram the students with facts and technical knowledge but make them better men and women and better citizens, hence better workers. This also held conversely: better workers made better citizens and thus better men and women. The Board of Directors believed strongly that specialization should follow general education, a view that had come as the

result of experience. Towards the end of the 1890's the firm had first offered encouragement (in the form of return of fee payments) for attendance at technical classes related to an employee's job. George said he felt that such an approach had not been altogether successful because it was gradually realized that "a training of young employees which tended to cultivate broad, all-round intelligence produced more efficient workers than a purely technical and specialized training, which should be provided later What was aimed at up to age 16 was an all-round education with instruction in the broad humanities and, after that age, specialized training".

Given this philosophy, it is not therefore surprising that the fundamental basis of the two year courses devised in 1906 was English and Arithmetic. These figured heavily in both the Stage One (first year) and Stage Two (second year) programmes for all students, both boys and girls, who were taught in mixed groups as far as possible. Other subjects which featured in the courses included Geography and History, Drawing, Needlework, Shorthand, and even languages like French and German. Which of these other subjects were taken by any individual depended on the student's status and sex - for example, only workers from offices would be likely to do Shorthand and a language, while only females would do Needlework. Students had to attend evening continuation school for a total of four hours a week - two hours on each of two evenings - and take a total of four subjects, two on each of the two evenings.

(54) The structure of the courses had been drawn up by Cadbury in collaboration with His Majesty's Inspector for the area (Dr. Leicester) together with Dr. Rawson, the Director of Education for Worcestershire County Council, and J. F. Moore, Secretary to the Education Committee of the King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council.

(55) The firm's staff advised their young employees what courses and subjects they should take and fees were

returned providing certain conditions were met - viz., 85% of possible attendances plus satisfactory reports from teachers and headmaster with regard to progress and conduct. Most of the students involved in the first session of compulsory attendance over 1906-07 met these conditions and had their fees returned. (56)

Rewards were also given to good students in the form of money bonuses - First Class 12/6, Second Class 10/-, Third Class 7/6. The rewards were based on assessments from Works departments, evening continuation schools and the teachers of the compulsory physical training classes at the factory. A suitable letter of congratulations was enclosed in each envelope containing a reward. Very interestingly - and typical of the compassionate Cadbury approach - a special letter was sent to those employees receiving no reward urging them to persevere until success was achieved. A copy of the appropriate letter was also sent to the parents or guardians of the employee. Of the 430 juniors involved in the first year of required attendance at evening continuation school - 323 girls and 107 boys - 179 received First Class rewards, 88 Second Class and 85 Third Class, leaving 78 who received no such accolade. Thus the majority of students received a reward and the overall results were regarded by the Works Education Committee as "very satisfactory". (57) The giving of rewards was clearly a realistic recognition of the need to supply a material incentive to encourage sound work and conscientiousness amongst students. In addition - again very realistically - it recognized that some immediate return to an individual from attendance at classes was needed on top of the longer-term benefits for both the students and itself that was the main concern of the firm. The importance of an immediate return was also kept very much in view with the evaluation of educational records at times of wages revisions and promotions. (58)

One of the main factors behind the launch of the policy of mandatory evening continuation class attendance in the 1906-07 session was the availability of accommodation for students that did not previously exist. This was provided by the opening of the Bournville Elementary School building in the early part of 1906. The story of this building is significant since, though not directly connected with the firm as such, it does show the attitude to education of the Chairman of the Board of Directors, George Cadbury, senior. By the turn of the century there were large numbers of children in Bournville who had to travel to other areas to find education. Parents petitioned the Village Trust for a school and complaints came from King's Norton and Northfield schools that overcrowding was being created by Bournville children. Plans were then drawn up for the construction of a new school. George rejected the possibility of it being put up by the local authority (which, for elementary education in the Bournville area, was King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council) since he wished to retain some control of the development of the school, being particularly concerned with smaller class sizes, a broad education, and undenominational religious teaching. He was determined, too, that the building itself would inspire and educate the children by its design and decoration. In the event it included a timbered roof, frescoes, stone carving and, on the clock tower, the famous Bournville carillon of bells. These bells were the gift of George Cadbury, senior in 1906 with more added later by George Cadbury, junior so that a total of 48 was reached in 1934. This made the carillon the largest in the country.

About two-and-a-half acres of land was given by George Cadbury, senior and his wife, Elizabeth, for the school. They also bore the cost of the building of some £30,000. This figure might have been around £2,000 less had they consented to sacrificing certain of their ideals concerning

what a school of this kind should be. Though George and his wife were paying for the building he had to struggle with the local authority to construct it as he wished. He was very much opposed to large classes - a view that fitted in with a growing body of expert educational opinion at the time - and had the classrooms designed to hold at most fifty children instead of the sixty usual for the period. This provoked strong antagonism from the Education Committee of the King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council, which wanted to save on teachers' salaries. The antagonism was only overcome by George appealing to the Board of Education, which found in his favour, over-ruling the local authority's objections. The school building, when completed, contained a central hall (184feet by 32 feet) and twelve classrooms, six accommodating fifty children and six accommodating forty children. There were staff rooms, a library and a laboratory, together with specialist rooms for handicrafts and technical instruction for boys and cooking and laundry work for girls. A second building, smaller but on the same architectural lines, was added in 1911 to meet what seemed to be an ever-increasing need for places for the burgeoning child population of Bournville. This second building was also financed by George and Elizabeth Cadbury. The combined capacity of the two buildings was 820 and George continued to take an interest in the school until his death in 1922. He frequently visited, spoke to children, and distributed prizes. His work was reinforced by his wife, Elizabeth, who chaired the governing body with extraordinary vision and energy from 1906 until her own death in 1952. (59)

The importance of the accommodation made available by the opening of the Bournville Elementary School in 1906 is illustrated by the fact that out of a total of 430 junior employees of 14 to 16 years old from the Works who had to take compulsory evening continuation classes in the 1906-07

session no less than 397 went to those taught in the new building. Most of the rest attended other places by special permission; while five attended no evening continuation school at all, also by special permission. Over 150 more Cadbury employees aged 16 to 19 went to evening continuation classes voluntarily in 1906-07, again most of them going to those classes held in the new building. Overall, in excess of 600 students from various employers went to the evening continuation classes at the Bournville Elementary School, but it is clear from the figures that around 90% of them came from Cadbury. (60)

During the following session, 1907-08, all the local evening continuation schools in the surrounding area ran course programmes based on that at Bournville. Cadbury employees, therefore, had a larger number of schools from which to make a choice for their attendance, though the firm had to be convinced that the standard of the school chosen was "not below the Bournville standard". (61) Thus students were at liberty to attend any evening continuation school at which the stipulated courses were being offered. This is reflected in that, of the 542 students up to 16 who attended compulsory evening continuation classes in the 1907-08 session, 373 went to Bournville School. The remainder (almost 170) went to other schools - a much higher proportion than in the previous session when the rest of local evening continuation schools were not all running the Bournville course programmes.

In this second session the rewards arrangements for young Cadbury workers who had to attend evening continuation classes on a compulsory basis were again in operation and 131 of them received Firsts, 155 Seconds and 139 Thirds. Interestingly, in 1908 the rewards were not paid out in cash, as they had been in 1907, but, to encourage thrift, were credited to the recipients' Bournville Works Savings Fund Accounts. (The Works Savings

Fund had been initiated in 1897 and was eventually superseded in 1920 with the establishment of a factory branch of the new Birmingham Municipal Bank - now part of the Trustee Savings Bank Group). Voluntary attendance at evening continuation school for 16 to 19 year olds was markedly up in 1907-08 compared with the first session of 1906-07: 305 as against 156, an increase of 149. This was clearly the result of the example set by the compulsory attendance requirements for those under 16 years of age. It was also clearly the consequence of the experience of those who had to attend compulsorily during the first session encouraging them to attend voluntarily during the second when their compulsory attendance had ended because they had reached their sixteenth birthday.

Fees up to 7/6 were again returned to both compulsory and voluntary students up to 19 years of age for whom the headmasters' reports respecting attendance, progress and conduct were acceptable. In fact, 336 compulsory students had their fees returned (94 forfeiting them) and 164 voluntary students had them returned (141 forfeiting them). The last two figures suggest that though the total number of voluntary students was higher than in the previous session, the quality may have been lower, since in 1906-07 a much larger proportion had had their fees returned. In 1907-08 the voluntary students had been allowed to choose their own subjects, but the fee was only returned on condition that these were in the nature of a course approved by the Bournville Works Education Committee. It is thus possible that some voluntary students may not have had their choice of subjects approved and this may also therefore have been a factor involved in the lower proportion of them having their fees returned in 1907-08 as opposed to 1906-07. (62)

One other development in the second session of compulsory evening continuation class attendance has some

significance in that it demonstrates the way in which difficulties could be responded to quickly and remedied. Before the 1907-08 session female juniors attended the compulsory physical training classes in gymnastics and swimming at the Works three times a week during the day up to age 15. This was unlike the boys, who attended twice a week only, but up to age 16. Three times a week on top of the new evening continuation school requirements begun in 1906-07 became too much of a burden on the girls in that first session. Thus in the second their arrangements for physical training were brought into line with the boys', so that they started attending twice a week up to 16. The change did prove in practice to be beneficial to the girls by reducing the class load on them in their initial year at work and by extending the period during which they underwent compulsory physical training. (63)

The introduction of evening continuation class attendance as a condition of employment for juniors by Cadbury in 1906 should be seen in the context of a national debate about the need for young people to go to evening continuation classes which went back into the nineteenth century. Though known before that period such classes had become particularly popular, especially in the great industrial centres, in the 1890's. In 1897 a bill came before Parliament to make attendance at them compulsory, but the measure failed to make the statute book. Then, in an imperialist mood during the Boer War, the Fabian Society issued a pamphlet arguing that everybody from the school leaving age up to 21 should spend half their time in various forms of general, technical and physical education. This would ensure that the nation would have better citizen-soldiers to defend the Empire. Continental experience - especially that of Germany, where attendance at continuation schools was expanding on both a voluntary and compulsory basis - was quoted in support of the socialist group's proposals. (64)

In 1905 a conference held at Oxford University by the Workers' Educational Association - an organization that had by then been in existence for some two years - called for compulsory attendance by young people at evening continuation school. (65) In the same year much publicity was given in Britain to the fact that the city of Berlin, which already had a system of voluntary continuation schools, had come into line with a number of German states and made continuation education a mandatory requirement. It had decided that a minimum of four hours a week attendance up to 17 from the school leaving age of 14 would be imposed. The curriculum was to be mainly general, with subjects like German, Arithmetic and Drawing prominent, but also had to give due regard to the need for occupational training. The time of attendance was normally to be 6.00 to 7.00 p.m. at the end of the working day. Within a couple of years Berlin's action had produced 30,000 additional continuation education students in the city, despite many exemptions possible under the regulations. (66)

In Britain 1905 saw yet another bill introduced into Parliament to require compulsory attendance at evening continuation schools. The 1905 bill was one of an annual series put before the legislature between 1904 and 1907 - all of them abortive. Board of Education documents of this period also show that the central government was receiving a large number of resolutions from local education authorities and other interested bodies like the teaching unions recommending that attendance at evening continuation schools be made compulsory up to 16; sometimes even 18 was suggested. (67) In 1907 the Board bowed to the pressure on it and referred the matter to its Consultative Committee for investigation. (68) A sub-committee of this, led by M. E. Sadler, Professor of Education at the University of Manchester and Director of Special Enquiries and Reports for the Board of Education, went to Bournville on September

25th, 1907 for the purpose of looking at the education schemes operated by Cadbury. The members of the sub-committee were received by Edward Cadbury and George Cadbury, junior who, after explaining the different schemes and answering many questions, accompanied them to various classes in progress at the Works. A very brief visit was also paid to the Bournville Elementary School. According to the report of the sub-committee's fact-finding tour in the Bournville Works Magazine "the greatest interest was displayed in the education schemes recently evolved." (69)

The Consultative Committee reported in 1909 and recommended compulsory attendance at evening continuation classes with the proviso that there should be a drastic limitation of working hours. The Committee argued that the granting of day release was a better alternative where practicable. (70) Its conclusion in favour of statutory continuation education was in line with some permissive legislation passed for Scotland in the previous year. Section 8 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908 enabled local school boards north of the border to make compulsory until age 17 "the attendance at continuation classes of young persons who are not otherwise receiving a suitable education". (71) As is so frequently the case with permissive legislation, however, these powers seem to have been rarely, if ever, used.

Given all the attention being paid in the country at the time to the question of evening continuation classes for school leavers, together with its "endeavour in every way to raise the standard of education in the Works", it is not perhaps surprising that Cadbury launched its own scheme for compulsory attendance at such classes for its junior employees in the autumn of 1906. The decision to launch the scheme was not taken lightly. It was only reached after much discussion at the firm amongst those concerned with the matter, especially the members of the Bournville

Works Education Committee; consultations with educational experts like officials of the Board of Education and academics like Michael Sadler; and an investigation of the policies pursued by other companies. (72) All these activities went on unabated - in fact, seemed to intensify - after the scheme was put into operation and an important influence on its subsequent growth and evolution may have been the information about their policy supplied by the chemical enterprise based in Northwich, Cheshire, known as Brunner Mond - the forerunner of the later giant Imperial Chemical Industries company. A letter from Brunner Mond to the Bournville Works Education Committee dated December 13th, 1906 reads:

"In reply to your O. H. Jones of the 11th inst., we beg to say that all youths entering our service must have passed the Sixth Standard and must continue to attend the evening classes up to the age of 19 years. In the case of apprentices they must attend during their apprenticeship. Apprentices are also allowed two afternoons off per week to attend day classes at the Technical Schools. The amounts the students pay in fees are refunded to them by the company provided they put in 90% of attendances. Any youths having put in less than this percentage must give a satisfactory reason, or leave the company's service." (73)

Brunner Mond had first begun to encourage attendance at evening classes by apprentices in 1884 and a few years later made this compulsory. It seems to have been in 1904 when the requirement of compulsory attendance was extended to all youths under the age of 19. The communication from Brunner Mond does show other large business concerns had the same view as Cadbury; namely, that (in the words of the Bournville Works Magazine of March, 1907) "the evening continuation schools movement is of the greatest importance to the nation." Some of them made attendance at evening classes a condition of employment even before Cadbury did. Such compulsory attendance would probably apply to apprentices only and be confined to trade subjects; though in Brunner Mond's case all boys were included in the scheme, the bulk of them non-apprentices who may have had

tuition in general subjects as well as technical ones. More extensive arrangements of great interest in view of those adopted by Cadbury were made by Joseph Crosfield, soap manufacturers, of Warrington in Cheshire. From the 1903-04 academic session all boys, and from the following session all girls, were compelled to attend evening classes until aged 17 and the intention eventually was to compel the attendance of all young persons under 20. Fees were returned to compulsory students under 17, and voluntary students between 17 and 20, if 85% of possible attendances were made. The attendance figure had been 60% but was increased in 1903-04. A money prize equal in value to the fee was given to all who received a satisfactory report from teachers on their progress and behaviour. Both girls and boys attended Warrington evening continuation classes: the girls took Needlework, Dressmaking, Cooking and Domestic Economy; the boys Arithmetic, Drawing, General Knowledge and elements of English like reading and writing. At least some of the boys attended Warrington Technical School to do more vocationally-oriented subjects like Mechanics, Machine Construction, Electricity, Chemistry, French, Commercial English, Bookkeeping and Shorthand. Whether or not all boys attended these classes at the Technical School or, as seems probable, only those who required trade and office skills, is unclear. Also unclear is whether or not such boys attended general education classes at continuation school before going on to these more specialized classes.

The reason for this lack of precision is all the information about Crosfield (together with some of that about Brunner Mond) comes from a survey of educational facilities provided by employers made by Professor M. E. Sadler of Manchester University, the results of which were published as Chapter Eight, "English Employers and the Education of Their Workpeople", in his Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere (1907). Almost inevitably the

details proffered by firms who responded to Sadler's enquiry, or which were printed in the book, were somewhat sketchy and rarely give a complete, comprehensive and comprehensible picture of what was actually being done. (74)

Cadbury must have been aware of the Crosfield scheme when the firm launched its own similar but rather more sophisticated one in 1906. The name of Crosfield occurs in the June, 1905 edition of the Bournville Works Magazine amongst a list of business concerns a Cadbury delegation had visited to secure information about their welfare and labour consultation arrangements. Hence there is no doubt that the cocoa and chocolate company knew of Crosfield's scheme for the compulsory attendance of under 17's at evening classes. What is, therefore, certain is that Cadbury was not the first to make attendance at evening classes either for technical or general education a condition of employment for young workers. It was thus following the lead of others in this respect and for once does not appear to have been a pioneer in a matter relating to education in industry except in so as it must have been one of the earliest firms to insist on compulsory evening class attendance and definitely amongst only a very small number to do so. In Sadler's survey of 212 companies 72 replied and of these only seven (including Cadbury) made attendance at evening classes of a technical or general character compulsory. However, another - Rowntree of York, also cocoa and chocolate manufacturers - did require girl employees under 17 to attend two hours a week during work time at the firm's own Domestic Economy School. The actual originators of compulsory attendance at evening continuation school for the purposes of general education may very well have been the co-operative societies who were running classes themselves, or in association with their local education authority, on quite a large scale even in the 1890's. Again, also like Cadbury, other firms had

incentives to encourage attendance at evening school whether for general or technical instruction, though mostly it would only be for the latter. Such incentives might include scholarships and prizes; the making of wage increases and promotion contingent on educational attainments; the payment for, or loan of, instruments, drawing materials, and other equipment; together with the refund of fees if stipulated minimum levels of attendance were achieved - this last being the commonest method of encouragement to attend classes. Cadbury instituted fee refund arrangements in 1898 and, as with compulsory attendance at evening continuation school, they may not have been the first to introduce such a measure but were following an example set by others. In Sadler's survey - presumably carried out in 1906 as the results were published in 1907 - 34 out of 72 respondent companies gave incentives of some kind to employees to attend classes and these incentives usually included help with fees. No indication is given of when assistance with fees was initially provided but it seems that at least some of the arrangements detailed were of long-standing duration. (75)

It is quite apparent from all this that when Cadbury began to require attendance at evening classes by their young employees in 1906 they were not only utilizing their own experience in the educational field but also that of others. They acknowledged, though without giving any names or further particulars, that "about the same time, or even a few years earlier, several large industrial concerns in other parts of the country had taken similar steps with varying degrees of success." Learning from this experience in order to make their own scheme as attractive as possible they used "all their influence to secure regular attendance and rewarded the students in various ways for steady work, good conduct and satisfactory progress." (76)

The strategy adopted by Cadbury does seem to have had positive results, producing high levels of attendance. In 1906-07, the first session to which the policy of compulsion was applied, the bulk of Cadbury students went to Bournville Evening Continuation School. There were 619 students on the School register and 540 came from the firm - 397 of them compulsory students, the rest voluntary students over the compulsory age limit of 16. The overall figures for attendance (including the minority not coming from the Works) were "remarkable" according to George Cadbury, junior as reported in the Bournville Works Magazine for November, 1907. Of the 619 students 15% had made 100% of possible attendances and 193 had made over 90%. 533 students had been eligible because of their high level of attendance for Board of Education grant to be paid for them, thus keeping down the costs of the School to the ratepayer. In the succeeding session of 1907-08 the attendance levels of compulsory students from Cadbury at various evening continuation schools averaged over 90% and that of voluntary students almost 80%. This favourable outcome led to the firm considering the possible extension of the existing scheme and in the spring of 1909 a decision was taken to raise the age limit for compulsory attendance to 18 by the 1910-11 session. The extension of the scheme was thus phased in gradually one year at a time as the students rose in age. This meant that in the session 1909-10 a third year of compulsory attendance was put into operation, bringing the age up to 17, and in 1910-11 the fourth year was added, bringing the age up to the limit of 18. Suitable third and fourth year courses were drawn up by Cadbury in association with the local education authority and Board of Education officials. As with the existing curriculum for the first and second years, the additional courses were used in the evening continuation schools in Bournville and the surrounding area. At the same time as compulsory evening continuation class attendance was extended, so were the compulsory physical

training classes at the Works. Junior employees now also had to go to evening physical training classes once a week in the autumn and winter months only during their seventeenth and eighteenth years after having had to take such classes twice a week during the day throughout the whole of their fifteenth and sixteenth years. A revised general monetary reward scheme for compulsory evening class students was also made effective from the 1910-11 session. For students of 14 and 15 First Class rewards were 10/-, Second Class 7/6, Third Class 5/-; for those of 16 and 17 the respective figures were 15/-, 11/- and 7/-. The bestowal of the rewards continued to depend on reports from evening continuation school, Works department and Works physical training classes. (77)

The firm's decision to increase the age limit of compulsory attendance at evening continuation classes was announced in the May, 1909 issue of the Bournville Works Magazine in an article entitled "The Extension of the Works Educational Scheme". The reasons given therein for the decision are worth quoting at length because they provide a good indication of the underlying philosophy involved.

"... an enormous wastage, both in the nation's money and in the labour of teachers, is consequent upon allowing boys and girls to leave school at the age of 13 or 14 without ensuring that what they have learned shall not be wasted, as it is in so many cases before they reach the age of 18 or 19. It is, without doubt, in the closing years of adolescence that boys and girls are most capable of assimilating knowledge, and when they first realize the full meaning and value of education The few who do continue their education by voluntarily attending evening schools realize the advantage of doing so when, on applying for better posts, they find how much better qualified they are than others and later on they also realize that it is the extended mental discipline, and the additional knowledge they have acquired, that have enabled them to participate in a broader and fuller life denied to others, in which they find far more than compensation for the slight sacrifice of leisure made in their youth.

Many of those who take no heed of the educational facilities offered at evening classes go through life without appreciating at all fully its many and varied interests. Others realize, at a later age, that many of the things they have hitherto neglected lead to higher pleasures and interests, which make life incalculably more enjoyable; only too late they realize that education is a means to a fuller and richer experience. Then they see that, if they had only continued their education from their childhood upwards, their capacity for enjoying such things as good literature, and understanding more difficult and interesting work, would have been immensely greater than it is.

It is for such reasons as these that the firm ... have decided that all boys shall attend evening classes up to the age of 18. For the girls it is recognized that the majority leave the Works after a few years to look after homes of their own. It has been decided that girls also shall attend up to the age of 18, and that their training shall include a thorough instruction in housewifery. Such subjects as English Literature and Physical Training will ... also occupy prominent places."

The article then went on to say that boys admitted at 14 for factory employment would have to have attained the higher standards at school and have good reports from their headmaster; while boys of the same age for office positions would have to have reached the seventh standard and would also have to pass an examination set at the Works. Those leaving secondary schools at 16 could be engaged for the offices, or for the trades in the factory, on condition that they passed the tests which would be given them. These boys would be able to attend the more advanced classes immediately. All boys entering the factory at 14 would do unskilled work until they were 16 and then the more capable of them would be transferred to skilled work and offered apprenticeships in a trade of their choosing. For both boys and girls up to 16 years of age the education given at the evening continuation schools would remain on broad lines. After that age the boys apprenticed would specialize, though not narrowly, while those in the offices would do courses with an increasingly

commercial emphasis. The rest of the boys, together with the girls, would go on receiving a general education. The most suitable employees would then be given the opportunity of attending further day classes and subsequently, in special cases, a university or working men's college for a period of residential study. The Bournville Works Magazine article concluded:

"The [extended education] scheme springs from a strong desire on the part of the firm to take a closer interest in the young people at the factory, and to enable them to place their feet correctly on the first rungs of the ladder of progress.

It is anticipated that, by the aforementioned methods, the firm will train practically all their workers, and it is hoped that the whole of the employees will not only become better able to do their work at the factory to the credit of their employers and themselves, but realize more fully their responsibilities as citizens, and perform their duties as such in a manner worthy of the nation to which they belong." (78)

This feature in the Bournville Works Magazine yet again gives a clear demonstration of the chief motives that lay behind educational provision at Cadbury - namely, those of social idealism and business efficiency. These were usually inextricably intertwined together. In this connection an interesting point arising from the article is the way in which the word "training" is used. Normally it means theoretical and practical tuition for a specific job or a number of related jobs but in the article it was used also in the context of the extended four year continued general education received by the majority of young employees. The rationale of this was obviously that general education in itself without an openly vocational element was thought to produce better workers because it encouraged their all-round development as people. The main thrust of the changes introduced in extending the educational system from 1909 was, therefore, made on that basis. For example, the importance of general education as a foundation for more vocationally biased studies later on

can be seen in the distinctive programmes adopted for two particular groups of employees - office workers and apprentices.

The scheme for office employees had been under discussion for some time and had been formally agreed by the Bournville Works Education Committee on May 5th, 1909. Under the arrangements accepted boys entering the offices at 14 were required to go to evening classes until 19 - in other words compulsory attendance went on for an extra fifth year beyond the four common for most other young employees. From the outset of their studies the office boys were put on a separate commercial programme. However, the courses for the first two years of it contained much the same general subjects as all the other boys did except that the more able office staff might do French as an alternative to one of these subjects. For the final three years of the programme for boys aged 16 to 19 the courses became more recognizably vocational with the inclusion of components like Commercial English (including business correspondence and office routine), Commercial Arithmetic, Bookkeeping or Shorthand, and a modern foreign language (French, German, Spanish or Portuguese). Boys coming to the firm's offices from secondary school at 16 would, after interview and successful completion of tests set at the Works, proceed straight to the more specialized third year of the office programme and then on to the fourth and fifth years.

From October, 1911 evening school attendance was supplemented by the firm holding classes dealing with the particular forms of organization and methods of operation that had evolved in its own offices. These classes, which were run during the day in work hours, were designed to complement what was done at evening school. Tuition took place over two years - in the first year considering ordinary office procedures and in the second year

investigating more specific topics such as costing practices. The initial second year course occurred in 1912-13 following on from the initial first year course in 1911-12. Boys attended the classes between 16 and 18 years of age. It is not clear whether all the boys were involved in the classes as well as their evening commercial programme or perhaps only the better ones amongst them. When the classes were introduced in 1911 there were no less than three groups formed for the initial first year course, thereby suggesting the (logical) probability that all of the boys would have been concerned with them. What is certain is that the classes proved so conducive to improved performance that they were widened in 1913-14 to embrace at least some female office employees. The classes must have been of even greater value for these because office girls did not undertake the commercial programme done by the office boys but the same four year general evening continuation courses as the girls from the factory. (79)

The apprenticeship scheme had been under intensive deliberation for a long while before its ultimate implementation in the autumn of 1909. A sub-committee of the Bournville Works Education Committee had been set up during the first half of 1908 to make recommendations with regard to an apprenticeship scheme and it reported at a special meeting of the parent committee on July 11th, 1908. The sub-committee's enquiries had obviously been very thorough. It had looked at apprenticeship structures in other firms - for example, Brunner Mond of Northwich, the United Alkali Company of Widnes, Crosfield of Warrington, Clayton and Shuttleworth of Lincoln, and Colman of Norwich. Additionally, it had interviews with Professor Reynolds, the Principal of the Manchester School of Technology; the headmasters of the evening schools at Northwich; Mr. Howard, the H.M.I. for Cheshire; Altrincham local education authority representatives; and the headmaster of the technical and evening continuation classes at Widnes.

The sub-committee argued that the adoption of its recommendations "would result in the raising of the intelligence of the employees, and consequently better work all round, also a better appreciation on their part of the difficulties to be faced by the Managing Body, the consequence being the raising of the standard of the people at large resulting in greater ability on their part to grapple with problems, national, local, domestic, and universal." (80) Grand claims!

In fact the apprenticeship scheme which had been drawn up seems to have owed at least a little to that at Brunner Mond where "all boys under 16 years of age who wished to learn trades had to [do] unskilled work for two years, the most capable of the boys being chosen for trades." (81) In the Cadbury scheme boys of 16 who had done unskilled work since their engagement at 14 could apply for an apprenticeship or be invited by the firm to do so. (82) The success of the application depended on physical fitness - with reports from the factory doctor, dentist and, possibly, gymnastics instructor also; a satisfactory report from the applicant's foreman; a report from the headmaster of his evening school to the effect that the applicant had passed creditably the second year (Stage Two) of his evening continuation school studies; and the results of a Works examination. This last requirement may not have been part of the original scheme but was certainly in place by 1912 and included such subjects as Arithmetic, English, Science, and General Knowledge. (83) Perhaps it had been introduced because the comments of evening continuation school heads had not been found overly reliable?

The idea of selecting apprentices at 16 was based on the feeling that a lad hardly knew what trade he would like to learn when he was taken on by the firm at 14. It also meant two years' experience of an employee, thereby

enabling management to discover the boys who, through diligence both at their job and in the evening school classroom, were best fitted for the various trades. Thus it is evident that a successful applicant had to show both that he was a persevering student and that he had a genuine desire to master the particular craft for which he had applied. The boys eventually chosen to enter the apprenticeship scheme at 16 had to sign an agreement undertaking to stay with Cadbury and to attend classes approved by the Bournville Works Education Committee until their apprenticeship ended at 21. Hence compulsory attendance at classes went on for three years beyond that required for boys not apprenticed. Final selection for the apprenticeship scheme appears to have been made by a Director of the business. He personally interviewed all the best applicants as measured by the reports received about their physical fitness, evening school studies and quality of work done at the factory together with their performance in the internal examination that they had been given by the firm. (84)

Transfer to the apprenticeship scheme at 16 of boys who had joined Cadbury from the elementary school was the normal method of deciding on who should be admitted to it. However, boys who left secondary school at 16 might be taken on straight away as apprentices if they gave satisfaction at interview and passed a number of tests they had to do. Illustrative of the fact that this was not the usual means by which apprentices were selected was a report in the December, 1913 edition of the Bournville Works Magazine to the effect that, during the summer of the previous year, in preparation for the 1912-13 academic session, twentytwo new apprentices were chosen, "including three from secondary schools" - in other words, less than one seventh of the total for that year. (85)

An interesting aspect of the apprenticeship scheme was that boys who were involved in it were paid a lower rate of wages than those not learning a trade. (86) This undoubtedly caused problems for the scheme which were outlined in the February, 1912 issue of the Bournville Works Magazine. "One of the chief difficulties experienced in connection with it [the apprenticeship scheme] is of getting parents and boys to realize that the chance of learning a skilled trade has a value which far outweighs the temporary sacrifice in the matter of wages during apprenticeship. At the moment of writing there are vacancies in several good trades, and it is surprising that the applicants for these openings are not more numerous." (87)

However, the lower scale of wages for apprentices was compensated by them having a system of special prizes and rewards that could be taken in books, tools and similar equipment, or could be used to help defray the cost of classes or other educational facilities approved by the firm. The rewards were given on the basis of age and attainments. For each of the first and second years spent in the apprenticeship scheme the value was First Class 15/-, Second Class 11/-, Third Class 7/-; and for each of the three subsequent years the value was First Class 50/-, Second Class 40/-, Third Class 30/-, and Fourth Class 20/-. These amounts, some of which were quite clearly very substantial, were paid to apprentices on merit, the main factors taken into account being reports from local education authority technical school teachers, foreman's report, and examiner's report on performance in the theoretical and practical tests set internally at the Works. (88)

The internal Works tests appear to have been a novel element in the Cadbury apprenticeship scheme and therefore may possibly represent another ground-breaking educational

measure by the firm. They resulted from the fact that the Bournville Works Education Committee, in close co-operation with foremen at the factory and experts from outside, drew up detailed workshop syllabuses for the various trades involved. There were a large number of such trades since most constructional projects together with the repair and maintenance of plant and machinery were undertaken on the site by the firm's own employees. The trades totalled about twentyfive in aggregate and included a wide variety of crafts - pattern making, blacksmithing, fitting, sheet metal operations, tin plating, plumbing, electrical engineering, carpentry, bricklaying and printing, for example, to mention some of the more well-known ones. The workshop syllabuses specified the minimum skills and knowledge to be gained on the job by an apprentice: the manner in which his employment was to progress and the tasks to be set. It was the responsibility of the foreman in each workshop concerned to ensure that the apprentice was given appropriate guidance. The skills and knowledge attained in this way in the workshop were the focus of Cadbury internal tests of both a practical and theoretical nature that took place annually. The firm always tried to get an expert in each trade examined from outside the factory to prepare and mark these assessments. Presumably this was to try to make certain that they were both independently and impartially carried out and also, perhaps, to check that the syllabuses were as good and as up to date as could be. (89)

The rationale behind the workshop syllabuses was explained by George Cadbury, junior to a local trade union delegation which visited the factory in the spring of 1911 in order to discover more about the new apprenticeship scheme. Addressing its members, George emphasized the extreme importance of apprentices being thoroughly trained in their respective trades, both with regard to instruction on the job and at local authority technical education

classes. The Bournville scheme, he said, was experimental, but he hoped trade unions would assist in its development and especially with the annual tests based on the shop syllabuses drawn up by the foremen and others interested. The practical element in technical school classes was not sufficient, so that definite, all-round instruction must be given in the workshop. George concluded that employers who effectively trained their apprentices benefitted by equipping themselves with skilled men able to hold their own in the future in the competition of the world. (90)

External examinations taken by Cadbury apprentices were those of the City and Guilds of London Institute if the particular trade concerned was covered by that organization - the preliminary examination after two years, the ordinary in four years, and then, finally, the honours examination. Thus a five year apprenticeship, commencing at the age of 16 and going on until 21, had some clear external qualification at the end of it for which the individual would have been carefully tutored both by technical school classes and workshop training at the factory. After its original formulation and implementation over 1908/9 the new apprenticeship scheme was submitted by the firm to the Board of Education for approval. Extracts from the Board's report on the scheme - a report which seems to have been very complimentary on the whole - were reproduced in the issue of the Bournville Works Magazine for December, 1910.

"If the principal employers in any town could be persuaded to adopt such schemes of [workshop] instruction for their employees, the problems of the provision of technical instruction would be immensely simplified. Definite courses could be planned by the local Directors of Education to work in with the workshop training and to extend over five years. And it is this definite connection between workshop practice and theoretical instruction which is the most promising and original feature in the scheme."

"It is encouraging to learn that Messrs. Cadbury propose to give their apprentices systematic instruction in the workshops. There is little doubt that if such instruction is developed on sound educational lines, the apprentices will benefit very considerably." (91)

In the first session of the apprenticeship scheme (1909-10) there were nineteen apprentices who started on their five year journey to qualification and in the following session (1910-11) a similar number began. Even in these early days of the scheme arrangements were made with the local education authority for some of the technical classes which apprentices had to attend until they were 21 to be taught in the afternoons. (92) Also, in 1911, at what the Bournville Works Magazine for October described in its headline to the piece as the "Annual Meeting of Apprentices", George Cadbury, junior, whose idea it was, announced that "it is intended to give every apprentice a weekly opportunity of doing part of his evening class homework in the daytime in convenient surroundings and under favourable circumstances." (93)

This decision was duly implemented and a facility provided for apprentices to do their technical school homework, under supervision and guidance, during the day in what were called "Preparation Classes". These were situated in the Youths' Club accommodation at the factory in a special room reserved for the purpose on designated afternoons (and which during the evenings could be used by any boy in the Club wanting a quiet place in which to do homework assigned at classes he was attending). The location of the room was particularly convenient for apprentices because it gave easy access for them to make use of the Trades Library. This was an additional, separate section of the Men's Library from which books could only be borrowed by apprentices and artisans and which had been set up in response to the development of the apprenticeship scheme. Supervision of the Preparation

Classes enabled general advice to be given on efficient and effective study techniques and furnished an appropriate atmosphere for learning which was frequently not available in what might be the noisy and perhaps overcrowded environment of the family domicile. According to Edward Cadbury in 1912 the experiment of "organized homework" during the day generated "considerable interest" outside the firm. It is therefore possible that it was another educational first for the cocoa and chocolate manufacturers. (94)

By the summer of 1914 the inaugural cycle of training under the apprenticeship scheme begun half a decade before had been completed. At that time there were in the scheme six first year, twentyone second year, seven third year, five fourth year, and six fifth year apprentices. There were ten ex-apprentices engaged in various departments as "Improvers", while two had already gone to gain experience with other concerns. Certificates were in the process of being issued to those who had completed their training and arrangements being made to endorse the indentures in those cases where formal indentures were in force. (95) The procedure by which once apprentices had completed their training they would initially be kept on as "Improvers", depending upon their ability and trade union rules, for a fixed period and then be required to leave the Works for about twentyfour months to obtain experience further afield was a component of the original apprenticeship scheme drawn up in 1908. (96) Whether this stipulation was original to Cadbury, or whether it had been borrowed from one of the companies that had been contacted for details of their apprenticeship policies, is difficult to discover. On the surface it seems a peculiar obligation since there was always the possibility of a skilled man being lost to another enterprise and hence the costs of his training being lost with him also. (97) However, it seems that the valuable acquaintance with conditions elsewhere to be

gained by those involved was regarded as outweighing whatever chance there might be of them not returning to the factory.

The sub-committee of the Bournville Works Education Committee that had been charged with drafting the initial details of the apprenticeship scheme had also recommended arrangements be made for girls but suggested that, if formulated, they should not be put into effect until the level of wages that might be paid to female apprentices could be settled. (98) In February, 1910 George Cadbury, junior speaking at a gathering of Directors, senior Works staff, and foremen and forewomen, described the new apprenticeship scheme and said that "it was hoped to develop schemes for girls on [the same] lines". (99) Thus the idea of female apprentices was still being actively considered a year and a half after the sub-committee's report in July, 1908, but it never seems to have been implemented on any large scale. Female apprenticeships were not very common at the time, though undoubtedly did exist. For example, Debenhams and Selincourt, two London clothing companies, had girl dressmaking apprentices doing courses at technical establishments in the capital that seem to have lasted about two years. The Bournville firm was probably aware of these courses since they were mentioned in Sadler's 1907 publication on continuation schools at home and abroad. So what appears to have been envisaged by the firm was not the sort of long, five year apprenticeship done by its boy employees but almost certainly something much shorter on a par with what was being done by female apprentices in the London dressmaking business. This can be seen with the introduction of card box making classes at the factory in 1911 - perhaps the only instance of the idea of female apprentices being put into practice by the firm. The classes were commenced in order to give instruction to the younger girls employed in what was a big and highly organized Card Box Making

Department. The girls were designated "learners" and the course - run purely under the aegis of the Bournville Works School without any local authority participation - went on for two years. Cadbury claimed that the classes started in 1911 were a distinct novelty - the first in the country and representing one of the very few attempts that were just then beginning to be made to apply technical training to the card box making trade. (100)

The special schemes for office boys, with compulsory attendance at classes until 19 plus the possibility of a further voluntary year after that, and for male apprentices, with compulsory attendances at classes until 21, were a part of the extension of the educational order at the firm in 1909 that affected only a relatively small number of those junior employees it recruited. The bulk of unskilled boys and girls had their period of compulsory attendance increased just from 16 to 18, thereby having a third and fourth stage of evening continuation classes added on to the first and second stages done from age 14 to 16. After the end of compulsory attendance at 18 application could be made to the firm for a year of voluntary attendance and then also another voluntary year beyond that. (101)

All boys entering on employment with Cadbury at 14 did a similar general curriculum in the opening two stages of compulsory evening continuation classes until 16. Boys on the industrial course took English Language and Literature, Elementary Mathematics, Art, History and Geography in the first year and the same subjects in the second year except for History and Geography, which was replaced by Elementary Science. The office boys on the commercial course were taught English Language and Literature, Elementary Mathematics, History and Geography, together with French for the more able individuals, in their initial two years. At the end of the second year all boys, whether from

factory or office, had to sit an examination to check the progress they had made. Failures were not allowed to go forward to the next stages of their course but had to do another session in preparation for the end of Stage Two assessment procedure. (102)

After completion of Stage Two boys on the commercial course, and those on the industrial course selected for apprenticeships, went on to their more vocationally-oriented curricula in succeeding years - office boys until 19 and apprentices until 21. (It was also at the end of Stage Two that boys could transfer from factory to office employment, or vice-versa, if this was thought desirable and appropriate both by the lads concerned and management. The switch naturally entailed a change of course but as Stages One and Two of the industrial and commercial courses were very similar this was of no great consequence). It is therefore clearly evident that in the first two years of compulsory evening class attendance boys, whether on the industrial or commercial course, had little or no latitude in choice of subjects, "the aim during this period being to give the students a good general basis for future more advanced work". After that, boys on the commercial course, and those who had become apprentices, did their own job-related programmes. All the other boys - and that was the overwhelming majority of young male employees - went on doing a liberal curriculum. However, the third and fourth years of Stages Three and Four for boys aged 17 and 18 on the industrial course gave some latitude in choice of subjects, particularly in Stage Four. In the third year English, Practical Mathematics, Elementary Science, Mechanics and Physics were available and in the fourth year boys could choose from a broad range of subjects offered, though the list of those decided on by each individual had to be approved by the Bournville Works Education Committee. This increased latitude was given because "in the case of the unskilled workman there is a great need for widening

and deepening his outlook on life, since very often his work is monotonous and depressing, the sub-division of processes being carried to such an extent that there is a narrowing of interest, while automatic machinery almost eliminates any demand for initiative and adaptation. The unskilled youth, therefore, is allowed a wider choice of subjects, especially in the fourth year, when he can take such subjects as Music, Art, Handicrafts, Science, Literature, Political Economy, and Social Philosophy. Thus he finds in his leisure time that opportunity for developing his mind and imagination which his trade calling denies him." (103)

The four-year "domestic" course of compulsory continuation classes for female recruits to the firm, whether for the factory or the offices, included subjects calculated to be most useful to girls whether they remained as employees or left to be married. Stage One (first year) comprised English Language and Literature, Arithmetic, Art, and Needlework; Stage Two (second year) English Language and Literature, Arithmetic, Home Dressmaking, and Physiology; Stage Three (third year) English Literature, Cookery and Laundry Work, and the Laws of Health; and Stage Four (fourth year) English Literature, Housewifery - which involved such practical elements as cooking and the mending of household linen, Sick Nursing, and Infant Care. Girls taken on at 14 did all four stages of the course; those coming from the secondary schools at 16 would be given tests at the Works and, if found satisfactory, would then go straight on to the third stage. As with the boys, girls employed at 14 would be examined at the conclusion of Stage Two and only go forward to Stages Three and Four if successful. Failures had to do another session leading up to the end of Stage Two assessment exercise. (104)

The rationale which underlay the texture of the programme for young females was explained by Edward Cadbury in 1912:

"... the course of study recommended to a girl entering the Works at the age of 14, assumes a more and more domestic character as the girl approaches 18. In the first session she takes Needlework; in the second session she takes simple Home Dressmaking, and acquires some knowledge of the structure of her own body; in the third year she applies this knowledge to the care of the body and at the same time studies Cookery and Laundry Work; in her final year the same knowledge is applied to the care of the body in sickness, and to the management of infants, while the skill acquired in Cookery, Laundry Work and Needlework, finds an outlet in a comprehensive syllabus of practical Housewifery. Concurrently with this there is instruction in drawing for one session, in Arithmetic (especially household accounts) for two sessions, and in English for four sessions. Physical Training is taken at the Works throughout the four years.....

The Housewifery classes are held in ordinary cottages, furnished and equipped in much the same way as are the girls' own homes [the teaching of home nursing and the care of infants] is considered especially important ... [as] a great deal of infant mortality arises from ignorance as to the care and feeding of infants on the part of young mothers, and not less distressing is the ill-health and unnecessary suffering of many of the children. The girls take a keen interest in this class". (105)

In July, 1911 the initial group of young female recruits from the firm to complete the full four year Girls' Domestic Course - a total of 103 individuals altogether - were invited to tea at "Westholme", the home of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Cadbury. The event was again held in 1912. There were guest speakers at these functions and the main reason for them seems to have been to urge the girls to go on with their studies voluntarily now that their compulsory course was over. At the 1912 party, for example, Herbert Wood told his audience that education broadened the mind, ennobled the character and improved conversational powers. Even though a lifetime was spent in

study, he said, a person's education would never be completed and he exhorted the girls to avail themselves of the opportunities and advantages offered by evening classes and similar facilities. (106) The encouragement of sustained study seems, indeed, to have been the ultimate aim of the whole four year course. It was an aim that was realized in a good many cases - as Edward Cadbury himself recorded in 1912. He wrote that when girls were initially employed they appeared to have "little, if any, conception of education being a preparation for work, home, and play in after life but the fact that a considerable number of the girls stay at school voluntarily after their compulsory course is finished, shows that the course achieves its object, which is to make the girls love learning for its own sake, and it is hoped that by guidance, and the further provision of suitable classes by the local education authority, or educational societies, the proportion of girls attending evening courses of study may be still further increased." (107)

The extra two years of what had become well thought out four year courses for both boys and girls were implemented by local evening continuation schools over a period of administrative change for public further education establishments in the Bournville area. Until 1911 King's Norton Higher Education Committee was the controlling body. It was responsible to, and in practice a sub-committee of, the Education Committee of Worcestershire County Council. In 1911 Birmingham's boundaries were widened and amongst the places taken in were Bournville and the surrounding villages of King's Norton, Northfield, Selly Oak and Stirchley. Birmingham Education Committee assumed liability for evening schools and classes in the King's Norton District from Worcestershire County Council on August 1st, 1911. The Technical Education and Evening Schools Sub-Committee of the Education Committee then itself appointed sub-

committees to cover the city in three parts - East Birmingham, North Birmingham, and South Birmingham. The last of these included Bournville as its division of the city extended between Hagley Road and Alcester Road. About twenty evening schools and institutes of various kinds, with a total of around 3,000 to 3,500 students, came under the purview of the South Birmingham Sub-Committee, which consisted of ten members. Five of these ten were from the parent committee and five had been co-opted. The ten were: Councillor George Cadbury, junior - Chairman, Alderman J. S. Pritchett, Councillor W. H. Lord, Professor Heath, Messrs. F. Roscoe, S. Barnes, L. Barrow, R. W. Ferguson, W. W. Cribbins, and Mrs. W. H. Lord. (Professor Heath was Vice-President of Birmingham University, which was located in the southern part of the city, approximately a mile from Bournville and its cocoa and chocolate factory). (108)

Apart from the Chairman, George Cadbury junior, at least two other members of the South Birmingham Sub-Committee were connected with the firm. Louis Barrow was a senior executive on the management staff and R. W. Ferguson was the company's recently appointed Education Officer. He had been Secretary to the King's Norton Higher Education Committee, which had run the technical classes, evening institutes and continuation schools in the district under the ultimate jurisdiction of Worcestershire County Council. The widening of Birmingham's boundaries in 1911 brought to an end administration by the County Council and disbandment of the Higher Education Committee. The Committee's existence seems to have ceased at the end of July, 1911. The appointment of Reginald Ferguson as Education Officer at Cadbury appears to have commenced in the preceeding April and so he possessed a dual capacity for a few months. His previous close involvement with the firm as Secretary of the local Higher Education Committee made him the ideal choice to take charge of the company's

educational system - a system with which he clearly would have been already familiar in some detail. (109)

The take-over by Birmingham City Council from Worcestershire County Council and its King's Norton Higher Education Committee seems to have gone very smoothly on the whole. The Bournville Works Magazine, reporting on the 1911-12 session as a year "of transition, so far as management was concerned", commented that "the curious thing is that this important change of authority should have produced so little disturbance in the ordinary working arrangements of the [evening] schools, especially in those matters affecting only the students". (110) This state of affairs seems also to have pertained during the subsequent session of 1912-13: reviewing the initial period of control by Birmingham Education Committee, the Bournville Works Magazine affirmed in December, 1913 that there had been, "so far, no marked change in either the curriculum or organization of the Evening Schools and Technical Institutes" in the Bournville area. (111)

DAY CONTINUATION CLASSES AND ADULT SCHOLARSHIPS

The advent of Reginald Ferguson to supervise the educational system at Cadbury seems to have resulted in a number of innovations. One of these was to make clear to workers that information about educational matters of every kind was available from the firm. In the December issue of 1911 the Bournville Works Magazine announced that "all employees wishing advice regarding either their own education or the education of their children are invited to apply personally or by letter to R.W. Ferguson. On the gaining of scholarships, the choice of a school, mode of entering the teaching profession, admission to secondary schools, and kindred points, advice will be given wherever possible." (112) This service seems to have become quite

sophisticated. In the September, 1914 edition of the Bournville Works Magazine there was a long "Educational Supplement" that extended from page 271 to page 282. In a section of the text headed "Information Supplied", the magazine indicated that "information on educational subjects is always gladly supplied by the Works Education Department. It is not generally known that this Department has a large number of official publications and books of reference dealing with all phases of education as well as the programmes of all the Evening Schools and Technical Institutes in the district. Any of these publications can be borrowed or consulted by employees who are interested". (113)

The use of the term "Works Education Department" in this quotation is significant as another of the innovations that seem to have stemmed from the appointment of Reginald Ferguson as educational organizer at Cadbury. Initially the words "Education Office" seem to have been used, though this designation may not have been introduced for some while after his arrival. Ferguson took up his post in the summer of 1911, but it was not until the February, 1912 issue that the Bournville Works Magazine used the style "Works Education Office" in an article entitled "The Present Position of the Education Scheme". (114) A year later the "Works Education Office" seems to have been transmuted into the "Works Education Department" - an appellation that appeared on a factory notice about classes at the Bournville Works School dated January 13th, 1913. (115) For a time the two denominations of "Works Education Office" and "Works Education Department" were used interchangeably and they both appear in the "Education Supplement" contained in the September, 1914 edition of the factory magazine. (116) Use of the terms "Works Education Office" and "Works Education Department" convincingly demonstrate the growing size of the educational system, and

its administrative support apparatus, at Bournville and thus the increasing importance attached to it by the firm.

The 1909 decision to extend the duration of compulsory attendance by juniors at evening continuation classes from two years to four years, thereby covering the period from the school leaving age of 14 up to age 18, was an instance of the expansion of the system that by the session of 1912-13 involved no less than 1,957 juvenile employees. In that session a very large total of £582 was paid out in prizes to the 1,725 boys and girls eligible to receive them under the reward scheme: 293 gained First Class prizes, 460 Second Class, and 537 Third Class. There were 435 whose performance was of insufficient merit to receive any prize. The amount returned in fees was £136. This showed that most students were still meeting the fee return condition of at least 85% of possible attendances, though the proportion was down on the extremely high figures seen in the early sessions of compulsory attendance subsequent to its imposition in 1906. However, this is hardly surprising given the considerably greater volume of students concerned. In 1907-08, for example, the second session of compulsory attendance, when only 14 to 16 year olds were included, there were 542. This was almost three-quarters fewer individuals than in 1912-13, when compulsory attendance affected all 14 to 18 year olds. (117)

The success of the compulsory continuation school requirement and the recognition of the difficulties of attending classes in the evening led to a momentous decision to introduce a day release arrangement instead. (118) The idea first seems to have been discussed by the Bournville Works Education Committee on January 22nd, 1913 when, according to the minutes of the meeting, "the Committee proceeded to consider the general problem of continuation school work in its relation to hours of labour as well as to the nature and extent of the ground which can

be covered in day classes as compared with evening classes". The Chairman, George Cadbury junior, said the ideal to be aimed at was the transfer of evening continuation classes to the day time. The firm might lead the way in this and a resolution was passed that the men's and women's sub-committees "should carefully consider the extent, if any, to which it would be feasible and desirable for attendance at day continuation classes to take the place of attendance at evening continuation schools, and that the problem should be considered both from the standpoint of factory organization and from the standpoint of the local education authority." (119)

Further discussion by the Committee occurred in February and March and plans were made to proceed with a day release scheme. On April 2nd a meeting took place at Bournville between members of the Committee and His Majesty's Inspectors T. B. Shaw and Hugh Davies from the Technological Branch of the Board of Education. The firm was assured that the central government looked upon such experiments as being of great value. The Inspectors said the Board certainly welcomed the scheme and would do as much as possible to assist in its implementation, though they made it very clear that they thought the local education authority ought to be responsible for the classes. On May 7th, 1913 George Cadbury, junior and Reginald Ferguson visited the Board of Education in London to outline the scheme to Sir L. A. Selby-Bigge, Permanent Secretary to the Board, and W. R. Davies, Assistant Secretary of the Technological Branch. The Right Honourable J. A. Pease, President of the Board of Education, was also present for part of the meeting. George Cadbury emphasized that the majority of those affected were not apprentices or office employees but engaged in the normal unskilled and semi-skilled work of the factory and that more than two-thirds of them were girls. The proposals were given "in all respects [a] most

cordial reception" by the Permanent Secretary and his colleagues, who indicated that they would regard the new day classes "as an experimental pilot". They also stressed that in their view it was "very desirable" that the local education authority should be the controlling body supplying tuition and Sir L. A. Selby-Bigge himself promised "that if it were necessary they would be prepared to use their influence to secure the co-operation of the local education authority". In the event the "interest and sympathy" of the City of Birmingham Technical Education and Evening Schools Sub-Committee was, in fact, readily forthcoming and proposals were soon drawn up for staffing and opening what was to become known as the "Day School For Young Employees". These were put into effect once formal approval had been given by the parent Education Committee in June and the full City Council on July 30th, 1913. There appears to have been no problem about this being obtained since the consensus of opinion amongst councillors was favourable and supportive. It seems to have been admirably summed up by Alderman A. H. James, the Chairman of the Technical Education and Evening Schools Sub-Committee, who was adamant that what was being done was of the utmost importance. "We are making a new epoch in the educational history of Birmingham," he said. "This is the first of this type of school to be instituted, and it will show a distinct advance on the present evening school system". (120)

The reasons the firm were embarking on the new venture of a day continuation school had been put by Edward Cadbury and George Cadbury, junior to a meeting of foremen and forewomen at the factory on June 2nd, 1913. The issue of the Bournville Works Magazine for the following month devoted a two page report to the meeting. (121) Edward Cadbury had said that the firm was "extremely anxious that their young employees should have the best educational opportunities, for it was upon them that the future of the

business would depend; they felt that to lay the best educational foundations was the soundest business policy". George had then spoken at some length, pointing out that for many years the firm had been steadily developing an educational structure, "first by paying the fees of students up to age 19, then by instituting compulsory attendance at evening classes for two years, later extending it to four years. The courses taken had been supplemented voluntarily by employees later by further attendance at technical and other classes, in a way that reflected the success of the compulsory system". He went on to say that experience with the present arrangements had, however, revealed deficiencies that needed to be remedied. "In the first place it was thought they [the Directors] should not insist on so many hours of work. Up to the age of 16 the youths had 49 hours of work and 4 hours evening school attendance - a 52 hours week. At 16, with 3 hours at evening classes, it was a 54 hours week, in some cases 56 hours. As a cardinal principle they thought about 50 hours at work, class, and homework were sufficient. Recently there was a strong movement, both here and abroad, in Germany particularly, to get classes held during the day [and] the firm now thought they might give half a day a week to the education of young employees". George reminded his audience that the government was at present actively considering the establishment of day continuation schools, which would unquestionably bring advantages to the employer. An experiment with day classes by the firm would be one "worth making" and would mean Bournville being "in the van" with a measure "that inevitably would in time be adopted nationally. The success of the business", he submitted in conclusion, "depended much more upon efficiency than upon assuring a low wages cost".

Some of the thinking behind the introduction of the nation's first day continuation school was also given in a

special Supplement inserted in a pamphlet describing educational provision at the Bournville factory that the firm had brought out in April, 1913 when the matter remained under consideration awaiting a final go-ahead. It was stated in the Supplement, which was printed in the summer of 1914, that the student attending evening classes was handicapped in a number of ways: "shortness of time for study, unsuitable hours and incomplete grading according to attainments Added to these there is often the still greater drawback of the tired teacher". (122) In essence, the firm had found that, though a successful development, asking junior employees to go to evening classes on two or three nights a week until 18, or even beyond in some cases, had a major disadvantage: "that the full benefit of the instruction was not received owing to the physical condition of the young people after a hard day in the factory". (123) Hence the need for tuition during normal working hours.

The new classes were to be held in Stirchley Institute, which was very near the factory. The Institute building had been erected in 1891 by Richard Cadbury and George Cadbury, senior as a religious, educational and social centre for Stirchley village, which was expanding rapidly as a result of the firm moving to Bournville. (124) During September, 1913 it was prepared for the reception of the new students. The boys' classes were to be taught on the upper floor and the girls' classes on the ground floor. The "Day School For Young Employees" opened at the beginning of October. There were some 200 boys and 320 girls from Cadbury attending half a day a week, either morning or afternoon. The boys came mainly from Stages Three and Four of the industrial and commercial courses - in other words boys of 17 and 18 in the third and fourth years of their courses who had already done the first and second years of their compulsory evening class programmes. There was also a section of boys from the fifth and final

session of the commercial course, which did not finish until the participants were aged 19. The girls came from Stage One of their four year domestic course and hence began it on a day-release pattern. The subjects done during the morning or afternoon were mostly basic and liberal - for example, English, Arithmetic, Industrial History and Citizenship - together with Physical Training. Students had to complement this tuition by attendance one night a week at evening classes for the more practical elements of the curriculum - technical, commercial and semi-recreative subjects like Science and Woodwork or Bookkeeping (for the boys) and Needlework, Art or Embroidery (for the girls). (125)

The total of 520 Cadbury students at the inception of the Day School For Young Employees formed the overwhelming bulk of the initial intake. Other "local firms ... were showing an interest in the experiment" and evidence of this was the presence of representatives of some of them at the official ceremony at the Stirchley Institute which marked the inauguration of the new Day School. However, with a single exception, none sent any students. The single exception was Morland and Impey of the Kalamazoo Works, Northfield who did send a small number of boys and girls to the classes that had been made available. The Day School For Young Employees was a public establishment to which any business could despatch students. Clearly other firms in the Bournville area and surrounding districts were aware of the opportunities it offered, but equally clearly were either unable or unwilling to give the necessary time off for their juniors to go. What Cadbury hoped was that the company's pioneering initiative would prove a success and that "just as the advantages of continuation education have been more and more recognized by employers ... so it is likely employers will more and more recognize the advantages of day training when minds of students are fresh." (126) The City of Birmingham Education Committee

expressed similar sentiments in its annual report for the year to November 9th, 1913. "It is hoped that employers will sympathize with and support this scheme, which is intended to enable their employees to benefit by instruction received at the time of life when it is most necessary, viz., between the ages of 14 and 18 years." The effort to do this at evening school "after the ordinary day's work is found to impose too great a strain on young students". Therefore classes had been organized for them during the day when "they are both mentally and physically best fitted to study". (127)

The fledgling Day School For Young Employees was in the administrative charge of a Head Master, Mr. C. J. V. Bews, who was also responsible for, and taught in, the boys' section of the School. He was paid £225 per annum for these duties together with those undertaken in his capacity as Head Teacher of the evening classes held at Stirchley Institute. The girls' section of the School was run by a Chief Mistress under Mr. Bews - Miss Annie E. Cater, who received a salary of £120 per annum. Thus, right from the outset, the School had separate boys' and girls' sections with separate staffs. The teachers were all local authority appointments except for the physical training instructors. These were loaned by Cadbury from amongst those employed by the firm to take physical training classes at the factory. (128) In February, 1912 the Bournville Works Magazine informed readers that the physical training departments for boys, men and girls engaged the attention of no less than "seven qualified instructors and some assistants." (129) It is therefore evident that there was certainly no dearth of physical training personnel to take the classes at Stirchley Institute and Cadbury was reimbursed by the local authority for their services. (130)

The creation of the Day School For Young Employees by Birmingham Corporation "on the initiative of the firm of Messrs. Cadbury Brothers, Limited" (131) was a pioneering development that demonstrated the company's commitment to the need for the further education of boys and girls upon them leaving elementary or secondary school. The Bournville Works Magazine commented that "in the provision of a day school for workers at Stirchley Institute an important precedent has been made in our national system of education. The school, at which the students consist of both sexes in employment, is the first of its kind, and in its inauguration is realized for the first time an ideal on which the eyes of educationalists have now been fixed for some years." (132)

Tuition for Cadbury employees during ordinary working hours was not an unknown phenomenon before the founding of the new Day School in 1913. For example, there were the day-time compulsory physical training classes for juniors begun at the factory in 1902 and afternoon classes for apprentices arranged by the firm at local education authority institutions after the inception of the apprenticeship scheme in 1909. Some of the vocational classes held at the factory in subjects like Confectionery, Card-Box Making and Office Routine may also have taken place during the day, while Housewifery classes for girls had once been held in the mornings. (133) As far as other enterprises were concerned attendance at day classes - either on the premises or in a local education authority establishment - was largely confined to apprentices and even this privilege was by no means given by all firms, most relying on evening classes only. In the survey of 212 companies conducted by Professor Sadler, the results of which were published in 1907, out of a total of 72 who responded to the questionnaire they had been sent only 34 said they allowed employees - and those commonly

apprentices and nobody else - to go to classes held during the day. (134)

However, Ferguson and Abbott, writing of this period in their monograph on Day Continuation Schools, state that "several firms provided day classes in a few subjects, most usually physical training, domestic subjects and handicrafts, open to all employees under a certain age without distinction of occupation, each student attending for one or two hours a week". (135) Who these "several firms" were is not revealed by the authors, no names being supplied, though two would almost certainly have been Joseph Crosfield and Sons, soap manufacturers, of Warrington and Rowntree, cocoa and chocolate manufacturers, of York. Crosfield despatched "every lad of 15 (30 per annum) ... once a week during the summer to the town swimming baths to learn under a teacher from the Works [and] the same arrangement [was] made for 25 girls." (136) In 1905 Rowntree set up a Domestic Economy School at their Haxby Road site. It was supervised by the Board of Education and all female employees under 17 were required to attend the School for two hours a week during the day. The subjects taught were Cookery, Dressmaking, and Hygiene. (137) Even this Rowntree project, though, which was clearly a substantial one, was limited in scale in comparison with what started at Stirchley Institute in 1913 when Cadbury commenced the process of introducing a comprehensive day release scheme involving every boy and girl up to at least age 18 and covering a broad range of subjects. There can be little, if any, doubt that they were the first business in the country to provide the privilege of day release for all their young employees irrespective of sex and job in order that some improvement could be brought to the basic level of general education existing in their junior labour force.

The provision of classes by the firm itself at the factory was also probably unique in size and scope. This was almost certainly so after 1906, when the classes were reorganized and expanded in the form of the Bournville Works School - the name bestowed on them by the Board of Education in that year when it recognized the School as eligible for grant purposes. The number of classes held grew and extended from vocational tuition in subjects like Confectionery through domestic matters like Dressmaking and Housewifery to such recreational and leisure pursuits as Gardening. Physical Training classes of various sorts - Gymnastics and Swimming, for example - were always prominent in the fare offered. What other enterprises did in this sphere is very difficult to discover, though Sadler's 1907 survey of company educational facilities suggests that where firms had run classes on a large scale they had usually been technical and vocational in nature and that there had been a distinct tendency for them to be phased out as the quantity and quality of local education authority classes improved over time. For instance, Mather and Platt of Salford Iron Works had established the Salford Iron Works Science and Technical School in 1873 to enable their apprentices to study trade subjects, but had closed it in 1905 in order "to give their support to the various municipal technical schools of the neighbourhood by making attendance at the latter a condition of employment with their apprentices." Similarly, Lever Brothers, soap manufacturers, of Port Sunlight in Cheshire, set up and maintained the Port Sunlight Technical Institute for some while entirely at their own expense. The classes - "in various technical, commercial, science, art, and domestic subjects" - were eventually handed over to the Cheshire County Council, though ownership of the building was retained. In addition, the survey showed that where firms ran classes on a much smaller, more limited scale, perhaps only a single subject, they were in being either because the local education authority did not make available the

teaching required or because its classes were unsatisfactory in some way. These two problems can be illustrated by reference to Crosfield and Johnson Brothers. Crosfield taught Laundry to all their female employees under 17, whom they compelled to attend evening continuation schools in Warrington, as a consequence of this not being amongst the subjects given in the schools. Johnson Brothers, who were Liverpool dyers, began classes in Chemistry because the local education authority ones were "of very little value", being overly theoretical for the company's needs. Johnson said its own classes, "combined with practical work", were better because they bore "more directly upon the daily work of the employees". (138)

The first session of recognized classes at Cadbury in 1906-07 had been well received by His Majesty's Inspector from the Board of Education. The second session seems to have been equally successful. A letter to Cadbury from the Board dated January 27th, 1909 reads:

"Sir,
School Number 64432: Bournville Works School

I am directed to transmit the following Report of His Majesty's Inspector for the year 1907-08 at the above-named School:

'The organization and management of these classes is excellent. Physical training is undertaken by a highly qualified staff and the whole scheme is carefully arranged and well carried out.'

I am, Sir,
 Your obedient Servant,
 F. G. Ogilvie
 (Principal Assistant Secretary)"

A copy of the letter was also sent to Worcestershire County Council. (139) The grant from the Board of Education for the 1907-08 session was £86 18s.6d. and the number of students in Works classes was 1,168. (140) By 1912-13 the

grant had risen to £196 15s.6d. (141) and the number of students to 2,225. (142) During the 1912-13 session the Bournville Works Classes Management Committee decided to redesignate itself. A resolution was passed at a meeting on December 11th, 1912 to the effect "that as the Board of Education have recognized the classes held at the factory under the title of 'Bournville Works School' the name of the Committee be changed to 'Bournville Works School Committee'." (143) The alteration was, perhaps, long overdue, as the Board had used the title "Bournville Works School" since 1906, when recognition had originally been requested by the firm for the classes it provided.

The classes taught at the Works School in the 1912-13 session - not all of which would necessarily have obtained grant support from the Board of Education - embraced a broad mixture of subjects. Some of the subjects comprised more than one class or group and the reasons for this included the number of students involved, separation of the sexes, a course extending over more than a year, and teaching taking place at various levels - for example, elementary and advanced. The subjects supplied in 1912-13 were Physical Training, Confectionery, Biscuit Manufacture, Card Box Making, Ambulance, Office Routine, Vocal Music, and Gardening. The description "Physical Training" could mean not only classes in Gymnastics, but also in activities like Swimming, Life Saving and Morris Dancing, together with remedial classes for girls who suffered from spinal curvature or were otherwise below normal. The medical and physical training staffs co-operated in these remedial classes, which were an innovation in the 1912-13 session. Gardening classes existed for both boys and girls. The girls' class was of long-standing (it was probably first held in 1903-04) and had become so popular that extra ground had to be allocated to it during the session, increasing the available plots from a total of eighteen to twentyfour. The boys' Gardening class had originally been

run under the auspices of the Worcestershire County Council on land rented from the firm and situated at Holly Grove, Bournville. The class was open to any boy in the village who cared to enrol in it. The change of local education authority to Birmingham City Council in 1911 soon resulted in an intention to end the class. A formal decision came on March 29th, 1912. This was, perhaps, encouraged by an offer from Cadbury to take over the class, responsibility for which the firm seems to have already assumed - it was certainly in charge by March 16th. The new boys' Gardening class could be joined by employees, the sons of employees and village residents, though preference was given to employees when vacancies occurred. In fact, the boys' Gardening class seems to have been as popular as the girls' class, with a lengthy waiting list for one of the thirtytwo plots in use. (144)

The classes scheduled in the 1912-13 session do not exhaust the list of those which had been taught at some time since Board of Education grant aid had begun in 1906-07. Dressmaking and Millinery classes, for example, had 59 girls attending in 1909-10 and Boot Repairing 21 men and youths. Of others an interesting assortment worthy of mention were specific classes for night workers, an Arithmetic class for men, and correspondence classes in English and Arithmetic. These are of significance because the object of most of them was to improve basic standards of education, particularly literacy and numeracy skills. The first classes for night workers were arranged in the 1907-08 session in response to a request from them. They were in English, Arithmetic, Drawing, History, Geography, Woodwork and Physical Training. (145) Subsequent classes for night workers were delivered as demand dictated. The subjects seem to have been mostly English and Arithmetic - for instance, a "Night Men's Continuation Class", probably confined to these, was evident in 1909-10 and again in 1910-11. In 1911-12 and 1912-13 Physical Training classes

for Night Men were held and in 1913-14 an Ambulance class. (146) Classes for night workers were usually held in the afternoons and occasionally on Saturday mornings. In 1909-10 and again in 1910-11 an Arithmetic class for men took place (147) and in the same two sessions correspondence classes in Arithmetic and English were set up for men and women over 20 who did not want to attend ordinary classes but felt the need to remedy deficiencies in their general education. There was an elementary and advanced class in each subject for both men and women. In 1909-10 there were 197 people in the four classes and in 1910-11 they had 91 participants. Monthly meetings were scheduled between teachers and students while questions were sent out and marked at weekly intervals. (148) According to the Bournville Works Magazine early in 1910 the correspondence classes had been started "for older employees who to their regret had forgotten much of the foundation work learned at school", but the classes had been taken up "with enthusiasm by many others". (149) They were eventually discontinued as having achieved the objective at which they were originally aimed. (150)

By 1913 the Bournville Works School had evolved to the point where it was deemed able to apply for, and obtain, membership of the Association of Technical Institutions. (151) In that year the firm itself summed up the functions of the School as the provision of specialized teaching in factory and office operations, in physical training and first aid, and in various recreational pursuits. It was described as aspiring to give practical vocational instruction together with tuition in health and leisure activities that would develop both the body and character of the individual. The intention of the School was said to be to supplement and complement, not compete with, the classes offered by outside agencies like the local education authority and Workers' Educational Association. (152) Thus what seems to have been the practice with

regard to the company's promotion of classes well before the formal inception of the Bournville Works School in 1906 was perpetuated and now clearly enunciated.

The debut of the Bournville Works School was part of the administrative reordering of education at Cadbury carried out in 1906 that had been brought about by the setting up of the Bournville Works Education Committee and Bournville Works Classes Management Committee. At that time the duties of each committee were closely defined. The Bournville Works Education Committee was to concentrate on policy formulation, the encouragement of learning amongst employees, and negotiations with local and central government. The Bournville Works Classes Management Committee was to run the classes at the factory under the aegis of what the Board of Education called the Bournville Works School, a designation taken up and used by the firm. What this delineation of duties meant in reality as the education system grew with the years was that the Bournville Works Education Committee dealt with "external" matters and the Bournville Works Classes Management Committee with "internal" matters. External matters were those concerned with the provision of classes for which outside organizations like the local education authority and Workers' Educational Association were responsible and with which the firm co-operated. They therefore focussed on the scheme of compulsory attendance at classes by young employees - most to age 18, but male office personnel to 19 and apprentices to 21. They also involved the arrangements for the return of fees to students attending local authority and other non-factory classes open to the public together with the dissemination of information to the labour force about the availability of such classes. Internal matters dealt with by the Bournville Works Classes Management Committee included the intrinsic elements of the apprenticeship scheme - like the workshop syllabuses and examinations - conducted by the firm itself on site and all

the classes from Physical Training through Card-Box Making to Gardening at the Bournville Works School. In actual fact membership of the Bournville Works Education Committee and Bournville Works Classes Management Committee was almost identical and the meetings of them followed each other. (153)

The arrangements for the return of class fees to employees were extended and made more generous in September, 1913. Hitherto the scheme for refunding fees to those who were regularly present at approved classes had been restricted (except in the case of apprentices, for whom the limit was 21) to those under 19. The new arrangements included females of all ages and males under 21. This meant that any female employed at the factory, or any youth under 21, going to a class or course approved by the Bournville Works Education Committee, and who made 85% of possible attendances, could apply for a refund of fees to a maximum amount, as a rule, of 7/6d. The change was the result of an enquiry about their policy with regard to the return of fees sent to Lever Brothers of Port Sunlight, Boots Drug Company of Nottingham, Crosfield of Warrington, Reckitt of Hull, Pilkington Brothers of St. Helens, Bruner Mond of Northwich, United Alkali Company of Widnes, Bemrose of Derby, J. & J. Colman of Norwich, Vickers of Barrow-in-Furness, Mappin and Webb, and the Edinburgh School Board. The responses showed that policy varied widely from Boots - all fees repayable with no age limit - to Colman, which repaid no fees, not even a proportion, to employees at classes. (154) Cadbury clearly chose a via media between these two extremes.

The classes which took place under the auspices of the Bournville Works School were not the only ones to be seen at the factory. Both the B.Y.C. and the B.G.A.C. originated classes for their members. The B.Y.C. promoted special courses on such subjects as Municipal Government,

Physiology, and Gardening. The B.G.A.C. found dancing was a very popular pastime and provided both instruction and social functions to cater for the demand. Tuition in such leisure pursuits as water-polo was also given. Physical training classes in Gymnastics, Swimming, Life Saving and related activities were made available as well - though most, if not all, of these physical training classes were held for the B.G.A.C. by the Bournville Works School. The B.A.C. does not appear to have set up classes in the same manner as the B.Y.C. and B.G.A.C. - perhaps because it concentrated its efforts purely on sport - but physical training classes limited to its members were given specially by the Bournville Works School. Nonetheless, it was an enthusiastically supported organization: in 1911 it had 1,300 members - approximately one in two of the adult male labour force. The B.G.A.C. was averaging around 500 members by that time, and the B.Y.C. had about 340 adherents. (155)

It was George Cadbury, junior who had been the leading figure in the rationalization of educational administration at the firm in 1906 and the introduction in that year of the compulsory attendance of juveniles at evening continuation classes. He had also been the main instigator behind the opening of the Day School for Young Employees at Stirchley Institute in 1913. A third project with which he was closely involved in this period was not directly connected with the factory, but is of significance in showing George's commitment to education as a quintessential ingredient in the life of an individual. The project was the inauguration in 1909 of "Fircroft", a working men's college, in Oaktree Lane, Bournville. Fircroft was based on the model of the People's (or Folk) High Schools in Denmark which had been developed by N.F.S. Grundtvig in the nineteenth century to give a liberal education to adults over 16 occupied in the rural economy. By 1909 there were about seventy of them and George much

admired the concept which had guided their foundation. This concept could be summed up in Grundtvig's own dictum, which George was fond of quoting, that "the cultivation of the spirit must precede cultivation of the soil." (156)

The setting up of Fircroft was also designed to add to the existing facilities at Ruskin College, Oxford, which had been launched as Ruskin Hall in 1899 and which was the only other working men's establishment of its type in the country. About fifty students were resident there at any particular time and courses lasted for up to two years, though students could stay for as short a stretch as a month. Subjects taught included Economics, Politics and Sociology as well as more basic ones like English and Arithmetic. The students were mostly relatively mature and experienced working-class young men in their late twenties. (157)

The chief immediate impetus behind the creation of Fircroft seems to have come from the adult education movement. George Cadbury, junior followed his father, the elder George, and uncle, Richard, in having an active interest in Adult Schools and was a teacher at them for many years. During the Quaker National Council of Adult School Association's annual meeting in June, 1908 the idea of a new residential college was mooted. George took up the idea and soon acquired the lease of a large house in Oaktree Lane to put it into effect. (158) Fircroft opened its doors in January, 1909 and in a report in the Bournville Works Magazine George is recorded as saying that the problems which the college was intended to overcome were those of education ending too early in adolescence and a job then taking up too much of a person's time so that "education is considered only of secondary importance. Young men are finding that what they need is to withdraw themselves to study in an atmosphere of study. For such we are trying the experiment of starting a college in

Bournville Village ... where men can get the best learning at the lowest fees." The curriculum would be wide-ranging and include courses on history, literature, sociology, economics, the Bible, the natural environment, the rural predicament, local government and similar topics, while less academic activities like physical training, singing and gardening would also be involved. (159)

In fact, the fees were only £10 for a term of three months' board, lodging and tuition and for briefer spells of study £1 a week. Finance for Fircroft, and bursaries for its students, came from Adult Schools and from private sources - notably George Cadbury junior, his father (George senior), his brother, Edward, and also Arnold Rowntree of the York-based Rowntree cocoa and chocolate company. (160) Additionally, the firm of Cadbury itself in the guise of the Bournville Works Education Committee provided bursaries for employees to attend the college right from its inception: the August, 1909 edition of the Bournville Works Magazine informed its readers that the Works Education Committee had three free bursaries tenable at Fircroft and applications for them were invited. It went on to say that already "three employees have been in residence two terms"(161) The availability of three bursaries annually from the Committee for a year's study seems to have become the norm (162) but others could be offered for more limited time spans to do shorter courses. For example, summer schools for women started at Fircroft in 1910 and in 1914 two residential periods of four weeks each for two groups of girls were held. The course to be taken contained such subjects as Literature, English History, Bible Study and Social Study - the theme for this last named being "The Evolution Of The Home". The firm announced that approved employees doing the course would have their jobs kept open for them, while three scholarships would be given by Edward Cadbury to selected candidates applying for a bursary.(163) Competition for

these was "extremely keen" but "through the kindness of Mr. George Cadbury and Mr. Edward Cadbury six scholarships were awarded instead of three". Another was bestowed on an applicant from the factory by the Midland Adult School Union, so that altogether a total of seven girls were in receipt of scholarships for the Fircroft course.(164)

The development of summer schools for women shows that Fircroft, though quickly assuming the character of a residential college for working men who would stay for a term up to a whole session, additionally tried to meet the needs of students who might benefit from less lengthy courses occupying perhaps a month, a week, or even only a weekend. Lecture series that could be attended by non-residents were also given as time went on and it was, as well, made possible for local people to go to classes in a subject that was part of a larger, more comprehensive course. Tuition by correspondence was a further innovation that could be seen in these early years at Fircroft, which were clearly ones of great excitement, activity and expansion.(165)

The intention to confer scholarships for courses at places like Fircroft, and, in outstanding cases, a university, was part of the extension of the educational system at Cadbury that was decided on and implemented over 1908 and 1909. However, it was some while before the initial university scholarship was received by an employee (who was, in fact, an Old Fircrofter). The November, 1913 edition of the Bournville Works Magazine chronicled the event with its usual decorum but an underlying sense of pride. It said that university scholarships "are among the many educational facilities offered by the firm through the Works Education Committee. During the last few years sixteen employees have availed themselves of the Fircroft bursaries, and now, for the first time, a Works student has been awarded a 'scholarship' at Glasgow University the

value of which is £50 per annum for three years." The possessor of the scholarship was J. H. Herbert, 21, from the Card Cutting Department. The Bournville Works Magazine gave some of his background. "He has been with the firm for six years, is a product of the evening schools, having later been at Fircroft, where, after holding one of the ordinary scholarships, he was granted a special bursary for a year". His degree was to be an M.A. in Economics. It was destined not to be completed until 1920 because of the intervention of global conflict between 1914 and 1918.(166)

The increase and improvement in educational provision at Cadbury around 1900 and particularly after 1906 strongly reflected national trends that were very evident in the two decades leading up to the Great War. There was growth and progress in both the state and private, voluntary sectors of post-elementary school education. Local authority input was reordered into a more coherent structure under the control of the county and county boroughs by the Education Act of 1902 and this encouraged its enlargement in size and scope to meet rising demand.(167) The Adult Schools took on a new lease of life, broadening their range of tuition to include coverage of historical, political and literary subjects as well as the traditional religious topics and basic instruction in reading and writing of an earlier period. The number of students doubled to over 100,000, taught in nearly 2,000 Adult Schools, by the 1909-10 session.(168) The Workers' Educational Association was established in 1903 and burgeoned rapidly so that by 1914 it encompassed 179 branches with a total of 2,555 affiliated organizations and 9,430 members. W. E. A. branches had a varied bill of fare involving a mixture of educational and recreational activities - short courses and weekend schools on a great diversity of themes, reading circles, lecture series and university tutorial classes.(169) Cadbury became affiliated to the W.E.A. in

1908, thus enabling employees to take advantage of Association programmes at a reduced fee.(170)

An offsetting factor against all this was that one very promising possibility for expansion in the national educational arena- namely, the introduction of compulsory continuation classes for school leavers - was not fulfilled before the outbreak of war in 1914. This was despite the recommendation in favour of them made by the Consultative Committee to the Board of Education in 1909. The Committee's recommendation sparked off renewed pressure in the country from interested parties like Cadbury for compulsory continuation classes up to age 16, 17 or even 18, preferably during the day rather than in the evenings. A proposal for compulsory continuation classes up to 16 was contained in the government Education Bill of 1911 that was withdrawn through lack of Parliamentary time as attention became concentrated on questions of health and unemployment insurance. In the same year a bill that would have enforced attendance at continuation schools by children up to 17 was put before the Commons by L. G. C. Money, the Member for Northamptonshire. It did not enjoy government support and it, too, was lost.(171)

The failure of attempts to get legislation for compulsory continuation classes, whether in the evenings or during the day, on the statute book made Cadbury achievements in this respect even more important and remarkable than they might otherwise have been. Requiring the attendance of juvenile workers at evening continuation classes as a condition of employment from 1906 was not previously unknown. Crosfield, of Warrington, for example, had already begun doing this two or three years before, while a number of firms insisted on particular types of employee - usually apprentices - going to vocationally-oriented classes. However, the Cadbury measure was very unusual and Crosfield may have been the only other company

obliging all juniors to be present at evening continuation classes as a means of improving the level of their general education. The substitution of day for evening attendance by Cadbury in 1913 with the opening of the Day School For Young Employees by the firm and Birmingham City Council definitely was, though, a new venture seemingly without precedent in the country.

The beginnings of day release for all juvenile workers at Cadbury in 1913 set the seal on the education system that had been built up by the firm since it had commenced business in 1831. The overall structure of the system and the volume of provision it entailed almost certainly had no parallel in the United Kingdom and probably no firm did as much as Cadbury to establish educational facilities and promote educational opportunities for its labour force. The success of these efforts can be gauged by the fact that in April, 1913 the Bournville Works Magazine stated that about 2,300 people were going to classes either at the factory or elsewhere. This figure may have been only for the date at which it was printed and hence concerned just those at classes in the Spring Term of 1913. If the 1912-13 session is looked at as a whole, then the numbers involved would appear to have been above that: perhaps as many as 2,800 to 3,000 or so which would be around 42-45% of the total of approximately 6,600 personnel in the service of the firm at the time.(172)

In 1913 George Cadbury, junior wrote that "the [educational] schemes evolved at Bournville are to a large extent in the experimental stage. We cannot claim great originality, but while many theories have been advanced as to the proper relations which ought to exist between the employer and his workmen, especially as to his responsibilities in other ways than simply treating them as instruments of production, we have endeavoured to put some of these theories to the practical test."(173) That

practical test had resulted in the genesis of an educational system at the firm that was attracting favourable attention at home and abroad and which was to be further refined, developed and expanded in the years to come.

CHAPTER THREE**DEVELOPMENT, 1914-1938**

By 1913 Cadbury had become well known as a cocoa and chocolate manufacturer with growing markets at home and abroad. Its attempts to raise the level of education amongst the company's labour force had become equally well known. Juniors had to attend local authority continuation courses while the firm itself organized classes at the factory for employees of all ages. These classes ranged from the academic promoting the improvement of the mind through the job-related increasing competence to the physical furthering the health of the body. In the years after the beginning of the firm in 1831 a sound foundation had been laid on which future development of both the business and the education system could be based.

With the dislocations brought by the First World War over Cadbury expanded very successfully in the two decades of peace before the outbreak of the next great global conflict at the end of the 1930's. This prosperity enabled the education system at the factory to evolve in size and complexity. There was cooperation with the local authority on enhanced day continuation school arrangements for young employees and the opportunities made available to employees in general independently of the local authority were much enlarged and substantially augmented. These extended from formal classes and courses through the offer of numerous scholarships to what were regarded as more informal methods of social and recreative education transmitted by such means as the various Works clubs and societies and the facilitation and encouragement of travel domestically and overseas. The progress of the system was reflected in a heavier burden on the Education Department, which had to undertake an agglomeration of administrative, co-ordinating

and service functions. In toto, it added up to a volume of educational provision by a private enterprise industrial concern that was almost certainly unique in Britain and also very probably in the world.

THE GROWTH OF THE FIRM: SUCCESSFUL ENTERPRISE

The First World War had a profound effect on Cadbury. All the directors were Quakers, but the firm tried to balance the claims of patriotism and pacifism. No obstacle was placed in the way of any employee who wished to enlist in the fighting forces: it was regarded as a matter of personal choice and everyone was to do that which seemed right to them as an individual. However, no recruiting was allowed at Bournville Works. In fact, 2,148 employees joined up and more than 40 served in the Friends' Ambulance Unit, a Quaker organization that won much respect for its activities at the front in France. 218 Cadbury men were killed in action or died on active duty and 71 men gained military awards and distinctions. Employees at war had their jobs kept open for them and various grants and allowances were made to them and their dependents. In addition to this, the firm made about £250,000 in charitable donations connected with the war effort.

In terms of output the global conflict of 1914 to 1918 engendered growing difficulties for a firm reliant on imports of vital raw materials like cocoa. There were also continual readjustments of labour to be made - men leaving for the armed forces had to be replaced by those unfit for battle, by those above or under military age, or by women. Overall, there was considerable contraction caused by shortages of labour and raw materials and by government control of what foods might or might not be manufactured or sold. The number of employees at the Bournville factory went down by nearly 2,000 and new products were introduced,

mostly at the government's request. They included fruit pulp, dried vegetables, and biscuits. However, in line with their Quaker convictions, the directors would not permit the making of wire cutters for war use - despite the pleas of Lloyd George, the Minister of Munitions, and subsequently Prime Minister. (1)

After the return to peace in 1918 the pre-war trend of expansion of output and employment at Cadbury was resumed so that by the end of the following year the size of the labour force had attained the highest level yet. (2) In 1920, the total of men and women at the factory climbed to 8,183, but that was a figure not to be surpassed until 1935. (3) There was a particularly sharp cut-back in jobs between 1925 and 1930, when mechanization was especially rapid. An attempt was made to alleviate the problems thus created by drastically curtailing recruitment, redeployment within the factory - notably on necessary development projects brought forward ahead of schedule, and a system of "short-time" under which many employees took a week off after a spell at work. (4) In the middle and late thirties numbers employed at Bournville picked up again and aggregated 9,227 in 1938 - 4,885 women and 4,342 men. (5)

In fact, the period between the world wars was a very successful one for Cadbury. There was a vigorous policy of capital investment in new buildings and mass production techniques. At Bournville many of the old single-storey buildings were demolished in favour of multi-storey blocks in a construction programme that was only halted by the start of another global conflict in 1939. Perhaps the chief manufacturing extension of this type was the "Cocoa Block" put up in the late 1920's. With its five storeys and 187,000 square feet of floor space it was the largest cocoa refining plant in the world. The new buildings enabled the use of mass production techniques, the most important advance in which probably came with the

installation of the very latest automatic moulding equipment in 1927. Over the period as a whole output per worker more than doubled and processing costs were brought down substantially. Raw material costs also fell considerably during the inter-war years and transport costs dropped by a half as a more efficient distribution system of finished goods in bulk was achieved by the opening of rail-head depots in most of the major centres of population in the United Kingdom.

These factors combined together with a comparative stability in the wages of labour to facilitate significant price reductions that increased sales dramatically, thereby promoting further economies of scale and cost and price falls. Between 1920 and 1938 the price of a half pound unit of milk chocolate was lowered from 2/- to 8d. and it was possible to cut the price of the popular 2oz. bar to the magic 2d. Given this, it was not surprising that sales boomed and there was a four-fold growth in the tonnage of milk chocolate output. Cash turn-over rose by a third despite the decline in prices. The good value offered by chocolate - in terms of both nutrition and price - made it a common purchase amongst even the poorest families. British chocolate and confectionery consumption in the interlude between the two world wars went up from 4ozs. per person per week to just over 7 ozs. as the general price level of cocoa and sugar products weakened. The firm of Cadbury seems to have taken full advantage of the sales opportunities thus presented and as a result appears to have improved its share of the market quite impressively.

(6)

The firm's ascendancy in the inter-war period can be seen not only in the expansion of output at Bournville but also in the acquisition of other companies. The most notable of these take-overs was that of J.S. Fry and Sons, of Bristol, a rival enterprise that had slipped very much

behind Cadbury in sales volume during the years leading up to the outbreak of hostilities in 1914. Negotiations about a possible merger began as early as 1916 and once peace was again established it took place in the form of the British Cocoa and Chocolate Company Limited - a holding company that issued its own ordinary shares. Thus, initially, each business retained its individuality, with ultimate authority exercised by a joint Board that had directors from both represented on it. The Board used to meet in Cheltenham, midway between Birmingham and Bristol. In 1936 this rather cumbersome arrangement was terminated and Fry became a wholly-owned subsidiary of Cadbury Brothers. (7)

Exports from Bournville, which went mostly to Empire countries, were hit very badly by the First World War. Subsequently the firm's sales abroad were affected by intensifying competition together with tariff barriers and other trade prohibitions. The only answer was to open overseas factories. This was done in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Eire and South Africa and in the course of time their output more than offset the decline in exports. The control of production in the overseas factories was in the hands of directors appointed to companies locally formed and registered. Assistance was given from Bournville by way of technical personnel, advice on manufacture and marketing, buying raw materials and machinery, the interchange of visits and by the sharing of common experience. (8)

The Board of Directors that ran Cadbury from 1899 remained the same for almost twenty years, but this lengthy phase of stability was followed by one of change and enlargement. In February, 1918 the first non-family member was appointed to the Board in the guise of Walter Barrow, the firm's solicitor. In the following year the first lady Director, Miss Dorothy A. Cadbury, assumed her seat. Lawrence J. Cadbury, the fourth son of George Cadbury,

senior was also added to the Board at that time. Paul S. Cadbury became a Director in 1920. Barrow Cadbury was the father of Dorothy and Paul and he became Chairman of the Board when George Cadbury, senior died in 1922. Later changes in the inter-war period included Charles W. Gillett joining the Board in 1929 and the retirement of Barrow Cadbury in 1932. Edward Cadbury, who was Charles Gillett's uncle, then became Chairman of Cadbury Brothers Ltd. and in 1937 he also became Chairman of the British Cocoa and Chocolate Company, assuming this position from William Cadbury who had held it in succession to Barrow Cadbury in 1932.

The Cadbury Board met formally once a week at least and with each Director being personally responsible for a particular section of the business it was possible to achieve a tight degree of co-ordination between the policies and programmes of the different departments. The formulation of policies, both general and departmental, was in the hands of a number of committees, each under the chairmanship of a Director, through whom it reported to the Board. As each Director was simultaneously responsible for the daily activities of a group of departments, the Board was an efficient co-ordinator of the policies framed by the committees and the actual departmental conduct of operations. The main committees - such as Production or Marketing - usually consisted of eight or ten regular members, including two or three Directors, one of whom would be in the chair. In addition to the principal executives on the side of the business with which the committee was concerned, the membership also contained representatives of other departments likely to be closely affected by its decisions. For instance, the Marketing Committee, which was in charge of sales policy, took in production, costs, selling, marketing, advertising and market research representatives. This inter-locking membership ensured that the various committees had an

overall view of the whole factory situation and minimized the work involved in co-ordinating their decisions at a higher level. Thus the organizational structure of the company retained all the essential features of a family firm by combining ownership with real, practical management and it was certainly conducive to the continuous and rapid expansion of the business that occurred in the two decades between the world wars. (9)

DAY CONTINUATION CLASSES: THREAT AND SURVIVAL

The first session of the new "Day School For Young Employees" at Stirchley Institute over 1913-14 was in the nature of a pilot project (10) that proved sufficiently worthwhile to be retained and expanded. The official conclusion of Birmingham City Education Committee was unequivocal in its enthusiasm: "the progress of the students ... was most noticeable, some of the classes showing excellent tone and deportment. The School was visited by His Majesty's Inspector, Mr. Zimmern, who evinced great interest in the scheme and made several suggestions with regard to the working of it. Evening meetings of a social character were held to enable teachers to get into closer personal contact with the students. These resulted in a successful concert being given by the girls and a dramatic entertainment by the youths. It was evident on the result of the first session's work, that the institution of these new Day Classes had proved to be an unqualified success." (11)

By the end of the session the original total of about 520 Cadbury students at the Day School for Young Employees had risen to over 650, largely by the taking on of fresh girls. (12) Well before this, however, Cadbury had made a decision to extend the scheme beyond the Stage Three and Four boys and Stage One girls chosen for day release in 1913-14. A minute of the Board of Directors dated December

3rd, 1913, and communicated to the Bournville Works Education Committee at its meeting on December 17th, empowered the Committee to increase the number of stages of boys and girls going to the Day School. (13) In the event, all stages of the boys' general and commercial courses plus two classes of apprentices and Stages One and Two of the girls' domestic course were picked to go in the 1914-15 session. This meant many more Cadbury students at the Day School - in April, 1915 the exact figures were 527 girls and 475 boys. (14)

The City of Birmingham Education Committee had welcomed Cadbury's plans to enlarge the scope of the company's day release arrangements (15) but the development of the scheme engendered problems of accommodation in the 1914-15 session that had to be resolved. Seemingly at the firm's suggestion (16) the City Council decided to rent the Friends' Hall, in Watford Road, Cotteridge, for the Boys' Section of the Day School For Young Employees. This change was implemented at the beginning of the 1914-15 session and entailed the physical separation of the Boys' and Girls' Sections since the girls remained at Stirchley Institute. As a consequence of this, and the growth in the student population, Miss Cater became entirely responsible for the Girls' Section of the School from September 1st, 1914 and was promoted from Chief Mistress under Mr. Bews to Headmistress with an enhanced salary of £200 per annum. Both she and Mr. Bews were relieved of teaching duties from the same date and the latter also relinquished charge of the Stirchley Institute evening class programme. (17) Thus, for the next eleven years - until 1925, in fact - there was no real connection between the two parts of the Day School except for members of staff who met each other from time to time, both officially and unofficially, for educational and social purposes. (18)

The remaining two stages of the girls' domestic course

were transferred from an evening class to a day release basis in the third and fourth sessions of the new Day School, so that by September, 1916 the Cadbury aim of substituting day classes for evening tuition for all junior employees under 18 had been achieved. (19) By then the initial requirement for day release students to go to classes also on one evening a week had been dropped. The relaxation seems to have occurred a month before the end of the 1915-16 session when it was made optional "on account of lighting restrictions [caused by the war. However,] the removal of compulsion made little difference to the attendance." (20) In any case, these evening classes ultimately became "of quite secondary importance" (21) as the subjects involved - often practical studies of a technical, commercial or domestic character - were gradually incorporated into the Day School curriculum. This process was facilitated by the extension of day release from a half day a week to two half days, originally on a voluntary, and, eventually, on a compulsory, basis.

Before a permanent measure on these lines was commenced, though, an experiment was tried to test its efficacy. During the 1914-15 session "the majority of girls (and for a few weeks, also, the first stage boys) attended day continuation school on two half days per week instead of one. The increased educational opportunity thus given to the students has been very favourably regarded by the teaching staff and also by the Chairman of the Birmingham Education Committee". So wrote the Bournville Works Magazine in September, 1915. (22) The success of the experiment led some two years later to the introduction of a voluntary extra half day procedure. This seems to have begun in the Summer Term of the 1916-17 session and the motives behind it were cogently stated in a letter sent to the parents of employees at Day School. That despatched to the parents of boys read:

"There are many parents who would send their boys to

a secondary school if they only had the means to do so. The next best thing for these boys undoubtedly is part time in the factory and part time in a Day School.

The firm are convinced that the present system of Day Continuation Classes has been of great benefit to the boys attending. That being so, they are willing to extend this to a second half day per week to a certain number of boys, whose parents wish it and who are sufficiently advanced to benefit by it. They will be glad to make all arrangements for these boys to attend, but do not propose to pay wages for this half day.

At the end of the session, however, bursaries will be awarded to those students who obtain the best reports from the School and Factory.

We need hardly emphasize the necessity which is now generally felt that boys should take every available opportunity to improve their education in the National Interest, and the Works Education Committee hope that you will give this proposal your careful consideration." (23)

Wages were normally paid for compulsory attendance at day-time classes and the decision not to pay them for voluntary attendance was probably intended to ensure that requests for the extra half day came only from those who had a genuine desire to further their own personal development rather than from those who simply wanted to escape from their job for a few hours. Despite the loss of wages involved, however, a third of the girls and a third of the boys reacted positively to the initial offer of the supplementary half day, (24) a result that "exceeded expectations" thereby "effectually answering the criticism that adolescents will only attend day school if obliged to." (25) Miss Cater was clearly astonished. She was to comment shortly afterwards: "towards the end of the [1916-17] session permission was given by Cadbury Brothers for girls to attend a second half day with some loss of wages. We doubted whether twenty would be found willing to make the sacrifice, but out of over 600 girls more than 200 responded." (26) What the Headmistress was reported in the

Bournville Works Magazine for September, 1917 as describing as this "very successful" outcome had meant the setting up of ten additional classes in the Girls' Section of the Day School. (27) The very considerable take-up of the new voluntary half day clearly demonstrated the value that many young employees and their parents placed on the opportunity to carry on with their education. (28)

The example shown by Cadbury in beginning the Day School for Young Employees in 1913 was subsequently followed by other companies. The next year saw the opening of a school at Street, Somerset, for employees of C. & J. Clark and the girls' school of Rekitt and Sons, Hull (a boys' school came later). The Staff Training College, Port Sunlight, was inaugurated in 1917 by Lever Brothers and in 1918 Tootal Broadhurst Lee of Bolton, Mather and Platt of Manchester, together with W. and R. Jacob, Dublin, all started day continuation institutions. (29)

These schools were run either by the firms themselves without any outside involvement or through various forms of co-operation with the local education authority. Their creation reflected not only the Cadbury initiative but also the growing realization amongst at least some businessmen, albeit a minority, that continuation schools had an economic pay-off in better workers and the improved efficiency of production. As well their existence generated more pressure on the central government to introduce a statutory requirement for the part-time education of young people on their leaving elementary or secondary school to enter the world of employment. The Consultative Committee of the Board of Education had concluded in favour of this in 1909 (30) and in 1917 there was a similar recommendation from the Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in relation to Employment After the War. This Committee had been constituted in 1916 by the then President of the Board of Education, Arthur

Henderson, as a component of the national government's planning exercise on post-war reconstruction. The Committee's chairman was J. Herbert Lewis, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education from 1915 to 1922. (31) Its two main proposals were the establishment of a uniform school leaving age of 14 with the abolition of the exemptions from compulsory attendance below that age which currently existed, together with the introduction of compulsory attendance of juveniles between 14 and 18 for not less than eight hours a week or 320 hours a year at day continuation classes. (32) The Committee argued that the conception of the juvenile as primarily a little wage earner should be replaced "by the conception of the juvenile as primarily the workman and citizen in training". (33) This was an approach with which Cadbury was in full agreement. (34)

The Bill giving legislative flesh to the deliberations of the Lewis Committee was presented to the House of Commons on August 10th, 1917 by H. A. L. Fisher, who had succeeded Arthur Henderson as President of the Board of Education in December, 1916 on the accession of Lloyd George to the premiership. (35) The Education Act of 1918 which finally emerged is sometimes referred to as the Fisher Act after the new President. It brought to an end all exemptions from the minimum school leaving age of 14 and made provision for raising this minimum to 15 at a future date to be decided. The most important (and controversial) section of the Act was that relating to the subsequent part-time education of young people up to 18. It required the local education authorities to organize day continuation schools for the compulsory attendance of those between 14 and 16, with the upper age limit to be increased as soon as possible. Exceptions included those who remained in full-time education up to 16 or were receiving efficient part-time education in some other form. No fees were to be payable and students had to be at day

continuation school for 320 hours a year, though an authority could reduce this figure to 280 during the initial seven years.

An "appointed day" was to be fixed by the President of the Board of Education for the universal implementation of the continuation school clauses of the 1918 Act, but meanwhile he was empowered to arrange an individual appointed day for any local education authority that asked for it. The failure to stipulate an appointed day for the country as a whole proved to be a fatal flaw in the legislation (which was never, in fact, put into effect nationally). It flowed from a recognition that any precipitate application of the continuation school clauses of the Act might create serious problems, especially shortages of staff, buildings and equipment. The further recognition that some authorities might be more ready and willing than most to go ahead with day continuation school schemes resulted in the compromise that an individual appointed day might be set for an authority whose plans were approved after submission to the Board of Education.

In the event, by November, 1920 schemes for day continuation schools had been put forward by eleven county boroughs, and twenty non-county borough and urban district local education authorities; while the Board had fixed appointed days for Section 10 of the 1918 Act (that dealing with day continuation schools) for London, Birmingham, West Ham and Southend-on-Sea County Boroughs, for the Borough of Stratford-on-Avon and the Urban District of Rugby in Warwickshire, for the Borough of Swindon in Wiltshire, and for young people resident in Kent, but employed in London, who would attend London schools. However, as early as December, 1919 the Cabinet had discussed educational expenditure, which was rising rapidly, though Fisher claimed this was purely a consequence of inflation. At the beginning of December, 1920 the Cabinet decided that

educational schemes of any kind involving expenditure not yet in operation were to remain in abeyance. On December 17th, 1920 the Board issued Circular 1185 to local education authorities briefly conveying the Cabinet's instruction. This was followed by Circular 1190 dated January 11th, 1921 containing much more information and stating that the Board could not at present entertain propositions for the launching of nursery schools or for the fixing of additional appointed days for continuation schools.

The post-war economic boom had faltered during 1920 and in 1921 petered out entirely: prices fell, trade and industrial activity was reduced, and unemployment went up. The controls on public spending became even tighter. Though the day continuation school clauses of the Fisher Act were absorbed into the 1921 Education Act, a consolidating statute that brought together and rationalized previous legislation, they became in practical terms a dead letter. Of those small number of compulsory day continuation schools that had been commenced under the original 1918 Act only one survived: that at Rugby, which had opened in April, 1920. In the other places for which appointed days had been set there was a mixture of outcomes. Stratford-on-Avon, Birmingham, West Ham, London and Swindon had all started compulsory day continuation schools by January, 1921. Southend-on-Sea decided not to proceed with the measure it had contemplated while no steps were taken by Kent to enforce the attendance at school of their juvenile residents employed in London. Of the schools that had come into being those in Stratford and Swindon were very soon abandoned. Those in West Ham and London were cut back in number and converted to a voluntary basis - at West Ham in the summer of 1921 and in London in the summer of the following year. (36)

In Birmingham the position was complicated by the Day

School For Young Employees - renamed Bournville Day Continuation School in the autumn of 1919 in line with the nomenclature of the 1918 Education Act - and another voluntary day continuation school at Aston, both of which had been in existence prior to the city's appointed day. The second Birmingham day continuation school at Aston had been inaugurated in November, 1919 and clearly owed its establishment to what had happened at Bournville. The Birmingham Education Committee felt that "in view of the success of the Bournville classes ... it was appropriate to open a similar type of school on a voluntary basis on the northern side of the city". (37) Preparations also went ahead for the creation of a compulsory day continuation school scheme for the city as a whole, in which the Bournville and Aston institutions were to be subsumed. The appointed day fixed for Birmingham by the President of the Board of Education was August 23rd, 1920, so that sufficient compulsory day continuation schools could be made ready by January, 1921. On the 10th of that month eleven such schools were initiated in the city. This figure included the two previously taking voluntary students - "voluntary" in the sense that there had been no statutory requirement on them to go though their firms, like Cadbury, might have made attendance a condition of employment. (38)

However, for some months previously voices of protest had been raised in the city about the cost of the scheme and in the November, 1920 municipal elections many councillors who had doubts about it obtained seats. With national economic crisis looming, the consequence was that on February 1st, 1921 the City Council definitely decided to shut its day continuation schools - Bournville and Aston as well as the newer ones. Notices were sent out on February 5th terminating the engagements of teachers at the end of the current term on April 30th, 1921. The Education Committee had no choice but to acquiesce in all this,

although at its meeting on February 25th vented a feeling of deep regret that Bournville and Aston should have been involved in the closure decision "at a time when the problems which they have been attempting to tackle are amongst the most vital which have to be solved before the progressive development and organization of the education system can be secured in this area or in the country at large ... These Schools were educational experiments of national importance and, thanks to the ability of their staffs, the keenness of the students, and the consistent support of interested employers, were achieving results of continually increasing value." On the same date, Dr. Fisher despatched a letter to the Council referring to the closure of the city's continuation schools, "even the two schools (including the famous and most successful Bournville School) which were organized on the basis of voluntary attendance, and which the Council were maintaining before the appointed day." He said he understood the financial reasons for the decision but made it very plain that unless the plans were curtailed - as distinct from being completely abandoned - then the whole cost of the scheme so far would have to be met out of the rates with no assistance from the Board of Education. The City Council seem to have interpreted the communication as implying that if the Bournville and Aston schools were kept open then the President would agree to the termination of the rest even though there was a legal obligation to keep them going since an appointed day had been fixed and applied. Thus, on March 1st, 1921 the Council resolved to retain the two schools. (39)

So Bournville and Aston were saved, but the latter not for long. Aston, unlike Bournville, could not "rely on the steady support of one large firm from which the majority of its students came". Nonetheless, "it made steady progress up to the time the compulsory scheme came into operation" in that numbers of students showed a consistent upward

trend. However, "in spite of the strenuous exertions of the Headmaster and his staff, and of appeals by the Education Committee to manufacturers in the neighbourhood, the Aston Day Continuation School never recovered from the set-back to continued education which resulted from the abandonment of the compulsory scheme and the increasing gravity of the industrial position. The numbers gradually fell off, and in December, 1922 the Committee very reluctantly decided to close the School." (40)

The Cadbury reaction to what in practice amounted to the suspension of the day continuation school clauses of the 1918 Education Act by the national government through Circular 1190 was summed up by an editorial in the Bournville Works Magazine in February, 1921 as "not only a disappointment to educationalists, but an incalculable loss to the rising generation." (41) A few voluntary day continuation schools run by local education authorities or firms remained, together with the solitary survivor of the 1918 compulsory plan at Rugby, but these catered for only a tiny minority of the students who would otherwise have attended day continuation schools if the legislation had been properly implemented. (42)

The minority, of course, embraced those from Cadbury going to what was now the "Bournville Day Continuation School" rather than the "Day School For Young Employees". With the success of its experiment in the 1914-15 session, when female employees went for two half days a week, and in order to bring its own scheme into line with the day continuation clauses of the 1918 Act the firm had extended its day release arrangements from the date of the name change - autumn, 1919. From then boys and girls under 16 had to attend two half days a week until the end of the session in which the sixteenth birthday occurred. This latter condition exceeded the requirements in the Act, which allowed leaving immediately the sixteenth birthday

had been attained. The firm paid normal wages for the second half day as they had always been paid for the first. The rest of the day release arrangements stayed broadly unaltered. For those between 16 and 18 there was a compulsory half day and a voluntary half day if approved and for those over 18 a voluntary half day was also available. Male office clerks had a compulsory half day and a voluntary half day, both for commercial classes, from 16 to age 19, while apprentices, who were invariably over 16, had a compulsory half day at technical classes until 21. The stipulations for employees 16 to 18 undertaking a non-vocational curriculum were well in advance of the provisions in the 1918 Act in many respects. For example, under the Act compulsory attendance from 16 to 18 was only to come into effect seven years after the inception of 14 to 16 attendance and there were exemptions from this rule: notably those who had been at school full time until they were 16. The Cadbury regulations meant attendance of all 16 to 18 year olds until the end of the session in which the eighteenth birthday occurred - there were no exceptions for secondary school recruits; while the Act also permitted students to quit when they actually reached their eighteenth birthday. (43)

The 1918 Education Act specified that statutory day continuation schools should be free of fees. Presumably in deference to this, and fully a year before the implementation of its ill-fated scheme, Birmingham Corporation seems to have decided that from January, 1920 no fees would be payable at Bournville Day Continuation School. An entry in the Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes for November 29th, 1919 states that no fees were to be charged for the classes there "after the current term". Those for Cadbury employees had always been paid directly en bloc by the firm to the City. (44)

At the end of 1920 significant administrative reform

occurred at the firm with a reorganization in the structure of the committees responsible for running the educational system. Up until then, there had been the Bournville Works Education Committee and the Bournville Works School Committee, each with their own men's and women's sub-committees: in other words, a total of six committees and sub-committees. Membership of the two main committees was practically identical and on December 1st., 1920 a meeting of the Cadbury Board of Directors passed a resolution dissolving and reconstituting them as a Men's Education Committee and a Women's Education Committee which could come together for joint discussions as and when required. Thus was brought to an end the previous somewhat unwieldy and artificial disposition which appears to have been based largely on the need for "the finances of the Bournville Works School ... to be separately reported for the edification of the Board of Education." (45) The simplified committee structure considerably eased the tasks of policy-making and management. The next logical step would be the amalgamation of the Men's and Women's Committees into a single organism - a move which came in February, 1948, over a quarter of a century later.

In the 1920's and 1930's the new committees further refined and extended the Cadbury day release arrangements for attendance at continuation school. In 1921 authorization from the Board of Directors was secured to make wage payments for the voluntary half day available to 16 to 18 year olds. This replaced the bursaries given only to the best students and, not surprisingly, the numbers taking advantage of the half day rose substantially. The Men's Committee concluded this showed "that the financial question is an important one in regard to voluntary attendances." (46) Paying wages for the voluntary half day open to those between 16 and 18 was presumably intended to make it attractive to as many students as possible and this weighed against the inevitability of some of them having no

real interest in extra study except as a means of avoiding work. Such people might be weeded out when applications were scrutinized but very few of those wanting the voluntary half day seem to have been rejected in practice and eventually a second half day at continuation school was made compulsory for the 16 to 18 age group.

It was also decided to make wage payments to voluntary over-age students - i.e. students wanting to carry on at day continuation school after the end of compulsory attendance when they became 18 - but at half the amount lost in wages, not the full amount. This formula was operative from the 1921-1922 session though it was the beginning of 1923 before the Women's Education Committee opted to use the method, executed retrospectively, instead of awarding bursaries just to outstanding students. The wage payments could be made to girls only after a session finished. (47) The Men's Education Committee had already adopted wage payments for over-age male students - though exactly when the members had agreed to do so is not clear from the Committee's minutes and a difference with the girls was that the boys received money weekly rather than having to obtain it in arrears after the close of the session. (48) Hence a single half day with a few bursaries, then at fifty percent of wages, was initially allowed to over-age students. Later, two half days were offered, the first at three-quarter's pay and the second at half pay. Applications from over-age students were normally looked on favourably and most were granted in the early years of the privilege. However, as time went on, and cost-cutting was needed, they were sifted much more vigorously to discover just how serious they really were and many were not accepted. As a consequence the actual volume of applications dropped dramatically - for example, there were sixty-three applications from girls for the 1926-27 session, of which forty-seven were approved, while there were only seventeen for the 1936-37 session, of which

eight were approved. (49)

The basic pattern of compulsory attendance requirements for Cadbury juniors at Bournville Day Continuation School was finalized during the 1920's. In October, 1923 the Men's Education Committee discussed making a second half day compulsory for the 16 to 18 year old boys, but at that time shelved the idea. This was because, with the voluntary attendance of a second half day now paid for, a high proportion of the boys were taking it, and compulsion did not, therefore, seem necessary. (50) However, the men seem to have had a change of mind. In December they decided that as from the beginning of 1924 all new boys taken on to the firm's books would have to attend day continuation school two half days a week until 18. It was recognized that this would not be implemented for three years because two half days were already compulsory for those aged 14 to 16. An entry in the Women's Education Committee Minutes for February, 1924 referring to the men's action noted that such a move on behalf of the girls was not yet possible because of the accommodation problems that would be created at the School: there had been a considerable increase in the number of girls employed recently whereas the number of boys taken on had suffered a decline. (51) This fall was probably the reason the second half day had been made compulsory for the older boys and, significantly in this regard, it was not until the sharp downturn in recruitment brought about by very rapid mechanization in the latter part of the 1920's that the second half day for older girls was made compulsory. Voluntary attendance by girls aged 16 to 18 averaged about fifty per cent of those eligible, so making the second half day compulsory was a worthwhile measure both from the educational point of view and to help maintain the School rolls. In the 1927-28 session the second half day became compulsory for 16 to 17 year olds as a temporary expedient but was confirmed for the following

session and widened to bring in the 17 to 18 year olds. (52) Thus, by 1928-29, the scheme for compulsory attendance at the Bournville Day Continuation School was completed for both boys and girls with all of them aged 14 to 18 having to go on two half days a week. Voluntary attendance was now in existence for the over 18's only, though younger boys and girls might have extra time at the Continuation School for special examination courses.

There was one further important change to occur - this was the substitution of a single, full day of attendance for two separate half days. In 1928-29 the alteration was made as an experiment with the senior girls and, proving successful, became standard for all girls from the following session. It appears from the minutes of the Men's Education Committee that it was also in 1929-30 that the boys made the switch. (53) Cadbury had always been opposed to a full day of attendance because it felt that three or four hours study at a stretch was as much as the average student involved could assimilate. Mr. Bews and Miss Cater, though, had inclined to favour a full day instead of two half days because they claimed it enabled students to concentrate better. With the half day regime morning attenders had at least part of their minds on the job they would be doing in the afternoons - a job they would probably find it difficult to settle to after doing something so different in the morning. Afternoon attenders were frequently tired after a hard morning at work and their thoughts tended to wander. Bews and Cater also argued that a full day was simpler to operate, and presented fewer problems of organization and administration for both School and factory. (54)

The success of the Bournville Day Continuation School (and the Day School For Young Employees before it) meant that enrolments rose substantially. As time went on, however, there were periods of decline - notably towards

the close of the First World War and at the end of the 1920's. Though the overwhelming bulk of the students remained Cadbury employees, other firms and some municipal undertakings like the Gas and Public Works Departments did contribute a few to join those going from Morland and Impey, the only company other than Cadbury sending students when the School began in 1913. Within the total emanating from the cocoa and chocolate enterprise each year a clear distinction needs to be drawn between fluctuations in the boys' and girls' numbers. A table in the Men's Education Committee Minutes for January 9th., 1928 giving statistics for every session from 1914-15 to 1926-27, shows that the peak year for boys was 1919-20 when 735 went, whereas the figure for girls climbed steadily up to 1924-25 (1,791) with a dip only in the two sessions between 1916 and 1918. The biggest overall total for boys and girls combined from the inception of the School to the end of the 1920's was, in fact, in the following session, 1925-26, when there were 571 boys and 1,738 girls from Cadbury at the School - 2,308 juniors altogether. (55)

The growth of the Day School meant that the vexed question of accommodation intensified, despite the Boys' Section decamping to the Friends' Hall in the Watford Road, Cotteridge, at the commencement of the second session of the School's existence in 1914-15. It was not long before the boys needed additional space and this came in the form of an iron building in the grounds of the Friends' Hall which the students referred to as the "Tin Tabernacle" and rooms at the Congregational Church, also in Watford Road, that they designated the "Cathedral". The swimming baths at Cadbury's factory and the firm's Bournville Lane Workshop there were utilized as well, while some subjects (creative studies like metalwork) were imparted at the Bournville School of Art. This was housed in Ruskin Hall by the Village Green on the opposite side of the factory site to the Bournville Lane Workshop. Hence, ultimately,

teaching was therefore being undertaken in at least six different places and as they were not always very close together - Watford Road was about a mile away from the factory and Bournville Village Green - this presented not inconsiderable problems of discipline and co-ordination for the staff in attempting to prevent boys from maximizing the opportunities for delay if they had to move between lessons. (56)

The girls were more fortunate in that they secured quarters in a single building that could provide the bulk of their needs, though physical training (gymnastics and swimming) had to be taken at Bournville Works using Cadbury facilities and some subjects like Art, as with the boys, were done at Ruskin Hall. The building concerned was "The Beeches", which was in Selly Oak Road and about half a mile from the factory. This had been erected by George Cadbury senior in 1908 as a holiday home for poor slum children. Another function it performed was acting as a recuperative retreat for Salvation Army personnel. During the First World War it did duty as a military hospital and the Girls' Section of the Day School repaired there once this occupation by the armed forces had ceased. The departure from Stirchley Institute occurred in the first few months of 1919 - almost certainly at the start of the Spring Term, though the exact date is difficult to determine. "The Beeches" was a great improvement on the Institute. It was bigger and in very pleasant, green surroundings that gave a chance for nature study on the doorstep. All this was very different to Stirchley Institute, an edifice that was situated on a congested high street along which there was the frequent rattle and noise of trams travelling to and from Birmingham city centre. (57)

It is clear from all this that a major conundrum confronting the Day School at Bournville in its formative period was that of accommodation. The properties utilized

could be unsuitable and scattered and were not necessarily originally intended for the task to which they were being put. Thus, they could have roles other than that of a School. For example, the Friends' Hall was available for public meetings in the evenings and saw religious services on Sundays; while the Stirchley Institute was always in demand for various types of social gathering. (58) Only a short time after it opened, in December, 1913, the Bournville Works Education Committee discussed the need for the local authority "to provide proper permanent accommodation" for the new Day School. (59) In fact, the accommodation question pressed for settlement for over a decade after that before it was finally resolved.

The most important of the initial proposals to deal with it arose from a proposition by Cadbury in February, 1919 to the effect that it would defray two-thirds of the cost of a fresh, modern building for the Day School on land adjacent to the Village Green that would be donated to the City of Birmingham by the Bournville Village Trust. In view of rising costs additional assistance by the firm in the shape of money and by the Bournville Village Trust in the shape of land were put at the Corporation's disposal two years later. Though these offers were accepted by the City Council (and warmly welcomed by H.A.L. Fisher, President of the Board of Education) it still felt unable to go ahead with the building in view of the expenditure constraints which were unavoidable in the economic depression then being experienced. With the accommodation problem becoming more and more urgent as the number of students at the Bournville Day Continuation School grew, towards the end of 1922 the firm itself decided to erect a building on the Bournville Village Trust land, which was later conveyed to the company, and enter into an agreement with the local education authority for it to be used by the Continuation School in the day during normal terms. (60)

The building itself cost £24,000 and the furniture and fixtures £6,000: a total of £30,000 was thus incurred by Cadbury in its construction and fitting out. It combined three wings in the nature of a triangle surrounding open ground that was embellished with lawns and gardens. The main entrance was a gateway, reminiscent of an Oxford college, at the apex of the triangle and two side entrances - one off Maple Road for the girls and the other off the Village Green for the boys - were made for the male and female divisions of the School. These were kept mostly separate, each having an assembly hall (with some gymnastic apparatus for physical training) and each its own library. The Girls' Section had fourteen classrooms, including several specially equipped for such subjects as cookery, dressmaking, science, physiology and music. The Boys' Section had ten classrooms and amongst them was a workshop for practical tuition in both metal and wood, a laboratory for the teaching of physics and chemistry, and a large design office for students taking technical drawing. There was also space afforded for the social and corporate life that had grown up with the School since its inception - the old students' associations which had developed for men and women who had once attended the School, for example, now found themselves with a permanent home and centre of operation. The new building had an additional purpose as well. The many evening classes run by Cadbury at the Works, and which frequently had to be taught in such makeshift quarters as dining rooms and committee rooms, now had a much more appropriate setting in which to be held. When the Day Continuation School was in recess, the building could be used for week-end schools, summer schools, initiation schools - indeed, any kind of educational or educationally-related endeavour. As the Bournville Works Magazine summed up in August, 1925 it would be a distinctive factor "in the social and intellectual life of the factory and the village, besides adding considerably to the architecture of the latter." (61)

Construction took place over 1924 and 1925. The formal opening was on July 15th., 1925, though by then the Day Continuation School had already been incumbent in the building for a short while. The Boys' Section had transferred on May 11th., and the Girls' Section a little later. (62) The facilities now at their disposal were infinitely superior to those which the staff had endured for some twelve years on the rather scattered collection of sites around the Bournville area in which classes had previously been organized. The impact on the students was very evident. In 1920 Mr. Bews had written: "I have been told again and again by the boys that it is the building more than anything else which they object to ... and I should therefore like to emphasize the fact that the [new] building will play a very important part in the success of the School." (63) Addressing the audience at the annual speech day of the Boys' Section of the Continuation School a half decade or so on, and giving his report on the 1925-26 session, the Headmaster was able to say that "for the first time the School was conducted in a proper school building, [with] its activities being concentrated under one roof. This had had a marked effect on the attitude of the students, the quality of the work and the general atmosphere of the School: a true school spirit was being engendered." (64) The pleasant environment definitely acted to promote harmony and study. A recently enrolled girl gave her initial impression in 1930: "the building ..., surrounded by green lawns, seemed very cheerful with its large windows and airy classrooms." (65) Its Village Green situation was ideal also - very close to the factory and next door to Ruskin Hall, where students went to do Art and similar subjects. (66)

However, no sooner had the School settled down to take advantage of the enhanced opportunities for educational success deriving from the vastly improved situation it now enjoyed than it was beset by fresh vicissitudes. An

increased pace of mechanization at Cadbury in order to curtail costs brought a drastic cut-back in recruitment: between 1927 and 1929 the intake of juniors at the Bournville Works was an average of only 29 boys and 105 girls per annum. The previous average was 184 boys and 425 girls. (67) Then in 1929 came the onset of an economic depression that was intense in the early 1930's and went on to a lesser extent until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. The following table (68) shows the fluctuations in the numbers of males and females under 18 engaged at the factory in the period from 1928 to 1934:

Year	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Girls	6	90	308	256	124	390	375
Boys	15	58	94	70	59	51	126

The height of the crisis for the School seems to have come in 1929 when, the attempts of Mr. Bews and Miss Cater to get additional firms to send students having proved "futile", (69) the City of Birmingham Education Committee came "to the conclusion that they had no alternative but to reduce the staff" there "substantially". (70) It was at this point that Miss Cater chose to resign as Headmistress of the Girls' Section. (71)

At its meeting on June 29th., 1929 the City of Birmingham Education Committee approved the action of the Technical Education and Evening Schools Sub-committee in accepting "with regret" Miss Cater's resignation as from August 31st. The members of the Sub-Committee had placed on record their "high appreciation of the valuable services she has rendered in connection with continuation school education [for which, in fact, she had recently been awarded the M.B.E.]. Miss Cater has been Headmistress since 1914 and throughout the period of fifteen years, which has been a time of extreme difficulty for the organization of continuation school work, she has given

untiring and devoted service to the Committee". The Subcommittee went on to indicate that it had "accordingly considered the arrangements which will be necessary for carrying on the [Bournville Day Continuation] School during the coming session" and "recommended that in view of the anticipated reduction in the number of students who will be in attendance" that both Boys' and Girls' Sections of the School be placed under the general control of Mr. C. J. V. Bews, the present Headmaster of the Boys' Section, as from September 1st., 1929 with Miss Partridge, at present Second Mistress in the Girls' Section, becoming Senior Mistress. The Day School thus reverted to the position which had pertained in the first session of its existence in 1913-14: two sections for boys and girls with a Headmaster and a Senior (or Chief) Mistress. (72)

That there was a serious problem of some gravity in 1929 is plain. Numbers at the School in the Autumn Term were at a nadir for the inter-war period: a total of 804, consisting of 469 girls and 335 boys. (73) Thereafter, though, they were on a rising trend. In the 1932-33 session there were over 1,500 students a week attending the School (74) and in the following one over 1,600 a week from nine firms and municipal departments. (75) In 1936-37 and 1937-38 there were about 2,800 students at the School in each session, making it the second largest educational institution in Birmingham. (76) Around 75% of the students were from Cadbury - 70% of the boys and 85% of the girls. (77) The much higher proportion of girls was not surprising in view of the very big complement of young females employed by the firm.

Thus the School survived another crisis and developed very successfully in the 1930's. Its reputation as an establishment of much educational value, for both the individuals going to it and as an example of the best in day continuation school practice, grew along with the

numbers enrolled and gave encouragement to the supporters of the continuation school idea. Though the Boys' and Girls' Sections remained largely distinct after they were reunited under Mr. Bews in September, 1929 the School did take on more of the ambience of a single institution. Mixed classes for advanced work such as School Certificate or Matriculation began, (78) while social and recreational activities were enhanced and fostered by greater contact between the sexes. This was by no means entirely new - a joint Dramatic Society, for instance, seems to have been constituted as long ago as November, 1924 - but was given added impetus in the circumstances resulting from the resignation of Miss Cater and the combination of control over the Boys' and Girls' Sections of the School. Dances, concerts, mixed hockey matches, and an annual amalgamated sports meeting helped engender the atmosphere of a whole, integrated entity. More formally, there was a joint assembly each day and, from 1933, a joint School Council of students that had responsibility for social and recreational matters and acted as an advisory body to the Headmaster and staff, bringing to their notice the opinions and problems of students in the School. (79)

Throughout the various trials and tribulations which afflicted the Day School after its inception in 1913 its fundamental aim of providing a liberal education remained intact. The basic courses offered at the end of the 1930's, though they had been refined and improved over time, were easily recognizable derivatives of those done during the early life of the School and before that at the compulsory evening classes begun in 1906. The four-session general course for boys included English, Mathematics, Experimental Science, Geography and History, together with technical and creative subjects like Mechanical Drawing, Workshop Practice, Art and Metalwork. In the four-session general course for girls English featured each year. History and Mathematics were done by all the girls for the

first three years and then became an option for the final year. Scientific subjects were learnt in a logical, annual sequence: General Science, then Biology, next Physiology and Home Nursing and, eventually, in the fourth year, Mothercraft and Child Study. Economics, Geography, Art, Handicrafts, Cookery, Dressmaking, Singing, Musical Appreciation, French and Esperanto were also taught at different points of the girls' course either as an integral part of it or as an option that might be chosen. "History" in both boys' and girls' general courses involved not only what would conventionally be studied in the discipline - the development of the Great Powers, for example - but also Current Events and their background plus Civics, which dealt with such topics as the evolution of central and local government.

The joint courses available for older male and female students could be general - as with the School Certificate, which embraced Science (Biology), Mathematics, English, French, and History; very specific - as with the Advanced Science Course intended primarily for the Intermediate Science degree examination and consisting of Pure Mathematics, Applied Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry (Theory) and Chemistry (Practical); or overtly vocational - as with the Commercial Course, which took in Economics, Mercantile and Company Law, Book-Keeping, Statistics, and English, the syllabuses of these being based on the requirements of the Royal Society of Arts and a variety of professional examinations set by the Chartered Institute of Secretaries, the Chartered Institute of Cost and Works Accountants and similar organizations. By this time office employees at Cadbury had become largely female with males only being accepted if they seemed capable of reaching key posts. Office mechanization had drastically lessened the demand for ordinary clerks, which used to absorb many male recruits. Applicants for office jobs were usually engaged only at 16, with attainment of the School Certificate

preferably having been achieved.

The course for apprentices, who would normally leave the Continuation School at 18 to do a (compulsory) full day a week at a municipal technical college until 21, covered English and History, together with Mathematics, Experimental Science, Workshop Practice and Mechanical Drawing syllabuses the content of which was related as far as could be to the trades being pursued by the students. More specialized tuition might be obtainable at evening classes elsewhere or, if this was not possible, an apprentice might spend half a day at the Continuation School and half a day at a technical college. Cadbury were insistent that their apprentices should not be deprived of contact with the wider outlook, the individual attention and the community life that characterized the Continuation School. In a similar kind of way, no matter what the nature of the course was - be it general or vocational, elementary or advanced - Physical Training (mostly meaning both gymnastics and swimming) was to be found in it as an essential component. This was something on which Cadbury, who supplied the bulk of students, was always adamant on the grounds that bodily fitness promoted mental acuity.

(80)

It is clear from the select studies done for external examinations that the Bournville Day Continuation School was not exclusively concerned with non-advanced, liberal education for juvenile labour fresh in employment. However, though high level and also vocational teaching is evident it was for a very small coterie of older boys and girls. Provision at the School was designed principally for the general education of junior employees in routine occupations and it was this type of student who formed the overwhelming proportion of the enrolment. Thus the approach adopted was in line with the Cadbury view that a sound general education was vital for the development of

young people both as individuals and workers and it was on Cadbury that the Day School remained dependent down to 1938. In fact, the crucial element in the success of the School was the support of the cocoa and chocolate company. Indeed, without that support there could have been no School, even given that it was in the main administered, financed and staffed by the local education authority. The partnership with the City of Birmingham was of great significance, but the School had been founded on Cadbury initiative and survived on the Cadbury connection. Its existence was sustained only by the attendance of a substantial volume of Cadbury students and from 1925 it was held in a Cadbury-owned and constructed building.

EDUCATION AT THE FACTORY: EXPANSION AND INNOVATION

The day continuation scheme in association with the local education authority that started as an experiment in the 1913-14 session and which, after some critical moments, was eventually secured on a sound basis by the end of the 1930's was undoubtedly the flagship component of Cadbury educational provision in the quarter century down to 1938. However, other aspects of the system that had been in genesis before the First World War also progressed successfully during this period along with several additional features that were introduced as time went on.

The well-established Bournville Works School, which was the title under which the firm itself organized classes independently of the local education authority, developed a remarkable range of courses that could be of a general, vocational, recreative or cultural nature. They were held either at the factory or at the new purpose-built Bournville Day Continuation School premises opened in 1925. The fundamental criterion for the supply of classes remained the existence of a sufficient level of demand for

a subject that was not being met conveniently elsewhere - for example, by the local education authority or the Workers' Educational Association. Within those parameters the Works Education Department would endeavour to meet any requirement for tuition made upon it. (81)

Works School classes in various forms of physical training seem to have been perennially popular. They went from sophisticated swimming and gymnastics instruction that might be helping to prepare participants for local and national competitions through simple "keep fit" exercises to most types of dancing between folk at one extreme and ballroom at the other. Classes in boot repairing and gardening were also annual favourites, as were Ambulance (First Aid) and Home Nursing. Another sort of useful recreative tuition that was seen regularly in the Works School programme came to be referred to by the all-embracing appellation of "Handicrafts". Different classes under this heading gave students the chance to make or repair artifacts of their own choice from small ornaments to elaborate pieces of furniture and even model boats. In a more general category of learning could be included classes in modern European languages, like French and German, that were primarily aimed at visitors to the continent; in Esperanto, which appears to have had many adherents; in English and Arithmetic or Mathematics at levels from elementary to advanced but mostly designed to improve literacy and numeracy skills in what amounted to refresher courses for older workers; and in Psychology - a relatively young science that seemed to attract a lot of attention at the factory. In this general category, too, might be placed courses on matters relating to current events: for example, "World Needs in Relation to Colonial Possessions" and "The Truth Behind The News" advertised in the programme for 1936-37. In a more cultural milieu came classes on the appreciation and understanding of art and music. "Art in Everyday Life", for instance, occurred on

more than one occasion in the 1930's. (82)

Other Works School classes had some vocational significance either as liberal background study to industrial employment or as being directly concerned with particular occupational areas perhaps together with the problems of factory management as a whole. Amongst the former could be included such subjects as Economics, Industrial History and Banking; amongst the latter might be included, at one end of the spectrum, straightforward tuition in shorthand and typing skills and, at the opposite end, the rather more complex Deputy Forewomen's Training Course, which was first held in 1919 for girls in the production shops, the Industrial Administration Course, which was started in 1923, and the Girls' Office Organization Course, which originated in 1926 as the office counterpart to the Deputy Forewomen's Training Course. These three courses, which had a heavy input from Works Directors and officials, were intended to give employees an overall insight into the realm of business in addition to Cadbury's own activities and thus had broader as well as more specific elements to them.

The Industrial Administration Course is illustrative of this. It enabled those who took it to learn about the organization and operation of the enterprise on a background of wider knowledge about the economy so that they could better understand the significance of their own job in relation to that of others in the firm and also to the world outside. The content and structure of the course tended to change over the years, but one example of what might be done from the early 1930's shows it consisting of two parts: a series of lectures on "The Growth and Present State of British Industry" by a Mr. S. P. Dobbs (who presumably came from some external source such as a college or university) and a number of special lectures by Works personnel on the running of a modern company with

particular reference to the making and selling of cocoa and chocolate. These special lectures were not meant to be obtruse or excessively detailed but designed to give a rough grasp of such topics as planning, costing, marketing, transport, mercantile law, wage systems and the maintenance of buildings, plant and equipment. They would be fleshed out by visits paid to the departments whose functions were under scrutiny. There might also possibly be excursions to different firms away from Bournville to see how they managed their activities.

The Industrial Administration Course would be undertaken by those men and women who had aspirations to progress and promotion in their careers on either the production or office sides of the factory and at the end of the 1930's it was attracting about sixty students. The very similar Deputy Forewomen's Training Course and Girls' Office Organization Course were held periodically for girls who showed promise in the production and office departments respectively. A qualifying test had to be taken by women wishing to do either course, the main objective of which was to help students improve their prospects of achieving more responsible positions. As time went on every attempt was made to run the two courses concurrently, so that joint meetings could be arranged for the discussion of matters common to them both. In this way they also became closely intertwined with the Industrial Administration Course, which had always contained many of the same subjects done in the Deputy Forewomen's Training Course and Girls' Office Organization Course. Thus eventually it became a condition upon students doing the Deputy Forewomen's Training Course and Girls' Office Organization Course that they attend the Industrial Administration Course in their leisure hours. This could be done because the Deputy Forewomen's Training Course and Girls' Office Organization Course usually took place during the day - mornings, or, more likely, afternoons - and the Industrial Administration Course of an

evening. (83)

The wide range of classes furnished under the aegis of the Bournville Works School were clearly not all intended to satisfy one single amorphous audience. Some, indeed, were for employees as a whole and thus, it was hoped, of interest to all, but others might be aimed at, and therefore only of interest to, a particular sort of employee - such as adults wishing to increase their proficiency in basic English and Arithmetic. Classes were also given for, and at the request of, groups of employees of the same status or engaged in the same section of the firm, (84) while a number were provided for the exclusive use of the members of a club or society - most notably the B.G.A.C., for which a great deal of tuition, especially in gymnastics, swimming and dancing, was organised. (A club or society could also run classes for members itself that were not part of the Bournville Works School).

Cadbury felt a definite responsibility towards nightworkers, who obviously had marked difficulties in attending classes at the factory or elsewhere, and preeminently the ordinary evening variety that began too late for them. A determined effort was made to overcome the problems, the most prominent of which was almost certainly the scheduling of tuition. Many evening classes at the factory would thus start at around 5.30 p.m., thereby not only enabling day workers to go to them before proceeding home, but also enabling nightworkers to take advantage of them before commencing the night shift. (85) In addition, classes just for nightworkers were set up in the afternoons and early mornings depending on the level of demand for them that was demonstrated. (86) The range of classes supplied for nightworkers only was very wide and might include various forms of physical training, foreign languages, elementary English and Arithmetic, hobbies like carpentry, and academic subjects like Economics. (87). A

meeting of nightworkers was usually called annually in the autumn to gauge the demand for classes indicated by them as being required. The Men's Education Committee were later told that at the one in 1936 it was very noticeable the majority of those turning up at the gathering had not been through the Day Continuation School. They had come to Cadbury when beyond continuation school leaving age and apparently very much "welcomed the opportunity of having the possibilities of after-school education and organized recreation thus presented to them. The Committee considered this to be a fact of considerable importance" (88) - presumably because it showed the efficacy of holding such meetings and the value of what was on offer.

Works classes were normally exclusive to employees, but some (which is not clear from the records - probably the more general ones only) were "open to employees' wives and other non-employees". However, few non-employees seem to have taken advantage of them. (89) This was unlikely to have been because of the level of fees payable, which, on the whole, was very low. Indeed, in a number of cases no fees were levied at all, though the classes to which this applied perhaps would not have included any available to non-employees. Fees were fixed separately for each course without any overall strategy being used and hence the forms of charging, and the amounts charged, for different classes varied enormously. In the 1936-37 session, for example, they went from no fee (swimming and "Keep Fit") through to 1d. per attendance (Handicrafts for B.G.A.C. members) to 5s. for the complete session (Industrial Administration). The lower fees were usually non-returnable, but the higher ones were frequently either half returnable or returnable in full to students who made 85% or more of potential attendances and performed acceptably well at their studies. There was an attempt at the end of the 1930's, inaugurated with the 1938-39 session, to rationalize what in essence was a rather chaotic and incoherent policy with regard to

fees. The standard procedure then adopted was a non-returnable enrolment fee of 1s. plus a course fee of 4s. for adults (half returnable) and 2s. for under 18's (all of which was returnable). This basic approach was not rigidly imposed in every instance: there were exceptions to the new rules. The existing non-returnable enrolment fee for Ambulance and Home Nursing classes was to remain the sole exactment because of their value in ensuring trained people existed for departmental first aid duties while special classes such as those for night men were still to be treated in whatever manner seemed most appropriate in the actual circumstances concerned. (90)

The title "Bournville Works School" referred to the classes and courses which Cadbury ran on its own initiative and for which it alone had responsibility. In the 1927-28 session, however, another name made a first appearance - viz. "Bournville Works Evening Institute". (91) The reason was that some of the Works School classes were grant aided by the Board of Education. In 1926 the Board promulgated fresh regulations governing the provision of further education courses, whether by the local authority or any other managing body - Cadbury being a case in point. Under them the designation "Evening Institute" was brought into use as the official nomenclature to describe the establishments where the classes controlled by the regulations were held. (92) As utilized at the firm the title "Bournville Works Evening Institute" had a narrower connotation than the traditional "Bournville Works School". It usually excluded, for instance, the more obviously vocational classes like the Deputy Forewomen's Training Course and Girls' Office Organization Course. An entry in the Men's Education Committee Minutes summarizing proceedings at the November, 1935 monthly meeting is headed "Bournville Works School" and states that the Bournville Works Evening Institute is part of the Bournville Works School. (93) In fact, the name "Bournville Works School"

tended to disappear from use after the advent of the "Bournville Works Evening Institute" though is evident on occasion in the minutes of the Men's and Women's Education Committees. (94)

The confusion of titles and what they represented, together with the problem that some classes were grant aided and others not, makes it very difficult to get reasonably accurate and perfectly comparable statistics with regard to student numbers on Cadbury run courses. These inevitably dropped in the second decade of the century as the Day School For Young Employees gradually took over all compulsory physical training for juniors under 18 between 1913-14 and 1916-17. With the Great War concluded they began to recover both because of the increasing size of the labour force and also the growing interest in education manifest amongst employees that was no doubt considerably influenced by the very strong emphasis the firm placed upon it. In the 1922-23 session there appear to have been 1,316 enrolments at Bournville Works School classes and Study Circles, (95) of which 577 pertained to grant-aided courses assisted by the Board of Education. (96) By the 1926-27 session enrolments at Works School classes and Study Circles had risen to 1,637. (97) In the 1930's the Bournville Works Evening Institute classes seem to have attracted an average attendance of around 1,500 students per annum, (98) with the peak year being 1935-36, when there were no less than 67 separate classes with an attendance of 1,765 students. (99) To be tacked on to these totals for the Institute were the classes and students on courses such as the Deputy Forewomen's Training Course and Girls' Office Organization Course which, though part of the Bournville works School, had never been regarded as coming under the Institute's umbrella. How many extra this would be is impossible to discover so that a direct comparison with the 1920's Works School figures is difficult to make. (100)

The classes and courses that were normally accepted as constituent elements of the Bournville Works School or Evening Institute were not the only ones conducted at Cadbury. The clubs and societies at the firm, which tended to increase in both size and variety between 1914 and 1938, might themselves organize tuition for members with or without the assistance of the Education Department. (101) The Dramatic Society, for example, sometimes held classes in elocution and stage management, (102) while the Music Society is recorded as having arranged "successfully" voice-training and beginners' and intermediate orchestral courses. (103) The Bournville Youths' Club (or B.Y.C.) had an annual schedule of classes in a diverse range of subjects that might include Woodwork, Metalwork, Photography, Boxing, and Music - the latter being run in conjunction with the Club orchestra and involving, inter alia, the study of different instruments. Lecture programmes, which might be a series of single talks, or a short course of talks on the same topic, were also offered and usually well attended. (104)

An innovation in the 1914-1938 period was the Weekend School. Non-residential gatherings of this type began at the Works in 1923 and were especially evident in the years immediately following with the sixth of them taking place in March, 1928. Leading experts were engaged to speak on themes like the History of the Theatre, Psychology, and Greek Art and National Life that attracted interested audiences of a quite respectable magnitude. (105) Other, residential, Weekend Schools were undertaken at venues away from Bournville. Avoncroft, a few miles from Birmingham, was often chosen. (106) They were mostly for comparatively small groups of workers filling similar roles. Perhaps the best known of them were those held by the Chargehands' Association on an annual basis from 1928. The central feature of a Weekend School for the Chargehands seems to

have been a progressive sequence of discussions focussed on a suite of three lectures by an experienced speaker on a previously decided subject - for example, in 1935 it was economic policy and dealt with policy in the United States of America, Germany and Italy. The informal side of the School was seen as equally important and given commensurate emphasis. On the Friday evening there was normally an entertainment of some kind (ordinarily a concert) and Saturday and Sunday afternoons were left free for those at the School to spend as they pleased. (107)

The nature of the strictly vocational training undertaken at Bournville by Cadbury differed from section to section and job to job but some was given by means of formal classes. Card Box Making and Office Routine classes of this type (108) had begun before the First World War and at that time were definitely part and parcel of the Bournville Works School. Subsequently, however, they seem to have assumed a somewhat ambiguous position with regard to this as they clearly were not included in the statistics quoted for Bournville Works School numbers in the early and mid-1920's. This was probably because they were obviously very much at the training end of the education-training spectrum in that they gave highly specific instruction in certain closely-defined production and office operations. In the former in particular there was a growing need for an enhanced degree of specialization in training as engineering techniques improved and machinery became faster and increasingly sophisticated. In 1921 a Training Department for girls was begun so that even those engaged upon the simplest of tasks could be taught to do it in the best possible manner. (109) Those involved were mostly juniors who would be attending the Day Continuation School and thus augmenting their general education by that means. Greater specialization of training could also be seen in the men's production sections of the factory. (110) That of Foremen and their Deputies and Chargehands, for

instance, became more exact and detailed. It usually took place within each department rather than through formal classes, but winter evening and summer weekend courses might be held on subjects determined by the men themselves with the idea of broadening their outlook and keeping them up to date in matters which, while having no direct bearing on their own individual employment functions, did assist them in handling day-to-day management problems with additional insight into human behaviour and economic, social and political change. The prime example of this was the Chargehands with their evening classes, Weekend Schools, and outside visits. (111)

Another innovation in the 1914-1938 period was the Initiation School, the inaugural one being seen in 1920. Its development originated at the behest of Edward Cadbury and George Cadbury, junior who felt that school leavers should have a gradual introduction to industry before commencing a life completely different to anything they had previously known. Initiation School was thus intended to be a connecting link between the relatively simple existence of home and school that preceded it and the two-fold make-up of factory employment and continuation school that succeeded it. Hence boys and girls attended Initiation School during their first week at the firm. The instruction was given by Works officials supplemented by the permanent staff of the Education Department and was made as practical and realistic as possible. Films and lantern lectures (i.e. slide shows) were given on raw materials, manufacturing processes, distribution, the history of the business, and welfare schemes. Tours of the Works were made and lessons delivered on rules and discipline, safety precautions, cleanliness, health and wages. There was opportunity for physical exercises, swimming, and organized games. Written assignments were also set and strictly assessed. Those boys and girls putting in the best overall performance in their few days

at Initiation School were awarded small book prizes. The young female recruits had additionally to do intelligence and dexterity tests in order to discover the type of job for which each was most suited. However, the main objective of Initiation School was not training but education - a liberal guide to the company and the nature of cocoa and chocolate output. That was always the principal underlying motive behind it no matter what changes it underwent (and inevitably time, together with some experimentation, was needed to evolve the most appropriate format for the School). Though it was meant to be enjoyed, Initiation School does seem to have been successful in preparing those who went through the experience it offered for the harsher realities of a novel, very adult environment. (112)

"... Camp School is essentially a school, but it is conducted under camp conditions; the warp is camp, the woof is school, and the fabric is a most delightful recreation both for body and mind". (113) That was the verdict of a teacher on a Cadbury innovation dating from 1914 that was to gain national fame. It was an attempt to give junior male employees up to 18 the opportunity of spending an organized summer or early autumn holiday that would help them to know and understand the British way of life better. (114) In 1914, 1915 and 1916 Camp School was a fixed undertaking on the Chadwick Estate at Rubery, a few miles from Bournville. It became itinerant in 1917 when one of the firm's canal boats was commissioned to take the boys to Stratford-on-Avon. (115) It was this (so far as can be ascertained) unique "school on a barge" element that was to capture the imagination of the educational world and even that of the lay public. There was no Camp School in 1918 because of "present labour and food" difficulties. (116) From 1919 until 1929 Camp School took place annually on the barge utilizing the intricate network of inland waterways in the Midlands around Birmingham. However, it

was discovered that this form of the School had a much higher outlay per student than the fixed type. (117) With the need to cut costs at the end of the 1920's there was a reversion to a stationary School. Though at a different site each successive summer, the same venue and area could be returned to over a period of time - Clifton, for instance, near Nottingham, in 1932, 1936 and also 1939. (118) In fact, in the 1930's Camp School was a moving one on the barge only twice. 1933 saw a trip taking in Worcester, Tewkesbury and Gloucester, while in 1937 the region between Wolverhampton and Chester was traversed. (119)

There was always a large number of applicants for the limited accommodation available at Camp School. Selection of those chosen to go was based mainly on continuation school performance. Particular consideration was also given to those whose jobs were more than usually monotonous, thereby making little demand on the intelligence. (120) Normally, most, if not all, departments of the factory, both production and office, would be represented at Camp School and the participants might range from the unskilled operative through the apprentice to the up-and-coming clerk with management potential. Thus the School contributed materially to the breaking down of artificial distinctions that might arise between different grades of employment and promoted a sense of comradeship and co-operation. (121) The customary pattern for Camp School was three separate groups, with about twentyfive boys in each, attending the School annually. The groups would follow one another in orderly succession. Students were paid their regular wages minus a contribution towards day-to-day expenses like food. Camp School was also inspected by, and received grant aid from, the Board of Education, but the bulk of its costs were met by the firm. Lessons and talks were related as far as possible to the district through which the canal boat was

passing, or in which a fixed School was situated, and dealt with current industrial and agricultural change as well as the heritage of the past. Visits were made to factories, mines, churches, castles and other places of interest, and every student had to keep a diary containing a record of the lessons and visits, illustrated by sketches, photographs and picture postcards. Subsequently the diaries were taken in for marking and prizes awarded for the best of them. (122)

What were the effects of Camp School on those who went through it? According to the firm the School gave boys "a broad outlook and a sympathetic understanding of the world around them. It has been noticed, for example, that it brings enlightenment as to the contribution made by Bournville Village and Works to the solution of housing and industrial problems and that it has led industrial workers to appreciate for the first time the importance of agriculture." (123) The great value of the School was asserted to be "in that which is achieved indirectly, in that which is incidental and not prearranged. Tremendously important is it that a youth should know the geography, geology, literature and architecture of his country; that he should learn more of the art of living with his fellows is equally, if not more, important. Few ventures present both opportunities with the same facility as the Camp School." (124) That was the official Cadbury view. What was that of the boys? Going to Camp School was regarded by them as a great privilege not to be missed and their attitude may be summed up by one who was quoted in the Men's Education Committee minutes of a meeting in October, 1933 as saying that "Camp School is a unique experience, so interesting and instructive at the time and for years afterwards." (125) In 1924 the Inspectorate of the Board of Education was more measured in its expression of support but also seemingly enthusiastic in stating the School "is a useful experiment in giving instruction under pleasant

conditions" and "much good work is done each year". (126)

As the Cadbury business expanded and the size of the firm grew it was confronted with the problem of communication between the men at the top and the rank and file in the production or office departments: the personal contact that counted for so much in the early days became practically impossible. The solution eventually adopted was the setting up of Works Councils. These were partly a response to the recommendations in favour of greater industrial democracy contained in the Whitley Report issued by the central government in 1917 and partly an extension of a movement towards devolution of control and an enhanced degree of employee participation in the running of the factory that had been arrested by the First World War. In 1902 separate Men's and Women's Suggestion Committees had begun that comprised appointed management staff together with elected workers. 1905 had seen the creation of a Men's Works Committee and a Women's Works Committee. They both consisted of appointed management staff except for two members of the Men's Works Committee who were elected by the Foremen from amongst their number. The Card Box Committee had been formed during 1912 with appointed management staff and worker representatives, the latter elected by female operatives. Then, in 1918, two Works Councils were founded, one for men and one for women, with provision for them to meet as a Joint Works Council if required.

The Councils acted through their own standing committees, some of which were joint committees, and the Shop Committees constituted for every department in the factory - whether production or office. Each Shop Committee included appointed management staff and workers elected by their peers. The departments were grouped together according to natural affinity for the purpose of

workers voting their own representatives to the appropriate Council, Men's or Women's. Both Councils had a balanced total of appointed management staff and elected workers together with two Chairmen - from management and workers respectively - who presided at alternate meetings. There were also management and workers' secretaries. The management side always contained Directors and this epitomized the way in which the Works Council and Shop Committee system was designed to supply a clear channel upward and downward betwixt the individual worker and the Board, replacing as far as possible the personal contact that was a characteristic of the firm when it was much smaller.

The principal duty of the Works Councils was "to encourage and establish good relations and mutual trust between workers and management and to foster and maintain a spirit of co-operation, thus promoting the welfare and prosperity of the Bournville community." They were not intended to deal with basic wage-rates and hours of labour - those were matters strictly for the trade unions; nor were they intended to deal with the development of company business policy - that was the sole responsibility of management and the Board. However, they did have powers and functions with regard to almost everything else pertaining to life at the chocolate factory - for example, health and safety, rules and discipline, social facilities from libraries to catering, and recreation. They also took over the administration of the suggestion scheme. It is therefore obvious that the Councils were meant to play an active role in the firm and not be simply a forum for discussion, important as that undoubtedly was. They had very real and heavy tasks to perform as well as being a channel of communication and consultation between Board and workers via the Shop Committees. Their primary aim of promoting harmony amongst the various interests does seem to have been achieved: disputes at the factory from the

minor to the major were usually settled in an amicable manner. The structure of the Works Councils and Shop Committees enabled workers to air their grievances and be kept informed of the firm's progress while additionally giving Directors and managers a mechanism to explain, and perhaps receive critical examination of, policy changes. In 1930 George Cadbury, junior claimed that disputes usually arose from misunderstanding and when that was removed, even if no agreement was reached, then the parties at least knew one another better and could be seen to be trying their utmost to resolve problems at issue. That objective, he said, was being admirably accomplished through the Works Councils and their associated bodies, the Shop Committees. (127)

In line with the prevailing ethos at Bournville the Councils put much emphasis on education, to which they devoted considerable attention right from the outset of their existence. They controlled a substantial annual grant made to them by the Board of Directors and, through the medium of their joint Scholarships Committee, they spent more than half of this income on the award of scholarships for diverse kinds of non-vocational study that were of various types. Full-time, residential scholarships entirely of a cultural bias and usually tenable for a year were offered at such institutions as Ruskin College, Oxford, Fircroft College, Bournville, Hillcroft College for Working Women, Surbiton, and also (for three months) at the International People's College, Elsinore, Denmark. These scholarships included tuition fees, cost of board and lodging throughout the College session, and reasonable allowance to cover travelling and personal expenses. Home maintenance payments could be made to married men and single employees who obtained full-time scholarships but would have difficulty in taking them up because of their domestic responsibilities.

Many part-time scholarships were also offered to company employees by the Works Councils. They were mostly for courses at Fircroft, but not exclusively so: for instance, the Extra-Mural Department of Birmingham University, the Central School of Arts and Crafts, and the Bournville College of Arts and Crafts were amongst other places attended by their holders. The scholarships normally covered fees and 95% of wages lost as a result of study that might occupy one or two days a week. (This figure was originally 75%, but was raised in September, 1923 because wages were falling. Problems were thereby being caused for the holders of scholarships and there was a fear that applications for them might fall as a consequence). Some special part-time scholarships were awarded for individual tuition in music or drama. They lasted two years and covered fees only - the tuition having to be received in a student's own leisure hours.

A type of scholarship which was particularly popular was one of short duration enabling the recipient to go to a conference, a weekend school or a larger school that might last anything from a week to a month or more. The range of subjects embraced in this way was very wide indeed and included many conferences and schools at home and abroad. The organizing bodies concerned took in a multiplicity of names, among which might be mentioned the Oxford Tutorial Classes Committee, the School of Speech Training at Stratford-on-Avon, the Workers' Educational Association, the London School of Economics, the Co-Operative Union, the English Folk Dance Society, the Industrial Co-Partnership Association and the League of Nations Union. A short duration scholarship covered 75% of the cost of board and lodging plus travelling expenses and lecture fees - but not money lost in wages since such a scholarship was ordinarily only awarded for conferences and schools occurring outwith periods of daily labour and notably during the summer holiday. However, maintenance

payments could be made if needed to those going to conferences or schools outside the holiday interval.

Another sort of scholarship made available by the Works Councils was in the shape of assistance given to employees whose children were at a secondary school or higher education establishment. The allocation of these scholarships was determined by the financial position of the applicant and the size of his family. Where a boy or girl had free entry to a secondary school an amount of £1 a year for books was awarded. Fee-paying pupils received up to £5 a year. This included the £1 for books. The assistance was provided throughout a pupil's secondary school career - indeed, the applicant had to agree to keep the child at school until his education there had been completed, and the scholarships were reviewed and renewed annually on receipt of satisfactory progress reports. For children of employees who proceeded to a university or other post-secondary institution the customary scholarship was £10 a year.

The educational activities of the Works Councils went well beyond the bestowal of scholarships. It was they who carried on the Weekend Schools seen at the factory in the 1920's. They also promoted a series of monthly lectures from late autumn to early spring every year that brought to Bournville personalities distinguished in many walks of life. These lectures usually drew large and enthusiastic audiences. They began in 1919-20 and, the Second World War excepted, went on until the mid-1950's, when they became a victim of the television age. In addition to these regular monthly lectures the Works Councils were amongst several bodies at the factory - others included the Men's and Women's Education Committees and the Men's and Women's Staffing Committees - which originated irregular, miscellaneous lectures that were run either as short courses or single entities. The subjects covered by the

monthly and miscellaneous lectures were multifarious to say the least. A sample from the inaugural Works Councils' monthly series in 1919-20 illustrates this: "A Voyage in Space" by Professor A. H. Turner, "The Romans in Britain" by A. H. Humphreys, F.L.S., F.S.A., "Britain's Burden in the Dark Continent" by Joseph Burt, "Wildlife on the Bioscope" by Richard Kearton, F.Z.S., "Holland and the Dutch" by Edgar Bellingham, and "Superstitions" by the Reverend L.M. Watt. So does a title listing of some of the miscellaneous lectures arranged by the Works Councils and others in the early 1920's: "Citizenship", "European Finance and Rearmament", "Britain's Dependence on Internationalism", "Types of Works Councils", "The Economic Consequences of the Peace Treaty", "Industrial Psychology", and "Banking and International Commerce". Nor were those who were on nights forgotten. The Men's Works Council provided a seasonal weekly programme of lecturettes lasting about half-an-hour during the midnight meal break. These seem to have commenced in 1920-21 and went on for some years. Finally, and thereby indicating they welcomed and used the new, the Works Councils started showing good quality films in the early 1930's in an attempt to give employees the opportunity of experiencing the best of cinema art, both British and foreign. The first selection of four seems to have been screened between the autumn and spring of 1933-34. The films chosen for showing by the Works Councils were intended to be ones of outstanding merit that were unlikely to appear in the commercial cinemas in the vicinity and this demonstrated their commitment to the worthwhile and significant rather than the tawdry and trivial. It also, perhaps, epitomized a fundamental aspect of the education system at Cadbury - the encouragement and furtherance of the more deeply satisfying and thought-provoking as against the more superficial and ephemeral.

It is abundantly evident from all this that most of

the half of the income of the Works Councils not going on scholarships of different types went on other objects of a directly or indirectly educational nature. Apart from the Weekend Schools, the lectures, and the films, money was spent on libraries and a carefully picked supply of technical journals, paintings hung in the factory, and concerts - some of these being given to the nightworkers instead of the normal lecturette. Practically the only large item of strictly non-educational expenditure was benevolent assistance made available in exceptional cases of need not coming within the scope of standard company schemes such as those providing for accident, sickness and death. Thus, so far as their expenditure was concerned, the Works Councils were essentially educational organisms. (128)

Scholarships did not emanate only from the Works Councils. The firm itself, through the Board of Directors and the Men's and Women's Education Committees, also provided them, though they were mostly for more vocational courses than the scholarships offered by the Councils. However, the interpretation of "vocational" was very wide: Cadbury felt that it was the academic discipline which counted and, unless a specialized or technical task was intended, it did not matter very much whether the discipline be undergone in handling the material of history, literature, or economics. At the apex of the firm's scholarships provision were the awards for full-time degree study at a university. The degree concerned might be vocational in a broad sense - as with the reading of Commerce or Modern Languages - or have a narrower, more specific vocational connotation. For example, the reading of Engineering or a natural science like Chemistry qualified the graduate for important duties in the Engineer's Office or Analyst's Laboratory. According to a note in the Bournville Works Magazine for January, 1936 a total of twentyseven employees had obtained their degrees

in the past fifteen years. In the majority of cases they had had either firm's scholarships or been given assistance in other ways such as time off for study and help with the payment of fees. A few had pursued their goal privately. (The figure of twentyseven did not include those who had come to the factory having previously got their degrees and thus had been taken on as graduates). Full-time scholarships usually tenable for up to a year were also offered by the firm for advanced, non-degree study at such places as the London School of Economics and Manchester College of Technology that had introduced courses in subject areas like industrial administration. Additionally, both full-time and part-time scholarships were made available by the firm to employees so that they might complete a degree or professional or trade qualification that they had already gone a substantial way to achieving, thereby enabling them to reach their objective faster than they would otherwise have done. (129)

Scholarships stemming from the firm which were definitely non-vocational were those extended to youths between the ages of 18 and 21, though applications from young males over 21 and under 23 might exceptionally be considered. They began in 1923 and normally two or three of them were bestowed annually, their holders being selected jointly by members of the Men's Education Committee and the Youths' Committee. The scholarships were for a year's full-time residential study that it was hoped would prove to be an enlightening and enjoyable experience by expanding the mind and opening up new horizons. The institutions and courses for which the scholarships were assigned depended entirely on the gifts and inclinations of the youths who applied for them. Some holders, for instance, took the single session course at King's College for the London University Diploma in English Language and Literature; many took a course incorporating subjects like History and Economics at Fircroft; and, occasionally, one

went to a foreign university, usually in Grenoble or Berlin. (130)

The distinct scholarship schemes of the firm and Works Councils were amongst the formal means of encouraging education at Cadbury. Two other principal incentive strategies were financial assistance and time off. The long established system for the return of fees for classes and courses provided by recognized organizations like the local authority and W.E.A., or undoubted institutions like Birmingham University and Fircroft College, was further improved in the 1920's and 1930's. In 1921 the maximum permitted refund in any session was raised from 7/6 to 12/6. It was raised again in 1930 to a guinea (£1 1s.) and at the same time the age limit of 21 on males was abolished. To obtain the refund at least 85% of possible attendances had to be made and a favourable report received on performance. Entry fees could also be returned to successful candidates sitting approved public examinations. This latter inducement seems to have begun on a regular basis in 1923, but may have occurred to some extent before then. (131)

The existing and rather ad hoc system which permitted time off for study was rationalized in the 1930's into a more consistent and easily understood format. Those employees over normal Day Continuation School age (18) could be allowed a half day once a week at three quarter's pay, plus possibly an additional half day at half pay, in order to pursue an officially endorsed course. Such a course would almost certainly be one leading to a standard examination and qualification. The facilities were available for up to three years, or even more, depending on the nature of the course being undertaken, though an additional year of a half day or two half days a week without pay might be secured above the original period obtained. There were also age limits involved. For

instance, to get time off to do School Certificate and Matriculation examinations, and the preliminary or intermediate examinations of professional associations, as a general principle the applicant would have to be under 20. The age constraint for time off to do the final examinations of professional associations was 22 and to do university degrees was 23. In practice the rules were administered very flexibly and in this respect great importance was attached to whether or not a student was making satisfactory progress towards his goal. Leave of absence with full pay was given to sit examinations and candidates not otherwise receiving study privileges were allowed a half day a week at three quarter's pay, and another half day at half pay if necessary, for a month before their examinations. (132)

The formal educational opportunities at Cadbury were supplemented by a looser, more relaxed pattern of what was referred to as "social education". (133) Activities regarded as coming under this label were frequently on the borderline between education and recreation. Many were organized by the numerous Works clubs and societies, which were held to give employees the chance to develop their individual "capacity for self-expression" in whatever direction best suited them. The clubs and societies were run entirely by the employees themselves, though the firm did give financial aid to some either directly or via the Works Councils. Each had a committee, elected by the members, that fixed subscriptions and determined policy. They were felt to be doing what was "in effect, education work" of a very real, if unconventional, nature. An example of one way in which this was accomplished is furnished by the Dramatic Society, which offered "plays of good literary quality". It was a dynamic body that not only acted the classics, both old and new and both native and foreign, but also revived neglected plays and gave performances of pieces specially written by Bournville

authors. It devised new methods of presentation - notably staged readings, which were popular for a while, though seem to have ceased in the early 1930's. Box office considerations were not given priority in choosing what drama to put on, but productions of full plays could achieve total audiences of two thousand or more people and staged readings up to eight hundred. (134)

The main indoor centre for "recreational education", a description used in the late 1930's, (135) was the Dining Block. Part of this was erected at the close of World War One and the whole was completed in 1927. It contained a large canteen, a restaurant and several subsidiary eating places. There were lounges; distinct accommodation for specific purposes like lecture theatres and photographic dark rooms; and modern surgeries for the firm's own doctors and dentists. The building housed the headquarters of the B.Y.C., with a wide range of activities appropriately catered for in an exclusive suite; and was also where many of the other Works clubs and societies held their gatherings. A particularly attractive feature was a Concert Hall that could seat over a thousand people and which was not only suited to music but was adaptable for plays and films as well. It had a fine stage, a three-manual organ, and cinema projection apparatus. Not surprisingly, it was in almost constant demand for rehearsals, organ practice, talks, meetings and conferences in addition to musical and dramatic performances and movie shows. Consequently, careful allocation of Concert Hall time had to be made. This was mainly done through the Works Councils, the joint Welfare and Recreation Committee of which had a broad co-ordinating function over the Works clubs and societies, thereby helping to prevent any clash of interests between them. Beyond that the Councils did not exercise any control or influence over individual organizations. It appears that somewhere between two-thirds and three-quarters of the total number of employees

were members of Works clubs and societies - a remarkably high proportion testifying to the extent of their participation in this aspect of factory life. (136)

The Dining Block incorporated a single Works Library that combined the previously separate men's and women's libraries and brought in a miscellany of smaller collections: notably the men's and women's reference libraries, the Musical Society library, and Travel Bureau literature. Adjoining the Library was a larger and more pleasant reading room with magazines and reference books. (137) The Library was regarded as "a useful adjunct" to the firm's education system and in the late 1930's membership was about 4,000 with over 3,000 issues a week being made. The annual subscription was 1/6, though under 18's paid only a penny. (138)

The principal outdoor leisure facility added to those available to Bournville employees was Rowheath. The recreation grounds for men and women adjacent to the factory that had been opened in the 1890's proved insufficient in the new century as the labour force expanded and the volume of sport with it. In 1913 the Rowheath Estate, about half a mile south-west of the Works, was purchased, but the coming of war in 1914 delayed its development until the early 1920's, with completion in 1924. Seventyfive acres were given up to pitches for cricket, football, hockey and rugby together with tennis courts, bowling greens and croquet lawns. A further nine acres were occupied by a large pavilion and Garden Club with areas devoted to flowers, shrubberies, ornamental waters and pools, and gentler pastimes like clock golf. A few allotments concluded the arrangements, except for a lido added in 1937 - a gift from the firm to its employees which immediately became very popular. (139)

At the Works the men's and women's recreation grounds

continued to be improved and more amenities provided. The most important of these was the construction of an instructional swimming bath for men and boys. It was officially inaugurated on the 27th. April, 1936 and was intended for boys' classes at the Bournville Day Continuation School, for the men's classes run by the firm at the Works, and for practice by both men and boys, including members of the B.A.C. and B.Y.C. It was sited next to the old open-air men's bath along the Bird Cage walk that skirted the men's recreation ground and led to the Village Green and Bournville Day Continuation School. This old open-air bath, of 1896 vintage, was closed on the inception of Rowheath lido in 1937. (140)

Cadbury always emphasized the value of participation in some form of physical activity, and especially sport, as being not only recreational but also an integral element in the "education of the whole man." (141) The firm stressed repeatedly that it wished to see the greatest possible number - indeed, everybody - taking part in sport, which was considered to be a very significant factor in people experiencing sound, healthy and happy lives. (142) Sport was seen as counteracting what could be for many the sedentary and monotonous qualities of much factory employment. It promoted bodily fitness and mental acuity while, if team games or competitions were involved, it also encouraged people to pull together for the common good. It was thus, in essence, and at base, fundamentally educational in nature.

There is no doubt that the very considerable weight put by Cadbury on the benefits of sport, and physical activity in general, together with the extensive facilities made available for them, had an effect on the labour force. In an article in the July, 1938 issue of the Bournville Works Magazine entitled "Bournville Keeping Fit" it was stated that the B.A.C. and the B.G.A.C. had an aggregate

membership of around 3,600 while the B.Y.C. had supplied eighteen football teams over the 1937-38 winter and was currently running eight cricket teams. It also had hockey and tennis teams. Rowheath, and the two recreation grounds next to the Works, meant that employees had about a hundred acres at their disposal to indulge in practically every outdoor sport, from croquet to bowls and hockey to tennis. These areas, plus the swimming baths at the factory and lido at Rowheath, were frequently used by over a thousand people on Saturday afternoons. Works teams could be found in every popular sport while many employees who had no ambition to join one of these took part in departmental or inter-departmental competitions. As well there were physical training classes, rambles, cycle trips and much else besides. The article concluded that there "are not many forms of outdoor recreation for which some provision is not made at Bournville." (143)

The Cadbury definition of what came under the heading of "education" was obviously very comprehensive and certainly embraced travel. Indeed, in the 1923 pamphlet issued by the company which described its educational system there is a segment that is captioned "Education by Travel". (144) The Camp School was the prime example of this, but the more informal holiday kind of travel was accepted as having a role in widening experience and expanding the mind. The first B.Y.C. Camp was in the summer of 1901 to be followed by trips abroad from the early 1920's. These foreign sojourns were usually in association with the Bournville Day Continuation School which also began arranging week-long instructional breaks in London and a camp for girls. Continental journeys for the fair sex commenced in 1923. Most, if not all, of these excursions were subsidized by the firm either directly or indirectly via a School Social Fund to which a contribution was made. (145) They were considered as being "only types of a great variety of expeditions and enterprises that can

be readily carried out as developments of a Works educational scheme, and, in the broadest sense, this section of the work is probably as educational as any other." (146)

The more informal holiday kind of travel was encouraged through the introduction of a Travel Bureau by the Works Councils which disseminated information but does not appear to have made booking or similar arrangements. However, the Travel Sub-Committee of the Works Councils' Welfare and Recreation Committee did handle many departmental outings each year and, through co-operation with the railways, procured summer holiday trains reserved exclusively for employees and their relations. The Scholarships Committee of the Councils also had a supply of money placed at its disposal by a charitable trust for the assistance of those who, for financial reasons, could not go abroad unaided but who wished to visit another country for educational purposes or stay at the homes of foreigners with the object of stimulating friendship amongst the peoples of all nations. The Committee especially took into account any previous known interest in international problems shown by an applicant. Another condition was that applicants had to have made a recent contribution to voluntary social service activity unless any studies in which they may have been engaged had prevented them so doing. The same trust also made available to the Scholarships Committee a special fund from which amounts could be given to employees desiring to attend conferences at home and abroad. The conference had to be of a non-vocational, non-political and non-sectarian complexion. Additionally, the Committee could select each year a young person (male or female) to go to Geneva with the League of Nations Union Youth Camp. (147)

Day Continuation School students; the people pursuing technical and professional qualifications; others at the

wide variety of Works classes, courses, lectures, talks and structured discussions in the shape of study circles; scholarship holders; Library users; participants in Works clubs, societies and sport; concert-goers and film show audiences; travellers at home and abroad - the total of all these at any one moment in time can never be accurately gauged. However, by the late 1930's, with an immense range of opportunities and facilities open to them, there can have been very few of the 9,000 employees at the factory in a garden who were not taking part in, or being directly touched by, some form of educational or educative-recreational activity. This was a quite remarkable achievement of which Cadbury could be rightly and justifiably proud and it afforded abundant testimony "to the creation at Bournville of an atmosphere favourable to educational enterprise." (148)

ADMINISTRATION AND CO-ORDINATION : FUNCTIONS OF THE WORKS EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Educational arrangements may "demand from the employer much expenditure of time and money but ... a highly organized educational scheme is an important and even essential adjunct to a large modern business". So wrote R. W. Ferguson in 1920.(149) How best though, to carry out the complex task of organization required? Firms with particularly wide and comprehensive programmes of education and training (it being practically impossible to demarcate accurately between the two except at the extremes) would probably have a distinct and separate Education Department, but in other cases the oversight of educational provision might be entrusted to the Employment Department or to a section that was primarily concerned with a different branch of personnel management.(150) At Cadbury the expansion of the educational system had occasioned the formation of an Education Department before the First World

War. Its role grew along with the system down to 1938 and both administrative and co-ordinating functions can clearly be discerned in its operations.

In an administrative capacity the Department was responsible for the extensive range of tuition conducted by the firm itself - from Initiation School through Camp School to the Bournville Works School or Evening Institute and specific, vocationally-oriented courses like those for deputy forewomen and higher ranking, ambitious office girls. It also assisted factory bodies like the Works Councils, the many committees, and the numerous clubs and societies with their own educational schedules. This could involve help with such undertakings as classes, lectures, weekend schools, visits to other companies and enterprises, and travel at home and abroad. The Department dealt with the various aspects of the apprenticeship structure evolved by the firm, both those elements indigenous to the factory and those outwith it that might, for instance, mean negotiations with municipal technical colleges regarding the curricula being pursued by Cadbury students. It handled the administrative detail surrounding the awards of firm's scholarships and, frequently allied to this, the attendance of selected individuals at specialized part-time or full-time courses of study at outside educational establishments. It looked after the repayment of class and examination fees to those eligible to receive them. It had charge of setting and marking the tests and examinations that were given considerable emphasis by the firm in the recruitment and promotion of employees. (Cadbury seems to have been an early twentieth century pioneer in this particular use of tests and examinations and it remained uncommon in the industrial and commercial world even at the end of the 1930's). Successes in both internal and external examinations were carefully recorded by the Department together with all further available data pertaining to the educational progress of workers. The

files thus built up were considered to be of great value when questions of advancement and wages revision came to be considered, hence were one of the most significant administrative duties it performed. (151)

The co-ordination obligations of the Education Department were dominated by the presence of juniors at the Bournville Day Continuation School. Working hours and school hours had to be adjusted to suit the requirements of teachers, students, and factory departments; absentee returns from school investigated; transfers made between classes if warranted; and material items extracted from school reports for future reference. (152) The co-ordinating process could also be seen in the links the Education Department had with other departments. For example, it co-operated with the appropriate production departments in connection with apprenticeships; with the Men's and Women's Employment Departments regarding recruitment - notably that of juveniles; and with the Men's and Women's Staffing Committees, which supervised promotions and senior appointments for existing employees. The necessary interchanges were usually ensured by the head of the Education Department being a member of the relevant committees - for instance, he sat on the joint Scholarships Committee of the Works Councils and thereby liaised with that part of the Councils' educational endeavours. The Department was also the main point of contact with the educational world away from the factory. This contact occurred both through ordinary transactions with colleges and other places in Birmingham and elsewhere about matters such as the performance of Cadbury students, but additionally on a much wider basis through the process of keeping abreast of the latest developments in educational theory and practice from wherever they were emanating, locally, nationally, or even overseas. Thus the firm was enabled to avail itself of, and benefit from, those developments by adapting its own policy accordingly if this

was felt to be desirable. (153)

Administrative and co-ordinating functions were the basis of the Education Department's operations, but there was, too, an extremely strong service component. R. W. Ferguson stated it as his opinion that "a Works Education Department should be a service department, its resources in the way of advice and information being at the disposal of any employee, or group of employees seeking to take advantage of them". (154) This dictum was taken very seriously by Cadbury and could be seen in a number of directions. Extensive publicity was given at the factory to the classes and courses made available in Birmingham by the city authority, the W.E.A., the university and institutions like Fircroft. Literature about what was on offer at educational establishments in the rest of the country, and sometimes abroad, was also kept for employees to consult. Assistance was readily accorded to those with problems concerning their general or professional education - for example, where the right teaching or textbooks might be found to meet specific needs or the right qualifications to aim at in preparation for a chosen career path. This sort of assistance went further in that it could be utilized as well to help resolve any difficulties that employees were experiencing with the education of their children. In the leaflet inserted into the September, 1936 edition of the Bournville Works Magazine that proclaimed the delights awaiting in the new educational session at the factory and in Birmingham, a vast range of material is mentioned as being maintained for borrowing from the Education Department. This included regulations, syllabi and sets of examination papers from universities, professional associations, and examining bodies like the Royal Society of Arts; "books of reference in Economics, Industrial History and kindred subjects for use with various classes" together with a classified book list for

the same purpose; "a select list of standard works of fiction, drama, travel, poetry" and other categories to guide employees in their casual reading; "various periodicals dealing with educational and kindred topics"; and a few gramophone records for learning English pronunciation. (155) It can thus be seen that service constituted an important feature of the Department's labours and was symptomatic of the commitment to the all-round education of the worker that existed at the firm.

R. W. Ferguson once stipulated that a Works educational system "benefits from being controlled by a Works Education Committee" and that he had "found it very desirable for a Committee of this sort to represent, as far as possible, every section of employees". If some members of the Committee had been "democratically elected by their fellow-workers their position [was] strengthened" and the firm's educational system was thereby "likely to gain in greater measure the confidence of the employees in the factory". Where Works Councils had been formed, then they afforded "a convenient basis for [such] democratic representation". (156) This was certainly the case at Cadbury in the 1920's and 1930's, where the Education Department came under the jurisdiction of the Men's and Women's Education Committees. The broad assignment of the Committees as handed down by the Board of Directors was "the encouragement of education of all kinds throughout the Bournville community and the control of all educational schemes other than those run by the Day Continuation School and the Works Councils... [except] for the employer's part of the organization of the Day Continuation School scheme". Each Education Committee comprised one or two directors - of whom one was Chairman; two or three people nominated by the Board on account of their educational knowledge and experience - for example, R. G. Jones, a former teacher, was on the Men's Education Committee for many years; and two workers' representatives nominated by the Men's and

Women's Works Councils respectively. The head of the Education Department was the secretary to both Committees. (157) Until 1932 this was R. W. Ferguson. On September 26th. of that year he retired and was succeeded by C. A. Harrison, who had come to the firm in 1919 as the first full-time supervisor of the B.Y.C. (158)

There was "nothing rigid about the Bournville educational [system]. It was evolved gradually to meet the growing needs of the business and of its employees". (159) The mounting workload of the Education Department at Cadbury was an indication of the expansion of the education system at the factory in the quarter century down to 1938. The expansion was mirrored nationally in positive progress at all levels of education from the nursery school to the university. There was even increased awareness amongst employers of the importance of technical and commercial education for the labour force. (160) This was reflected in larger numbers being given day release to pursue their vocational studies, but the aggregate total was "comparatively small" compared with those at evening attendance. (161) However, as far as general education was concerned there remained scepticism (particularly in industry, less so in commerce) that anything over and above an elementary education concluding at 14 was required for the majority of workers. (162) The tally of boys and girls going to voluntary day continuation schools after the abrogation of the compulsory scheme under the 1918 Education Act in the early 1920's averaged only around 20,000 a year, and there were fewer at the end of the 1930's than in the middle years of the preceding decade. (163)

Cadbury was undoubtedly in the vanguard of educational provision by individual companies with both a concept and a system that may have been unmatched anywhere else - at home or abroad. The more than 2,000 junior employees it

was sending to the Bournville Day Continuation School for general courses in the second half of the 1930's was in excess of a tenth of those receiving such continuation school tuition in the country as a whole. The firm's view of the necessity for job-related education also seems to have been far less narrow than that of many others. For example, few concerns devoted much attention to the training of foremen, let alone forewomen, (164) and the Cadbury emphasis on proper preparation for such supervisory posts was possibly unequalled. This is epitomized in the way its introduction of lectures for Deputy Forewomen in 1919 appears to have been a national first. (165) The variety of classes and courses it made available at the Works for general education must have been unrivalled; (166) as must the range of scholarships it offered for both vocational and non-vocational purposes. The Cadbury idea of education as going far beyond the mere question of book learning and embracing almost everything from the academic to travel via sport, social activity and cultural projects like the hanging of good paintings and the showing of quality films was very broad and, perhaps, unparalleled - certainly in the extent to which it was applied in practice. Edward Cadbury asserted that the education system at the firm encompassed "a wider and more varied field than is covered by that of any other factory in the world". (167) An unprovable, but surely a nonetheless tenable, claim.

CHAPTER FOURDECLINE, 1939-1981

The Second World War inevitably brought great disruption to Cadbury with much attention - and factory space - devoted to military production at Bournville. The education system was sustained in as intact a state as possible and considerable effort was put into keeping to as normal a schedule as could be achieved in the circumstances which existed. After the war the firm entered on a sustained period of rapid sales growth until the late 1950's when there was a slowing down as the domestic market for confectionery appeared to have become saturated. Sales abroad, however, maintained a high level of growth. The education system at Bournville was consolidated along the lines that had been well established prior to the war but there were fewer Cadbury juniors to go on day continuation courses and there was waning interest amongst employees in some aspects of the opportunities on offer. The Works Councils' series of popular lectures, for example, had to be abandoned because of lack of support.

In 1962 Cadbury became a full public company with ordinary shares quoted on the Stock Exchange. Family control was thereby excised and in 1969 came a merger with the drinks enterprise Schweppes. The two events, together with a falling share of the chocolate confectionery market, occasioned an increasingly critical management appraisal of business performance. Cost-cutting took precedence over all other considerations and engendered an attitude that anything which was not obviously and directly concerned with the manufacture and selling of cocoa and chocolate was suspect. Social changes such as the intensifying power of television and the expansion of car ownership also meant that the workplace became less important as a centre of leisure pursuits. The consequence of both cost-cutting measures and social changes was that the education system

at Cadbury disintegrated between the early 1960's and early 1980's. Compulsory day release, the Bournville Works Evening Institute, scholarships and the Education Department itself disappeared, while educative-recreational amenities were substantially reduced. A century and a half of educational provision at the firm came to an end.

THE EXIGENCIES OF WAR

The second great global conflict that broke out in 1939 was this time one of total war and as a consequence had a commensurately deeper and far more wide-ranging effect on Cadbury than the first had done a quarter of a century before. The stance of the directors, despite their Quaker convictions, was now extremely positive in terms of effecting a real contribution to the war effort. That was seen especially in the making of munitions in contrast to the previous refusal to help in this sphere. The idea was to utilize the plant, tools, craftsmanship and technical, organizational and administrative ability available at Bournville to materially assist the national output of munitions. It was realized in 1940 with the formation of Bournville Utilities Ltd., a subsidiary of Cadbury Brothers, that took advantage of the premises and resources of the parent firm to fulfil contracts negotiated with the supply departments of the U.K. government. The new company operated principally on the Bournville site, producing aircraft parts, rockets, gas masks and similar items of military need. (The manufacture of jerricans and the pre-packing of spares for shipment overseas was done at the Cadbury depot in Battersea, London). In addition to the area allocated to Bournville Utilities, a large portion of the "factory in a garden" was occupied to meet war requirements by other undertakings - notably Austin, Lucas and John Player and the public sector in the form of the Ministry of Food and the Ministry of Works. Many

buildings, too, were exploited as storage space for important commodities and agricultural implements.

About 2,000 of the factory's almost 10,000 employees were transferred to Bournville Utilities. A further 2,000 joined the armed forces and around 3,000 were conscripted by the government for duty in war industries elsewhere. Chocolate and cocoa production continued with the remaining employees - the goods destined for the civilian market, service rations, life boat rations and liberated European citizens. The number of lines was reduced from 237 in 1939 to 29 in 1942 and this enabled savings to be made in labour, paper and factory space so that retail prices were increased considerably less than the rise in raw material costs would otherwise have warranted.

Employees set up civil defence units and the Bournville site had its own Home Guard, decontamination squad, light repair and rescue squad, roof spotters, fire watchers, Special Constables, Fire Brigade and Air Raid Precaution (A.R.P.) sections. Buildings were camouflaged with netting and roofs covered with broken coal and bricks. Rowheath was cultivated. Cadbury cookery demonstrators manned a food hints shop and advised on war cookery. Cocoa caravans - in effect, mobile canteens - dispensed hot drinks in bombed out areas and the firm's vans delivered cocoa to air raid shelters. B.Y.C. members were prominent in these tasks and also took part in the erection of shelters (1).

Educational activities during the war "followed a surprisingly normal course", (2) though obviously not without some disruption and curtailment. For example, the Day Continuation School premises were shut initially until sufficient air raid shelters had been made ready for all the students attending. During this period Cadbury rendered valuable, and disinterested, assistance by

offering temporary classrooms for about half the students, including those from other firms, in the factory Dining Block. The Visitors' Tea Room, the Lecture Room, several of the smaller dining rooms, the Youths' Club suite, and even the Concert Hall stage, were pressed into service as make-shift teaching accommodation for Day Continuation School purposes. (3)

Though it attempted to carry on as usual so far as it could the war unavoidably brought great changes to the life of the School. Student numbers inevitably fell as a consequence of the claims of the armed forces and the munitions industries. (4) By the spring of 1942 they were down to 890 (310 boys and 580 girls), of whom Cadbury supplied 800 (270 boys and 530 girls). (5) According to an entry in the Men's Education Committee minutes for March, the Bournville Day Continuation School had diminished by four-sevenths and there had been twelve reductions in staff, mostly on the girls' side. (6) In fact, enrolments were to drop further, but by January, 1945 there had been a recovery to 1,171 students - 432 boys (212 from Cadbury) and 739 girls (283 from Cadbury). (7) By July there were 1,620 students from ten firms, five municipal departments and thirteen central government departments. (8)

As a result of the extremely difficult labour conditions with which it had to contend Cadbury was compelled to lower the age at which their juniors left the Day Continuation School. In September, 1941 the Board of Directors decided that all youths, those in the offices as well as those in the production sections, would leave at 18. Hitherto, office youths had stayed until 19 and "the new arrangement would remove what had come to be very largely an artificial distinction between office and works as more secondary school boys now went into the works than into the offices direct." (9) Twelve months later the leaving age was cut to 17 for both males and females,

although an over-age facility remained for those on important examination or other special courses of study. (10) As soon as practicable the Board reinstated the leaving age to 18. This occurred in the spring of 1945 and was communicated in a factory notice, dated March 28th., which said "we are pleased to announce that conditions now make it possible to restore the Day Continuation School leaving age to 18 years. Junior employees will from now attend until the end of the term in which their eighteenth birthday occurs. Students due to leave at the end of a term will be entitled to apply for an extension to enable them to complete any special course of study on which they are engaged." (11)

Another effect of the war on the Day Continuation School was to disturb the establishment pattern of holidays. In the summer of 1940 the School closed for just a week (from July 29th to August 5th). It then resumed for an extraordinary vacation sitting during which the staff took a short break in rotation. (12) Thereafter it seems to have ceased to function for only a fortnight in the summer until 1944, when the interval involved became a month. Indeed, until then the School appears to have been operating on the basis of a mere four weeks holiday in toto a year, though this did create a serious problem of staggering staff time off that tended to disorganize the School curriculum. (13) With the end of the war in 1945 the traditional holiday format was reintroduced with the innovation of a week in October taken from the summer vacation. (14)

Within the context of extended tuition an interesting experiment took place in August and September, 1942. It was well described in an article in the October edition of the Bournville Works Magazine. It lasted for five weeks during which all those attending on one day a week had the "novel experience" of attending on five consecutive days

for a whole week. "The plan of work was also novel, and its general aim was to put before the students the idea of 'civic responsibility'". Thus about two hours a day were set aside for lectures on city council undertakings from gas through libraries to housing. Other lectures were also given and the girls had lecture-recitals on musical understanding while the boys went to a fruit picking camp organized by the B.Y.C. "A discussion period followed each lecture, and some lively exchanges between lecturer and listeners were heard Both boys and girls devoted time to handicrafts, the girls making soft toys and children's garments, and the boys wooden toys, all intended for war-time day nurseries." The article was quite candid in its summing up of the experiment. It reported "general agreement that the students enjoyed their one full week at school. Some frankly accepted it as 'a week's holiday from work', while others had more positive appreciation of the lectures and discussion, and regarded the longer periods allowed for the fewer subjects as an improvement on the many short lessons which are crowded into the curriculum of the usual one-day-a-week at school". (15)

At the beginning of the war classes organized by Cadbury at the factory, either as part of the Bournville Works Evening Institute or outside its jurisdiction, "ran on the usual lines", though not surprisingly those in Ambulance (First Aid) and Home Nursing attracted "record numbers". (16) In fact, there were more classes than normal because the Day Continuation School Headmaster, Mr. Bews, and his staff conducted over twenty in such subjects as Economics, Mathematics, Science, Handicrafts, Domestic Science and foreign languages for the benefit of employees. This was done to make good the shortage elsewhere, local authority establishments being able to offer only very modified and limited emergency programmes. (17) "Despite the difficult circumstances" (18) the second session of the war in 1940-41 saw some thirtyfive grant-aided classes with

776 students and in the third session, 1941-42, there were forty grant-aided classes with 827 students. (19) However, the prevailing conditions increasingly affected the volume of provision as the war went on; while Home Guard, Firewatching and similar duties, together with overtime, air-raids and the blackout all took their toll on attendance at the classes which were arranged. (20) In 1942-43 there were twentyfour grant-aided classes with 520 students; in 1943-44, twentytwo with 452; and in 1944-45, twentyfive with 560 (21).

Most of the classes were scheduled for the early evening, but a few had to be transferred to lunch hours or Saturday mornings. (22) The range of subjects available had a familiar ring about it with Mathematics and Science, Handicrafts, Home Nursing, Ambulance or First Aid, Bookkeeping, Boot Repairing, Shorthand and Typing, Gardening, Appreciation and Theory of Music, Arithmetic Revision, and Gymnastics all regularly appearing. (23) The dramatic impact of the war on study by Cadbury employees - whether at the factory, in local authority institutions or elsewhere - is illustrated by the substantial diminution in the numbers of those receiving refunds of class and examination fees:

Year Ending 31st August	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942
CLASS FEES	804	543	521	275	133	126
EXAMINATION FEES	235	219	199	113	67	42

The figures clearly imply both a considerable fall off in the aggregate of students and the increased difficulties those who were left must have had in meeting the requirements for a refund. (24)

Other aspects of the educational scene at Cadbury affected adversely by the war included Camp School, Initiation School and the bestowal of scholarships. The 1939 Camp School, which was held on a static site in

Nottingham, had to be broken up in the middle of the second of three weeks planned because of the growing international crisis. (25) The School had thereafter to be suspended for the duration of hostilities and was only revived in 1946 with a barge journey to Worcester and Tewkesbury. (26) Initiation School had to be reduced from the traditional week to three days. (27) Scholarships from the firm and Works Councils became progressively more restricted as the war went on, both because of labour shortages and reduction in the availability of appropriate courses on which employees might be sent.

Information about exactly what happened with regard to scholarships is rather patchy and a coherent picture is not easy to construct. As far as firm's scholarships are concerned there is mention in 1942 of a major two year award to Loughborough College for an engineering degree course together with six short period scholarships given to youths for courses in physical training and club leadership. (28) The previous year a factory notice dated 30th May, 1941 had outlined the holiday courses and summer schools open to youths, including some that provided training for club leadership. Full-time courses for a term or a year were also detailed, though it was indicated that the extent to which establishments could teach them had become very limited as a consequence of the war. Part-time courses of an evening or a half-day or two half-days a week in various subjects, and in physical training instruction and club leadership, were additionally shown as running. Applications for all these courses and scholarships were cordially invited and had to be in by June 9th., 1941. (29) It is clear from an entry in the Men's Education Committee Minutes for December, 1944 that eventually the longer residential scholarships for youths had to be abandoned "because of the War" and that the Board had agreed to suggest Outward Bound courses of a much briefer nature as a temporary replacement for them. (30) The cessation of

the longer scholarships was presumably due to labour scarcity, though this is not stated in the records.

However, that was certainly the case with similar Works Councils' scholarships. Those of any substantial length had to be suspended. The joint Scholarships Committee of the Men's and Women's Councils, in its summary of events in 1943-44, stated that "owing to the labour position it has not been possible to offer either residential or part-time courses... Arrangements may be made for scholarships to be offered for weekend refresher courses and for summer schools where requested, and where attendance at the course or school does not involve absence from work".(31) The residential and part-time scholarships were restarted in 1945 once the war was over. (32)

The years of global conflict between 1939 and 1945 saw three particularly important events in the history of education at Cadbury. These were the retirements of George Cadbury, junior and Edward Cadbury from the firm and, on the national scene, the Education Act of 1944. George Cadbury retired in 1943. He had entered the business in 1897 and became a Director in 1899. He was responsible for the reorganisation of educational provision at the company in 1906; the beginnings of the apprenticeship scheme in 1909; the appointment of R. W. Ferguson as Education Officer in 1911; and the inception of the Day School For Young Employees in 1913. As the Director in charge of education he was Chairman of the original Bournville Works Education Committee and then of the Men's Education Committee when it was formed in 1921. He was a strong proponent of education by travel and inaugurated Camp School in 1914. Along with Edward Cadbury, he was behind the introduction of the Initiation School in 1920.

Edward Cadbury also retired in 1943 - in December, a few months after George in July. He came to the firm in

1894 and was made a Director in 1899 with overall supervision of the women's departments as his main task. It was in this capacity that he was intimately involved in the commencement of junior girls' physical training classes in working hours in 1902. He was closely associated with, and supported, George Cadbury's educational endeavours and until 1923 was a member of one or more of the various committees that controlled the educational programmes at the factory. He chaired the Bournville Works Classes Management Committee and then, from 1921, the new Women's Education Committee, only resigning from the latter as a consequence of the increasingly onerous duties on him as the firm expanded. (He was succeeded by Dorothy Cadbury, who had already taken over from him in 1919 supervision of the women's departments). Edward was Management Chairman of the Women's Works Council from its foundation until his retirement in 1943, and was thus concerned with those educational developments of the inter-war years that emanated from initiatives by the Men's and Women's Works Councils - most notably the extensive range of scholarships that were made available for study of a non-vocational nature. On the vocational or semi-vocational side he gave birth to the Deputy Forewomen's Training Course in 1919, the success of which led to the Industrial Administration Course (1923) and the Girls' Office Organization Course (1926). (33)

George junior and Edward were the principal instigators of the educational system built up at Cadbury in the first decades of the twentieth century. They were ardent advocates of the better education of employees as a means of promoting individual welfare and social awareness, factory democracy and business efficiency, and good citizenship: all of which they believed were prerequisites of national economic and political survival. The esteem in which their achievements and views were held was reflected in a visit made to Bournville by R. A. Butler, President of

the Board of Education, on September 8th., 1943. He toured the Day Continuation School premises and discussed the problems of day release with the Headmaster, Mr. Bews, and Miss Partridge, the Senior Mistress. He also met a number of students. At the factory he saw some of the departments and talked to both Foremen and Forewomen. He later addressed a gathering of Birmingham educationists in the city centre and argued that education was the ally, indeed, the saviour of industry - Britain needed quality labour above all else and only education could ensure its supply. (34)

Butler's appearance at Bournville had followed a recently published White Paper on education, the essence of which became the Education Act of 1944. This was a very wide-ranging piece of legislation that amounted to a massive redefinition of the nation's educational order affecting both its administration and organization. The old Board of Education was superseded by a higher status Ministry of Education, while the rather large tally of local education authorities was reduced by a half. The school leaving age was scheduled to be raised to 15 and eventually 16. The elementary schools as such were abolished and replaced by a primary and secondary structure in which secondary education was to be for everybody and free of any fees. There was also to be part-time compulsory continuation education in working hours for all those up to 18 not otherwise undergoing full-time, or equivalent part-time, instruction. This was to be achieved in "Young People's Colleges", as they were called in the White Paper, or "County Colleges" as they were renamed in the Act. However, no date was set for their inception - a significant omission when considered in the light of what happened to the day continuation measure attempted in the Education Act of 1918. (35)

As early as 1941, speaking in Lincoln, Butler had referred to the need for an up-to-date version of the scheme Fisher had had in mind over a quarter of a century before and this was contained in Clauses 43-46 of the new Act. The County Colleges were to have a basically liberal ethos with a regime that would give "such further education, including physical, practical and vocational training, as will enable [students] to develop their various aptitudes and capacities and will prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship" (Clause 43, Section 1). (36) The remarkable persistence of the day continuation idea and policy owed not a little to the experience of Bournville Day Continuation School and Cadbury saw Butler's visit to the School and factory as a tribute to what had been accomplished there. (37) In the event the Butler intentions for day continuation education were destined to go the same way as those of Fisher and were never implemented on a national scale, though County Colleges were set up by a very small number of local authorities in anticipation of this aspect of the 1944 Act coming into force at some future point. (38)

Though welcoming the County College clauses of the 1944 Act as a vindication of their own views and practices with regard to day continuation education, Cadbury was very concerned about what they might mean for the association of Bournville Day Continuation School with the firm and its junior employees. The company was afraid that the close contact between factory and School could disappear if it was filled with non-employees or Cadbury boys and girls were scattered around various County Colleges. So alarmed was the firm that C.A. Harrison, the Education Officer, together with C. W. Gillett, who had taken over from George Cadbury, junior as the director in charge of education, and M. Tatham, another director who was a member of the Men's Education Committee, went to London to see Sir Robert Wood, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Education, about the matter

on November 23rd., 1944. The ensuing discussion seems to have focussed on the possibility of Bournville Day Continuation School being run by the chocolate manufacturer instead of the local education authority, with Cadbury employees attending plus juvenile labour from other businesses which had traditionally made use of the facility offered by the School. Sir Robert said such an adjustment was not ruled out by the Act, but he could not commit himself on the question of either central government or local authority grant aid if it was made. He pointed out that Bournville Day Continuation School had an outstanding record and a national reputation and, if Cadbury assumed control of it, then this development would encourage other firms whose motives were less idealistic to want their own establishments so that they could be operated in the interest of management rather than employees. He suggested that if Cadbury felt there were factory-related topics or subjects that might not come within the ambience of a County College curriculum then these could constitute the basis of additional provision within the Works. Sir Robert concluded by saying that the firm could always ask the local education authority to give its employees priority on places at the Bournville Day Continuation School and if the authority's agreement was obtained then this would solve whatever problems might arise on the School being designated a County College. However, since the County College clauses of the 1944 Act were to remain in abeyance so did any consequent potential difficulties that might have been caused for Cadbury with respect to Bournville Day Continuation School. The fears the company had, though, were very real and this was shown in the celerity with which the Harrison delegation was despatched to London to talk over the issue at the highest level. (39)

What was to be the abortive nature of the County College segment of the 1944 Education Act held a particular irony as the validity and efficacy of day continuation

philosophy and its application as demonstrated by Cadbury at the Bournville Day Continuation School seems to have been amply proven during the Second World War. In 1943 the Bournville Works Magazine reported that there were very few people in the factory between 18 and 40 so that the younger ones were taking much more responsibility and acquitting themselves well in these heavier duties. (40) C. W. Gillett, speaking at the Bournville Day Continuation School Speech Day in 1946, said "I wish I had time to read extracts from the hundreds of letters we have received from men and women in the Forces expressing their appreciation of what the School had given them." (41) An entry in the Men's Education Committee Minutes for March, 1941 reads: "the value of Day Continuation School education to past students entering various forms of National Service was being repeatedly stressed. Special arrangements were being made for Refresher Courses for past students, occasionally in the form of a half-day attendance by leave of absence from work, but principally by attendance at evening classes conducted by Mr. Vick." (42) (Mr. Vick was a member of the School staff). In January, 1943 the Women's Education Committee was recorded as having made "reference to the evidence of the success of the firm's educational policy and of employees' responses to their opportunities for further education as shown by their experiences and achievements in many forms of National Service" and "the adaptability and contentment of girls in the Services as further evidence of the success of their Bournville training". (43) Perhaps the best summing up of the vital role that day continuation education could contribute to the national destiny came from D. M. Nicholls in his history of Bournville Day Continuation School published in 1946. He wrote then of the recent conflict:

"The situation became infinitely more critical than in the first war, and yet it helped in many ways to emphasize the paramount value of the services the School had rendered and could render to the community. It became clear that a boy passing out of the School

into the Forces had a marked advantage over the boy taken direct from a factory, which had made no provision for their employee's education. The abnormal number of old students, who rapidly became N.C.O.'s or physical training instructors in the Forces, emphasizes this, and was often confirmed by the authorities... The value of a more general education and the encouragement of the cultural side of life play a much greater part towards success in the rough and tumble of modern war than is often realized." (44)

Though he was not a disinterested observer - Nicholls was currently Senior Master at Bournville Day Continuation School and had been on the staff almost since its start as the Day School For Young Employees - his statement may be accepted as a reasonably sound assessment of the extent to which day continuation education was capable of improving individual competence, perception and performance.

Without a doubt the war years were extremely difficult for Cadbury, but the firm's "Education Department set itself the task of maintaining essential services [in order to ensure that] employees were encouraged and enabled to continue their education and embark upon purposeful spare-time activities." (45) This task was, in fact, carried out with great success and remarkably little of the system had to be abandoned entirely for the duration. Those of its components that did have to be suspended were restored as soon as practicable once peace was declared. The stress that Cadbury placed on proceeding with as many of its educational programmes as it could in the circumstances that prevailed gives a cogent indication of the importance that the firm ascribed to them.

PROGRESS AND PERIL

Laurence Cadbury became Chairman of Cadbury Brothers and the British Cocoa and Chocolate Company at the beginning of January, 1944. The fourth son of George

Cadbury, senior, and a Cambridge graduate in Economics, he had joined the firm in 1911. He was made a Director in 1919 with responsibilities that included engineering and production. During the inter-war period he played a leading role in the co-ordination of the Cadbury and Fry businesses after their merger; he oversaw the great building and capital re-equipment plans that were realized; and he was heavily involved in setting up the overseas factories in Australia, New Zealand, Eire and South Africa. He assumed the chairmanship of Bournville Utilities when it was created in 1940. This record made Laurence ideally suited to succeed Edward Cadbury as the firm's dominant figure on the latter's retirement at the end of December, 1943. (46)

The post-war environment in which Laurence guided Cadbury until his own departure in 1959 was different in many ways to that of the twenties and thirties when he had been so major an influence on the firm's progress. After 1945 a variety of changes took place in the economic and social life and structure of the country that presented not inconsiderable problems for the company. These were by no means easy to deal with and were probably, overall, more difficult to resolve than those of the fragile peace between 1918 and 1939. (47) Persistent inflation, a high level of employment, growing affluence and much enhanced government control over the economy were all conditions having troublesome aspects to them. For example, extended government industrial regulation was particularly marked in matters of location. This meant that the pre-war expansion of Bournville was not allowed to resume (and similar restrictions applied at Somerdale, the Fry factory just outside Bristol). The consequence was that a sizeable production unit for chocolate biscuits and a number of other lines for which demand was rising both at home and abroad had to be built, not at Bournville, but at Moreton, near Birkenhead, an area for which permission for

developments was readily given. Moreton manufacture began in 1950 and by the early 1960's was engaging about 3,000 employees. However, there were unavoidable cost disadvantages. These were both overt and covert, including the transport of some partly finished materials between sites and the lack of day-to-day contact between technical and production staff at Moreton and their sales and marketing colleagues at Bournville. (48)

Growing affluence entailed consumer durables like television sets, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators and motor cars came increasingly within the purchasing power of the average household. This resulted in more contending items of expenditure and "reduced the spare cash available for confectionery ... in a society... less concerned with the food value of chocolate than in the 1920's and 1930's". (49) These factors brought about what seemed to have become an almost static U.K. market for confectionery by the end of the 1950's. In 1939 domestic consumption of confectionery was a little over 7 ozs. per capita per week - higher than anywhere else in the world. It was only 3 ozs. in 1946 but once the rationing of raw materials such as sugar was abolished in 1953 it rose rapidly to 8.9 ozs. It then dropped back to 8 ozs., where it appeared to stick; though it was to fall again after the imposition of 15% purchase tax in the April, 1962 budget. It thus looked as if the U.K. confectionery market had become saturated apart from any extension that might emanate from the slow growth of population. Competition in the industry, always strong, intensified further since the only way to boost sales was to gain market share from rivals. This occasioned a marked upward trend in Cadbury's outlay on advertising, with the latest and most costly medium - that of television - absorbing a burgeoning proportion of it after the advent of commercial transmissions in the mid-1950's. (50) In reality, Cadbury products, together with those of its subsidiary Fry, had a

large, though certainly not monopolistic, share of the market. (51) There was some success in improving this share so that in 1962 Cadbury had over 30% of the chocolate market with Fry's having a supplementary, and quite respectable, slice on top of that. The firm's three principal adversaries had about a third between them. (52)

Being competitive meant keeping down costs and in pursuit of this objective manufacturing efficiency at Cadbury was fostered by technical advance in the form of mechanization, automation, and mass-production. However, the extent to which mass-production could be applied in practice had limits since it was in conflict with consumer demand for variety; a conflict aggravated by the additional, and differing, requirements of the export trade. Plant therefore had to have a measure of flexibility, but that was clearly inimical to effective mass-production. Hence a balance had to be struck between maximum efficiency and maximum appeal. The necessary rationalization, with the number of lines cut from over 200 in 1939 to 60 by 1963, was, in fact, accomplished without any significant impact on sales. (53)

Cost pressures were certainly greater than they had been in the inter-war period. For example, the prices of raw materials like cocoa and sugar had then fallen considerably, but after 1945 there was a sustained long-term climb in the charges for such inputs; while conditions of heavy unemployment and wage stability were replaced by a situation of full, or near-full, employment that led inevitably to wage-rates being pushed up. These factors, together with the need for mounting expenditure on sales promotions, were not conducive to the sort of price reductions for the company's products (especially moulded chocolate) that had been perhaps the outstanding feature of the inter-war years. Price increments were more the order of the day, but they were held to a minimum by gains in

efficiency and the acute nature of competition in the confectionery industry. (54)

Cadbury asserted that "by far the most satisfactory way of relieving the burden of rising costs is to ensure the continued expansion of sales". (55) This the firm did exceedingly well after the war until the late 1950's, with expansion particularly rapid in the half decade from the end of rationing in 1953 until 1958. Subsequently, there was slower growth, with a relatively quiescent volume of output and sales at home that had an adverse effect on profit levels since costs went on increasing. (56) This contrasted strongly with the previous ten years of record sales up to 1958 and is clearly indicated in the overall figures for the value of goods sold by the company : £53,296,000 in 1952, £82,504,000 in 1957 and £91,899,000 in 1961. (57) The problem was mainly a domestic one and rather less evident in the firm's overseas operations which, by the early 1960's, were contributing almost a quarter of the firm's sales and profits. (58) The position was epitomized by the financial results for 1962 when the total sales of the Cadbury business in the U.K. were only marginally higher compared with 1961 but those of the overseas subsidiaries went up by nearly 5%. (59) The transoceanic factories had mostly been founded in the inter-war years and were managed by local boards of directors who had complete autonomy except for major capital investment decisions and the appointment of new directors. As they matured and prospered they were better able to fund their activities from their own profits and there emerged a substantial two-way traffic between them and their U.K. parent in technical know-how and experience. (60)

The uncertainties created for Cadbury after 1945 by the absence of the heavy unemployment characteristic of the inter-war period were not confined to scarce labour using

its enhanced bargaining strength to get improved wage rates. There was also the difficulty of obtaining and retaining workers in the first place when there were so many opportunities available to them to go elsewhere - the booming motor vehicle industry in Birmingham and the surrounding area being an obvious example. The expedients adopted to meet it were the greater use of machinery, the taking on of more part-time employees, and the extension of shift and night working. In addition, efforts were made to contain the intensified labour turnover that tends to accompany a state of full employment. Success in some measure seems to have been achieved in this respect since in 1961 the Bournville Works Magazine noted that labour turnover at the factory was "impressively low". (61)

Good conditions for employees were regarded by Cadbury as an important means of attracting and keeping labour, with the provision of educational facilities an essential component of them. The Bournville Day Continuation School remained the basic element in that provision in the quarter century or so after the Second World War. Its primacy was illustrated quite graphically in the two years immediately following the end of global conflict in 1945. The war had inevitably disrupted children's education and "fundamental deficiencies" (62) were clearly evident in some of the particularly poor quality male recruits whom the firm had reluctantly to accept into its ranks. Indeed, a few of these proved to be practically illiterate, "barely able to put a word to paper correctly." (63) In early April, 1946 the Cadbury Board of Directors decided that with effect from the Summer Term "all boys under 15 at present in the firm's employ, or engaged during the ensuing year, should attend the Day Continuation School half time [two and a half days a week] up to the end of the term in which the fifteenth birthday occurs". However, in the event staff shortages at the School, which had seen a big influx of students with the return of peace, meant a total of just 26

new boys who had started at the chocolate company on April 29th. were enabled to be given the benefit of half-time tuition. Even that limited application of the original stipulation by the Board was only made possible by some of Cadbury's own employees helping out with the teaching. For example, A. T. Davies, from the firm's Education Department, began doing English and Current Affairs. (64)

In the following (Autumn) term, 1946, the length of attendance was cut from two and a half days to two a week so as to reduce pressure on the School's staff. The pattern which seems to have emerged for the experiment comprised a simple mosaic in which new 14 year old male juniors went to the Day Continuation School for two days a week in their first term and could then carry on with two days' attendance a week (instead of the compulsory one) for a further term on a voluntary basis if they so wished. (65) The rationale behind it was explained in the conclusion to an assessment of the initial stage of the project written for the Men's Education Committee by A. T. Davies, who adjudged that:

"... it seems from all points of view worth expending every effort on the lads at the present time. They are as unsettled as a great many of their fellow countrymen, and the links which bind them to the firm are by no means strong. They realize (and are not slow to say) that they could have a choice of jobs, and if the bonds are to be strengthened they must feel that everything possible is being done for them. The fact that 'the choice of jobs' is in many cases a fool's paradise does not lessen their superiority at fourteen years of age". (66)

When the experiment was ended is unclear, but with the raising of the ordinary school leaving age from 14 to 15 on April 1st., 1947 it was rendered redundant. Significantly also in this connection Cadbury assistance with the teaching load at the Day Continuation School appears to have finished with the Summer Term of 1947. (67)

The School saw a very important change during the period of extended weekly tuition for new male Cadbury recruits of 14. This was the retirement of Mr. Bews, the long-serving Headmaster, and the (delayed) appointment of a successor. Mr. Bews brought to a close his thirtythree year association with the Bournville Day Continuation School at the expiration of the 1945-46 session. At his final Speech Day Mr. D. M. Nicholls, the Second Master, who had arrived at the School shortly after Mr. Bews, said that the Head's task was like that of a circus rider controlling four horses - the local education authority, firms sending students, School staff, and the students. Mr. Bews, he asserted, had "co-ordinated them with great skill". C. W. Gillett, on behalf of the Cadbury Board of Directors, remarked that "Mr. Bews' home life has, I am sure, been part of the success of the School. As the old boys and girls come back it is to Mr. Bews' house that they first trek, and I think it is this personal friendship with the students which all old students will agree has been the key to the success of Mr. Bews' long career." The Bournville Works Magazine summed up its report of the Speech Day and analysis of the retiring Head's influence by saying that for thirtythree years Mr. Bews had "devoted himself single-mindedly and single-handedly to one job - the man was the job and the job was the man". (68)

The Men's Education Committee in its special minute on the retirement of Mr. Bews emphasized his great public stature. "As Headmaster of the first Day Continuation School to be established in this country, Mr. Bews was a pioneer in the development of this form of education", the minute reads. "It was in no small degree on the basis of his achievements [at Bournville] that Ministers of Education during the two world wars formulated the national system of part-time education embodied in the Day Continuation School section of the Fisher Education Act of 1918 and the County College section of the Butler Education

Act of 1944". (69) A future Principal at Bournville, Albert Weedall, echoed these sentiments in 1963. He wrote that "the contribution of Mr. Bews to the development of day release for non-apprentices in this country cannot be over-estimated. For thirtythree years he had struggled to show that further education for all was a possibility. Two Acts of Parliament had adopted the ideas that he had so constantly advocated, and ex-students all over the world appreciated what he had done for them personally." (70)

The departure of Mr. Bews left the Bournville Day Continuation School with only a temporary Headmaster at a critical moment in its history - numbers were climbing rapidly and there was much uncertainty in the teaching body about its position under a prospective County College regime. A delay in naming his successor arose as a consequence of tardiness by the new Ministry of Education in indicating the salary scale to be applied in this particular appointment. (71) For the Autumn Term of 1946-47 Mr. D. M. Nicholls, the Second Master, who, being near retirement age himself, had also resigned, agreed to stay on as Acting Head of the boys' half of the School, while the Senior Mistress, Miss Dora Partridge, became Acting Head of the girls' half of the School. Mr. Nicholls had overall responsibility for organization and administration. (72)

The fame of the Bournville Day Continuation School and the esteem with which it was held in the educational world was demonstrated by a total of no less than 130 applications for Mr. Bews' job. From a shortlist of six chosen for interview, Mr. B. Z. Cohen, a local candidate who was currently in charge of the Harborne and Quinton Evening Institute, was chosen as the new Head. (73) He was a Yorkshireman who had been teaching in Birmingham since 1919 at both a grammar school and further education level. He took over the Bournville Day Continuation School on

January 1st., 1947, finally allowing Mr. Nicholls to begin a well-deserved retirement after thirtytwo years of loyal and devoted service to an establishment of which he was intensely proud. (74)

Mr. Cohen assumed control of the Bournville Day Continuation School when staff morale was low as a consequence of the disruption caused by the Second World War, the shortage of teachers, the long reign of Mr. Bews finally coming to an end and the delay in appointing his successor, and doubt about what was going to happen to the School in the new County College era. There was a distinct feeling amongst the staff that decisions might be made about their future without them being informed or consulted. (75) However, mounting student numbers did presage a bright outlook at least in that regard though it did also present problems. At his final Speech Day in the summer of 1946 Mr. Bews said that running the School remained extremely difficult with young people changing their work, firms taking away their employees at different ages, and an efflux at the expiration of each term. There were new students almost every week, while some businesses sent their juniors to 16 years of age, others to 18. (76) What could occur was graphically illustrated in the Autumn Term when Mr. Nicholls and Miss Partridge were in command before Mr. Cohen took up his duties in January, 1947. In September the School opened with just over 400 boys and 950 girls - then the Post Office decided to send around 400 boys in October and 200 girls in November. This provoked massive readjustments and a demand for extra staff. In December the School had reached a total of 864 boys and 1,245 girls in attendance. (77)

The upsurge in student numbers was reflected elsewhere in Birmingham. As early as December, 1944 C. A. Harrison, the Cadbury Education Officer, told the members of the Men's Education Committee that the County College clauses

of the 1944 Act had stimulated the expansion of day continuation courses in the city even though there was no date for the implementation of these clauses. He said there were "encouraging developments" with classes attended by 140 young people from fifty employers at Selly Oak Technical Institute and with similar classes on the north side of Birmingham. (78) In fact, since 1943 the tally of students in the city's day continuation classes had been "increasing more and more rapidly" and passed the pre-war maximum in the 1946-47 session. (79) In that session there was an aggregate of 3,785 day continuation students in Birmingham at one Day Continuation School - Bournville - and in five groups of classes that took place on employers' premises and in which all the students were drawn from a single firm. (80) Most of them were apparently doing "courses of a general educational character".(81)

This picture evident at Bournville and in Birmingham as a whole was repeated nationally. The recent global conflict had revealed a serious shortage of adequately educated and trained personnel for industry that had hampered the war effort and was bound to jeopardize peacetime economic survival. The result was that once the fighting ceased there was a strong rise in the volume of young workers released by their employers for one day, or two half-days, a week to pursue an educational or training programme of some kind. In the 1938-39 session the sum total on part-time day release was 42,000 (less than fifty per cent of this representing students at a continuation school). It was 167,400 in 1946-47 and 241,500 in 1949-50. This striking development occurred during a period when juvenile labour was relatively scarce - conscription was in force and the minimum school leaving age was put up to 15 from April, 1947. It thus meant industry willingly making considerable sacrifices in giving practical expression to a growing belief in the value of further education for young workers. The major proportion of those released were

undertaking technical and commercial courses to obtain recognized qualifications like City and Guilds of London Institute certificates. However, those released for the express purpose of engaging in less vocationally orientated general courses of study also showed a clear upward trend. (82)

In March, 1949 Bournville Day Continuation School became Bournville Day Continuation College in accordance with a decision of the City of Birmingham Education Committee to rename the establishment in line with the nomenclature envisaged for the future County Colleges. B.Z. Cohen, the Headmaster, was restyled Principal. (83) The strong buoyancy of enrolments at the College after the war, which even the raising of the school leaving age in 1947 seems to have left unaffected, appears to have reached a peak in 1949-50, the first full session of its new identity. By the end of the academic year in 1950 the College had achieved a register of 2,876 students (1,975 female and 901 male) drawn from about forty employers in both the private and public sectors - free enterprise companies, central government departments, the municipality, the social services and nationalized concerns. (84) Though they could fluctuate considerably, thereafter numbers tended to drop as further education facilities were progressively augmented in the city and students went elsewhere, perhaps to a place nearer their home or where they worked. (85) A case in point was the Kingsbury Day Continuation College for girls which was launched in 1951. It was on the opposite (northern) side of Birmingham and meant fewer female students going to Bournville. (86) Another was in 1957 when Digbeth Day Continuation College in the centre of the city was inaugurated for the teaching of municipal employees and police cadets, who were thus withdrawn from Bournville. Later they were to be transferred yet again to a recently created Commerce and General Studies Department at Matthew

Boulton Technical College, which was also in the centre of the city. (87) Initially, the fall in enrolments stabilized around the 1,800 mark which was, for instance, the actual total coming from approximately sixty employers in the Autumn Term of 1953. (88) There was then a fresh downturn to a figure of about 1,400. This was epitomized in the spring of 1959, when there were 1,430 students (910 girls and 520 boys) from thirtyfour employers. (89)

The Cadbury-originated element in the student body at Bournville Day Continuation College was usually within the 40-50% range in the late 1940's and most of the 1950's. A typical situation might be that at the beginning of the 1951-52 session when the College had 1,120 girls and 630 boys (a sum of 1,750) of whom 758 (or 42%) were Cadbury employees (506 girls and 252 boys). (90) However, as the register at the College declined, the firm's share of it improved substantially. In March, 1961, for example, there were in the vicinity of 1,375 students (875 girls and 500 boys) in attendance, of whom 800 (or 58%) were Cadbury juniors, made up of 500 girls and 300 boys. (91) Hence the importance of the chocolate company to the College in this context increased again, though never scaled the heights of the inter-war period.

Its students may have been comparatively less dominant at the establishment than they once were, but the links between Cadbury and Bournville Day Continuation College remained extremely strong. This was shown once more in 1953 when the College commemorated the fortieth anniversary of its initiation on October 6th., 1913. To facilitate the progress of drama, the firm used the occasion to make a sizeable contribution towards the cost of installing a stage in the Music Room, thereby equipping it also as a Little Theatre. (92) The fortieth anniversary celebrations went on throughout the Autumn Term of 1953. They included a special Old Boys' Association gathering in October at

which George Cadbury, junior, the guest of honour, said that the best preparation for life was a combination of employment and part-time day education from leaving secondary school until age 18.(93) The first week in December saw several events. Amongst them were an exhibition of students' work with the College open to the public; a reunion of students from the trail-blazing, experimental session of 1913-14 and past and present staff; and an anniversary concert given by current students. Both the latter were at the factory, thus again emphasizing the enduring Cadbury ties with the College that to all intents and purposes it had founded four decades previously. There was also an Old Boys' Association Anniversary Dinner at the Market Hotel in the city centre. (94) At the staff-student reunion Mr. Bews, in an echo of George Cadbury's view expressed a couple of months earlier, stated that continued part-time day education was a far more crucial consideration than raising the school leaving age because it accorded young people a means of discovering their potentialities in a way they were not enabled otherwise so to do. At the Old Boys' Dinner he reiterated his remarks and put forward his "unshakeable opinion" that if every boy and girl in the country had had the advantage of continued education the nation would be in a far better position than it was. (95)

In reporting the celebrations the Bournville Works Magazine declared that

"the aim of the College remains the same as when the pioneer classes started forty years ago at Stirchley - not to give specific technical or professional training, but to continue the general education of the young employee in Industry, Commerce and the Public Services at any level within the appropriate age group, to broaden his or her interests, so that, whether the student is to become a highly skilled specialist with hand or brain, or to form one of the great army of unskilled and semi-skilled workers on whom Industry so largely depends, he or she shall have acquired at any rate the rudiments of good citizenship

and shall have discovered a worthwhile hobby or an interest of lasting value." (96)

To this end, explained the periodical, private study and free discussion were encouraged among the senior students, physical activities like gymnastics and swimming were compulsory, and art and crafts were a significant element in the curriculum. (97)

The Bournville Works Magazine thus stressed permanence and tradition, but this did not mean that either the College or the curriculum of its general courses were fixed in an unalterable mould. At a Speech Day held on July 1st., 1949 B.Z. Cohen referred to the conversion of the College from a School the preceding March as a presage of the promised upcoming County College era. The change also entailed a transition from a School with two sections for boys and girls to a College in which, wherever possible he avowed, subject, interests, desires and ultimate aim, and not just sex, would decide what students did. He hoped that they would find their opportunities greatly widened now they had at their disposal the facilities of a more integrated institution. (98)

The bulk of the students at the College undertook the general courses done there. The curriculum of these was always kept under review. Devising and testing new methods and avenues of approach was recognized as essential in improving their effectiveness and ensuring they were adapted to meet constantly evolving student and employer needs and attitudes. The retirement of Mr. Bews and accession of Mr. Cohen was bound to give impetus to this process. In the autumn of 1948, for example, an attempt was made to increase the practical bias in the curriculum with the introduction of Bookbinding and Printing on the boys' side and more domestic science for the girls. (99) However, the main experiment tried by Mr. Cohen was not altogether successful and attracted some criticism from

employers. This particular venture was a much enhanced scheme of options embarked upon in the 1949-50 session. (100) It was subsequently defended by the Principal as having "an important part to play in educating students to exercise their own judgement and to make decisions." (101)

At the commencement of the scheme there were only two compulsory subjects, English and Physical Education, (102) though in the following session it was left to employers to decide whether or not Arithmetic should also be made compulsory for their own juniors. (103) Eventually, it seems to have become an official obligatory requirement for all first year boys and girls, and all second year boys, doing general courses at the College. It was certainly categorized in this manner on a list of subjects done on these courses supplied to the Cadbury Education Committee by Mr. Cohen in the spring of 1954. The list showed the options for boys encompassed Social Studies, Woodwork, Science, Technical Drawing, Art, Drama and Motor Transport. The boys also did a Pre-National Service class during two terms of their final year. It was down as an option on the list but appears to have been taken by all the boys (except, perhaps, those who were not immediately proceeding to their National Service at 18) and Cadbury male juniors certainly did it. The options for girls embraced Music, Art, Needlework, Drama, Mime, Social Studies, Physiology, Personal Welfare, Mothercraft, First Aid, Fashion Parade, Cookery, and Household Arts. An explanatory note from the Principal accompanying the list indicated that first year students were warned they would have little actual choice of options until they reached their second or third years when the range was widened substantially. He suggested that "this situation is probably an improvement on the earlier one in which girl school-leavers, in particular, suffered something of a shock on [initially] encountering the free atmosphere and lack of a cut-and-dried curriculum" at the College. He added that "the popular options are

'rationed', but all boys and girls attending for three years get the chance of doing subjects of their choice for at least one term". The Principal also clarified the position of Social Studies as "a compendium subject which tries to balance the curriculum, where necessary". He cited Science as an instance of this. It was available only on a very restricted basis and could not be offered to some groups "because of the demands on the time of specialist teachers." However, it "is introduced into the Social Studies syllabus under the title of Great Achievements, which deals with engineering, medicine, oil, atomic research, etc. Other programmes include the City Council and Services, Government and the Law, Housing, Transport, Fuel and Power, Child Welfare, etc."(104)

Almost from its inception the enlarged options scheme provoked the hostility of employers. In March, 1950 when it had been in existence for only a few months, a meeting of their representatives was held to discuss the timetable difficulties which the scheme had inevitably occasioned and what some employers considered too much latitude allowed to students to choose "soft options" like Art or a craft. (105) In the summer a Cadbury delegation told the Principal and his two senior staff that more control over option choice should be exercised so as to try to ensure that the opportunity for students to take "soft options" did not lead to their overall pattern of study being seriously distorted. The Principal responded by saying that greater efforts would be made to grade the students and adapt the courses to their intelligence. (106) The modifications that were made to the scheme as a result of experience with it in operation did serve to mollify employer disapproval to some extent and in the case of Cadbury by 1954 the Education Committee was able to pronounce itself satisfied with "the broad lines of the options system". (107) The difficulties associated with the scheme, though, brought its abandonment three years

later. From the beginning of the 1957-58 session it was replaced by an arrangement under which there were subject changes on a termly and yearly basis.

The decision to end the options scheme had several factors behind it apart from the adverse feelings of employers. There was also the dubious way in which students sometimes picked their options - because of the personalities of teachers, the preferences of friends, the amount of effort (or lack of it) they thought any particular class might need; the application of minimum and maximum numbers so that students might not get the options they really wanted; and workload pressures on staff, or actual shortages of staff, that meant it was not always possible to offer all options to all students. Taking everything into consideration the College came to the conclusion that probably the best policy was to impose most of the subjects done on the general courses with options only a minor, instead of a major, element in the curriculum. (108)

The more able students might be prepared for School Certificate or Higher School Certificate examinations (and from 1951 their replacements the General Certificate of Education at both Ordinary and Advanced Levels) or, for example, R.S.A. examinations of an equivalent standard. A few would pursue qualifications with a vocationally-oriented bias or content. (109) At the end of the 1950's not so able, but brighter, students amongst those on the general courses began to be entered for the elementary examinations, especially in English and Arithmetic, set by the R.S.A. and also the Union of Educational Institutions, which was the local regional examining body for further education in the Midlands. (110)

Throughout all the changes at Bournville Day Continuation College under Mr. Cohen Cadbury maintained its

deeply-rooted emphasis on the "desirability, on all counts, of general, rather than narrowly vocational" education for its junior employees (111) and that was seen in the way in which the firm's apprentices had additional time allocated to this. Apprenticeship tuition details were adumbrated in the Men's Education Committee minutes for September, 1945. They showed that one day a week was devoted to trade studies at the Central Technical College or College of Arts and Crafts and half a day a week to general education at what was then Bournville Day Continuation School, though that half day was for the first year of apprenticeship only. (112) In September, 1946 this disposition was confirmed by the Apprentices' Sub-Committee (113) (which was renamed the Apprenticeship Sub-Committee on the amalgamation of the Men's Education and Women's Education Committees in 1948 to form a single Education Committee). However, in August, 1950 the members of the Sub-Committee discussed a suggestion that the half day a week of general education at what had become Bournville Day Continuation College should be extended from the first to the second, and even the third, year of apprenticeship. (114) They resolved that there should be no immediate modification to the existing rule, but in the summer of 1951 paid a visit to the College to assess the value of what apprentices did there. This strengthened the growing conviction that apprentices should have more opportunity of education apart from their technical classes. Hence it was determined that they be sent to the Bournville Day Continuation College for a half day a week until their eighteenth birthday. (115) In practice this entailed them going in their second year as well as their first since apprentices were normally selected at 16 on six months' probation and indentured at 16 1/2. The period of apprenticeship lasted five years or until the twentyfirst birthday, whichever period was the longer. (116) The number of apprentices in training tended to increase from about sixty in the early 1950's to around a hundred in the early 1960's. (117) The decision in

favour of prolonging the half day a week of general education at the Continuation College was taken in the form of a trial for the 1951-52 session. B. Z. Cohen's appraisal of the trial as a success resulted in its becoming a permanent feature of the apprenticeship scheme. (118)

Most office recruits at Cadbury were female and took the general course at the Bournville Day Continuation College. If they were able and interested enough they might do G.C.E. examinations or possibly a more vocationally-oriented qualification like the National Certificate in Commerce. Instruction in shorthand and typing, and in the use of various kinds of office machinery, was done in the firm's own Clerical Training Department. Male recruits to the offices would usually be potential management material already having attained at least the Ordinary or Advanced level of the G.C.E. They would go to the Bournville Day Continuation College, Birmingham College of Technology or Birmingham College of Commerce part-time in pursuit of a professional qualification - in law or accountancy, for instance. (119) It was noted by the Education Committee in 1958 that post - "A" level young men employed at 18 or 19 were mostly attending the College of Commerce for one day a week. (120)

The growing engagement of those with "A" level G.C.E.'s epitomized a particular trend at Cadbury which had become evident in the inter-war period and which intensified after 1945. This was the way in which, though young employees still largely came to the company at the minimum school leaving age, an increasing proportion were taken on at a later age with qualifications gained in the sixth form, at college or university. (121) The trend reflected rising numbers in school sixth-forms and in further and higher education. Cadbury maintained as a

consequence employing from these sources was the only means by which the "firm's due share of young people's natural ability could be secured". (122)

However, its commitment to those joining the company at the minimum school leaving age remained as solid and durable as ever. All junior employees had to attend the Day Continuation College for a day a week until the end of the term in which they became 18. They might have an extra half day (perhaps even a full day) a week, or stay on as over-age students, "if they had some good reason" (123) such as following special courses of study - for example, those leading to nationally recognized examinations. This additional time off could involve a sacrifice of at least part of the remuneration that would otherwise have been earned and maybe the whole of it. In 1946 the Board stipulated that the determining factor should be the type of learning being undertaken. If an overtly vocational qualification was being pursued then payment would almost certainly be forthcoming, but if the classes were purely for the personal educational benefit and advantage of the student then it would be less likely. (124) An Education Department notice dated April 1st, 1946 indicated that the payment made for over-age voluntary attendance was 75% of wages for a half day a week and 50% of wages for a second half day, so that if attendance was for a complete day payment was received at five-eighths of wages calculated at the standard rate. (125)

The immediate post-war guidelines on who should get payment were no doubt prompted by the labour shortage then being confronted. They were somewhat uncharacteristic of traditional Cadbury practice and philosophy, which was to allow voluntary attendance for any type of course so long as the student was conscientious and well-motivated, general education being regarded as efficacious as vocational education in developing good, sound workers.

The guidelines may have been relaxed subsequently and probably definitely had been by early 1958 when the firm decided to pay, not just a proportion, but the entire wages lost by boys and girls whose applications to carry on as over-age students at the Day Continuation College had proved acceptable. (126) This did not result in substantial fresh expenditure because there were few people concerned. In the autumn of that year only "a handful" of junior employees were at the College on an over-age basis. (127)

Part-time general courses for young workers endured as the staple fare of the Bournville Continuation College in the two decades after the Second World War. There was, though, an increase in the volume and variety of other courses, both vocational and non-vocational, which were done there and these courses began to absorb a growing share of the student population. Amongst those taught at some point over the period were the National Certificate in Commerce and its 1961 successor the National Certificate in Business Studies; City and Guilds Telecommunications; Civil Service Clerical and Executive Officer examinations; the Retail Trades Junior Certificate; the National Diploma in Horticulture; Nursery Nurses; and a range of R.S.A. classes. There were also the School Certificate and Higher School Certificate courses that were superseded by those for the G.C.E. at "O" and "A" level. From the 1952-53 session onwards there was an "O" level G.C.E. course available to students on a full-time basis. Apart from the occasional private individual who may have attended the Day Continuation School on this principle in the years between the wars, these appear to have been the first full-time students at the establishment. Hence the introduction of the full-time "O" level G.C.E. course (at the behest of the local education authority) marked an important departure for it. However, the number of full-time students on courses at the College stayed very small: even in the 1961-

62 session the total had reached a bare sixtyfive and in the next it was sixtynine. (128)

Another important development at the College occurred in 1960 when B. Z. Cohen retired as Principal. He had been in charge since 1947. The City of Birmingham Education Committee unanimously endorsed its Further Education Sub-Committee's summing up of the service he had given in a minute of appreciation that read: "the post at Bournville has called for great energy and enthusiasm and Mr. Cohen has supplied them in good measure. He has worked unsparingly at the very difficult problems which are presented in endeavouring to provide non-vocational education for young people who have left school." (129) The Bournville Works Magazine said that Cohen had taken over the Day Continuation School after the long reign of Mr. Bews when shortages and administrative complications stemming from the recent war were probably at their worst, but "nothing could damp his keenness for the cause of day-release education for young workers" and "when he was appointed ... he threw himself into the work with the devotion, the constant helpfulness and bubbling enthusiasm which everyone who knows him has come to associate with him". (130) Fiftysix applications were received for Mr. Cohen's post. Six candidates were interviewed. Mr. Albert Weedall, 41, was chosen as the next Principal of Bournville Day Continuation College and took up his post on May 1st., 1960. He was an Economics graduate with a wide diversity of teaching experience and had also been a Youth Employment Officer and County Youth Organizer. He was currently head of the Department of General Subjects and Commerce at Grimsby College of Further Education. (131)

The arrival of Mr. Weedall presaged a change of name for Bournville Day Continuation College. The widening range of courses it offered, and the advent of (albeit a somewhat thin) coterie of full-time students made the

description "Day Continuation College" increasingly inappropriate. In 1961 the Principal made an approach to the Ministry of Education with a suggestion for a restyling to "Bournville County College". The Ministry refused, saying it did not want such a title used at present because the nature of a county college had yet to be defined. It proposed "Bournville College of Further Education" instead. The College Advisory Committee (set up in the mid-1920's, reconstituted in 1949, and consisting of representatives of student employers, the City Council and the local Trades Council) preferred to keep the original idea and responded to that effect. The Ministry, though, were adamant, and the following year the Advisory Committee agreed to a change of name from Bournville Day Continuation College to Bournville College of Further Education. The Cadbury representatives were not overjoyed about this outcome but could see no solid grounds for contesting an adjustment which, to all intents and purposes, had been forced upon the Committee by the Ministry. It took another year before the designation of the establishment was formally altered, Bournville Day Continuation College becoming Bournville College of Further Education (the appellation it still bears) on September 1st., 1963. (132)

The change of name clearly indicated the way in which the former Bournville Day Continuation College was gradually turning into a typical college of further education with a broad spread of courses and a mixture of part-time and full-time students. However, a major difference was the much greater emphasis at Bournville on a corporate unity and identity and the encouragement of student autonomy and co-operation. This was achieved through the Students' Council, an elected body. The original School Council had been rather emasculated by the emergency conditions prevailing during the war, but was subsequently revived as the Students' Council with enhanced powers and privileges in accordance with traditional policy

and practice designed to give more and more responsibility for student affairs to the students. Its efforts produced an attractive new Common Room and a special Sitting Room for the girls. The Council's designated duties meant that it co-ordinated student sporting and social activities, controlled the operation of clubs, and supervised the raising and spending of funds needed to carry out its functions. Cadbury sway over the Council could be marked and was seen in financial contributions and also in personnel - for example, in the 1957-58 session only one of its members (a General Post Office employee) was not from the firm. (133)

Sporting, social and similar out of class endeavours, drastically curtailed by the war, picked up quickly again once peace returned. The Bournville Works Magazine reported the 1945-46 winter programme at the Day Continuation School as including dancing and drama. At his inaugural Speech Day as Headmaster on July 22nd., 1947 Cohen delivered an address in which he said the first term of the 1946-47 session had witnessed a growing catalogue of undertakings and ventures beyond the confines of the classroom. A Parents' Evening was held; forty girls spent a Saturday in London; three drama groups had begun play rehearsals; and the term had closed with the usual Christmas parties. Looking at the session as a whole, he mentioned several dramatic performances, periodic social gatherings, a swimming gala and an athletic contest. (134) Weedall lists leisure activities at the College in the 1950's as embracing, inter alia, dances, a youth club and a film-making society; an annual concert, swimming gala, sports meeting and play; and badminton, lawn tennis and table tennis clubs. (135) The annual concert seems to have been a particularly important event. At the 1957 version, according to the Bournville Works Magazine, Cohen declared that it was amongst the extremely rare situations in which mixed groups of students attending the College on different

days of the week were able to be together. The bulk of students, around 90%, he informed the audience, came only one day a week and those having a role in the concert had had no opportunity to rehearse with each other, quite apart from probably never having appeared on stage before. The magazine's verdict, nonetheless, was that the result was "highly commendable", with choirs, vocal solos, national dances, a trio, a Polish harvest dance and mime, a gymnastics display, a demonstration of the Charleston and a short play. "This was not only a very happy occasion, but also an indication to the outside world of some of the valuable work done by young people during their day at a continuation college." (136)

The Bournville Day Continuation College remained the flagship component of Cadbury educational provision in the decade and a half after the end of the Second World War. The close cooperation involved with the local authority, which controlled the establishment, was also evident in that other bastion of the firm's educational system, the Bournville Works Evening Institute (B.W.E.I.). This was administered and financed directly by Cadbury, but with most classes inspected and grant aided by the Ministry of Education. The basis on which B.W.E.I. courses were arranged in the post-war period stayed the same as it had always been and was restated in the Bournville Works Magazine in the autumn of 1946. "The policy of the Works Education Committees is to supplement rather than duplicate the services offered by outside bodies [such as the local authority and W.E.A.], due regard being paid to the special facilities available at the Works and to the special needs of various groups of employees". (137) This was amplified in Education and Training in Office and Factory (1948). "The Works Institute does not compete with the evening classes run by the local education authority in suburban and central Birmingham, but is intended to supplement the

facilities these offer or to provide, within easy reach of employees' homes and work, opportunities that would otherwise have to be sought further afield. Many classes are held at 5.30 p.m. so employees can have tea in the canteen and attend classes before going home." (138)

The strong links which were maintained with the local authority in order to carry out the strategy pursued were illustrated in 1954. A note in the Education Committee minutes for April said that C.A. Harrison, the Education Officer, and J. S. Jones, the Committee Secretary, had recently met Her Majesty's Inspectors Mr. French and Mr. Harvey consequent upon a comprehensive review of the local authority Bournville and Northfield Evening Institute. The central government officials said that three new constituents of the Bournville Institute were to be opened in the area, thus much increasing its capacity, and they had urged maximum coordination with the Works Institute to avoid competing classes and dissipation of effort. The Inspectors had been told that very friendly relations and active collaboration with the Principal of Bournville and Northfield Institute had been the norm for many years and that, though priority was given to Cadbury employees in filling the firm's evening classes, others could also take advantage of them. However, Harrison and Jones did point out to the Inspectors that Works classes usually took place in the early evening for the convenience of employees and this might cause difficulty for outsiders. (139)

The B.W.E.I., in fact, retained its customary wide range of courses between 1946 and 1961, with the traditional mixture of the general, vocational, cultural and recreational clearly evident. There was the old core of such classes as gymnastics, swimming and "Keep Fit", Gardening, Woodwork, First Aid, Appreciation of Music, Typewriting, Shorthand, various forms of dancing and, not least, Boot Repairing. (140) In the 1948-49 session there

appear to have been upwards of five separate Boot Repairing classes for men, girls and nightworkers. (141) Around this core new subjects reflecting economic, social and political changes made an appearance. In 1948-49, for instance, courses in Russian and Car Maintenance were started successfully; and in 1950 instruction in bricklaying was organized for groups of employees intending to build their own homes. (142) In the same year "The Practical Handywomen" was announced. This offered tuition "designed to help women who have no man in the house to do those jobs normally regarded as the province of the male". It covered mending fuses, connecting plugs, washering taps, lagging pipes and similar mundane but tricky tasks. (143) In 1951-52 there was "Setting Up A Home", "a short course of six talks to give helpful advice and information to men and women (especially those about to get married, or the newly married) who are considering the problems of decorating and furnishing a home"; and also "English For Foreigners", "a class... for those employees who have come from the Continent". (144)

An indication of the kind of programme that the B.W.E.I. might arrange is furnished by an extant factory notice dated September, 1954. It scheduled the following as definite for the 1954-55 session:

Practical classes

Boot Repairing - 3: one women, two men
 Woodwork - 4: one youths, one men, one nightmen, one women
 First Aid - men
 Gardening - 2: men and youths, women

Commercial Classes

Comptometer
 Shorthand
 Typing

Physical Recreation

Men - Basketball, Gymnastics
 Nightmen - Keep Fit
 Youths - Swimming

B.G.A.C.

Swimming, Vaulting, Scottish Dancing, Keep Fit, Ballroom Dancing, Poise and Posture - "Charm School"
 In the summer there would be appropriate classes in, for example, tennis and cricket.

Other Classes

French and German for holiday-makers
 Problems of Industrial Organization
 English For Foreigners

The Making of Chocolate, The Practical Handywoman, Appreciation of Music, and First Aid for women would be founded if sufficient support was forthcoming. (145)

The Making of Chocolate class mentioned in the list as provisional did go forward with the participation of "about 75 people". (146) The topic was part of a cycle of lecture courses on the firm's production processes that initially began as an experiment and was developed because it seemed "to meet a definite need". (147) The others in the four-year cycle were Cocoa, Confectionery and Q-Block (printing, paper and packaging). At its peak it attracted 140 adherents. The series was abandoned in 1962 after attendance on the 1961-62 class in Cocoa proved disappointingly low. (148)

Abandonment was also the fate of the Gardening classes that had begun in the first decade of the twentieth century. The boys' class became the initial victim of declining patronage. In 1950 the Education Committee

decided that, as it had been hard to get sufficient students for a long while, a proportion of the boys' gardening plots would be made available to men who desired instruction in the skills of cultivation. (149) The class was finally closed in 1956 as the Committee could see "no prospect" of any future recovery from the persistent fall in numbers that it had experienced "for the past few years". (150) Some boys did join the girls' class (151) but that, too, was eventually to fold for lack of support. Its cessation was at length forced in the autumn of 1961. (152) Only in 1958 an expert in horticulture from the Ministry of Agriculture who had inspected the class in connection with the receipt of grant aid had highly commended it. The pleasing comments included the fact that, as far as the Ministry's information went, the class was probably unique, with nothing like it anywhere else in the country. (153) In a subsequent article the Bournville Works Magazine corroborated this, stating that though there were school gardens, college experimental gardens, and gardening lectures at evening institutes, so far as the firm was aware, there were no comparable classes conducted by an evening institute or similar organization on a part-time basis. (154)

Overall numbers in B.W.E.I. classes climbed steadily after the drop occasioned as a consequence of the Second World War. In the 1949-50 session the tally regained the thousand mark with 1,086 students. (155) A post-war peak appears to have been reached in 1954-55. There were then about 1,500 enrolments with "active attendance" of around 1,000, which "compared favourably with the past few years". (156) Most B.W.E.I. classes were grant aided by the Ministry of Education (though the Girls' Gardening class by the Ministry of Agriculture). There were, for example, fortythree such recognized classes in the 1950-51 session and forty in 1952-53. (157) The initial peace-time session of 1945-46 saw a grant of £550 (158) and the amount was

usually £950 per academic year in the first half of the 1950's. (159) It attained its highest level of £1,000 for 1955-56, (160) but in the next session dropped to £750, "lower than in the past [because] the Ministry is making... economies", (161) and to £700 in 1957-58. (162) Thus, even with the reduction in support grant aid for B.W.E.I. classes remained considerable.

Fees levied for B.W.E.I. courses were influenced to a greater and greater extent by the Ministry of Education. In 1952 the Ministry asked local authorities to review their further education charges because many had altered little since 1939, it was important to control costs and keep down public expenditure, and growing affluence made students better able to pay enhanced fees. As a result, in the 1952-53 session they were raised substantially in various areas across the country. In Birmingham fees for classes at evening institutes were advanced from 10/- to 15/- (for one or more classes) and 30/- for dancing classes, though the "no fees" policy for the under 18's was retained. The normal B.W.E.I. fees in 1951-52 were 5/- per course for adults and 3/- per course for under - 18's, with 2/- (1/- for under - 18's) returnable for a minimum 85% of possible attendances. The general Ministry exhortation and the ensuing upward movement in Birmingham local education authority's scales prompted a revision of these fees. They remained at 5/- per class for adults with short courses at 3/-. Those for under -18's were lowered from 3/- to 2/6d. per class with short courses at 1/6d. Fees for dancing classes were increased to 10/- (5/- for under -18's). However, refunds of 2/- (and 1/- for under -18's) were abolished. (The refund scheme for local authority classes continued to apply. This returned up to two guineas in any session, though 15/- maximum for dancing tuition, for at least 85% of possible attendances). A few special classes for B.Y.C. members stayed at a nominal 1/- while those courses mounted for B.G.A.C. members only were preserved

free of fees, as were job-related training classes. The revision had no material effect on enrolments in the 1952-53 session. (163)

In 1956 the Ministry of Education, under pressure from the Treasury, requested local authorities to lift fees to 10/- a term for the over - 21's attending part-time day or evening courses in grant-aided further education establishments. (164) At Cadbury B.W.E.I. fees had to be hoisted "following an instruction from the Ministry of Education". For the 1956-57 session they became:

2-hour classes	Adults 10/- per term	Under - 19's 5/- per term
Shorter classes	Adults 7/6d per term	Under - 19's 3/6d per term
B.Y.C. and B.G.A.C. classes	2/- per term	

As compensation for the rise in fees the Education Committee decided to reinstate refunds for 85% or more of possible attendances at Works classes (except for the Club classes). The refunds were presumably to be made on the same basis as those for local authority classes, though the surviving records are not clear on this point. (165)

As a grant-aided body the B.W.E.I. was open to visits by inspectors from the Ministry of Education and these took place quite frequently. They may even have been an annual exercise. Four can be mentioned. His Majesty's Inspector C. E. Jackson observed classes in February, 1949 and "expressed satisfaction with what he had seen". (166) He came back again in March, 1950 and "expressed approval of what was being done". (167) In 1959 it was noted that the "H.M.I. for the Works Evening Institute visited several classes... [and] had been favourably impressed by what he had seen". (168) In 1961 the Further Education Committee minutes recount that the Works Evening Institute "had

recently had a visit from one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Education. The visit had passed off satisfactorily and the Inspector had been particularly pleased with the Fencing class, the Keep Fit Class For Women Over 30, the Women's Flower Arrangement class, and the Boot Repairing class". (169) What this selection of calls by the Inspectorate indicates is that B.W.E.I. classes were regularly and thoroughly checked and found to be of at least reasonable standard with some, perhaps many, exhibiting a high quality of tuition.

The classes and courses conducted under the B.W.E.I. banner were far from being the only ones undertaken by Cadbury at the factory. In the post-war period clubs and societies might still hold their own in the way that they had always done. The Bournville Dramatic Society, for example, had "classes in speech training and acting technique" and the Bournville Camera Club "lectures ... and beginners' classes". (170) Both the B.Y.C. (Bournville Youths' Club) and B.G.A.C. (Bournville Girls' Athletic Club) had courses in addition to those arranged for members as part of the B.W.E.I. structure. An innovation by the Education Department that was to last for about a quarter of a century was the introduction of swimming classes for the children of employees. They were immediately popular, tapped an unmet need and were much appreciated by parents. (171)

A growing volume of classes and courses at the factory were components of education and training programmes for specific groups of employees and those seeking advancement in their careers. Old stalwarts like the Girls' Office Organization Course, the Deputy Forewomen's Training Course and the Industrial Administration Course were soon revived when the war was over. (172) They were modified as required to meet changing needs or styles of approach. The Girl's Office Organization Course, for example, became the

Office Organization Course For Women and then simply the Office Organization Course. The Deputy Forewomen's Training Course became the Training Course For Probationary Forewomen as the designation of Deputy Forewoman was dropped and that of Senior Forewoman brought into use, so that there were "Forewomen" and "Senior Forewomen". (173)

The extension of courses for supervisors and managers in both production and office departments of the factory was a "main development" in the years after the end of the Second World War. (174) The intention was to ensure that, at whatever level they operated, supervisors and managers made the most of their potential and were effective and efficient in executing their responsibilities. The pattern of the courses usually followed a well tried path combining both educational and training elements. Lectures and discussions on relevant general matters such as personal and social psychology would be linked with others on the principal aspects of the firm's business and the particular role of the grade undergoing the course. Directors and similar senior figures, plus maybe outside speakers, would form the body of tutors. Practical work in, or sight of, the different departments in the factory, and excursions to enterprises elsewhere, would normally be included in a course. Study at an external establishment might also be involved. Courses could range in duration from a few days to several months or even longer. (175)

Special jobs like those of sales representatives and instructors in factory departments had distinctive training courses attached to them. (176) People who wished to transfer from production sections to office posts had to go through courses explicitly devised to cater for this step. (177) Girls doing routine office tasks were given instruction in shorthand, typing, the handling of comptometers and a variety of office machinery, and English composition. A Clerical Training Department was created in

1947 to put these classes on an improved systematic and co-ordinated basis. The internal training might be supplemented by attendance at schools run by manufacturers of office machinery and equipment. (178) The setting up of the Department is evidence of the renewed expansion of education and training at Cadbury once global hostilities had been concluded. Its efficacy was amply demonstrated when the Education Committee informed the Board of Directors in 1948 that "the clerical training room was in full use each day, and on certain evenings." (179)

Another post-war debut came with what was originally called the "Vacation Course for University Men" on its inception in 1946. The course was held annually for many years and booklets for each of them from 1946 to 1949 are extant. (180) The "Introduction" to that for 1947, when the title was shortened to "University Vacation Course", gives the rationale behind it.

"Gone are the days when a University degree could be regarded as a full and final qualification for responsibility in any field. Modern industry, both in technique and organization, is so complex that further training must precede responsibility. Men and women still at the University can have little idea of the requirements of any particular firm. Similarly, those who have worked for years in one or two departments of a large business may have had little opportunity of studying the structure of the whole. The aim of the fortnight's course, while it can be little more than introductory, is to provide some insight into the conduct of a large business, and for this purpose to bring together for lectures and discussions University men and women who have been offered openings with Cadbury Brothers Limited or J. S. Fry and Sons Limited; others who have not yet completed their University courses, but are interested in the possibility of employment here later; and some men and women who have been employed since their schooldays or are at present in training at Bournville. Everyone will attend the course of lectures outlined in this booklet. Visiting members will, in addition, be attached to factory departments or offices where they will gain first-hand experience of actual conditions of work."

The National Economy and the Confectionery Industry, The Structure of the Bournville Business, Buying, Production, Advertising, Marketing and Selling, The Costing of Bournville Products, Sales Research, The Engineer at Bournville, The Chemist and Technical Control of the Factory, Selection and Training, Wages Policy, Industrial Relations, and Education in Industry would be the sort of topics forming the subject matter of the lectures and discussions.

The title of the course was altered simply to "Training Course" in 1949. The Introduction to the course booklet for that year explained that this was because the inaugural version had become "increasingly a misnomer, as the majority of those attending were in the firm's employment". The conception and evolution of the University Vacation Course shows the way in which Cadbury not only wished to get the best from existing staff, but also to ensure that it took on graduates who had a real desire to join the company for a career in industry as a consequence of already having had, albeit very brief, acquaintance with it. However, undergraduates must eventually have been excluded from the course since the date for it was shifted from the usual September, which was in the long vacation, to November, which was not.

Certain of the ideas underlying the University Vacation Course were seen in 1948 in a new course for junior male employees attaining their sixteenth birthday. The Introduction to the booklet accompanying this "Training Course For Boys" is a manifest indication of the common thinking that is evident. (181)

"In any large business, it is difficult for boys to relate the particular work which they do to the organization as a whole. Frequently, too, they can have only a limited knowledge of the types of work (often of a more varied and interesting nature than the tasks they performed as boys) which are likely to

be available for them at a later stage - for example, on their return from National Service. In addition, little is known of the various avenues for advancement which are present in any large business for those who merit promotion.

For these reasons, in order to assist boys working at Bournville to widen their knowledge of the business and the opportunities which it affords, the firm has decided that all boys (except apprentices and those of School Certificate and Higher School Certificate standard who attend other training schemes) should be invited to a series of talks and discussions. The first group to be invited will be those over the age of sixteen on January 1st., 1948. Each boy will attend, in the first instance, for one whole afternoon; this will be followed by further sessions at approximately quarterly intervals. The Course will be repeated for further groups of boys as they reach the age of sixteen. Each group will be limited in number to facilitate discussions".

The course concerned the structure of the Bournville business and the making of cocoa and chocolate, including, inter alia, the process of production, office procedures, marketing and selling. The central object was to help boys "visualize more clearly the prospects opened up by employment at Bournville" (182) and to reinforce the lessons of Initiation School.

All junior male and female entrants since 1920 had started their lives at the firm by taking part in an Initiation School designed to familiarize them with the nature of industry as a whole and of Cadbury in particular. Originally a week in duration it had had to be attenuated to three days as a consequence of the Second World War. The three-day format was retained with the restoration of peace but supplemented by "further talks and discussions, which are spread, in a series of half-day sessions, over a considerable period" (usually, in fact, about two months). What started out as an experiment in 1945 proved to be an highly successful strategy. This was because, as they gained experience of work, the young employees were "better able to ask intelligent questions" and derive the maximum

benefit from the material in the later presentations. (183) Another major departure from the traditional norm was the separation of those destined for production departments from those bound for the offices. Formerly they were taught together but in 1947 there was a trial segregation that was afterwards maintained as the regular procedure. (184) Subsequently it enabled girls recruited for the offices to have the three-day, full-time portion of Initiation School lengthened to three weeks. This arrangement was tentatively tried in 1952 and also endured, though the three weeks was ultimately reduced to just one week. (185) Towards the end of the 1950's an external element was injected into Initiation School. In January, 1958 the Bournville Works Men's Council was told that "plans have been made for an extension to the Initiation School scheme for both boys and girls. The B.G.A.C. have already taken several parties of new girls to Windmill House for a day's programme. A half-day programme is being planned for boys at the Log Cabin at Earlswood. The object of the programmes is to interest the young people in worthwhile activities and to give them sound advice about the future". (186)

Introductory courses were not confined to junior recruits. After the war one-day "Initiation Conferences" began for new adult employees and those coming back to the firm having been demobilized from the armed services. They quickly became a permanent feature of the factory scene, intended mainly for new adult employees but also for young men completing their National Service until this obligation ceased in 1960. A conference schedule typically consisted of talks "on the activities of the business, on the Works Councils, on wages and on various personal problems, opportunities for questions and discussion, and a tour of the Works". (187) The task of dealing with fresh arrivals and returnees could be quite substantial. For instance, in 1950 the Education Department "organized or helped [the

Men's and Women's Employment Departments and Staffing Committees] with Initiation Schools and introductory courses for 300-400 juniors and adults".(188)

Initiation School, though shortened to three days, had been sustained through the Second World War. In contrast, Camp School had had to be suspended, though was resumed in spectacular fashion in 1946. A familiar route - that to Worcester, Tewkesbury and Gloucester - was chosen for a barge journey and enthusiastic media attention was devoted to it. The press and the radio, together with the Pathe Pictorial Gazette cinema newsreel, all assigned space to the occasion. There was to be additional press coverage of Camp School in 1949, when the "Birmingham Evening Mail" reported on a trip to Tamworth, Lichfield and Stafford; in 1952, when females made their entrance; and in 1955, when the Shropshire and Cheshire area was again explored and the "Daily Mail" and "News Chronicle" highlighted the girls' week at what seems to have been regarded as an exceptional educational undertaking that was therefore of great public interest. (189)

The annual Camp Schools between 1946 and 1960 consisted entirely of barge cruises with none of the static site excursions that were also seen in the pre-1939 period. The post-war years brought a variety of other changes, both big and small. In 1948, for example, the route traversed went up the Grand Union Canal to Blisworth, near Northampton, which was further east than had ever before been attained. (190) In 1949 Camp School lasted a fortnight instead of three weeks because there were only two groups of boys rather than the usual triplicate set (with a week for each group). The reason for this was a lower volume of applications than in the past "owing to the number of alternatives offered to youths". (191) However, amongst the boys at the School were three Austrians and a German attending under the auspices of the B.Y.C. War

Memorial Scheme; and at the end of the School a second innovation was essayed when a few of the youngest male juniors at Bournville were taken to Fazeley on a day-outing basis for a brief ride along the canal to introduce them to life on board the barge. (192)

In 1950 the Camp School vessel used mechanized horsepower in place of the animal version for the first time. This enabled the regularly voyaged Worcester, Tewkesbury and Gloucester itinerary to be enlarged to bring in Frampton-on-Severn, location of one of the firm's milk-condensing units. (Knighton, the pioneer, was on the Shropshire-Staffordshire border and had begun functioning in 1911; Frampton had been opened in 1915). There were again only two groups of boys because of counter-attractions "such as working-parties abroad". (193) The same situation recurred in 1951 and may have been an important factor in prompting an investigation into the possibility of holding a girls' week at Camp School. (194) This was duly tried in 1952 on a Birmingham to Northampton navigation when a detachment of girls made up a middle contingent between two groups of boys. The trial "was successful beyond [the] most optimistic expectations" (195) and a female element in Camp School became the accepted norm. By 1957 enthusiasm had grown to the extent of a duplicate week for girls being required so that there were two groups of boys and two of girls: 94 young people in total, 47 of each sex. (196) Four groups of this mix remained the pattern in 1958 (Worcester and Frampton), 1959 (Wolverhampton and Chester) and 1960 (Warwick and Northampton). (197)

The curriculum of post-war Camp Schools was as diversified and wide-ranging as it had always been. That of 1954, for instance, touched on architecture, history, geology and ornithology. (198) An account of the 1959 School in the Bournville Works Magazine said that a

particular study theme was now being adopted every year and that summer it had been based "on the life of the farmer and the milk he produces". The article reminded readers that "the Camp School is recognized and given a grant by the Ministry of Education", and went on to inform them that "an official Inspector [had] seemed most impressed by the [1959] School's programme of activities" with its concentrated schedule of talks and visits.(199) Those juniors who shared the adventure of Camp School certainly appear to have appreciated the opportunities it offered. Two participants in the 1956 School which travelled the Leamington, Warwick and Northampton route commented with approval on their experiences to the Bournville Works Magazine. A boy declared, "We enjoyed ourselves immensely and learnt much that was of value", while a girl concluded, "Altogether we spent a busy and interesting time".(200)

In the immediate post-war period young employees at Camp School received their normal wages but had to make a contribution to their living expenses. The fee rose with age in the 15 to 19 band eligible for the School. This kind of arrangement had been applied since the inception of Camp School in 1914 but in the 1950's it was altered to one in which 75% of wages were paid and no fee charged. (201) The new procedure was presumably simpler and easier to administer.

The Bournville Works Magazine avowed that Camp School "is unique in industry. As far as is known there is no other organization running a comparable purely educational project". (202) The measure of that uniqueness is evident in the remarkable media attention it attracted and which was intensified with the breaking in 1952 of a thirtyeight year tradition of boys only. Originally conceived as an experiment, Camp School became "a permanent feature of the educational scheme for Bournville's young people" (203)

that captured the popular imagination in a manner that probably no other facet of it ever achieved.

In 1928 the Men's Education Committee minutes observed that Camp School "functioned not purely for educational purposes, but also as a means of absorbing surplus labour during the summer Day Continuation School holidays". (204) The extra boys and girls who had to be employed to cater for a proportion of juniors being at the Continuation School each day could present a problem when it was not open. Vacation Schools lasting about a week were sometimes held to lessen the difficulties so caused. They seem to have been inaugurated in 1921 with a Vacation School for boys during the Easter closure of the Day Continuation School. Preference was accorded to those boys who had started at Cadbury in 1919 or previously and had not gone through Initiation School, which had commenced in 1920. (205) The experiment was counted as successful and therefore may have been repeated, though there is no clear indication of this in the extant records.

A generalized description of Vacation Schools is contained in Education in the Factory, the booklet issued by Cadbury in 1923 outlining the firm's educational system that went through several editions in the 1920's. It said a Vacation School might copy "closely the method of the Initiation School" but the curriculum is "framed for more advanced teaching... A strong attempt is made to link up lecture work with illustrations, theoretical work with practical... A lecture on power may be given, followed by organized visits to the power plant of the... factory concerned and, if possible, to the Electric Power Station of the district, and the Municipal Gas Works. Again, water is the topic of a lesson, succeeded by a visit to the waterworks responsible for the town's supply Such a Vacation School proves intensely useful ... in showing the intimate connection between all activities within the

factory and the dependence of the factory on successful municipal enterprise." The booklet stated: "it has been found that very useful work can be done in a Vacation School by boys who have been employed for, say, a couple of years". The reason for this was not overtly expressed but their understanding and interest would obviously be deepened by a greater maturity of outlook and insight into economic and social life. (206)

The Vacation School idea was resurrected after the Second World War in a modified form. From 1947 a scheme was in operation under which boys attending the Continuation School spent what would have been their normal day on release outside term times undertaking a special instruction programme drawn up by the Works Education Department. It could include gymnastics, swimming and games; visits to places as different as the City Art Gallery and Museum, the Law Courts, Aston Hall, a bakery, a sewage farm, and the new Hams Hall Electricity Generating Station; and talks and films dealing with the manifold aspects of the Cadbury business. (207) In November, 1947 the Women's Education Committee noted that boys had been to the Art Gallery in the morning and enjoyed physical training in the afternoon on the day of their Continuation School attendance at the autumn half-term break. After some discussion "it was considered better for younger girls to have [these School holiday occasions] free for home activities if they were not required to come to work, though consideration might be given to arranging programmes for older girls." (208) However, nothing ever appears to have been done in this direction and the girls never did receive parity of treatment with the boys as far as Vacation Schools were concerned. The sheer logistics of having to cope with the large numbers of girls that would have been involved probably put such a project beyond any realistic chance of implementation. (209)

The Vacation School saga illustrates the inevitable changes wrought by time to the educational system at Cadbury and those aspects of it emanating from the role and functions of the Works Councils were equally not immune from an unavoidable process of adaptation and adjustment as needs dictated. Particularly sad was the demise of the annual series of popular lectures that had been held so successfully in the 1920's and 1930's. They were a casualty of a harder, more cynical post-war world in which self-centredness and a narrowing of horizons were increasingly evident. Suspended during the great global conflict they were resumed in 1945-46 with the return of peace, but the decline in their pulling power was marked and it was soon clear "that there was now very little support for them". A course of three lectures on "Problems of Contemporary Europe" by Professor J. A. Hawgood produced a sale of a mere thirtysix tickets; while even Mr. H. C. Usborne, Member of Parliament for the Acocks Green division of Birmingham, asking the question "Can World War Three Be Avoided?", could secure an audience of only 70. Some lectures had to be cancelled altogether so meagre were the bookings. (210) Not surprisingly a decision had to be made to stop the lectures, which had once attracted hundreds of people each month they were presented. The Bournville Works Magazine lamented their loss of appeal, "however important the subject, however authoritative the lecturer..... Now, to many of us, the personalities of today and tomorrow will be only disembodied voices from a loudspeaker or shadows on a screen. Such is progress." (211)

In the early 1950's an attempt was made to reintroduce the annual series with a restyled and less ambitious format of "lectures and performances of an educational character". (212) Recitals, ballets and the Lanchester Marionette Theatre were offered as well as the traditional lectures by the famous from all walks of life talking about their

adventures, achievements and philosophy. Amongst the latter there were, for example, in 1953-54, Alfred Gregory on the conquest of Everest and Peter Scott on his recent sojourn to Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego. (213) The revival prospered to a limited extent for a while but in the end proved to be short-lived. In 1954-55, despite a quartet of "topline" names like Dr. J. Bronowski and Sir Mortimer Wheeler and the availability of a season ticket for the whole four, the response was "disappointing". (214) The result was a second, and final, discontinuation of the lecture schedules. The Bournville Works Magazine commented on this "regrettable [event in] Bournville's cultural life" that not "even the high standard of the past [few] years" had enabled "the competition of the less exacting forms of entertainment" to be withstood. It did, though, express the hope that soon "the more specious attractions of T.V. and Cinema Scope screens will diminish sufficiently to ensure support for speakers of the calibre of Beverley Baxter, Ronald Storrs, Vernon Bartlett, George Cansdale, Mortimer Wheeler and the many others who have delighted us in the past." (215)

The range of scholarships deriving from the Works Councils was augmented and strengthened in the period after the Second World War. The established list (from the one-year, full-time residential at places like Hillcroft through the summer school and part-time day course to spare-time tuition in music and drama) underwent considerable extension. Undoubtedly the most popular innovation was a fresh series of short duration scholarships at the many centres for residential adult education which began springing up from the late 1940's and which were frequently to be found in old country houses taken over by the local authority. The courses given normally lasted from two to three days mid-week or weekend up to a fortnight. They catered for a hobby, interest or favourite subject and covered practically everything from

American folk music and Etruscan poetry via Child Psychology and Beekeeping to nuclear energy and current affairs.(216)

In addition the Works Councils embarked upon their own short residential courses in the shape of weekend conferences. The first was at Avoncroft in May, 1953. Its focus was three talks by T. E. Jessop, Professor of Philosophy and Psychology at Hull University. Also included were visits to Malvern, Hagley Hall and the grass-drying plant at Avoncroft together with walks and social events - the highlight of these being a dance. Subsequently, at least one conference a year was run and sometimes two were arranged. Avoncroft was a common, and geographically convenient, venue, but others were often utilized, too. For instance, Cowley Manor in the Cotswolds saw conferences on making the best of leisure hours (1955 and 1956); "History Without Dates", a local history conference, was held at Phillips House, Dinton, near Salisbury (1958); and Stoke Mandeville County Demonstration Farm hosted "In Pursuit of a Perfect Garden" (1961). The conferences were almost always well-received and regularly over-subscribed: for example, a conference at Avoncroft in 1955 with "Work and Human Relations" as its theme was attended by fifty participants while the Dinton conference on local history in 1958 drew seventy applicants for about forty places.(217) Thus the Councils' decision to conduct their own short residential courses proved to be felicitous and "highly successful".(218)

A third important innovation, of domestic benefit and relevance to the Works Councils themselves, was the award of scholarships enabling members of the Councils and their associated Shop Committees to attend special courses for workers' representatives taught at the Birmingham College of Technology (which became the Birmingham College of Advanced Technology in 1956). The organization of

production, management-labour interaction, the drive for efficiency and English usage were amongst the topics studied. (219)

Another novel development, which probably stemmed from a desire to foster international goodwill after a second devastating global conflagration, was the foreign workers exchange scheme. Under this a worker at Bournville was exchanged with an employee of a continental factory for six months, thereby allowing each of them to learn something of the language, culture and industrial environment of a strange country. (220) Cadbury stated that the object of the scheme was "to enable the visitors to widen their experience and so qualify themselves further as members of their working and social communities, and also to contribute in a very small way to understanding and sympathy between the people of different nations." The firm indicated that its "chief difficulty" was "in finding concerns abroad who are prepared to enter into such an arrangement".(221) At least initially the scheme seems to have been very appealing to workers at Bournville. In 1951, for instance, there were three selected for possible placement from a total of eighteen applicants that year. (222) By 1956 some half dozen from both production and office departments had had the opportunity of an exchange with a man or woman from Europe. (223)

Demand for the various Works Councils' scholarships was by no means uniform. In contrast to those which were sought assiduously and for which there might be intense competition, there were others which were less alluring and which tended to secure only a low level of applications. Included in the latter group were those for art, music and drama. The art scholarship usually covered a half day a week at an art college, while those for music and drama met the fees for tuition in the recipient's own time at a music or drama school. (224) A notable illustration of

scholarships in strong demand was that of grants for the education of employees' children, claims for which experienced steady growth after the end of the Second World War. However, during 1953-54 the Cadbury Educational Trust, set up by the firm in 1941 and already offering a financial facility for assisting employees with children at universities or comparable institutions, took over responsibility for all awards for universities and other forms of post-school further and higher education. The joint Scholarships Committee of the Works Councils was thereby relieved of its obligations in this direction and henceforward could concentrate attention and resources on allowances for children still at school. The existing amount of £10 per child was raised to £12 10s. in 1956. (225)

One type of scholarship from the Works Councils that was eventually withdrawn was that for foreign visits which had an educational purpose or were intended to promote international understanding and goodwill. The interpretation of what met these criteria, and who could be accorded aid, was neither rigid nor narrow. This is evident from a report in the July, 1951 edition of the Bournville Works Magazine which indicated that the Scholarships Committee had dealt with fourteen applications concerned with foreign visits that year. There had been seven from employees going abroad (£5 each given to five); five on behalf of employees' children going abroad (£5 each given to three, £3 to one) and two from employees entertaining visitors coming from abroad (£4 and £2 given respectively). A decade later, though, a decision was reached to terminate the foreign visit grants. Two reasons were adumbrated. These were that the grants had become superfluous since employees were now travelling overseas in growing numbers so there was not the same need to encourage foreign sojourns as had existed when they were originally introduced; and that there remained the perennial difficulty of distinguishing between visits which had an

educational or a goodwill purpose and those which were purely for pleasure. (226)

The sums that might be disbursed on the different scholarships bestowed by the Works Councils may be illustrated by the outturn for October 1st, 1960 to September 30th., 1961, the Councils' annual accounting period.

	Number of Scholarships	Cost £
Conferences organized by Scholarships Committee	70	393
Short residentials	45	831
Full-time	1	112
Part-time	2	115
Workers' Representatives Courses	8	243
Courses abroad	5	399
Exchange of Employees	1	97
Music	4	84
Art	3	156
Drama	3	52
Education of employees' children	70	704
Foreign visit grants	9	55

The two biggest items by far in the table are the education of employees' children and short residential courses. Overseas courses and the Works Councils' own conferences come next with almost the same aggregate outlay but sharply contrasting expenditure per capita. A course in a foreign country, perhaps lasting months, would inevitably be more costly than a weekend domestic conference when measured on a per student basis. (227) The financial arrangements relating to each type of scholarship varied in detail. The

general principle was that the Councils met the greater part of the expense (including any lost time). However, "the individual concerned [was] always expected to make some small sacrifice for the benefits he or she [received]".(228)

The most prestigious scholarships conferred by the firm (as distinct from the Works Councils) were those for full-time study at a university or comparable higher education establishment. They were revived from 1948 after being suspended during the war. A pattern emerged in which a major three-year scholarship (usually at Oxford or Cambridge) was awarded alternately to a man and a woman; and one or more minor scholarships, possibly without gender restrictions, were awarded for a sub-degree course occupying a single or double session. Applicants for both kinds of scholarship normally had to be under 25 - though older employees were not barred - and competition for them was very stiff. (229) However, the 1944 Education Act meant public funds were more easily obtainable for university studies, particularly a three-year degree, so the need for scholarships had lessened and the number presented declined in the 1950's. Nonetheless, they remained available and G.A.H. Cadbury, Personnel Director, told the Men's Works Council in June, 1959 that the firm was still sending employees to universities for one, two or three years under its scholarship arrangements and that twenty-nine had been in receipt of such scholarships since the war. (230)

Antithetically, the commitment to scholarships for youths exhibited a contravening tendency to increase. For instance, in 1958 the Youth Project Scheme was inaugurated. It was felt that the prospective end of conscription in 1960 would also entail the loss of much that went with it: elements of physical endurance, adventure and service to the community; comradeship with young men from widely

divergent backgrounds; opportunity for foreign travel and friendships with people from other nationalities; and, for some, the chance of responsibility - a third of Cadbury National Servicemen attained promotion. Hence the Youth Project Scheme, which was designed to enrich a proportion of the firm's 19 and 20 year old males with the broadening experience of living away from home and undertaking a worthwhile or challenging assignment. (231) In October, 1962 the Bournville Works Magazine reported that in the four years following its inception eightythree young men in production and office departments had been selected to take part in the Youth Project Scheme. The main activities had been Brathay Hall courses and Exploration Groups together with Outward Bound courses and work camps on the continent of Europe and beyond. The youths themselves had also begun putting forward their own ideas for what they might do. The magazine concluded by saying that "it is not easy to summarize the benefits Youth Project Scheme award holders have derived from their [scholarships]. Most, however, agree that they have gained in self-confidence, in tolerance, and in their understanding of [human] needs". (232)

The suspension that had had to be imposed in the later stages of the war on the youths' one-year residential scholarship tenable at a university, adult college or similar institution was eventually lifted once the fighting had ceased. In addition, short duration scholarships were stepped up in both volume and variety. They were normally for a few days up to a month and embraced, inter alia, courses for young workers at Outward Bound Sea and Mountain Schools; at Brathay Hall youth training establishment on Lake Windermere, the Y.M.C.A. Youth College at Rhoose, and the Wedgwood Memorial College at Barlaston; and at centres run by the National Association of Boys' Clubs and the Central Council For Physical Recreation. Courses at Sonnenburg and Castle Mainau in Germany were also attended.

(233) All these scholarships were bestowed by the firm on the recommendation of the Youth's Committee and were seen as coming within the purview of the B.Y.C. The Youth Project Scheme, though, was not regarded as a B.Y.C. remit. Notwithstanding, the firm kept the Youths' Committee "in close touch with it". (234)

The supporting structure of educational incentives beyond that of scholarships remained intact between 1946 and 1961. There were no major changes to the regulations governing time off for study. Nor were there any in those concerning the return of fees for courses originating from the local education authority and other recognized organizations or entry fees for candidates successfully sitting approved public examinations. However, the maximum amount refundable for a satisfactory level of attendance at authorized evening classes was raised from a guinea (a sum set in 1930) to two guineas with effect from the 1950-51 session. The amounts reimbursed for class fees could be quite substantial - in the four sessions between 1950-51 and 1953-54 they varied between a low of £105 and a high of £160. (235) There was then a marked surge in the second half of the 1950's as a consequence of enhanced fee scales and more employees taking advantage of the rebate arrangements. In 1958 the records mention the "refund of fees scheme" costing "£475 approximately for last session" (by which seems to have been meant 1957-58). (236)

"Works clubs and societies offer the most varied opportunities for you to develop your personality and to cultivate some kind of enjoyable interest in congenial company" Cadbury stated in its 1952 information guide for newcomers. (237) This demonstrated the continuing emphasis on what the firm regarded as a process of social and recreational education. The B.A.C. (in 1946), the B.G.A.C. (in 1949) and the B.Y.C. (in 1950) all celebrated their fiftieth anniversaries in the period after the war and

remained both significant and flourishing. B.A.C. membership reached around 2,500 and the B.Y.C. engaged in excess of fifty activities. The B.G.A.C. attracted the greatest number of adherents in its history in 1956-57: an aggregate of 1,595 members, junior members and associate members. Considerable effort was put into expanding the social side of the Club as well as its traditional sporting base and in 1958 it was renamed "Bournville Girls' Athletic and Social Club" in recognition of that. Its aim now became simply "to provide opportunities for members to make the best use of their leisure time" with the previous supplementary phrase "especially through physical activity" being dropped. A particular attempt was made to arouse the attention of otherwise passive junior members who were not very sport minded. With this objective in view a distinct teenage section was introduced. It was mixed, open to all Bournville employees and allowed those belonging to it to bring in non-employees as their guests.

The B.A.C., B.G.A.C. and B.Y.C. did not function in isolation and cooperated in joint ventures when appropriate circumstances existed. For instance, the B.G.A.C. annual report for 1955-56 said the Club's musical appreciation section had merged with the gramophone section of the B.Y.C. The joint group met monthly and was the progenitor of the later Works Music Club. (This went on until 1990, when it finally succumbed to falling membership). The same annual report also indicated that the B.G.A.C. and B.A.C. had held a joint golf coaching course for their members. (238)

The post-war years saw the formation of new societies to join old-established ones like the athletic clubs. In fact, the movement was so intense that it prompted the Bournville Works Magazine to remark on the inauguration of yet another (the Bournville Pond and Aquarium Society) that "of the founding of Works societies at Bournville there

seems no end". (239) Perhaps the most prestigious and sizeable of the post-war societies was the Film Society. It was started in 1947 with the avowed intention of presenting not only exceptional, high-quality commercial and non-commercial films but also of promoting an interest in the technique and aesthetics of the cinema through lectures, discussions and similar means. Membership quickly attained the maximum of 1,100 that the Society felt was manageable (though it did fall subsequently). By the conclusion of the 1960-61 season, when the Society had been in existence some fifteen years, it had shown over 150 main feature films, together with about 50 special productions and approximately 5,000 shorts, from around fifteen countries. It claimed that it was probably the biggest organization of its type in the country. (240) What the Film Society had certainly done was demonstrate that people would go to see the best the cinema provided, whether or not it was popular with the public at large. However, eventually the Society had to be wound up in 1983, "a victim of the video revolution and television film". (241)

Not even in the halcyon days of the 1950's, though, did all societies prosper and there had to be the occasional closure. For example, in 1955 the Cycle Club, which had been pedalling along merrily for more than three decades, had to stop the wheels turning because of a lack of support. (242) Both the Musical Society and the Bournville Dramatic Society (B.D.S.) became increasingly alarmed as the advent and growth of television brought powerful competition and a declining audience for their performances. The 1961-62 season from the B.D.S. was its fiftieth. During the half century of its life the Society had offered readings, one-act pieces, and upwards of two hundred full-length plays with the range covering most strands of dramatic writing: British and foreign, ancient and modern, tragedy, comedy, farce and experimental. It was to survive until 1981. (243)

The value Cadbury put on Works clubs and societies as a form of social and recreational education was evident in its financial commitment to them. The 1957 B.A.C. annual general meeting was told that the members contributed only an eighth of the Club's costs, the firm making up the rest. In August, 1961 the Bournville Works Magazine reported under the heading "Works Societies - Money and Time" that the Board of Directors had approved the list of applications for financial guarantees and secretarial time from Works Societies to the extent of £1,269 and 805 hours respectively. (244) The facilities used by Works clubs and societies were also expanded and improved. In 1948 the firm helped the joint tennis committee of the B.A.C. and B.G.A.C. acquire six hard courts and a well-equipped pavilion formerly belonging to the King's Norton Lawn Tennis Club. This brought the number of tennis courts available to employees up to twentynine. The Bournville Works Magazine announced in October, 1959 that the Concert Hall was to be refurbished and would consequently be shut for seven weeks. (245) Further afield, "Ffynnon Badarn", a Welsh cottage at Aberllefenni, was purchased by Cadbury in 1961 for the B.Y.C. and what had become the B.G.A.S.C. to operate as a centre for adventure weekends and walking and climbing holidays. (246) This reflected the firm's traditional desire to encourage travel, which it viewed as an essentially educative experience. To the extensive agenda of arrangements fostering travel developed in the inter-war years and before, the post-war period saw added new elements such as the B.Y.C. War Memorial Scheme and the chance for employees to exchange places with a foreign worker under the auspices of the Works Councils.

The management of the educational system at Cadbury between 1946 and 1961 underwent two major changes. Both of them related to committee control and organization. The Men's Education Committee and the Women's Education Committee were amalgamated in 1948 when Dorothy Cadbury

stepped down as Chairman of the women's committee (though it was another four years before she was to retire from the Board). C. W. Gillett, the Director who had succeeded George Cadbury, junior as Chairman of the men's committee in 1943, assumed the chair of the unified committee. C. A. Harrison, the Education Officer, who had been Secretary to both committees, was an integral part of the single committee, but the secretaryship was filled by J. S. Jones, also from the Education Department. (247)

In 1960 came the second important remodelling of committee control and organization and it was more far-reaching than that in 1948. For the first time since the inception of the Works Councils there was a thorough-going revision of their top committee structure. A consequence of this was that the joint Scholarships Committee combined with the Education Committee to create a powerful Further Education Committee responsible to the Councils. This was a significant departure from previous practice because the Education Committee (and its predecessors) had always been Board committees answerable to the directors. It meant that the Works Councils had considerably widened and strengthened their authority over the formulation and implementation of educational policy at the factory. The remit of the Further Education Committee included Day Continuation College matters, the Bournville Works Evening Institute, Camp School and the Works Councils own varied series of scholarships. (248)

As they related only to committee supervision the changes of 1948 and 1960 did not affect the day-to-day tasks and functions of the Education Department, which remained the administrative and co-ordinating lynchpin of the entire education system. However, there was a notable retirement from it. The long-serving Works Education Officer in charge of the Department, C. A. Harrison, relinquished his position in September, 1954. A. T.

Davies, another senior figure in the Department, was appointed as his replacement. Tegla Davies was a brilliant Oxford graduate who had taught classics at Kingswood School, Bath and Merchant Taylor School, London. During the war he served on the Executive Committee of the Quaker Ambulance Unit, becoming its chairman and going all over the world in that capacity. He joined Cadbury shortly afterwards. (249)

The decade and a half between 1946 and 1961 was a period during which Cadbury educational provision at Bournville progressed along well-established lines. However, signs of peril threatening its existence were also clearly evident. They were, perhaps, epitomized by the decision of the Further Education Committee in April, 1961 not to hold the usual winter activities evening in the autumn to publicize the learning and leisure opportunities available to employees both at and beyond the factory. The reason for this was that the activities evening the previous September had been "poorly supported". (250) The decision presaged twenty years of rapid change from 1962 to 1981 that were to see the disintegration of the education system that had been built up with so much pride and dedication since the beginning of the century.

DECAY AND DEMOLITION

In 1959 Paul Cadbury succeeded Laurence Cadbury as Chairman of Cadbury Brothers and the British Cocoa and Chocolate Company. (251) Speaking to a conference of representatives, depot managers and displaymen the following year he noted the problems in the domestic confectionery market. This was extremely competitive and seemed to have reached saturation point. The difficulties had been reflected in an end to the rapid increase in Cadbury sales that had occurred from 1949 to 1958. Paul

said that the ploughing back of profits - especially on research and development, maintaining and strengthening traditional lines and expanding newer ones, and introducing fresh products was the best way forward. He also emphasized that though "this is the day of the take-over bid... our firm remains a private company, a family business and it is our policy that it shall remain so". (252) However, the strong diversification strategy Paul favoured soon led to a reversal of that policy. The need for capital to finance it brought the momentous decision in 1962 to seek a Stock Exchange quotation for the ordinary shares of the British Cocoa and Chocolate Company. (253)

The diversification strategy was designed to generate an acceptable rate of growth for Cadbury that sales in the home confectionery market were no longer likely to achieve. (254) The tactic adopted was to exploit the firm's several assets of "goodwill with the public and the trade, technological skill in handling foodstuffs, the experience of workpeople in food manufacture, the well-tested distribution system of railhead depots, and the selling talents of its representatives". (255)

Three main strands in the diversification plan emerged. The first was indicated by the setting up of a subsidiary, Cadbury Foods Ltd., in 1962. This took control of the already large chocolate biscuit operation, which had begun on a small scale between the wars, and other established lines like drinking chocolate, together with the development and production of those such as cakes, dried milk (Marvel) and instant mashed potato (Smash) that were novel to the firm. The second was entry to the sugar confectionery market with the acquisition of James Pascall, and its associate R. S. Murray, in 1965. (It was, though, not until a quarter of a century later, in 1989, with the absorption of Bassett and Trebor to form the subsidiary Trebor Bassett, that the Cadbury share of the domestic

sugar confectionery market became significant: boosted from 4% to 26%). The third strand was wholesaling and retailing, not only in confectionery, but also in ventures as varied as restaurants, hairdressing, industrial vending - and a post office! (256)

In 1965 the architect of the diversification programme, Paul Cadbury, retired as Chairman of Cadbury Brothers and the British Cocoa and Chocolate Company. He was succeeded by his cousin, Adrian Cadbury. At 36, Adrian was the youngest Chairman of the Cadbury Board since the beginning of the private company in 1899. He had joined the firm from Cambridge University in 1952 and had become Personnel Director in 1958. (257)

A concomitant of diversification and expansion at home was diversification and expansion abroad - both in terms of exports and number of overseas subsidiaries. The five manufacturing companies established in the developed Commonwealth during the inter-war period became a total of eight, plus three selling companies. India, Africa and Europe were added to the existing areas of location. (258) The business had thus altered considerably and the new Chairman called in McKinsey Management Consultants to advise on the best structure to meet its changing needs. The upshot was reorganization into three divisions: Confectionery Division, dealing with chocolate and sugar confectionery; Foods Division, dealing with cocoa and chocolate drinks, biscuits, cakes, milk and other products in the field; and Overseas Division, dealing with export and external activities. In addition, there were several specialized departments created to service the Divisions on a corporate basis. These included Sales and Public Relations, Data Processing, Finance, and Personnel (which oversaw industrial relations, employment, education and training, and salaries). The British Cocoa and Chocolate Company was retitled Cadbury Group Limited. It was felt

the old appellation was misleading in that it did not indicate the range of output went beyond the processing of cocoa and chocolate or sufficiently identify the concern to either the public or the trade and make maximum use of the goodwill engendered by the Cadbury name. Cadbury Group Limited became the parent of Cadbury Brothers and the rest of the companies in the remodelled enterprise. (259)

The reorganization concerned not only administrative structures but also "new and enlightened philosophies of management, new ideas of management by objectives, and more individual responsibility and accountability." (260) The Board of Directors was thereby enabled to concentrate attention on future policy-making for the Group as an entity instead of being closely involved in routine management duties. (261) It described the restyled procedures in the initial Cadbury Group Limited annual report. "The Board now meets fortnightly instead of weekly and spends more time on policy, while the day-to-day running of the business is broadly the responsibility of senior management. Some of the detailed Board work is delegated to an Executive Committee of the three Divisional Chairmen and the Finance Director. The submission of forward plans and targets by companies and Divisions both gives the Board control over the Group's operations and means that managers throughout the organization are responsible for their own objectives, the surest way of achieving results." (262)

On February 16th., 1967 Adrian Cadbury was questioned about the reorganization at the firm on B.B.C. Television's "The Money Programme". He stressed that McKinsey's had been called in not because it had problems but to gain expert advice on the best structure to ensure continued growth and expansion. In reporting the interview, the Bournville Works Magazine commented that "many Bournville people must have been mildly astonished to [discover] that

an outmoded 'image' of the firm ('building a paternalistic empire of athletic clubs and social facilities amid the daffodils on the village green') still persists." (263) It was an image that had never had any foundation in reality.

The Chairman's appearance on "The Money Programme" was symptomatic of the way in which Stock Exchange flotation in 1962 had brought Cadbury into the public eye, and under the financial scrutiny of the City, in a form that it had not before been. This was made clear by J. P. Gregory, a senior executive in Confectionery Division, when he addressed a conference of Works Council departmental committee secretaries in the summer of 1968. The flotation had "exposed the need" for a fundamental reappraisal of the company's outlook because it "brought home to us very hard that we were particularly vulnerable and that our performance compared unfavourably with that of some other firms". It was of crucial importance, he remarked, that "we... [are] able to offer the prospective shareholders in [our] business a high enough return to justify them putting into it the capital we need." (264)

This was a vital matter. Cadbury had always set great store by modernization and re-equipment. That remained the case in the 1960's with the advent of the micro-electronics revolution. Massive sums were required for investment in buildings and more automatic, high-speed, high-output machinery. Capital expenditure was £9 million in each of 1965 and 1966 and £15.5 million in 1967. (265) The net return on the capital in the business as a whole was about 6% in 1967 and 1968, but a return of 8% was regarded as desirable. (266)

Such was the background to the second momentous decision of the decade - a decision that was, perhaps, an eventual, unavoidable consequence of the first, which was to go public in 1962. Seven years later, in 1969, the

Cadbury Board decided on a merger with another company. This was Schweppes, the soft drinks manufacturer which also owned Kenco coffee, Typhoo tea and Chivers and Hartley preserves to add to the chocolate firm's existing general food and beverage lines.

The merger was arranged on a fifty-fifty footing - the former ordinary share capital of the two companies being divided between the former ordinary shareholders of each company in equal proportions. Cadbury Schweppes was a holding company with the Schweppes' Chairman, Lord Watkinson, becoming Chairman and Adrian Cadbury becoming Deputy Chairman and Managing Director. The Board was composed of the same number of Cadbury and Schweppes' Directors. The merger was of two complementary companies and brought into being a leading confectionery and soft drinks firm that also offered a range of general foods and beverages. The amalgamation was intended to improve future growth prospects and competitiveness at home and abroad, rationalize management resources and distribution networks, strengthen research and development and give a secure financial base on which to break into new products and new markets. Schweppes also had a higher rate of return on its capital than Cadbury and thus the merger provided opportunities for earning an enhanced level of return that would not have been possible with confectionery alone. (267) The Bournville Magazine (which had succeeded the Bournville Works Magazine from February, 1969) summed up the merger by saying it would "ensure the two companies will be able to grow faster, be more profitable and better able to compete". (268)

The merger with Schweppes might be seen as the most dramatic outcome of the diversification strategy of the 1960's. The combined company continued with that strategy and it reached hitherto unchartered seas with the acquisition of Jeyes in 1974. This was a hygiene products

enterprise and had no connection with confectionery, soft drinks or general foods and beverages, but was very profitable and the feeling was that it would add "considerable strength" to Cadbury Schweppes. (269) Thus a fifth unit, Health and Hygiene, joined the four existing constituents of the company - Confectionery, Soft Drinks, Foods and Beverages, and Group Departments, which provided common services for the other sections. (270)

On the confectionery side of Cadbury Schweppes the merger initially seemed to fail. Despite continued automation and re-equipment at Bournville, and the transfer of cocoa-processing to a fully-automated, custom-built factory at Chirk on the Welsh border, Cadbury was unable to arrest the decline in its share of the chocolate confectionery market. This had begun sliding in the 1960's and went on doing so in the 1970's. The firm remained "No. 1 in chocolate" (i.e. had the largest single market share) but that position was under great threat and with it the advertising slogan. The essential problem was that Cadbury products were poor value for money in comparison with those of rivals. Their price per ounce or gram (or the "cost per bite" as it was sometimes called) could have a premium of up to a hundred per cent. In 1978 the Confectionery Division inaugurated a recovery programme at Bournville to reverse the fall in market share by improving productivity through the use of the very latest technology such as lasers and cutting the workforce from around 9,000 to about 5,000. There were to be relaunches and special promotions of traditional, big-selling lines like Cadbury's Dairy Milk and Roses and the introduction of new ones. The most successful of the latter proved to be the Wispa countline bar. Massive investments in excess of £100 million were involved.

Helped by a nearly 40% increase in British chocolate sales in the 1980's the recovery programme achieved its

aim. Market share had risen to approximately 28% by the end of the decade. This was the most substantial proportion since the early 1970's, but still below the 40% of thirty years before. The Cadbury Schweppes Group as a whole was also performing excellently by the conclusion of the 1980's with turn-over and profitability touching record levels. (271)

The merger with Schweppes in 1969 reinforced and further altered the change in management outlook at Cadbury that had been generated by the decision to become a full public company in 1962. Schweppes was not imbued with the Cadbury tradition of "people awareness" (272) and a harsher approach to cost-cutting, particularly of what were now seen as dispensable frills, was evident after 1969. This was, perhaps, epitomized by the axing of the Bournville Magazine in the spring of 1970. Along with the Bournville Reporter, the Bournville Magazine had replaced the Bournville Works Magazine at the beginning of 1968. The Bournville Reporter was a tabloid newspaper concentrating on local events and issues. The Bournville Magazine, a glossy publication like its predecessor, had a wider brief covering the entire Cadbury Group in both its national and international dimensions. The magazine was expensive to produce and after the merger it came to be regarded as unnecessary as a result of the view that the Bournville Reporter and other company newspapers could adequately, and more cheaply, fulfil its wider role. The last issue of the Bournville Magazine was that of March, 1970. (273)

The consequences for industrial relations of the metamorphosis at Cadbury in the 1960's can be discerned in an investigation into employee attitudes at Bournville carried out by the Industrial Sociology Unit of the Imperial College of Science and Technology, London University, in November, 1970. The Bournville Reporter, commenting on the findings a few months later, said they

"reveal that ... Cadbury's is looked on as a worse place to work than it used to be, and management are more indifferent to workers". (274) This was echoed fifteen years into the future when a worker interviewed for a television programme stated: "that feeling of loyalty, of security, that it is nice to work at Cadbury's, is not there any longer".(275) In contrast, in 1962 research amongst production labour at Bournville undertaken by the Department of Social and Administrative Studies at Oxford University concluded that "there is a high level of satisfaction with work at Cadbury's. Working conditions and security are highly rated both as reasons for coming to Cadbury's and as factors liked by employees when working for the firm; and the interest shown by the firm is appreciated." (276)

The erosion of the once deep-rooted "people awareness" approach of Cadbury to their business was not acceptable to at least some members of the family involved in the company. In 1971 Brandon Cadbury resigned from the Cadbury Schweppes Board of Directors to train as a probation officer. Jocelyn sought entry to politics and was eventually elected M.P. for Northfield. However, the family influence remained strong and became paramount again in 1975. At the start of that year Adrian assumed the chairmanship of Cadbury Schweppes on the retirement of Lord Watkinson. In preparation for the move up Adrian had already relinquished the post of Group Managing Director to B. S. Collins. This key position, in the course of time restyled Chief Executive, was ultimately filled by Adrian's brother, Dominic, formerly in charge of the Confectionery Division. When Sir Adrian (knighted in 1977) himself retired in 1989, Dominic remained as Group Chief Executive and a non-executive, part-time Chairman of the Cadbury Schweppes Board was appointed as Sir Adrian's successor. This was Sir Graham Day, Chairman of the Rover motor vehicle enterprise. (277)

The post-1962 transformation of Cadbury can be seen in the deterioration of educational provision at the firm. The flagship component of day continuation studies at what became Bournville College of Further Education in 1963 almost entirely disappeared and the previously very close ties between the factory and the College became extremely tenuous. The once intimate connection inevitably grew more distant as the number of young Cadbury employees attending the establishment diminished to near vanishing point. The traditional dependence of the College on Cadbury day release students doing general courses declined as it developed an ever-widening range of both full-time and part-time programmes under Albert Weedall, Principal to 1978, and his successors, David J. Ward and Patricia M. Twyman, who took up the reins from Mr. Ward at the commencement of 1986. Amongst the introductions were special courses for immigrants concentrating on English, Mathematics and Industrial Relations which attracted students from many areas of Birmingham; City and Guilds operatives courses; adult literacy and numeracy courses; health, youth leadership and social work studies; schools-link courses; travel, tourism and catering courses; and computer and information technology courses. Existing tuition such as that for G.C.E. "O" and "A" level examinations and in Business Studies was considerably expanded. The College also acquired a national reputation for the facilities it made available for disadvantaged students with a mental and/or physical handicap to undertake both its normal teaching programmes and those it designed specifically for them. By the early 1970's Bournville College of Further Education was enrolling about 2,500 students a year and by the mid-1980's that figure had climbed to around 3,500 per annum. Between its Golden Jubilee in 1963 and the completion of its first three-quarters of a century in 1988 the College had undergone profound changes from the essentially day continuation

establishment of its old title to the rounded further education institution of its later appellation. (278)

The increasing volume of students at Bournville College of Further Education put great pressure on accommodation. In the mid-1960's numbers rose particularly rapidly and no less than seventeen separate annexes were in use within a mile radius of the College. Church and community halls and even the huts of building contractors on Cadbury's Station Fields car park were pressed into service. So was Stirchley Institute, the inaugural home of the Day School For Young Employees in 1913. Private houses were bought and utilized for staff rooms. After being initially receptive to the idea, Cadbury eventually refused to finance any new construction. This was hardly surprising given the reduction in the size of the company's junior workforce that was occurring and hence the tally of its students at the College. In fact, Cadbury became anxious to rid itself of the existing premises on The Green, ownership of which was transferred to the local authority at the beginning of the 1970's. The solution to the accommodation problem ultimately reached was for Bournville College of Further Education to take over the South Birmingham Technical College located approximately a mile away on the Bristol Road between Selly Oak and Northfield. The technical college had become a constituent of Birmingham Polytechnic, created in 1971, which was to be concentrated on the northern side of the city in Perry Barr. The move from The Green to Bristol Road started with the 1972-73 session but was not finally completed until September, 1978. The Bournville College of Arts and Crafts, which was ensconced in Ruskin Hall adjacent to The Green, assumed responsibility for the ex-Day Continuation College premises. In the 1980's the College of Arts and Crafts vacated an annex it held on the Bristol Road site. This was then occupied by the College of Further Education, which thereby obtained sole control of the area. (279)

In the 1962-63 session Bournville College of Further Education had an enrolment in the region of 1,600 students, of which the Cadbury contingent comprised 1,020. (280) In the 1967-68 session this contingent was down to 400, equally split betwixt males and females. (281) In August, 1968 J. S. Jones told the Works Council Further Education Committee "that the number of young people of college age working at [the] Bournville [factory] had fallen dramatically in the last few years". Another drop was expected in the coming session, 1968-69, and it had become impossible to spread the various classes over the week (Monday to Friday) with the required absence from work. From September, 1968, therefore, it had been decided to adopt a block release structure under which employees of college age would attend full time for a total of seven weeks during the academic year, divided into two spells of three weeks and four weeks. (282)

The block release mode had already proven successful with Post Office and Civil Service students on general courses at Bournville College of Further Education and a felicitous outcome was the case also with Cadbury juniors. The alteration was welcomed and approved by the teaching staff while the juniors involved appreciated the greater cohesiveness of tuition it brought. (283) Two members of the Further Education Committee talked to a group on block release and reported back to their colleagues that "the new arrangements for attendance at the College appeared to be more acceptable to both the students and staff". (284)

Block release could not, however, be extended to young office employees at Cadbury because of "difficulties with classes leading to [public] examinations", hence was confined to those from production departments. (285) These examination courses would usually be for G.C.E. "O" and "A" level qualifications or the National Certificate in Business Studies. Even those office girls on general

courses might do some external examinations in individual subjects, conventionally of the R. S. A., though the teaching for them would probably be done as part of the secretarial training at the firm and not by the College. Recruitment standards for office girls tended to be raised over time so that only those with G.C.E. "O" levels, or at least good passes in the lower status Certificate of Secondary Education first examined in 1965, would normally be considered for employment. They could then take the O.N.C. in Business Studies (which replaced that for Commerce in 1961) or the Certificate in Office Studies (which was launched in 1963). (286) A high standard had long been required of male recruits to the offices and from the early 1960's "carefully selected" office entrants of both sexes accepted at 18 with G.C.E. "A" levels were designated "commercial apprentices." They did a training stint of four years during which they gained experience in a variety of departments and followed suitable professional studies, sometimes in the form of a sandwich course that interleaved periods of work and education. Younger school leavers who achieved "A" levels or the O.N.C. while working at Cadbury could likewise be considered for these apprenticeships. (287)

The nature of the three year general courses done at Bournville College of Further Education in the 1960's by Cadbury juniors and those from other employers who took them remained traditional in philosophy and content. The basic aim was to encourage a sense of responsibility about the realities of adult life at home, at work and in the community and to try to maximize the possibilities of individual fulfilment in lives that might otherwise be empty, mundane and arid. The girls' curriculum included English, social studies, musical appreciation, art and crafts, dressmaking, cookery, personal relationships, mother and child welfare, first aid, domestic budgeting and household decoration. That of the boys embraced, inter

alia, English, social studies, technical drawing, expedition planning (which incorporated such topics as compass and map reading and camping skills), woodwork and metalwork, household repairs, motor vehicle maintenance, physiology and first aid. The last named were taught so as to enable boys to sit for the St. John Ambulance Brigade Preliminary Certificate. Both girls and boys had to accept physical education activities as a compulsory element in their course and the boys were assisted to take the National Association of Boys' Clubs physical fitness tests and the personal survival tests of the Amateur Swimming Association. The courses were thus essentially an up-dated version of those that had been done since 1913 and were seen as indispensable preparation for healthy and happy adult living in an increasingly complex and perplexing world. (288)

Between 1962 and 1965 the Department of Education and Science conducted a survey of general courses for employed school leavers being offered in a mix of further education establishments and published the results in The Further Education of the General Student, a twenty page pamphlet issued in 1967. It showed that the courses were mostly carried out in "local colleges of further education [with] a normal range of vocational courses up to Ordinary National Certificate and Intermediate City and Guilds" and some others in institutions "derived from 'day continuation schools' largely concerned with courses of part-time general education for adolescents". It also clearly showed that many employers, as always, were very sceptical of the benefits, either for themselves or their juniors, of general courses and were reluctant to allow day release for them. The bulk of the students who were on them came from the public sector - particularly the Civil Service, the local authorities, the Post Office and the nationalized industries - together with a minority of big companies.

(None of these companies was mentioned, but Cadbury was obviously amongst them). (289)

The pamphlet noted that the general course was under growing pressure. "The introduction of automatic processes... [has] substantially reduced the number of potential students What began as a course of general education for process workers [may have] been turned into an operatives' course [having] a vocational objective." (290) This is certainly what happened with Cadbury students at Bournville College of Further Education, the impetus for change coming from the need for improved productivity and the creation of the Food, Drink and Tobacco Industry Training Board in 1968. The F.D.T.I.T.B. was one of ultimately about thirty similar boards set up under the Industrial Training Act of 1964. The Act was designed to enhance the quality of labour in British industry and commerce by ensuring that employers provided adequate training opportunities for their workforce. The aim was to achieve a satisfactory and sufficient supply of competent, skilled and properly trained man-power at every level from the operative to the executive. (291)

The Food Board's main requirement of firms coming within its purview was a soundly-structured scheme of training for all employees from top to bottom of the company. It imposed a levy on the firms of 0.9% of their wages bill and this could be wholly or partially recouped for approved schemes of training. (292) The standard of training at Cadbury was such that in the initial period of the Board's operations (which covered August, 1968 to November, 1969) grants received exceeded the levy by £29,000. (293) However, the F.D.T.I.T.B. would not sanction grant for the sort of general courses done by Cadbury juniors at Bournville College of Further Education because they lacked a vocational element and did not lead to an examination. In July, 1970 J. S. Jones told a

special meeting of the Works Council Education and Training Committee (renamed from the Further Education Committee a few months previously) that, though "it was considered important to preserve this type of education and obtain its recognition", the firm stood to lose £10,000 in grant unless there was immediate action. A decision had therefore been made for students from production departments - and it was from them that the bulk of Cadbury students on general courses originated - to do a new City and Guilds 444 Junior Operatives course. Negotiations between the firm, the College and City and Guilds on the details of the curriculum content were proceeding. (294)

The course was introduced in the 1971-72 session. It had three components:

- (a) specific vocational relating to a particular industry and firm (cocoa and chocolate, Cadbury Schweppes) and including manufacturing techniques and the organization of the company;
- (b) non-specific or wider vocational relating to working in industry and commerce and including the structure and functioning of the economy, safety and first aid, trade unions, and people and communications;
- (c) broader, non-vocational relating to social and life skills and including running a home, earning, spending and saving, physical fitness, health and hygiene, and craft options like cookery, dressmaking, woodwork and car maintenance.

The specific vocational component of the course had an examination with an objective test format; the wider vocational component had continuous assessment; and the non-vocational component had no examination or assessment. (City and Guilds made the vocational examination optional from the 1977-78 session, but Cadbury required their employees to take it). The course lasted two years. A City and Guilds Ordinary Certificate was awarded at the end of the first year and a supplementary, Advanced Certificate at the end of the second year, which extended study of

Cadbury corporate activities to buying, marketing, selling, distribution and kindred topics. (295)

Thus a three year general course was attenuated to a two year course with a strong vocational bias; though with the raising of the school leaving age to 16 in 1973 the length of the general course would, in any case, have been reduced to two sessions. Subsequent to the implementation of that extra period at school, youngsters starting at the factory before their seventeenth birthday had the opportunity to attend Bournville College of Further Education for two years, but if between 17 and 18 could do only the first year of the City and Guilds 444 course. (296) Other industrial training boards followed a similar line to that of the F.D.T.I.T.B. on the matter of general courses and at Bournville College of Further Education operatives courses were commenced not only for cocoa and chocolate workers but also for those in the motor vehicle, brush and broom, rubber and plastics, and paper and packaging industries. (297)

At Cadbury another, profoundly significant, development occurred even before the initial City and Guilds 444 course got under way in the autumn of 1971. In January J. S. Jones had announced to the Education and Training Committee that, consequent upon the review of the company's operations after the merger with Schweppes, attendance by boys and girls on the block release course would become voluntary instead of compulsory with effect from the Summer Term. He argued that "compulsion removed the self-interest and self-determination which could be associated with young people of today". (298) Whatever psychological cant about personal autonomy was adduced to defend the decision could not, though, disguise the fact that, just as the transfer to City and Guilds 444 had been, it was simply a reverberation of the cost-cutting campaign

that was then being ruthlessly pushed through to control expenditure.

A decade later policy restrictions were tightened again. When speaking to the Education and Training Committee in July, 1970 on the supersession of the existing three year general courses by a two year City and Guilds operatives course J. S. Jones said that "the youngsters would not attend... college for a third year, though for an outstanding second year student the company would be prepared to consider day release if an appropriate course **related to work prospects** was available". (299) This clearly indicated the traditional Cadbury commitment to continued general education was, at the very least, in question notwithstanding the contrary remarks made at the same meeting with regard to the importance of preserving that type of education. In January, 1976 R. T. Pickering, a Workers' Representative who was the current Chairman of the Education and Training Committee, criticized the increasingly negative attitudes of management towards the provision of non-vocational educational opportunities for young workers. (300) Then, in 1981, policy was toughened to exclude any possibility of day release for the purposes of general education. Day release would, henceforth, be allowed only if the course to be studied had an overt vocational orientation. This meant that, for example, if a junior employee wished to do "O" or "A" level G.C.E.'s of a normal academic nature then they would no longer be considered for release in working hours to do the necessary course of study. Just as the earlier decision to stop compulsory day or block release had come as part of a cost-cutting campaign, so did the decision to terminate release for the purposes of general education. In 1971 the campaign was a result of the merger with Schweppes and in 1981 a result of the five year recovery plan to claw back lost market share in chocolate confectionery sales. The motive that lay behind these decisions is therefore

obvious: the short-term expediency that dominates the thinking of British management in industry and commerce.

As late as 1967 Cadbury had reiterated the view that "a sound basis of general education ... is essential before any superstructure of specialist training can be built". That belief would remain "the foundation of the firm's policy" and "the continued education of all young employees... an integral part" of it. (301) "Industry... had a special responsibility ... towards the education of younger employees" since formal education for many "ceases at the school leaving age ... but the development of personality and the preparation of the adolescent for his role in a complex industrial society should not cease when he leaves" school.(302) The events of 1971 and 1981, following an intensification in already hardening managerial attitudes after the merger with Schweppes in 1969, demonstrated unequivocally that the "special responsibility" to "the continued education of all young employees" that had been held dear almost since the inception of the firm was no longer accepted or acceptable when short-term cost-cutting and the needs of the moment dictated action taken. Albert Weedall, Principal of Bournville College of Further Education from 1960 to 1978, talking of the period after 1969, has said the impression he gained was of a strong Schweppes influence that saw no real value in anything that was not strictly related to the conduct of the business. (303) The new stance was that providing for general education beyond the school leaving age, or even vocational education with a general element such as that embodied in City and Guilds 444, did not improve an employee's effectiveness at work, or the extent to which it did, if it did, was not commensurate with the costs incurred. As for any benefit that might accrue to the employee as a person (rather than as a worker) then that was no concern of the company but a matter for the individual. This amounted to nothing more nor less than

the annihilation of a once entrenched Cadbury philosophy and the elevation of materialist mores that regard life as a mechanical process and people as machines. It was the end of an ideal that had been pursued passionately for over a century. That ideal was based solidly in economic, social and humanitarian realities but finally succumbed to a triumphant expediency and cynicism.

However, this failure of the commitment to "the continued education of all young employees" was of greatly diminished importance by 1981 with respect to the numbers involved. The volume of Cadbury students at Bournville College of Further Education went on contracting in the 1970's though the company remained its biggest single user. In September, 1977, for instance, a total of barely 180 Cadbury juniors enrolled at the College either for the block release courses done by those from production departments or for such courses as the O.N.C. in Business Studies done by those from office departments. (304) Though attendance was no longer compulsory, most youngsters recruited by the firm, both in the production and office areas of the factory, did do a college course, usually of a vocationally - orientated nature (and, after 1981, invariably so). The fact was that the decline in the volume of Cadbury students at Bournville College of Further Education was less a question of fewer going because compulsion had been abolished but more the result of a much lower intake of school leavers. The reasons behind this were mechanization and automation reducing labour requirements; a markedly increased use of married women during and after World War Two, reversing previous practice of giving preference to single women; and the deteriorating quality of minimum age school leavers who were successful in securing jobs with the firm. The better, brighter young people tended to stay on at school to do "A" levels or went to full-time further education college courses. The situation, which was common throughout the United Kingdom,

was exacerbated by prejudice against industrial careers in favour of white collar occupations in commerce and the public services. It was epitomized by what seemed to be an Herculean task in attracting those school leavers with sufficient ability to train as apprentices, but was eased by growing unemployment, particularly amongst the young, in the 1970's and early 1980's. (305)

What happened at Cadbury and Bournville College of Further Education was mirrored in national trends. In 1984 an H.M.I. report on Education For Employees indicated that 16-19 year olds on day release had fallen from 327,000 in the 1966-67 session to 201,000 in 1981-82. Financial considerations and technological progress in manufacturing, engineering and construction were noted as the main causative factors concerned together with a long-term rise in unemployment that meant employers did not have to offer the incentive of day release to fill vacancies. The chief categories on day release in the 1981-82 session were craft, technical and business studies students. The tally of employees taking G.C.E.'s was "low" and only a "small minority" attended for operatives courses and secretarial and office skills instruction. (306) Nowhere in the report is there any reference to the sort of general courses surveyed in The Further Education of the General Student twenty years before. They had been phased out at Bournville College of Further Education in the 1970's as employer demand dropped and the raising of the school leaving age in 1973 made them appear less necessary. This had also clearly occurred elsewhere.

In 1971 there were a mere 218 employees (120 male, 98 female) under 18 in the production departments of the Cadbury factory at Bournville and in 1981 there were just 438 16-19 year olds employed by Cadbury Schweppes in the whole of its British operations. (307) In 1982 Confectionery Division policy was stated by Geoff Peters,

the Division's Personnel Director, to be to recruit "straight from school" where a "long-term requirement" was evident, but this meant that the "numbers taken on were nowhere near those" that used to be needed. This was reiterated by Peter Reay, Group Personnel Director, who said that juniors would be accepted at Cadbury Schweppes when "there are jobs that can be justifiably filled" and not otherwise. Peters pointed out that, at the opposite end of the recruitment scale, there had been a reduction in fresh graduate employment by the Division as part of the drive to contain labour costs. (308)

During the 1980's the sparse number of 16 and 17 year olds employed at the Bournville factory were "successfully trained and recruited" through government emergency measures for the jobless school leaver. These were the Youth Opportunity Programme, started in 1979, and its successor, the Youth Training Scheme, which was launched in 1983. The Youth Training Scheme was terminated in 1990. This, together with the demographic slump in the teenage population that was beginning to alarm employers, led to Cadbury introducing a Commercial Entrance Scheme for minimum age school leavers coming to office departments. It "aimed at attracting high calibre young people to the company" and comprised a two year programme of "training in the workplace and in the additional skills of business awareness and information systems" together with a college-based, day release "vocational qualification up to 'A' level standard in either business administration or secretarial and reception skills". In 1991 a post-"A" level scheme was initiated to "bring in people who ... wish to acquire further ... qualifications [but] combine this with practical training in an industrial environment" instead of proceeding to a university for three years of full-time higher education. (309) This illustrated an "increasing emphasis on recruiting direct from school and training within the company" (310) and a feeling that the

firm had "over-concentrated on graduates in the past". (311) The result had been a problem of too many chiefs and not enough Indians plus a lack of promotion prospects for graduates and non-graduates alike. A big turn-over amongst recently-joined graduates had also engendered a belief in some managers that "a school leaver with three years' experience in Cadbury in whatever capacity is as much use ... as someone who joins the company after three years at university". (312)

The abolition of compulsory day release in 1971 had coincided with the demise of that other bastion of Cadbury educational provision - the Bournville Works Evening Institute (B.W.E.I.). The 1960 edition of Education and Training in Office and Factory indicated that the current list of B.W.E.I. courses included "typewriting, shorthand, and comptometer work; English for everyday use; mathematics for apprentices; woodwork; first aid; boot repairing; dancing; keep fit; gymnastics; basketball and swimming", together with an annual lecture series "on industrial or social questions". (313) The growth of affluence and technological innovation were both reflected in the nature and popularity of classes which were offered with the passage of time. The boot repairing course, for example, was discontinued at the conclusion of the 1962-63 session when the teacher, Frederick William Jackson, retired. It had been appealing to "dwindling ... numbers" for "some years past". (314) Boot Repairing had been tutored by F. W. Jackson since its inception in 1897 and he finally decided to relinquish the class at the age of 92 after sixtysix years as its mentor. (315) By contrast, in the 1963-64 session, a course of lectures entitled "From Quill Pen to Computer" achieved record attendances (an average of 160). So did a course of instruction on "Investments". Car Maintenance classes were over-subscribed and Yoga tuition was a novelty that proved to have considerable pulling power. (316)

In October, 1964 J. S. Jones told the Further Education Committee that B.W.E.I. courses were being "well attended" at the commencement of the new session. (317) Twelve months later he reported that Yoga, Car Maintenance and Woodwork - with one, two and three classes each respectively - were in "heavy demand". (318) An H.M.I. who subsequently visited the B.W.E.I. "commented on the friendly atmosphere" that existed between teachers and pupils taught in its classrooms. (319)

Then, in August, 1966 the Bournville Works Magazine made the following announcement.

"Since the early years of the century, most of the evening classes arranged by the Education Department have been recognized, first by the Board of Education (which became the Ministry of Education) and now the Department of Education and Science, and a grant has been received towards the expenses. Very few industrial organizations seem to have achieved this direct relationship, due, of course, to the tiny number of firms which in pre-war years offered facilities of this kind.

Of recent years there has been a tremendous development in this field of education, and local authorities offer an ever-widening range of classes in their evening institutes. This is particularly true of Bournville and neighbouring areas. The D.E.S. therefore suggested to the firm that the old arrangement should end and that a relationship should be established with Birmingham Education Authority.

Accordingly, a new arrangement will come into operation this month. There will be very few obvious changes. The classes, times, meeting places and teachers are likely to be the same. Classes will be attached to the Bournville Institute of Further Education and will be advertised in the Institute's programme as well as at Bournville. Fees will be charged on the Birmingham scale (18/- per term for a two hour class from next September), but these will be returnable under the firm's scheme if 85% of possible attendances are made. The Works Education Department will continue to provide the channel of communication with students and to provide its usual services". (320)

It is obvious from the minutes of the Further Education Committee meeting of March, 1966 that these

rather bland words masked an insistence by the Department of Education and Science that a connection which had endured for six decades should be broken. It was regarded as an anomaly since the normal procedure was for evening institutes to be supported by the local authority. (321) The May meeting heard from J. S. Jones that negotiations with Birmingham Education Authority had been successful. From the 1966-67 session B.W.E.I. courses would be the city's responsibility and included in the prospectus of the Bournville Institute of Further Education. The move from central to local government control, though unwelcome as a downgrading of status and individuality, was nonetheless seen by Cadbury as an opportunity. J. S. Jones told the Further Education Committee that the B. W. E. I. had always been "restricted ... [by] the policy ... not to duplicate classes held by other evening institutes. The intention now was to build up our programme". (322)

These high hopes were eventually to be confounded and the take-over by Birmingham was, in reality, the thin end of the wedge that was to result in oblivion for the B.W.E.I. "Relationships were very good", (323) with the city's Chief Education Officer himself calling at the Works in the autumn, but the B.W.E.I. lost its separate identity and independence when it became just another constituent of the Bournville Institute of Further Education. Officially, the title "Bournville Works Evening Institute" disappeared (though the firm continued to use it): the Bournville Institute of Further Education prospectus referred simply to "Cadbury, Bournville, Classes". (324) During his stay at the factory, the Chief Education Officer informed J. S. Jones that "he was ready to consider any new ideas, [but] it must be understood that the Education Authority was working to a budget and could not always put new ideas into operation straight away". (325) Despite attempts to maintain established customs - such as a later finishing time for the Autumn Term and a correspondingly later

starting time for the Spring Term - the term dates for B.W.E.I. courses had to fall in line with current Birmingham practice. (326) Cadbury classes could also be switched from the Bournville College of Further Education premises on The Green, where they were usually situated, to other Bournville Institute of Further Education centres. When this occurred preference was still given to Cadbury employees, but their attendance was adversely affected. (327)

Another factor which may have adversely affected attendance by Cadbury workers at both B.W.E.I. and similar local authority courses was the firm's decision in the spring of 1968 to abolish the long-lived evening class refund scheme. J. S. Jones explained to the Further Education Committee in May that the administrative problems in applying it "had been made additionally difficult by the change-over, some [while] ago, by the city authorities, from an annual class fee to a term fee, which now involved the education office in three refund payments a year. In view of these difficulties and the feeling that the scheme had outgrown its original purpose, which was to provide an encouragement to employees to help themselves, it had been decided to discontinue the scheme, as such, after the Summer Term, 1968. Exceptions would be made for some employees who aimed at passing examinations, particularly those of a vocational nature; prior approval would be necessary from the Education Department..... At present the education office dealt with approximately 500 claims for refunds a year involving some £750. The number likely to qualify under the new arrangements was expected to be very small". (328)

There had been 202 enrolments in B.W.E.I. classes in the 1967-68 session. The minutes of the Further Education Committee meeting on October 25th., 1968 show that so far by then there had been 235 enrolments in the 1968-69

session. Thus, at least initially it seemed, the withdrawal of the fees refund scheme had not caused any drop in students at Works classes, though the meeting was advised no information was available with regard to non-Works classes. (329) However, these sort of figures were considerably below those of the 1950's and early 1960's and in the next session, 1969-70, the writing was clearly on the wall for the B.W.E.I. Many classes, amongst them ones which were once very popular, never began through lack of support - Woodwork, Car Maintenance, Antiques, Mixed Judo, Coin Collecting and Better Driving; while in January, 1970 Girls' Judo and Men's Swimming had to be cancelled and two Dressmaking classes merged. (330)

At the commencement of the 1970-71 session, J. S. Jones admitted to the (renamed) Education and Training Committee that notwithstanding "strenuous efforts" via publicity in factory notices, circulars and the Bournville Reporter to ensure satisfactory patronage for B.W.E.I. courses the "response had ... proved disappointing". As a consequence only three classes - two in yoga and one in swimming for men - could be started. However, "a swimming class for women had also been arranged. Response for this particular class had been very encouraging and arrangements would be made under the aegis of the new Bournville Club [which had recently been formed to amalgamate all Works clubs and societies into a single, unitary organization] rather than the local evening institute as in the past. A further activity, 'Flower Arranging', was to be held, again under the aegis of the Bournville Club". Jones summed up by saying "it would appear that the overall interest on the Bournville site was not sufficient to sustain the varied programme of evening institute classes held in the past". In the ensuing discussion it was pointed out that other evening institute centres in Bournville and Birmingham as a whole were experiencing a rising trend in enrolments, though this was associated with

"an upward movement in the age of students" and "an increasing attendance of retired people".(331)

In July, 1971 an entry in the Education and Training Committee minutes indicated that the Principal of the B.W.E.I.'s parent had, as usual, communicated his "willingness to set up specific courses, to meet employees' particular needs, to be held on site". (332) None materialised and this was the last occasion on which the legend "Works Evening Institute" occurs as an agenda item in the Committee's minutes. Compulsory day release had already ended that same year and now a second bastion of Cadbury educational provision, the Bournville Works Evening Institute, had fallen, too. The demise of the B.W.E.I. went without mention in either the Education and Training Committee minutes or the Bournville Reporter: sic transit gloria mundi.

Swimming instruction, for which there remained a demand, especially from women employees, continued to be available at the Works for some time in the 1970's. Similar instruction for the children of employees also continued for some time, carrying on a practice begun in 1952. (333) These classes, and a small number of other, mostly leisure and sports courses, were run through the Bournville Club structure. (334) Co-operation with Birmingham local education authority, usually through the Bournville Institute of Further Education, was perpetuated with the organization of occasional classes to fulfil any special requirements that became apparent. In the autumn of 1974, for example, a basic reading, writing and arithmetic course went forward "following a number of requests from employees of varying ages" (335) who were "verbally articulate" but only semi-literate and semi-numerate to the extent they could "hardly fill in their job application forms". (336) In 1978, 1979 and 1980 Basic English classes were supplied to immigrant employees who

wished to improve their standards of spoken and written English. They took place on site and, as with the 1974 course, were free of fees. (337)

Retrenchment in educational sectors like day release and the B.W.E.I. was accompanied by retrenchment in the classes, courses and facilities associated with training programmes for Cadbury workers. Reductions in recruitment and the size of the labour force, notably the junior constituent of it; technological developments; and cost-cutting, with a growing inclination to see education and training as a cost rather than an investment, all played a role in this. In August, 1963 a new Factory Training Centre was opened, equipped with machinery to simulate manufacturing conditions and a lecture room with the latest visual aids. It was the 1960's equivalent of the 1920's Training Room and designed to deliver a variety of operating skills to females (both freshly employed and those switching jobs) engaged on the fast, repetitive work that characterized the many production processes at the factory for which a high degree of hand-eye co-ordination and manual dexterity was essential. (338) The years after the merger with Schweppes in 1969 exhibited a tendency for this kind of facility to disappear. January 1971, for instance, saw the closure of the Machine Shop Training Department (inaugurated in 1951 and expanded in 1958) which was for apprentices in the fitting and machine shop trades. Apprentices would in future use technical college training resources and equipment. (339) In the offices May, 1971 brought the shutdown of the Typists' Training Room and exemplified a move away from on-site teaching of elementary secretarial skills in favour of tuition at colleges and private establishments and the employment of older people already possessing secretarial experience. (340)

However, by contrast the training of managers at all levels received great emphasis and Beeches College evolved

as the Cadbury management training centre. The seat of the Girls' Section of the Bournville Day Continuation School from 1919 until 1925, The Beeches then reverted to its original purpose as a children's convalescent home. Between 1934 and 1940 The Beeches Trust lent it to the National Council of Social Service as a headquarters for the instruction and preparation of the leaders of women's clubs in areas of heavy unemployment. During the Second World War The Beeches was turned to account as a hostel for Birmingham University students and a social meeting place for Bournville mothers. Hillcroft College, Surbiton, was also evacuated there for three years. Subsequently, The Beeches Trust was dissolved and Cadbury took the initiative in founding "The Beeches College" as an instrument for improving the efficiency of the retail trade through courses for those in the grocery and confectionery business. The first such course was offered in 1946. Additionally, it was exploited as the venue for a variety of other courses and conferences.

A series of extensions and refurbishments was put in train from 1962 to enable the firm to make the most of Beeches College for in-house management training. From the early 1970's it was made available to outside companies and as a result became financially self-supporting. The non-Cadbury component of its workload eventually reached over two-thirds of the total and what had become known as "The Beeches Management Centre" was sold to the Kalamazoo subsidiary Kalamazoo Training Consultants. This was not without historical irony and significance. The Northfield company of Kalamazoo, then Morland and Impey, were the only employers along with Cadbury to send juniors to the "Day School for Young Employees" on its inception in 1913. (341)

Not even the importance attached to management training, though, was sufficient to prevent economies in what might have been seen as a sacrosanct area. The market

share recovery plan launched in the late 1970's concentrated money and attention on massive capital investments and there was "relatively little [spent] on training". (342) The situation began to be addressed in the mid-1980's with new training and retraining programmes for "tradesmen, operators and supervisors" at Bournville (343) together with first line production managers. It had been "some years since Confectionery Division used a coherent training programme to prepare employees who [were] taking up line management appointments." The programme devised for them was christened "Gateway" and was intended for both experienced and fledgling line managers. It included elements relating to the technology of production processes, personnel, and commercial and business awareness. The overall aim was to enhance a manager's knowledge, skills and commitment. (344) In 1989 the Cadbury Management Initiative was introduced for people at "executive, senior management and first line management levels" to improve their expertise, competence and effectiveness. As well as existing in-house and external courses to raise and refine managerial performance it incorporated "core management programmes" to help each manager "reassess the contribution expected from his or her role and explore the impact of contemporary business issues" and a "personal development plan" for every manager "designed to meet [their] learning needs as identified" by them and their superior. (345)

The Cadbury Management Initiative was complemented in 1990 by the completion of a £400,000 training suite in the Dining Block. This comprised, inter alia, a reception and lounge area; two large lecture rooms for up to fifty persons and seven syndicate rooms for smaller groups; and a Learning Resource Centre with "private workstations, computer-based learning packages, language laboratory facilities, video, audio and workbook-based packages and reference books". The suite was to be used for "training

courses; management workshops, seminars and conferences; recruitment and selection events, together with self-development and individual learning programmes" and as a supplement to on-the-job, "work-based training and studies". (346) The project clearly reflected the success of the market share recovery plan and the bigger profits that was bringing, thereby enabling a more benign view to be taken of expenditure on training than had been the case in the recent past.

Despite the cutbacks that occurred as a consequence of cost pressures and changing needs "training [was] given for most jobs" in both production and office departments. (347) There was not only the obvious requirement of training new employees but also frequently a necessity for the retraining of existing employees to improve their performance, maintain their competency in the face of technological innovation and to prepare them for fresh tasks and responsibilities. It was thus recognized that training was "more important than ever" (348) and it commenced with "putting people 'in the picture'" on arrival at the factory. (349) The Initiation Schools for juniors dating from 1920 were joined after World War Two by "Initiation Conferences" for older recruits and returnees from military service. Though the terminology altered with the appearance of such expressions as "induction programme", introductory courses for new employees - from the school leaver through the young graduate to the mature adult - continued to be provided after 1962. They varied in length and composition according to the type of entrant involved - juniors and graduates having longer and more sophisticated courses than, for instance, mature women operatives. They might last from half a day to a fortnight or over. Factory rules and regulations, safety and hygiene, wages and conditions, social amenities and the organization of the business together with an insight into the job that would be done would all usually feature. (350)

Initiation School may have thrived in the form of an "induction programme", but another creation of the early part of the century did not endure. This was Camp School and it was unable to survive the 1960's. The first setback came in 1962 when the barge normally used for travelling was unavailable because of the death of Charles Ballinger, its owner. Along with his wife he had been joint navigator on every Camp School trip since 1947. In 1962 there was also a reduced number of three parties instead of the customary four (two of boys, two of girls) because a shortage of applicants meant there was sufficient for only a single group of girls. The district covered was the familiar one of Worcester-Tewkesbury-Gloucester and the journey was accomplished by motor coach. (351) There was never again to be a water-borne Camp School both because there was now no suitable barge and additionally because of growing difficulties in finding canal-side camp sites and even navigable cuts. (352)

There was a reversion to four parties in 1963: two of boys and one of girls went to Bangor-on-Dee and Moreton (where Cadbury's new biscuit production unit was located). A third party of boys spent an experimental week at the cottage in Wales acquired by the firm for the B.Y.C. two years previously. The curriculum they studied aimed at introducing them to the life, history, industry and culture of the Principality. It included visits to a slate quarry, a nuclear power station and a Forestry Commission plantation plus talks by local people on Welsh customs and traditions. (353)

In 1964 Camp School returned to the Nottingham area, where it had not been located since 1939, when it had had to be broken up prematurely as a consequence of the intensifying international crisis. (354) In 1965 two parties of boys and one of girls went to Frampton, Somerdale (home of Fry's) and Bristol. (355) The next year

saw a Camp School consisting of three groups, two of sixteen boys each and one totalling twenty girls, investigating the country around Moreton and Stockport. (356) In 1967 there was but a single party of boys and no female representation at all, reflecting the fact "that the response from girls recently had not been very good". The intended itinerary encompassed the firm's Blackpole and Marlbrook factories, Droitwich Brine Baths, the cathedral and a porcelain works in Worcester, a tile works at Hereford and a chicken farm. (357) This was the final Camp School ever to be undertaken. (There is certainly no mention of another in the extant records). A venerable, and venerated, institution that had existed for more than half a century passed without tribute or ceremony and it was soon followed by two other camps dating from about the same period. The Education and Training Committee minutes for June, 1970 contain a note to the effect that "there would be no B.Y.C. summer camp or B.G.A.S.C. camp this year due to lack of support. There had been a gradual decline in the support of these functions during the last few years, an indication, J. S. Jones suggested, of the changing attitudes of young people today". (358)

Amongst the casualties of Cadbury educational provision in the transformation of the firm after 1962 were the Works Councils' scholarships - a corollary of the ultimate extinction of the Works Council structure itself. The antecedents of this could be discerned in the shake-up that had taken place in the main committees of the separate men's and women's councils in 1960. Then in 1964 the Men's Works Council and the Women's Works Council were amalgamated into a combined, unified body. The already existing joint committees (such as the Further Education Committee) formed a prototype for the coming together of previously independent committees. The chance was also seized to continue the rationalization of committee responsibilities begun in 1960. The Further Education

Committee, for example, assumed the duties of the joint Conferences and Exchange Visits Committee, which was rendered defunct. (This committee had arranged conferences for Workers' Representatives and exchange visits with kindred works councils elsewhere). Almost all the separate men's and women's Shop Committees - of which there were over a hundred - were amalgamated along with the Councils and their main committees. (359)

The merger of the two Works Councils in 1964 was reinforced five years later by a development that was eventually to result in the dismantling of what management increasingly came to regard as an outmoded and anachronistic type of worker participation. The Works Councils had always been seen as essentially consultative in nature and never trespassed on ground that was the subject of negotiation between the firm and the trade unions - wages, for instance. However, this dichotomy proved difficult to sustain in practice because there were matters where it was not immediately apparent whether the issue was one for consultation with the Councils or negotiation with the unions. The problem grew as trade union membership expanded in both production and office departments and ever-more powerful unions remained excluded from discussions on important questions like the application of alterations in working hours, the timing and duration of holidays, methods of payment and disciplinary procedures that had been the traditional preserve of the Councils.

As a solution the Cadbury Board of Directors formulated a view that the consulting and communicating role of the merged Council, and the negotiating role of the trade unions, were not so much complementary but a continuum: constituent parts of a common, indivisible process that should embrace the same people. Hence there was a need for the "unionization" of the Works Council to

enable those responsible for negotiation to also be concerned in consultation and communication. This would ensure the unions were a fully integrated element of the Council structure and thereby create a forum which could consider a wider range of topics. The company contended - and this was the chief driving force behind the proposal - that unionization of the Works Council would facilitate the adoption of measures essential for the enhanced competitiveness of the business which were crucial to its survival. The new Council structure was thus envisaged by the Board as giving an opportunity for the free and frank debate of matters affecting working conditions, the interests of employees and the operating efficiency of production and office departments. The emphasis would be on productivity rather than the social and leisure focus of the past though the trade unions would retain their sole rights with respect to wage bargaining and similar basic issues.

Some leading union officials were already involved in the Council structure and in the revised arrangements implemented in December, 1969 all non-management participants had to be union members. Union branch officers, shop stewards and management delegates attended the Works Council or relevant committee ex-officio, while elections on the old established pattern now filled only the residual Departmental Committee places. The main standing committees of the Works Council itself were remodelled. The Further Education Committee was reconstituted and gained a change of title, becoming the Education and Training Committee at its first meeting in January, 1970. In reality it went on much as before but with a broader purview over training throughout the factory. However, in 1972 it did lose its responsibility for industrial relations Study Tours abroad, exchange visits with other works councils, and conferences and courses for Works Council office-holders, representatives

and delegates to the new Joint Consultation Committee set up in the 1969 reorganisation.(360)

The financing of Works Council activities was adversely affected by the changing character of employment at the factory after World War Two and notably the growing engagement of married women, about half of them part time. This meant a declining income since the per capita grant of 15/- from the firm applied only to full-time employees. Nothing was paid for part-timers, who were excluded from the operations and facilities of both the Men's and Women's Works Councils. The situation was resolved in October, 1962 when part-time workers became eligible to vote in Council and Shop Committee elections and to apply for scholarships. The per capita grant for full-time employees was also raised to £1 and a sum of 10/- was made payable for each part-time employee.(361)

These figures remained unaltered until the demise of the then single Works Council in 1979. Throughout that period educational spending - directly on scholarships and indirectly in various ways - was, as it always had been, the principal outlay consuming the bulk of resources. In February, 1967, for instance, the Bournville Works Magazine reported that the 1966-67 Works Council budget (typical of those for the late 1960's) comprised an income of around £8,500 from the per capita grant which would be spent chiefly on scholarships (over half of spending), benevolent allowances, the Library (for new books, binding and newspapers), technical journals, paintings (originals and reproductions), and lunch-hour concerts. (362) Supplementary revenue was specially received from the Board for "Music While You Work" records and Concert Hall films shown to the night shift.(363)

The range of scholarships offered by the Further Education Committee and its successor, the Education and

Training Committee, remained largely intact in the 1960's and 1970's. The list continued to include long-term residential scholarships at places like Fircroft and Hillcroft (though Hillcroft was dropped as a venue when Fircroft began taking women in 1972-73); short-term residential scholarships; part-time courses; and the weekend conferences started so successfully by the old Scholarships Committee in 1953. Within this basic mosaic the emphases did alter over time. For example, with the end of the B.Y.C. and Youths' Committee in 1970, greater attention was devoted to scholarships for young people from 16 up to 21 or 23 to attend short-term residential courses available to them, notably those at Brathay Hall, Kingsgate College and Lindley Lodge and others (for girls only) arranged by J. McAlister Brew Development Training and Endeavour Training. Greater attention was also given to improving the performance of active participants in the Works Council structure such as committee secretaries and, with unionization, shop stewards. The variety of courses for this purpose for which scholarships were obtainable tended to rise, particularly (and not surprisingly) after the reorganization of 1969. However, perhaps the most spectacular development was the extension of the indigenous schedule of conferences run by the Further Education Committee and subsequently the Education and Training Committee. The residential weekends multiplied and were supplemented by one-day events and in 1978 experimental continental functions that were heavily over-subscribed. The latter were intended to appeal especially to people who had never before been abroad and hence were additionally educative in that respect. In the 1960's gardening, and in the 1970's pre-retirement, conferences proved extremely popular in this expanding "in-house" series. With the need to contain costs some conferences were undertaken on a self-financing basis after 1971 and spouses of employees, even other relations and friends, were occasionally allowed to go on them on a full-cost basis. An exception was made

to the full-cost rule on a number of pre-retirement conferences at which the spouses of employees were accepted automatically as an essential presence. (364)

In May, 1970, only a few months after its unionization, the Bournville Reporter noted a "row" at a meeting of the Works Council, the subject of the altercation being the closure of the factory laundry. The headline to the piece was "Joint Consultation - What Does It Mean?" The substance of the article was that Workers' Representatives felt the management attitude was that the procedure was simply about discussing how to implement a decision already made while to the Representatives it was having a share in the making of the decision. (365) This illustrated the way in which the unionization of the Works Council structure almost inevitably meant that it became a forum for union-management confrontation : another union-management battleground rather than a consultation process. Council and committee meetings could be, and not infrequently were, acrimonious in a manner that was unprecedented as militant union and dictatorial management behaviour brought disruption and trivialization of issues. There could be long, and usually futile, arguments before agreement, if any, was reached. (366)

The Education and Training Committee, however, saw little trouble, perhaps because education and training was not a particularly controversial matter. This does not mean to say there were no union-management differences. There were and one instance was the abolition of compulsory day release, which unleashed strong criticism from union Representatives. (367) A second was the management wish to stop the scholarship grants for the education of employees' children. The union side was adamant in its opposition to this and, indeed, insisted on an increase in the amount from £12 10s. to £15. Eligibility for them was also extended to children at college up to 18 in addition to the

existing provision for those at school beyond the minimum leaving age. (368)

The imbroglio that was produced by the unionization of the Works Council machinery, and the cumbersome nature of a complicated structure that involved a large number of people and a multiplicity of committees, led to discussions between unions and management in 1978 on a replacement. Deadlock ensued as a result both of inter-union rivalries and the reluctance of the unions collectively to take part in a new structure. At the turn of 1978/79 the management side withdrew unilaterally from the Works Council and its proceedings and it was thereby rendered defunct. After some experimentation what emerged eventually in the 1980's was a streamlined arrangement comprising regular site contacts between appropriate managers and union officials to liaise on questions of mutual interest and concern. This fitted in with a pattern of routine divisional and company conferences for management delegates and union officials that had been established in 1974 and which helped hasten the end of the Works Council by making it appear old-fashioned and redundant. (369)

The affairs of the Council had to be wound up and, where necessary, some continuity ensured in the functions it performed. For example, the task of the large main committees like Education and Training were assumed by small coteries of managers and shop stewards. The Education and Training detachment consisted of training managers Julia Jones and Jill Melrose together with senior stewards Jim Bennett, Roy Pickering, John Donnellan, Eric Pearson and Karl Clevely. Amongst the duties of this group was the disposal of the money for scholarships that remained in the budget of the former Works Council Education and Training Committee. In 1980 the Bournville Reporter, and in 1981 its successor Cadbury News, carried articles inviting applications for short-term residential

scholarships. That in 1981 was the last and it meant the conclusion of over sixty years of Works Council scholarships provision. (370)

It also effectively marked the final demise of the availability of scholarships at the factory as a whole since those offered by the firm (as distinct from the Works Councils) had disappeared more than a decade previously. The 1967 edition that terminated the long series of booklets describing the Cadbury educational system (the first of which had been issued in 1912) acknowledged that the scholarships once awarded to "suitable young [employees] to go to universities or colleges for an [extended] course of study" such as a degree were not now needed because of the existence of mandatory government grants. However, there continued to be finance for "a year or two of study at an advanced level" in appropriate circumstances "in addition to ... short-term management and other courses", and time off with pay for study of approved courses and the sitting of examinations - with the return of fees to successful candidates. (371)

The non-vocational scholarships emanating from the firm and delivered through the Youth Project Scheme and via the Youths' Committee and B.Y.C. had ceased with the closure of the B.Y.C. in 1970 as part of the cost-cutting exercise applied subsequent to the merger with Schweppes. Though their cessation was essentially simple expediency it did reflect a trend of declining applications for these scholarships. This was particularly the case with the Youth Project Scheme, applications for which had been "dwindling ... each year". (372)

Thus the intensifying pace of change affected Works clubs and societies at Bournville no less than other aspects of life at the factory after 1962. The "increasing tendency of people to live further away from the Works and

to seek leisure activities in the area in which they reside" caused growing "difficulties for some societies". Hence, in 1965, the Board of Directors, on the recommendation of the Social Committee of the Works Council, altered the rule that only 25% of a society's members could be associates - that is, non-employees. In future there were to be three classes of members: full members (current employees and pensioners), family members (husbands or wives of current employees or pensioners), and external members. The latter could be admitted up to a third of the combined full and family membership total at a third higher subscription but with no eligibility to vote in society elections, hold office or serve on committees. (373)

The most momentous events, however, followed the Schweppes merger in 1969. The Works clubs and societies had always been separate and autonomous but, with the paramount necessity to cut costs, in 1970 they were amalgamated into a single, Bournville Club with an Executive Committee responsible for different sections. The sections were intended to have as much independence and individuality as possible, but the primary objective was to make the best use of resources by having an integrated organisation with a common policy and management structure that would eventually become self-financing, at least in terms of running costs. The new Club was centred in the former Girls' Pavilion, ex-headquarters of the now disbanded B.G.A.S.C. (374)

The annual general meeting of Bournville Club was told in the spring of 1972 that with the dust having settled on the upheaval of its formation it was functioning smoothly. There were thirtysix sports, leisure and social sections and membership had doubled since the opening of a bar ten months previously. (375) Notwithstanding this seemingly successful beginning, the already existing trend for people

to regard the workplace as just that and no more could not be arrested. Numbers employed on the Bournville site also continued to fall and almost two decades later the total of sections within Bournville Club had halved along with the size of the labour force. (376)

The once extensive facilities enjoyed by employees had by then been drastically reduced, largely as a consequence of the two vigorous periods of cost-cutting after the merger in 1969 and the launch of the market share recovery plan in 1978. The Works Library was shut down in 1971. (377) It had had "the distinction of being one of the few works fictional lending libraries in the country". (378) A Technical Library and Information Service remained for the assistance of employees in carrying out their jobs. The same year Rowheath Lido failed to reopen because of operating losses and the need for a £5,000 repair to the filtration plant. This was despite the fact of a record 1969 with in excess of 45,500 visitors and receipts over £4,400. (379) Vandalism became rife and part of the complex, including the pool, had to be rebuilt before the Lido (together with two new squash courts) was brought back to life in 1977 under the auspices of a local residents' group, the Rowheath Lido and Recreation Association. (380)

Vandalism and neglect also started to adversely affect the rest of Rowheath, which became increasingly expensive to maintain. In 1981, after an "amenities review" instigated by Dominic Cadbury, Managing Director of Confectionery Division, the decision was taken to dispose of Rowheath, which it was claimed was now used by only a small proportion of employees. The closure of the Girls' Bath at the factory was also ordered and this was implemented in the spring of 1982. Management said a quarter of a million pounds required to be spent on its refurbishment plus £30,000 annual running costs for a mere 150 employees a week who swam in it regularly. (381) A

subsequent proposal to demolish the listed building and replace it with a war memorial garden provoked a furore. The Girls' Bath had been designed by noted architect G. H. Lewin and embellished with carvings by Benjamin Creswick. It had been praised by Sir Nikolaus Pevsner as having a street elevation that was "the most impressive architectural extravaganza of the whole [Bournville] estate". The Victorian Society castigated "one of [Birmingham's] great industrial firms" for showing "little interest in its history" and putting the "profit motive" before the "aesthetic motive" by demonstrating a lack of concern for the environment with its attempt to have the Girls' Bath "Schwepped away". The City Council opposed the idea and made it clear to Cadbury there was "no possibility of demolition being allowed". (382) Rowheath fared better. In 1982 agreement was finalized between Cadbury, Bournville Village Trust and the local authority under which the Trust purchased the land. Two-thirds of it was to be retained for sports, leisure and community activities and the residue developed for housing. A £300,000 restoration scheme for what had become a scene of dereliction and indifference was drawn up and commenced in 1984. (383)

Analysis of these events reveals several factors contributing to them. One was undoubtedly diminishing enthusiasm for, participation in and use of the amenities which were once such an important aspect of the lives of many Cadbury workers. In 1974 the Bournville Reporter stated sadly that the Bournville Club offered "superb facilities, first class grounds and well-organized sports yet Cadbury employees do not seem to be interested" so that some "sections have to rely heavily on associate members to get their teams out". (384) In 1981 Confectionery Division Personnel Director Geoff Peters told the annual general meeting of the Bournville Club that the decision to dispose of Rowheath and to shut the Girls' Bath had to be seen in the context of a "limited amount available for amenities"

which must be "spent on those facilities... used by most of our employees. It is a fact that many of our sports facilities are under-used by our employees". (385) According to the company the reality was "that in present-day society there appeared to be less call or need for social and recreational activities based upon the place of work than twentyfive years ago, arising from the development of greater community facilities and widespread use of the family car". (386) Active recreational pastimes had been superseded by the passive leisure pursuit - sitting and staring hypnotically at the television screen or driving to somewhere a cheap guide book indicated was a beauty spot and sitting and staring uncomprehendingly at it through the rolled-up car window.

However, lack of use was by no means the whole story and was certainly questioned by employees. It was pointed out that the Lido at Rowheath was closed shortly after a record season in 1969 and that neglect of proper maintenance encouraged lack of use and led to deterioration of land and buildings. It was a counter-productive policy which ultimately meant that massive sums would have to be expended on rehabilitation thereby making disposal, if that was decided upon, much more difficult. The conclusion reached was that the firm was deliberately discouraging the use of amenities in exactly the same way as British Railways discouraged the use of lines it did not want by running them down so that a case could be made for closure. (387)

These arguments did have validity because the crucial issue was that of curtailing costs. Confectionery Division Personnel Manager Robin Shaw emphasized to the Bournville Reporter during the amenities review exercise "that overhead costs must be cut to ensure the company's commercial survival". (388) Dominic Cadbury stressed that "we must look at every activity to check whether it

measures up to our mainstream objective of making and selling confectionery". (389) This was evidently the key element in management thinking. The amounts of money involved in sporting, leisure and social amenities were relatively minor (in comparison with, say, total turnover, level of profits, the marketing and advertising budget or the resources wasted on abortive new products). However, the Library, Rowheath and the Girls' Bath had no direct connection with the manufacture of cocoa, chocolate and sweets and it was strongly felt that neither cash nor management time should be devoted to them. To state, or imply, that their closure or disposal was of any real importance in the "company's commercial survival" was, at the very least, a gross exaggeration. It was management attitudes more than anything else that played the central role in the decisions that were made.

The fall of the curtain on the Works Library in 1971 prompted R. Bearman to write to the Bournville Reporter.

"The Works Library is a valuable amenity for all. Reading is a worthwhile occupation and well-read employees benefit the company. To close the Library will cause inconvenience and purchase much bad will at very little cost. In his 1968 Chairman's statement Mr. Adrian Cadbury referring to benefits of the merger stressed that although size is necessary to compete effectively it need not change the company's philosophy and personality I suggest that as an important aspect of Cadbury philosophy and personality the Works Library should be retained". (390)

That "philosophy and personality" had begun to change after 1962 when the firm went to the Stock Exchange for an ordinary share quotation and the process was reinforced and accelerated by the merger with Schweppes seven years later. Change there definitely was. Who can doubt that the Cadburys of the early 1900's who had created the architectural gem represented by the Girls' Bath would have looked askance at the Cadburys of the 1980's wishing to demolish it? There was clearly a growing narrowness of

outlook from 1962 onwards that owed something to competitive pressures but was also attributable to hardening management attitudes with regard to what were increasingly seen as peripheral frills with no place in a modern business that had to "keep pace with the times". (391)

It was with such meaningless clichés and sloganizing that traditional concepts of the value of general education and of associated educative-recreational amenities were, to all intents and purposes, jettisoned. Bearman's comment that "well-read employees benefit the company" would probably be viewed with scepticism unless the reading consisted of cost-cutting memoranda and technical literature. The harsher management attitudes that had developed prompted a feeling that it was not a responsibility of the firm to assist employees in being well-read by providing a library containing fiction and similar, irrelevant, non-essential material. The same scepticism was also probably engendered by the contents of a letter in the Bournville Reporter from Ivan Pearce on the Girls' Bath .

"If rumours about the closure of the swimming baths are correct (and the remarks of directors being in the chocolate business and not the sports business) then I consider the attitudes to be extremely short-sighted. The efficiency (and therefore profitability) of a business is related in large measure to the health of its employees..... The ability for people to relax and enjoy themselves in their leisure time whether it be in physical exercise or some other form of recreation is a vital necessity for a long, healthy life - and for working efficiency". (392)

The letter was headlined "This Is Short-Sighted Attitude" and was reflected in another in January, 1981 from "Rowheath Fan". The writer contended that a too restricted perspective was being taken of "cost and profit" which had wider dimensions than those currently being considered - wider dimensions recognized in the past but no longer given credence. (393) As pensioner Lilian Clay was to put it

five years into the future, "[the elder] Mr. George Cadbury's planning and foresight... is now, seemingly, lost forever". (394) Short-term expediency dominated. Education and training were seen as a burdensome cost rather than an investment bringing returns in efficiency and personal fulfilment and they were to be cut like any cost.

Lilian Clay's shrewd and perceptive insight was eloquent testimony to the intelligent and sophisticated individuals the Cadbury educational system had helped to nurture. That system was dismantled after 1962, the process perhaps epitomized by the fact that even the designation of "education" tended to disappear from company nomenclature. In the 1960's reorganization meant the Education Department was absorbed into the personnel functions of the firm and from being directly answerable to the Board of Directors came under the charge of the Head of Personnel. (395) Towards the end of the decade "Training" was added to the name of the Department and the Education Officer was transmuted into the (Bournville site) Education and Training Manager. This post was filled by J. S. Jones, the former Assistant Education Officer. (396) A. T. Davies, the ex-Education Officer, became Cadbury Schweppes group Management Development and Training Manager. (397) He died shortly afterwards, in the autumn of 1970, the third of the great education officers who had run the Education Department at Bournville since 1911 - his predecessors being R. W. Ferguson and C. A. Harrison. (398) In 1973 the word "Education" was dropped and the Education and Training Department became simply the Training Department. (399) At the beginning of 1989 the title was extended to Training and Development Department. (400)

Between 1962 and 1981 the system of educational provision at Cadbury experienced decay and demolition. Employee demand weakened, while the fundamental tenet which

evolved to motivate management action was that anything which did not have a direct connection with the output and sales of confectionery was suspect - including education. Compulsory day release for juniors; the Bournville Works Evening Institute; the firm's scholarships - all disappeared. So did the Education Department. In 1981 itself day release for the purpose of general education was abolished; the final coterie of second stage City and Guilds 444 Operatives Course students received their supplementary advanced certificates; the last of the residual scholarships of the already-defunct Works Council were advertised; the decision to dispose of Rowheath and close the Girls' Bath was announced; and the Youths' Section (former Bournville Youths' Club) and the Drama Section (former Bournville Dramatic Society) of the amorphous Bournville Club were disbanded. That year may thus be regarded as signalling the effective end of a century and a half of Cadbury educational provision and of the philosophy that had attached so much value, weight and importance to "education in industry".

CHAPTER FIVETHE ACHIEVEMENT

The Cadburys as a family were committed to education. Their emphasis on its value for the individual, the economy, society and the nation was seen in an involvement from the nursery school through educational provision at the Bournville factory to the university and the Quaker Adult School movement. Amongst the nursery schools with which they were concerned was the Edith Cadbury Nursery School in Weoley Castle (a Birmingham suburb adjacent to Bournville). This was established by George Cadbury, junior in 1939 in memory of his wife, Edith. (1) The Cadbury family had a close relationship with the Selly Oak Colleges, of which Fircroft was not the sole example of those with which it was intimately connected. George Cadbury, senior founded Woodbroke and Edward was successively Treasurer and Chairman of the Central Council of Selly Oak Colleges. He bestowed a library on the federation and in 1946 added St. Andrews College to the grouping. Edward also endowed a chair in Theology at Birmingham University. (2) The Cadburys were school and college governors and sat on local authority education committees, either as elected councillors or as co-opted members. Their commitment to education at every level and in all its facets was real - and passionate. This was, perhaps, epitomized by the despairing cry of Elizabeth Cadbury, wife of George senior, when she roundly condemned the decimation of the day continuation schools in the early 1920's as "one of the most pernicious mistakes ever perpetrated by an irresponsible, reactionary government." (3)

COSTS AND BENEFITS

The opening paragraph of the very first in the long series of pamphlets the firm published describing their educational system reads:

"Educational methods are today the subject of much earnest consideration ... The subjection of this country to the pressure of an ever-increasing degree of foreign competition in world markets has produced an analysis, more complete than had hitherto been attempted, of the various factors which go to determine industrial efficiency. Not the least important among these, it is now generally admitted, is to be found in the ... education ... [and] supply of adequately trained workers. Again, the growth in the employment of large numbers of young persons in uneducative, blind-alley occupations, leading inevitably to casual employment, and ultimately to unemployment in later years, has shown that the organization of industrial training is a matter of no less urgency from the point of view of society and the state than from the point of view of the individual manufacturer." (4)

Thus in 1912 was stated the twin themes underlying the Cadbury educational system at the Bournville factory - those of business efficiency and personal development or, as the Bournville Works Magazine was to put it some three decades hence, "education for living as well as for livelihood". (5)

The flagship component of Cadbury educational provision was the compulsory day continuation courses for young employees up to aged 18 commenced in 1913. The initial constituent of these day classes was the compulsory physical training of juniors which had begun in 1902. The efficacy of this physical training was shown in improvements in both physique and fitness as indicated by such measurements as body weight and lung capacity, which were better than those for the average in peer group populations. (6) It proved particularly beneficial during the Great War. In 1916 George Cadbury, junior told the

annual general meeting of the B.A.C. that "the physical training most Bournville soldiers had received was standing them in good stead at the front". (7) The Bournville Works Magazine commented that recruits would find service life "arduous, but they will be thankful at least for the physical training they have had at Bournville A sergeant in Birmingham said to one of our recruits with satisfaction, 'Ah! You come from Bournville', and one official at another place cried out, 'Any more Cadbury chaps here?'" (8) A factory army recruit was reported by the magazine as writing, "I am most thankful for the [physical] training I received at ... Gymnastics classes under Mr. Moorhouse, [which] has been of the greatest help to me"; and a sailor that "the [physical] training which we have at Bournville has made the P.T.I., as the naval boys call it, come easily to me". (9) As far as production was concerned a visitor to the Works in 1912 expressed the opinion that "the strongest impression I came away with was that the efficiency of Messrs. Cadbury Brothers' [factory] was largely a function of the physical character of their employees". (10) In the same year Edward Cadbury stated that the firm's "care for the physical efficiency of the worker brings results in the shape of a decreased sickness rate, and the corollary of this decreased rate is the higher physical fitness of those at work". (11)

The returns accruing to both the individual and the company from day continuation education as a whole were also readily apparent, but they were not necessarily instant or immediate. The Cadbury view was that "money and time spent ... on day continuation school work find no corresponding entry on the credit side of the firm's balance sheet - rather the contrary. At the same time, the employer who can look ahead half a dozen years, or, better still, for twelve or fifteen years, visualizes some of the day continuation school students filling positions of responsibility in the factory, others taking their part

creditably in the affairs of the district and in various social activities, others again discharging with increased efficiency the duties of the home, and in all cases surely a more highly developed intelligence being brought to bear on the ordinary business of life". (12) It was not just a matter of helping "to make the man the better workman, but [also] the workman the better man". (13)

This was amply demonstrated in war as well as peace. The 1948 edition of the firm's Education and Training in Office and Factory argued that "some indication of the value of all-round education for industrial workers is provided ... by the promotion gained by old students of the Bournville Day Continuation School in the Forces during the 1939-45 war. Of 1,115 male Cadbury employees who entered the Services after attending the School, 52 rose to commissioned or non-commissioned ranks in the Navy, 254 in the Army, and 173 in the Air Force, making 479 in all, or 43% of the total number. This is a higher proportion of officers and N.C.O.'s than the average for the Services". (14) It added as "further evidence of the value" of day continuation school education that "over fifty employees [had] been accepted for training as teachers under the government's emergency schemes". (15)

The company had found "that continuation school attendance helps to fit industrial workers for a share of administrative responsibility". (16) An increasing proportion of Cadbury managerial staff were ex-continuation school students. Over half of the forewomen in 1945 had attended Bournville Day Continuation School (17) and in 1947 of "1,528 'old boys' of the School in the firm's employ ... 20 had risen to the senior management staff, 41 to the junior staff, 120 to the representative staff, 34 to the rank of foreman, and 78 to other managerial or supervisory grades, making 293 in all, or 19% of the total". (18) However, it was not merely a question of

candidates for managerial posts but also of election to, and office holding on, the Men's and Women's Works Councils, the Shop Committees, the Youths' Committee and the committees that ran the various Works clubs and societies. (19) The Day Continuation School was thus of crucial importance in widening the pool of ability with which to fill positions of responsibility. C. W. Gillett, who was the contemporary Cadbury director in charge of education, said at the Bournville Day Continuation School Speech Day in 1946 that it gave the firm "the advantage of being able to promote men and women whose real worth we know, rather than always having to make appointments for management by drawing from outside those who have had ... full-time education" beyond the minimum school-leaving age. (20)

Education and Training in Office and Factory did, though, point out that "most of those who pass through the School remain inevitably in semi-skilled or unskilled occupations, [but] from the School ... they acquire interests which are some compensation for repetitive work." (21) These might be in the form of hobbies and similar leisure pursuits or in the form of social, charitable, community and other voluntary activities. (22) In 1946 the Women's Education Committee received "very encouraging information" that, of nearly 140 female pieceworkers between 14 and 18 years old who had recently been interviewed, 80 were in youth clubs, 154 were in uniformed clubs (such as the Girl Guides), and in excess of 30 were attending evening classes - a number three or four nights a week - with Handicrafts being the predominant subject taken. (23) The efficacy of the Day Continuation School for Cadbury was best summed up in the obituary of C. J. V. Bews, its first head, in the Bournville Magazine of February, 1969.

"... from [the School's] early days the staff were sustained in all their efforts by an impressive record of examination success and, more important, by

the influence of the School on the lives and characters of the young men and women who left. Many of them ... attained positions of responsibility on the shop floor, or on the commercial side of the business, on Shop Committees or the Council[s]. Some went on to university or to win professional qualifications. Others left to become social workers and teachers or give their spare time to community service. Most rewarding, perhaps, were the records of those who might have been labelled 'most likely to fail' and who did, in fact, succeed". (24)

In the minuted words of the Men's Education Committee in its tribute to Mr. Bews on his retirement twentythree years before: the Day Continuation School prepares young people "for the responsibilities of adult life" at home and in the workplace and teaches "the boys and girls who ... come under its influence how to live fuller, happier and more useful lives". (25)

Day continuation education for juniors was undertaken by Cadbury in partnership with the local authority. The Bournville Works Evening Institute classes at the factory were arranged independently by the firm, though with inspection by the central government which accorded grant aid to the majority of them. The company was sensitive to criticism that classes at the place of employment were superfluous given "ample provision ... by local education authorities". However, Cadbury felt that its experience "confirmed the view that the factory has a part to play in helping employees to further their education in their spare time". There was the great convenience for workers of not having to travel anywhere else for tuition and "it [had] been found, moreover, that there [were] numerous activities for which the factory can cater more efficiently than any other organization, thanks to the facilities which it possesses in the form of accommodation, equipment and specialist instructors ... A useful field of service [had] been opened up by supplementing the excellent courses of the Birmingham Education Committee and of such voluntary agencies as the Workers' Educational Association". (26)

The Women's Education Committee meeting of November, 1935 discussed the rationale and ambience of the B.W.E.I. and summarized its situation succinctly in a minute which reiterated traditional policy. This was that "Works evening classes supplement rather than duplicate existing facilities existing elsewhere in the district". The minute then proceeded by indicating that "the provision of the Works Institute would always tend to differ somewhat from that of other institutes because of the special type of students, their requirements for classes at special times, the exceptional facilities for certain classes (for example, Physical Training and Industrial Administration) and the opportunity for experiment." (27)

The importance that the B.W.E.I. could have for individuals may perhaps be best illustrated by the role it filled for night workers, to whose needs Cadbury devoted particular attention. B.W.E.I. classes were usually scheduled for early evening (around 5.30 p.m.) so that both day and night shifts could attend them. Some classes solely for night men occurred at "special times" - for example, early mornings. The first courses for night workers were seen in the 1907-08 session. They were in subjects like English, Arithmetic and History and were designed to raise the basic educational standards of men who had left school with low academic attainments. The average age of those doing the courses was 21, with the youngest 18 and the oldest 31. A. J. Ensor, who taught most of the classes, reported to the Bournville Works Classes Management Committee that "the men are very keen on the work and show a wholehearted desire to improve their condition ... this makes the teaching a pleasure [and] puts the men on the royal road to success". (28) The tuition they received, and which they would almost certainly not otherwise have had, clearly enhanced their quality of life and also doubtless increased their effectiveness as employees.

The difficulties that could be encountered by night workers seeking classes was vividly exemplified many decades later when Paul Attwood wrote to Cadbury News on the opening of the £400,000 training suite in the Dining Block in 1990.

"I was very pleased to read that the company is including a language laboratory in the new training suite.

I do hope this facility will be made available to all site employees, with due regard to night workers and people on shifts.

I personally would like to extend my language capabilities (and my education), but cannot find any night school courses that fit in with my working hours and shift pattern.

So if the company can help me, and probably hundreds of others, they will be really innovative and forward-looking".

The final few words signified that Mr. Attwood was unaware of the considerable efforts Cadbury once made to meet night workers' educational requirements! The published response to his letter was that the training suite "facilities [would] be available twentyfour hours a day, with a card admission system ensuring that only authorized employees can enter. Though [the suite] is for people with a work-training need, employees who would like to apply to use its facilities should contact ... the Training Department".

(29)

The Cadbury view that factory-based tuition in the B.W.E.I. had an efficacy of its own was unquestionably borne out in practice. It clearly attracted people to attend classes who may not have gone to them had they not been offered on the premises. In the 1960's there was a trend for university extra-mural departments and the W.E.A. "to use the industrial community rather than the neighbourhood as a main source of recruitment for liberal adult education". Courses were held at the workplace and

the development "appeared as a necessary corrective to the natural tendency of extra-mural departments" and the W.E.A. to engage the interest of the already soundly educated, thus missing "two-thirds of the [population]". (30) Nottingham University's extra-mural department discovered that its "industry-based classes, recruited through working rather than neighbourhood communities, provided a body of students remarkably well distributed socially". This was in marked contrast to "a survey of extra-mural and W.E.A. students at Hull [which] showed that over 50% had enjoyed higher or further education and only 10% were drawn from manual occupations". (31)

In a similar manner the Works Councils' scholarships that were intended to assist in meeting "the worker's claim to a fuller life" (32) afforded educational opportunities to which employees would not normally have had access or might not have taken up had they emanated from an unfamiliar, and therefore what could have been seen as an unfriendly, source outside the factory. In 1923 the Bournville Works Magazine described the scholarships as "an outstanding feature of the Works education scheme [bringing] culture of a very valuable kind within reach of sections of workers to whom the universities and kindred institutions are inaccessible by reason of age and circumstances". (33) Almost thirty years on the joint Scholarships Committee of the Works Councils conducted a survey of past scholarship holders in order to discover the general attitude towards the provision of scholarships and what of value recipients had obtained from them. In his response R. A. Birchley from the Planning Office said they were "undoubtedly the finest opportunity for the average working person to gain enlightenment and improve his education" while R. M. Millard, Cocoa Block, felt that "all scholarships so improve one's educational and social standing that one does become an asset to the ... community". It is abundantly evident from the individual

comments that benefits of various kinds do seem to have been derived from the scholarships secured: the strengthening of existing, and the creation of new, interests; greater poise, confidence and skill in dealing with day-to-day problems and human relationships; a willingness to be active at and beyond the factory in organizations like trade unions and staff associations, clubs and societies, charities and voluntary agencies and to accept responsibility by sitting on committees and filling posts such as that of secretary; and the ability to put more into, and thereby get more out of, life and work through a broadening of horizons and expansion of outlook. (34) The Scholarships Committee concluded that the information stemming from the survey had "proved most interesting and had assured [its members] that the scholarships have been of great value to the individual holders and that, on the whole, they have been well used". (35)

That value may, perhaps, be epitomized in the case of two women who spent a session at Hillcroft and who wrote about their adventure for the Bournville Works Magazine. In 1936 the (unnamed) student declared that the Hillcroft course was of "value ... not only to those ... who have found it a stepping-stone to their own true vocation, but also to those who have returned to shop, factory or office better equipped for social service and to make the most of their own lives". An accompanying commentary from the editor expressed his hope that the article would act as a "stimulus to [others] to improve their own mental and cultural equipment [and] to take a practical part in social work". (36) In 1952, under the headline "A Typist At College", Sheila Black reported that Hillcroft "provides a year's course of study for women who want to make the best use of their lives, who want to learn how best to serve the community and to use their leisure intelligently". Being at college was "a wonderful experience, and for those of us

who have worked in industry and who know the value of education the opportunity to have a year of study is doubly welcomed and appreciated. Some students go on to university or other colleges; some discover a new vocation; others, like myself, go back to their jobs ... [The year will have had] results [that] will last us a lifetime". (37)

In 1956 the Bournville Works Magazine summarized the variety of Works Councils' scholarships then an offer and gave a short account of their history. In so doing it stated that most scholarship holders remained at Bournville in a wide range of occupations, but went on to mention a number who had subsequently left and become very successful in their fresh careers. There was Victor Yates, who had received a scholarship to a League of Nations conference on unemployment and had also spent a year at Ruskin College. He had become a Labour Party Member of Parliament. There was Tom Wylie, a prominent trade unionist and currently Senior Lecturer in Industrial Relations at Birmingham College of Technology; Jack Boles, Midlands Secretary of the Electrical Trades Union; and Gwilliam Williams, personal assistant to Morgan Phillips, General Secretary of the Labour Party. (38)

With the exception of those for youths, the scholarships bestowed by the firm (as distinct from the Works Councils) were usually vocational or semi-vocational in nature. The awards for university degree courses were much prized and the intention was that the young employees who held them would be enabled to "widen their outlook and bring the benefits of academic training back to industrial life when they conclude[d] their studies". (39) However, there was in addition the more altruistic objective enshrined in the "hope that [the scholarships would] be the means of securing a university education for [employees]... otherwise ... deprived of such an opportunity". (40) Thus

the twin motives of enhancing economic efficiency together with the personal development of the individual that lay behind Cadbury educational provision were once again manifestly demonstrated.

They were also apparent in a review of the effects of the firm's and the Works Councils' scholarships contained in Education in Industry.

"If it be asked what becomes of the Bournville scholarship holders in later life, the answer will be that there is no inevitable connection between holding a scholarship and afterwards making outstanding progress in the service of the firm. Educational attainments are, of course, taken into account when promotions are being made, but they form only one factor among several. On the other hand, the qualities which lead to success in study are often those which bring success in business, with the result that former scholarship holders are frequently to be found among those promoted to responsible positions at Bournville. This applies especially, as one would expect, to those who have held the more valuable full-time scholarships given by the firm.

Many who have held scholarships with a more purely cultural bias find opportunities of using their knowledge and ability in social or educational work in their spare time. Others become valued members of one or other of the Works Societies. Whatever the scholarship holders may do, it is felt that the scholarship scheme will not have been run in vain if the holders learn to find, and to communicate to others, a greater joy and fulfilment in both work and recreation". (41)

That seems amply to have proved to be the case in practice and may be exemplified by an Ex-Scholarship Holders' Fellowship (later Association) that flourished before and after the Second World War organizing an annual programme of lectures, visits and similar activities.

C. A. Harrison maintained that education was "really a three-fold thing, being concerned with the body as much as the mind and spirit". (42) Cadbury regarded "physical

fitness ... [as] a pre-requisite of industrial efficiency" and thus physical activities and their encouragement played "a large part in the Bournville scheme of education". The firm was able to make the "most effective contribution to the physical well-being of its employees" through "the Works medical and dental services ... by creating healthy conditions of work and by providing adequate facilities for physical development". (43) The facilities made available for physical and other forms of recreation via the B.W.E.I., many types of scholarship, and the various Works clubs and societies were very extensive. However, it was clearly not a mere question of physical fitness and the means to pass leisure time. Cadbury felt that recreation required an educational input to be best used and fully enjoyed but that it was additionally educative in itself, having cognitive, intellectual, social and even philosophical components that could be exploited for the benefit of both the individual and the company. (44) It could include, inter alia, learning new skills and experience in organizing; the building of confidence, loyalty and respect; handling pressure and understanding the needs of others; teamwork coupled with individual effort and initiative; mental agility and personal insight; and socializing with, and listening to the opinions of, colleagues. All these were accepted as valuable in themselves but also as having an economic advantage to the firm because of the personal growth of the individual and his or her talents and qualities which they represented: in essence, the education of character and the drawing out of potential.

In 1946 the Bournville Athletic Club (B.A.C.) celebrated its half century and in the conclusion to the commemorative booklet was the assertion that "our history ... surely demonstrates that an industrial concern can provide a home where sport can flourish ... There is no [necessity] today to persuade a doubting world that sport

is of value to industry, as there was when the B.A.C. was founded. Many Works clubs now exist, and they are evidence of a widespread conviction that games and athletic skill, with the exertion they call forth, are a strong corrective to the effects of repetitive processes and sedentary occupations". It was impossible to "assess the stimulus which thousands of ... members ... [had] obtained from pitting their strength and skill against their opponents" or "to measure the widening of horizons which [they] owe to the fellowship of sport". (45) The Cadbury verdict on the issue of The Factory and Recreation (a booklet the firm published in 1935) was unequivocal. "There can be little doubt that the spirit of co-operation which [recreation] schemes foster is reflected in the general efficiency of a business, and there is an obvious benefit accruing from them as regards health and cleanliness - which are particularly important in a food factory. Participation in the various social and educational activities must also result in greater general alertness of the workers, and ... the better working together of management and workers, so important in a highly organized factory, must follow. There is also [the] converse association between [recreation] and efficiency ... that the more sustained application which modern factory organization entails upon the worker certainly demands counter balancing opportunities for recreation in its many forms". (46) This was subsequently echoed by the Bournville Works Magazine in 1955 when it stipulated that mass-production methods were not harmful to a person who had creative and absorbing leisure time interests. (47)

Travel was an aspect of recreation on which Cadbury put considerable stress. "That travel and outdoor life have educational values of their own admits of no question" was the strongly expressed opinion contained in the original edition of Education In The Factory published in 1923. (48) Whether the journey was an overt learning

process (as with Camp School and visits to other enterprises) or more of a tourist nature (as with holiday-type trips abroad) it was viewed as a mind-stretching exercise with favourable outcomes. Amongst these were meeting strangers, an enhanced understanding of the world, and returning as a better person with a new appreciation of the familiar - surroundings, food, friends, home and work. The travel organized by, or associated with, the firm's employees, especially juniors, was not infrequently subsidized in some form and was a very important facility prior to the Second World War. For many people it made possible that which would otherwise have been impossible either because there was nothing similar on offer elsewhere and/or because of the lack of financial resources. As one 77 year old wrote to Cadbury News in 1983 about a camping holiday in North Wales in 1922 when she was but 17: "it was the first time I had ever seen the sea, so it was quite an experience for me. I also had the thrill of climbing to the top of Mount Snowdon with several other girls". (49) That sense of excitement and novelty perhaps epitomizes the Cadbury attitude summed up more prosaically but nonetheless vividly in a B.Y.C. members' booklet - "travel is one of the most fascinating ways of combining education with recreation". (50) After 1945 growing affluence, and mass motor vehicle ownership and flying abroad a common occurrence, largely made superfluous the travel opportunities from the firm that were once so highly rated, though some still available from the Works Council remained popular in the 1970's.

In 1908 Cadbury claimed that "the firm was spending more money for educational purposes" than Worcestershire County Council for the whole of the district (which covered Bournville) coming under the jurisdiction of the local King's Norton Higher Education Committee. (51) Four years later Edward Cadbury opined that the classes held at the factory "represented an amount of educational effort quite

equal to that of a fair-sized technical school". (52) He estimated "the net cost to the firm of the educational scheme for the session 1909-10 was about £2,396 and for 1910-11, £2,782 (excluding rewards given to students). These amounts include teachers' salaries, office expenses, fees, printing, teas for students, time, etc., but in all probability they hardly represent the entire cost of the scheme". (53)

By 1938 expenditure on a considerably expanded "educational service" had reached £28,000 (54) or £3 2s. per head of all employees. (55) In 1947 the figure was £37,500 or £5 6s.6d. per employee. (56) In 1949 it had risen to £47,000 or £6 5s. per head. (57) This "direct cost of education to the firm ... [was] chiefly accounted for by two factors: the cost of the Works Education Department and the wages paid to Continuation School pupils". (58) The "Day Continuation School scheme" contributed by far the largest share of the direct cost of the Cadbury educational system. In 1938 it was calculated that £23,000 of the £28,000 total expended was taken up by "Day Continuation School ... organization and attendance ..., including wages for the day spent at the Continuation School, the maintenance of the School buildings, [and] a proportion of the cost of the Works Education Office ... Deducting the local education authority's and other grants, the cost to the firm of the Day Continuation School [was] about £11 10s. per annum per student, or £2 10s. per head of all employees". (59)

A substantial contingent of juniors in continuation classes every day inevitably meant a potential dislocation of production and office schedules and needed "the willing co-operation of the heads of departments in arranging [each youngster's job] programme". (60) There had to be "prolonged negotiation" at the commencement of sessions between the Education Department, the various production

and office departments and the Day Continuation School to ensure minimum disruption. Even then, it might still be necessary to run "an internal labour exchange" amongst the different departments so that "work ... could be kept proceeding steadily". (61) School vacations could cause further complications with surplus boys and girls, "but frequently the absence on holiday of other workers or the occurrence of 'peak' periods of production [enabled the excess] to be absorbed". Ventures like Camp School alleviated the difficulties, which were illustrative of the point "that attendance at a day continuation school obliges a large firm to increase the number of its junior employees by one-fifth". (62) However, this did give "the available employment to a greater number of people" and thereby made "a contribution towards the solution of the problem of unemployment". (63)

Thus the costs of compulsory day release for juniors clearly went beyond basic questions of expenditure on attendance and organization to embrace a much wider range of issues. The close relations that bound Cadbury and Bournville Day Continuation School also entailed students from the School - whether or not they were employees of the chocolate company - using factory amenities. This became so intensive after the Second World War that the Board of Directors had to draw up guidelines "to regularize the position". The two swimming baths, the two gymnasias, the Men's and Women's Recreation Grounds together with Rowheath were made available as required; one morning assembly per week could be held in the Concert Hall; and events like Speech Day, the annual sports and garden party functions, the School play, Christmas parties and ex-student associations' gatherings were to receive the same consideration as the activities of Works societies, though bookings by the latter could be accorded priority depending on the event concerned. (64)

It is therefore apparent "that many different items might be included in assessing the amount of money spent on education [by Cadbury at the Bournville factory]".(65) To be added to the direct costs of day continuation school attendance and organization and the operation of the Works Education Department was, for instance, the spending of the Works Councils. About a half of this was overtly educational and a significant proportion of the remainder had educational connotations. There was, too, the outlay on the Works clubs and societies, and the sporting and recreational facilities enjoyed by their members and employees in general. All of these were felt to have an educational value attached to them.

The direct and indirect costs of the firm's education system, both visible and hidden, were regarded by Cadbury as a solid "financial investment". Of that, they were "certain, though it [was] impossible to show it statistically".(66) The "advantages of having a well-educated staff, whether from the point of view of the firm or the employees, [could] obviously not be measured in pounds, shillings and pence"(67) but Cadbury was "convinced that... an employer has a great [competitive] advantage if he has an intelligent personnel" and a "keen, alert, stable, adaptable and mobile labour force".(68) The "good worker [was]... the man or woman who [had] wide interests,... sound mental training,... technical skill... [and a] full development of personality".(69) Hence the importance of an enterprise assuming at least some "responsibility for the wider education" of the labour force. Any firm which did provide "for education in it's broadest sense would maintain that, in so far as it needs practical justification, it justifies itself in the quality of the employee it produces, in loyalty to the organization and in management potential, even though [all this could not be set] down in terms that would satisfy a cost accountant".(70) The process commenced with day

continuation for juniors which helped "to make the difference between gradual ossification of the mind... and a successful emergence from childhood through the difficulties of adolescence into a satisfactory adulthood". Youth clubs and the use of experiences such as those offered by Outward Bound and other courses for young people were a "means of cultivating the ground in which management and supervisory and technical skills can be planted". At the adult level encouragement could be given to attend local education establishments and residential colleges further afield to avoid the mental equipment of those in monotonous occupations falling into "sheer disuse". Works or district societies for music, drama and similar forms of recreation in addition to sport, and a Works library, were also ways in which employees could be assisted "to keep their minds alive" - in the interests of both themselves and their employer.(71)

There was unquestionably more than mere business expediency involved. In his Preface to Edward Cadbury's 1912 Experiments in Industrial Organization W. J. Ashley, Professor of Commerce at Birmingham University, wrote that "it is the belief of the firm that, taken as a whole, their [welfare] policy has distinctly 'paid'..... It has reduced the expenses of manufacture. An atmosphere of goodwill in a shop makes every operation run smoothly: and the better the work and the mental and physical powers of the operatives are adjusted to one another, the less there is of 'lost time', and of a score of those other occasions of expense which do so much to swell 'general changes'." Ashley pointed out, though, that another "mainspring... motive... of [the company's] policy has been a sense of social duty".(72)

This element of social duty can be discerned in the basic Cadbury dictum "education precedes responsibility", which was intended to apply not only to job promotion and

career progression but to have also a more catholic ambience. It was, too, about the responsibility of the individual as citizen and as human being.(73) In 1952 George Cadbury, junior said that "a first essential of any truly democratic way of life is a clear understanding of its responsibilities and relationships and this can only come with an educated people."(74) At the Day Continuation School there were elections for class level posts up to those for the student representative body. At the factory elections were an integral part of the Works Council structure and the running of clubs and societies. In a similar manner the responsibility of individuals to their fellows, especially those less fortunate themselves, was emphasized both at the Day Continuation School and the Works in community and voluntary service activities that embraced the young, the elderly, the handicapped and the disadvantaged. The element of social duty in Cadbury thinking and policy may perhaps be summed up in a section headed "Public and Social Service" in an information guide issued to new recruits. It indicated that "arrangements can be made for employees to be released from work to serve on County, Borough and District Councils, on statutory hospital committees or as magistrates and there are arrangements for covering payment for lost time. The Bournville Girls' Athletic and Social Club and the Bournville Youths' Club both have schemes for service to the handicapped and old people."(75)

The educational and educative-recreational framework at the factory was also seen by Cadbury as a means of overcoming problems of status and distinction relating to home background and nature of job. This is illustrated by a comment in the November, 1944 edition of the Bournville Works Magazine to the effect that "the starting of boys from all sorts of schools in arduous and unskilled factory work, and the influence of the Day Continuation School, the Bournville Youths' Club and the Bournville Girls' Athletic

Club on young people, and of the Bournville Athletic Club and the works societies generally on the older ones, tend to break down or prevent the creation of artificial 'class barriers'."(76) In 1938 Education In Industry had pointed out that, though "the students of the Day Continuation School are mostly drawn from elementary schools", it brought "young employees of all types together on an equal footing. In January, 1938, for instance, there were 453 boys employed by Cadbury Brothers Limited attending the School; of these, 360 were from elementary schools, 87 from secondary schools and 6 from public schools."(77) The message was repeated in the original, 1948 edition of Education and Training In Office and Factory: at "the Day Continuation School workers from various types of employment... all meet as equals".(78) The later booklet on Joint Consultation noted "that the social and recreational organization of the factory is in the hands of self-governing clubs and societies, admitting to membership on an equal footing employees of every occupation and grade".(79) Simon's argument that education tends to unite rather than divide people seems to have been proved in practice at Bournville.(80)

Marsland has contended that the processes of education and training have important "socio-psychological dimensions" as well as economic-technological ones but that most attention tends to be focussed on the latter.(81) The socio-psychological dimensions involve individual perceptions, self-image and the development of inter-personal relationships.(82) In the Cadbury context this meant identification with an ideal that stressed understanding and harmony betwixt employer and employed to the mutual advantage of both. To the extent that there was low labour turnover and an absence of industrial strife that could be said to have been attained. However, given there is an essential validity in Smith's view of a "Bournville strategy of minimizing risk and uncertainty by

cultivating... loyalty and hard work"(83) amongst the labour force, it must be stressed that the chocolate firm was not attempting to fashion company cyphers - mindless zombies who gratefully carried out the directors' bidding in return for a lavish supply of welfare. Indeed, such an objective would have been the very antithesis of the aim of the educational system it created in so dedicated a manner. That system was intended to engender people who showed independence of thought and critical insights; who had the ability to express themselves coherently and without prejudice; who set themselves high standards of personal conduct and civic responsibility;(84) and who wished to make full use of all the openings life had to offer them to develop their potential as human beings.(85) What, perhaps, more than anything else the system was designed to do was demonstrate that consideration for others was paramount and that the individual mattered - a central component of the Cadbury ethos epitomized by the interview each junior had with a director early in their experience with the firm. This was a "very much appreciated" tradition that went on into the 1960's.(86)

In 1912 Edward Cadbury clearly indicated the firm felt it had a duty to furnish good conditions of work and amenities for employees - a duty which entailed the company doing "the best in its power to promote the well-being of every worker, no matter what his position may be". The intention was to foster "the social sympathies and moral character of the employees, as well as their intelligence and initiative".(87) There was, though, no blind adherence to welfare. An inherent and intrinsic realism pervaded the thinking behind the provision of social, educational and recreational facilities and opportunities. A maxim of joint responsibility was applied wherever possible to ensure employees played a full part in their administration. This was usually done via the Works Council structure. Clubs and societies at the factory were

run democratically by their own elected committees and were required to pursue financial viability, at least so far as day-to-day expenditure was concerned, through the income generated from the subscriptions paid by their members. The basic criterion observed was explained in 1938 in Education In Industry. "The demand for facilities should exist before facilities are provided. This principle has always been followed at Bournville..... As a result, the facilities given by the firm have met a real need, and have been appreciated at their true worth - a state of affairs not always achieved by indiscriminate generosity."(88)

The company was also very aware of some juniors treating their compulsory classes as a chance for nothing more than a day off work each week. Hence "reports from the Day Continuation School [were] produced when youths and girls are interviewed by one of the Managing Directors on the occasion of their annual wages revision and considerable weight is attached to them... This encourages the pupils' interest in their studies as something of practical value to them in their careers".(89) The problems that could occur in the special circumstances of day continuation school pedagogy were, too, understood and usually regarded in a sympathetic light. In the turbulent period after the Second World War when a small coterie of Cadbury employees temporarily augmented the normal Bournville Day Continuation School staff those problems were brought home to the firm at a very close and personal level. A. T. Davies was amongst the Cadbury complement who helped out. He taught male classes and in an early review of the arrangement prepared for the Men's Education Committee he wrote that he had "found a term of Day Continuation School teaching a salutary antidote to the theories of office-desk educationists who have so much to say nowadays about the development of County Colleges. The experience has not impaired my faith in the necessity of further education; but it has administered a number of

shocks." Discipline was an especial difficulty since there were "no real sanctions..... [except] to report a lad to his firm for consistent misbehaviour". This the teachers were reluctant to do because it might "prejudice the lad's whole future" - a sentiment for which Davies said he "[held] no brief".(90) His experience obviously made a deep and lasting impression on him and a few years later he was to argue that day continuation school education was the most arduous of all teaching tasks because it dealt with "adolescents,... people in the process of becoming adult, and the ability to approach them in the right way and to get behind their defences is a supreme test of a teacher".(91)

Realism was just as much evident in the bestowal of scholarships. Selection of holders - notably for the more valuable awards - could be rigorous and applicants had to show evidence (such as satisfactory progress in previous study) that they would be taking their course seriously and were capable of benefitting from it. Written and/or verbal reports were frequently required of scholarship holders on completion of their course.(92)

The Cadbury attitude towards welfare and efficiency was essentially practical, pragmatic and perceptive. It was summed up in The Factory and Recreation in 1935.

"Whatever links there may be between welfare and efficiency in factory administration and commercial policy, it is certain one can never be a substitute for the other, and this is a point perhaps not always fully recognised. **Welfare may be a consequence of efficiency, but it by no means follows that efficiency will follow welfare.** To go further, it is difficult to see that welfare can be satisfactorily practised to any appreciable extent except where there is an efficient and successful administration in operation".(93)

In other words, the survival and competitiveness of the company had to have over-riding priority. As Edward

Cadbury put it on his retirement: "from the first I was determined that the business should be prosperous;... a business losing money is a menace, the plant and buildings deteriorate and the workers have no security of employment."(94)

However, the firm were clearly convinced that, social duty apart, welfare did contribute to efficiency by ensuring a higher quality labour force than would have obtained without it. That applied not least to educational provision. Speaking at a retirement presentation for Edward Cadbury, Miss P. B. Muscott, a senior member of the women's staff, said that "some of us sit on committees in Birmingham where industrial matters are discussed and where many factories... are represented. I am often asked how we get such good girls and such good forewomen. This is particularly noticeable now that literally thousands of our girls are scattered around Birmingham and district factories. How is it they are so good, so adaptable, so intelligent?" She went on to mention various aspects of the company's educational system, including the Day Continuation School, Initiation School and the Deputy Forewomen's Training Course. It was "things like this", Miss Muscott concluded, "[that] explain the standard of our girls..... [and] why [they] are so eagerly sought after; why they are so confident and so capable."(95)

In another section of her speech Miss Muscott informed her audience that

"twentyfive years ago [Mr. Edward Cadbury] asked Miss Catnach to start a Deputy Forewomen's training class. It was a real experiment in training for management. These classes have been held ever since and have been joined by a girls' Office Organization class. All our Forewomen and Deputies have been in these classes and several members are now on the women's [senior] staff or have been. The idea is now being followed in various industrial centres [and technical colleges] throughout the country... What Mr. Edward Cadbury

thinks today industry thinks in twentyfive years' time".(96)

Even allowing for a not unnatural tendency to exaggerate given the nature of the occasion, the statement does indicate the way in which Cadbury were innovators or amongst the pioneers in several areas of education and training. Apart from the formal instruction of supervisory grades, the firm was, for example, instrumental in founding the nation's first day continuation school and, "exceptionally in industry at the time, had some experience of university recruitment before [World War Two], when there was a small regular intake of arts graduates".(97) On a quite different educational plane, the company received commendation for "a pioneer type of textbook..... in colour based on charts and pictures" (98) that it introduced in the late 1940's. The most well known of the books were those in the "Changing Britain" set about the country's economic and social history. These were devised in association with the University of London Press, which had printed a quarter of a million copies of them by 1952.(99)

CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

The name of Cadbury, though famous above all in the realm of cocoa and chocolate, was, too, of immense repute in the sphere of education and training. The firm's education system, incorporating close ties with the Bournville Day Continuation School/College, became renowned throughout the United Kingdom and the rest of the world. From around the beginning of the twentieth century until the 1960's there was a stream of visitors both domestic and foreign coming to the factory and the Bournville Day Continuation School/College to investigate for themselves what was being done. In 1914, for instance, these included Miss S. Green, a member of the Council of the Teachers'

Guild, Miss F. Richards, Head of the evening school attended by the employees of Boots, Nottingham and, from overseas, George Foulds, an ex-Minister of Education in New Zealand and M. Isaieff of Petrograd University, Russia.(100) In 1946 Mukeen Bey Barazi, Secretary to the President of Syria and previously Minister of Education, and a recent visitor, wrote an open letter to the editor of the boy's magazine which said: "I wish to tell you of the admiration I feel for the Bournville Day Continuation School - an institution which enables you to pursue your education and work at the same time. You must know that in the great majority of countries there is no similar institution, and I am anxious to see one established in my own country. I can assure you that the people of Middle Eastern countries envy you these advanced and humane social services".(101) Even as late as 1965 the then Principal, Albert Weedall, was indicating that, in addition to the U.K. attention they were still receiving, "many foreign visitors" were coming to see "the ordinary general courses" undertaken at what had become Bournville College of Further Education.(102)

Important figures at the firm - notably, George Cadbury, junior and the three distinguished Education Officers, R. W. Ferguson, C. A. Harrison and A. T. Davies - frequently addressed conferences, seminars and similar gatherings to give details of the company's educational policy and the schemes it had implemented. There were numerous references and articles regarding them not only in books and journals concerned with education matters but also in the ordinary press. The latter ranged from "Modern Education For Modern Industry" in the "Manchester Guardian Commercial" for April 6th., 1939 to the enthusiasm shown for Camp School by the more popular newspapers after the Second World War. Cadbury's own series of pamphlets and booklets describing the education system as a whole or particular aspects of it were "prepared to meet a

widespread demand" and "many requests for information about the educational schemes at Bournville".(103) Multiple thousands were printed for distribution at home and abroad. They inevitably contain a propaganda component. That can be seen in proselytizing for the Cadbury view and in emphasising successes and achievements while under-playing problems and difficulties. Nonetheless, the writing is reasonably objective and certainly sincere. (104)

Directors and senior managers intimately connected with the educational system at the firm both supplied evidence to and sat on central government committees and commissions of enquiry into education, training and industry. They were also powerful lobbyists for change and members of bodies implementing change. A few instances of these activities may be mentioned. In 1909 George Cadbury, junior was part of a deputation that waited on the Prime Minister, Herbert Asquith, to urge the compulsory attendance of all young people up to age 17 at evening or day continuation classes.(105) R. W. Ferguson served on the Emmott Committee on Technical Education in the late 1920's (106) and Michael Cadbury was appointed to the Central Advisory Council For Education (England) in 1956. (107) The education system at the Bournville factory had to all intents and purposes disappeared by 1981 but the firm's reputation for expertise in education and training still remained. Peter Reay, who had joined the Cadbury Education Department in 1954 and in 1980 became Cadbury Schweppes' Group Personnel Director, "played a major role in devising the [original one year] Youth Training Scheme" (108) of the early 1980's and was Chairman of the Manpower Service Commission Committee which, in 1985, "produced the widely accepted report on the content of the new two year Youth Training Scheme programmes for young people" that commenced in 1986.(109)

The firm also exercised influence through education and training organizations which it supported and which, in some cases, it had been instrumental in starting. For example, in 1909 Mr. and Mrs. Edward Cadbury arranged a conference out of which arose the Welfare Workers' Institute, the precursor of the Institute of Personnel Management.(110) In 1919, R. W. Ferguson, along with Mr. J. Knox of Lever Brothers, created the "Association for the Advancement of Education in Industry and Commerce" (or A.A.E.I.C.). The name was soon simplified to "Association for Education in Industry and Commerce" (or A.E.I.C.). Subsequently there was a merger with the later British Association for Commercial Education (B.A.C.E.) to form the "British Association for Commercial and Industrial Education" (or B.A.C.I.E.) in 1934. Many Cadbury figures held posts such as Secretary, Treasurer, Chairman and President or Vice-President within B.A.C.I.E. at branch and national level - notably R. W. Ferguson, C. A. Harrison, A. T. Davies, George Cadbury junior, C. W. Gillett, Michael Cadbury and Adrian Cadbury. C. A. Harrison especially was an invaluable asset to the Association during the Second World War when, as its Acting Secretary, his prodigious and determined efforts to keep it intact ensured that B.A.C.I.E. survived the conflict and the bombing of its London office.(111)

Reflecting Cadbury enthusiasm B.A.C.I.E. was a strong advocate of day continuation education for young workers and C. A. Harrison was sometime Chairman of its Day Release Committee.(112) This was not without significance since the most important result of the firm's policy and practice was to be seen in the day continuation clauses of the 1918 (Fisher) Education Act and the County College section of the 1944 (Butler) Education Act. Both H. A. L. Fisher and R. A. Butler, together with Board of Education officials, paid personal visits to the factory and Bournville Day Continuation School, which seems to have been regarded as

a model for the continued part-time day education of school leavers entering employment. That was manifest, too, in the way in which radio and television programmes on the issue tended to focus on Cadbury and the Bournville Day Continuation School. For instance, on February 15th., 1937 David Cadbury contributed to a discussion on day continuation schools on B.B.C. radio and on April 6th., 1944 two ex-Bournville Day Continuation School students from the firm spoke in a similar discussion on the wireless programme "To Start You Talking".(113)

In 1923, Education In the Factory observed: "it is only natural that the existence in a district of a large industrial concern, having a vigorous educational policy, should exercise a stimulating effect on all sorts of schools and institutions in the locality. This effect has been noticed in the south-west corner of Birmingham (and, to a lesser extent, in centrally situated institutions for a number of years)".(114) That statement is a clear indication of Cadbury influence in and around Bournville inspiring attendance at local educational establishments and prompting other employers to release juniors for part-time day continued general education. In 1910, at the last evening continuation schools prize-giving before the King's Norton Higher Education Committee area (which included Bournville) was taken over by Birmingham, Louis Barrow (a senior management employee at Cadbury) pointed out that at the elementary school leaving age of 14 there were a potential 1,600 students in the King's Norton area. Of these between 425 and 450, or 27%, were in evening continuation classes. He said that in (an unspecified) Lancashire town the proportion was 19% and in the country as a whole 13%. Attendances in King's Norton averaged an "astonishing" 80% as against 50% in the Lancashire town.(115) At the same event the following year Alderman J. S. Pritchett of Birmingham Education Authority was in the chair. He informed his audience that in the King's

Norton area, population 85,000, there were 1,800 individual students in continuation classes, 650 at technical classes and 100 in art and craft studies - total, 2,550. In the old city boundaries, with a five-fold greater population, there were only 4,650 students on continuation courses. "The gratifying position of King's Norton", he explained, "was to a large extent due to the impulse given by the firm of Messrs. Cadbury Brothers". (116)

Almost four decades later the Bournville Works Magazine reported that evening institutes throughout Birmingham enrolled 41,000 students in the 1949-50 session and absorbed 1,500,000 student hours. The Bournville and Northfield Evening Institute was the largest in the city with 4,500 enrolments and 200,000 student hours. The then entirely separate and autonomous Bournville Works Evening Institute attracted 1,100 enrolments that occupied 21,500 student hours.(117) Thus the firm's influence was still being felt in evening class attendance in the 1940's and 1950's and in 1964 was seen to be as potent in the part-time day release sphere as it had been ever since 1913. The Austin Motor Company inaugurated a Youth Development Scheme for school leavers that required one day a week to be spent at (the recently retitled) Bournville College of Further Education. The vehicle manufacturer insisted on their young employees (the bulk of them males) following "the same non-vocational [curriculum] that was offered to the [students] on the ordinary general courses from Cadbury".(118)

The chocolate company's standing and prestige was also evident in what the firm portrayed as the educative-recreational: the informal, social education that stemmed from active involvement in sport and leisure pursuits of a worthwhile nature. This was demonstrated in spectacular fashion in the summer of 1950 when the fiftieth anniversaries of the B.G.A.C. (formed in 1899) and the

B.Y.C. (launched in 1900) were celebrated with a festival attended by ninetytwo organizations representing more than thirty different businesses and public sector employers. There were participants from nine countries and 1,600 competitors took part in sports, including archery, athletics, basket-ball, cricket, javelin throwing and swimming.(119) Almost twenty years into the future Arnold Edmundson, in whose charge it had been for more than three decades, reviewed the history of the B.Y.C. at its final annual general meeting. He said the Club could be proud of its record.

"Sportsmen who have gone through the Club have played for England at cricket; in the Cup Final at Wembley; and have run in the Olympic Games. Others have become famous in politics and entertainment. We were the biggest football club in the country, playing eighteen elevens every Saturday afternoon. Possibly we were the biggest cricket club, too, with twelve teams. We were the first club in England to canoe across the English Channel, and we helped found the Federation of Boys' Clubs and the National Association of Boys' Clubs."

Indoor and outdoor activities, holidays in the U.K. and overseas, and giving aid and succour to the less fortunate at home and abroad - all of these, Arnold Edmundson went on, had been quintessential elements in the operation of the B.Y.C. At the same meeting C. A. Harrison, who had started his career at Cadbury as the Club's manager, also dwelt on the past and concluded that the B.Y.C. had availed many thousands of youths with the opportunity "to become good citizens and good workers".(120) His assessment amply bears out Rosseter's contention that, before anything else, "youth workers are educators" and that "youth work is about the development within [young] people of knowledge, skills and feelings..... [thereby assisting them] to improve their standing in society."(121)

In 1943 Edward Cadbury, on the verge of retirement, was chief speaker at the annual general meeting of the B.G.A.C. He recalled that he had urged the establishment

of the Club in the 1890's when "it was considered very out of place for girls to play organized games". Swimming classes had then been introduced in the early twentieth century as a constituent of the physical training of junior employees so that Bournville girls "became pioneers in games and swimming. They had been amongst the first in the country to run factory teams in organized sport for women, and had been the means of starting similar clubs all over the world". He then mentioned "a Bournville girl who emigrated to Canada" and "started games there on B.G.A.C. lines".(122) As McCrone has argued, the educative element here was that, through sport, females had the chance to compete, to be physically active, and to strive for excellence, thus increasing their sense of independence and capability at a time when their role was seen as basically domestic and subservient.(123)

The Cadbury family as a whole was very favourably disposed towards raising the status of the fair sex. Edward Cadbury in particular was an acknowledged champion of women's rights in industry and sought to improve their employment conditions both nationally and at Bournville. He was a leading campaigner to alleviate the scourge of "sweating", action on which came with the setting up of Trade Boards under legislation passed in 1909. (124) At the factory Edward was a strong advocate of separate women's representation and as a consequence there was, for example, a distinct Women's Works Council. There was, too, an autonomous Women's Education Committee. (125) Speaking at a Day Continuation School leavers' gathering for the firm's female students in 1943 he said that Bournville was probably unique in having a Women's as well as Men's Works Council. The arrangement was intended to enable women to have "a better chance of expressing their point of view", he explained, and also to assist them in taking "their proper place in the life of the community". He was saddened by the fact that so few women engaged in public

affairs - by being candidates in local elections, for instance - because many social problems were really women's problems. Hence he urged the girls to play a role "in civic life and build a better and brighter Birmingham."(126)

Within the bounds of practical reality the firm made every attempt to ensure equality of treatment for women. That was done from conviction and was not merely a reflection of the high level of female employees at the factory. The policy could even result in cries of female chauvinism from male workers! In 1931 Men's Shop Committee representatives complained about the comparatively large proportion of Works Councils' scholarships bestowed on women. A. H. Smedley, of the joint Scholarships Committee, replied: selection of holders was based on previous successful study and evidence of a willingness to expend effort and energy in community service. The difficulty, he advised, was that "it was often found a man applying had done little or nothing" since his Day Continuation School days to further his own education or take part in social work.(127)

Cadbury was determined that "in the educational scheme of the firm a consistent effort is made to provide for the girls facilities which shall prove, as nearly as possible, equivalent to those arranged for boys and men". (128) Nowhere was this more apparent than in compulsory attendance for both boys and girls at the Day Continuation School/College. Most employers were reluctant to release males, even for vocational courses let alone general education, and the attitude to the release of females, who were very likely to leave their job on becoming housewives and mothers, was more negative still.(129) In 1958 about 22% of employed boys under 18 were getting day release but only 6% of girls - 1 in 40 of whom were at Bournville Day Continuation College. This was partly due to the numbers

the firm itself sent but also because that influenced such employers as Boxfoldia, the Harris British Company and the Post Office in Birmingham to send girls as well.(130) Miss Cater condemned the "short-sighted" attitude that many managements took in failing to release young females (and, by implication, males) for continued education.

"Can a girl conceivably be of less value as a worker if she is developed physically, is learning to reverence the potentialities of her own womanhood, being trained in self-control and application; if her imagination is being quickened, her judgement and critical faculty developed, love for beauty, truth and goodness engendered, memory strengthened, accuracy increased? Will she be more or less amenable when she has been trained to see all sides of a question and to express her views clearly and fairly? Will she be more or less pleasant to work with when she has acquired refinement of mind, speech and manner, consideration for the community of which she forms a member and has become conscious of her duty as a citizen?"(131)

The words were written in 1920, but they have an essential validity that is as relevant now as it was then.

Cadbury claimed that "part-time education for young industrial workers [would] always be of value, whether the school leaving age be 14, 15 or 16, [since] the intermingling of industrial experience and educational progress has much to commend it". (132) C. J. V. Bews maintained that raising the school leaving age did not solve the problem of transition from school to work and it was vital for the adolescent to maintain contact with education during the first years of working life.(133) It is essential to give those in the 16 to 18/19 age group a carefully planned start to their entry into employment with a monitored passage from home and school to work via a soundly-structured system of education and training. This would aim to meet the needs of the individual, society and the economy. Day continuation education and training is

the obvious answer to the perennial question of what is to be done with the minimum school leaving age departee. It satisfies the need for independence on behalf of the individual and the desire to leave school and earn money generated either by family and peer pressures or by personal inclination. At the same time it acknowledges the need for everybody's potential to be fully developed to sustain economic requirements and to improve their own quality of life together with that of the community at large. It also avoids the regrets of people who opt out of school at the earliest possible opportunity and subsequently realize they made a mistake in so doing. (134) Day continuation gives the classic "second chance" to these people and to those whose abilities flower late. (135)

For a century or more attention has been focussed on the minimum age school leaver and how to avoid the enormous wastage of talent that can occur if he or she then loses touch with the education system. Untold millions of words have been expended by central and local government enquiries, public and private bodies, educational and economic interests, and individuals on the issue. Compulsory day continuation education up to 18 or 19 is a means by which the phenomenon of the minimum age school leaver who disappears from the education system for good can be obviated. Education and training for all up to age 18 or 19 was the oft-voiced dream of George Cadbury, junior but the nettle of compulsion to make that dream a reality has never been grasped. The abortive attempts in the 1918 and 1944 Education Acts were followed by a plea for compulsion in the Crowther Report of 1959. It has still not been implemented to the detriment of the individual, the community, the economy and the nation. The benefits of the measure are clear - the testimony of both young people and employers is evidence of that - but the fear of cost has always prevented its imposition.(136)

Instead, attention has tended to concentrate on raising the school leaving age which, in fact, is less cost effective because it requires a relatively greater extra complement of teachers. There is an arguable case for lowering the school leaving age back to 15 with the proviso there is compulsory day continuation education until 18 or 19. In 1936, Education and the Adolescent, a Consultative Committee report usually known by the name of its chairman W. H. Hadow, found that by 11 or 12 children were showing enhanced awareness of the world around them and were beginning to feel ill at ease with school.(137) Since then children have tended to mature ever more quickly and dissatisfaction with school intensifies with the years spent in it. That is demonstrated by the way in which secondary pupils have an increasing preference for work experience, either real or simulated, and associated activities over normal lessons as they progress through school.(138) Truancy also rises and in the late 1980's Her Majesty's Inspectorate discovered attendance rates as low as 50% for fourth and fifth formers in rural and inner city areas and attendance rates elsewhere of about 75% "common".(139) School is unpopular and that can be seen in the trend for pupils to do "A" Levels in further education and sixth form colleges when they could have been studied at the school they left.(140) The current demographic downturn means considerably fewer teenagers in the 1990's, thereby creating a labour shortage amongst young people. This will bid up wages and will thus be an added encouragement to leave school, frequently for dead-end, low skilled or unskilled jobs with limited career prospects and almost certainly no training attached to them. Taking all these factors and circumstances into account the introduction of compulsory education for all up to 18 or 19, perhaps with the school leaving age lowered to 15, merits urgent appraisal.

Since the Second World War there has been a growing obsession in the United Kingdom with participation rates in full time education beyond the minimum school leaving age. They seem to be regarded as a virility symbol of the nation's education success but might equally be viewed as a chimera - and an expensive one at that. Going to work is itself essentially "a learning experience" that develops the individual's faculties and powers(141) and is no less educational than being incarcerated behind the school desk where many pupils have no wish to be sitting. Is full-time education necessarily, automatically and intrinsically better than work plus part-time education and training? The Cadbury verdict was that "an early acquaintance with real work, under suitable conditions, is in many ways an ideal introduction to life, provided that it is combined with some form of continued education".(142) That assessment has much to commend it. Work together with part-time education and training may be the best arrangement for large numbers of young people. It gives job experience, qualifications, an income and an opportunity for personal growth through the development of their talents, abilities and interests. Surely, though, ultimately what is important (as George Cadbury, junior maintained) is that all young people from the minimum school leaving age up to 18 or 19 are in education, whether it be full-time or part-time.

In either case it must contain at least some element of general education in addition to the job-related element if it is essentially vocational in nature. In July, 1945 Sir Hugh Chance, Chairman of the Smethwick Education Committee, spoke at the Bournville Day Continuation School Speech Day. He summed up the benefits of continued general education as enabling people to express themselves clearly and in a coherent manner orally and in writing, to understand more perceptively the world in which they live, to form sound judgements, to lay a foundation on which

technical skills could be built and to "make a full contribution to the health, wealth and happiness of mankind".(143) It establishes a broad base to aid people in dealing with economic and social change, pressures in their personal lives, and in finding interests of every kind to enrich and deepen their quality of life. The 1980's saw a big expansion of training college places for minimum age school leavers in France designed to instil vocational skills but at the same time to sustain the teaching of subjects such as French, Literature, Mathematics, Science, History, Geography and English.(144) In Japan the general-academic is emphasized throughout the educational system so that much vocational preparation is carried out on the job by employers.(145) The Japanese under-playing of vocational education and training as somehow inferior to the general-academic was not shared by Cadbury, who felt both to be of equally important status (146) but that, in the words of George junior, the vocational alone "was barren and unsatisfying".(147)

The firm felt that continued general education was not only a vital component of courses for young school leavers entering on employment but something the company hoped they would wish to pursue throughout their lives. It was also not to be neglected as part of management training. From the late 1940's and into the 1950's, for example, managers at supervisory grade level were sent to Cheshunt College, Cambridge and another in Durham to undertake a term's study of literary, historical, political, social and similar subjects. Superficially, the courses had no connection with industry but they were intended to broaden understanding of human behaviour in order to effect improvement in the handling of personal relationships. (148) In the end management is concerned with getting the best out of people through the ability to win their commitment since it is from commitment that the enhancement of performance and productivity originates. Young entrants

into management from business colleges are too often stereotypes with a blinkered approach to problems, unbalanced in personality, lacking in real experience and incapable of either effective action or lateral thinking. For a manager to have technical skills is not enough - perspective, flair, vision, perception and imagination are qualities that are required, too, and general education is needed to bring them out.

In 1868 the Royal Commission on endowed schools stated in its report that

"our evidence appears to show that our industrial classes have not even that sound basis of general education on which alone technical education can rest ... In fact, our deficiency is not merely a deficiency in technical education, but ... in general intelligence, and unless we remedy this want we shall gradually but surely find that our undeniable superiority in wealth and perhaps in energy will not save us from decline".(149)

Thus the efficacy of both general and technical education, and of the primacy of general education as base, was recognized in the 1860's. Subsequently, a plethora of reports, books and articles (and, latterly, radio and television programmes) have focussed on what has been seen as the United Kingdom's relative industrial and commercial failure since then. A huge variety of economic, political, social, cultural and institutional as well as educational factors have been adduced for the comparative deterioration which seems to have occurred.(150) The issue is multi-faceted and no single, mono-causal explanation can reasonably be offered. Defects in education and training have clearly played a part and the Cadbury contention that adequate education and training are amongst "the keys to success in modern industry"(151) irrefutable. However, even the firm which made that declaration succumbed to the imperative of reducing costs when it cut back education and training in the 1970's and early 1980's. This was in stark contrast to the late 1920's, when competitive pressures

were also very intense but when the effort devoted to education and training by the company was increased rather than queried. The difference between the two periods was one of management attitude: between looking at education and training as an investment for the long term and looking at it as a cost to be pruned like any other as a short-term expedient. Too much of British enterprise assumes that myopic stance - to the detriment of the individual, the business, the community and the nation.

In 1956 A. T. Davies said that how far industry should be responsible for the education and training of its employees, and how far the state, is an issue "often discussed but can perhaps never be decided".(152) Cadbury formulated its own particular answer in the belief that the company needed people of quality and that you do not get quality unless you invest in education and training. Who should do the investing is a conundrum that admits of no easy solutions. What is required is a partnership between state and enterprise since the economy, society and the individual all benefit: the partnership is advantageous to both and to the worker as worker and person.

The Cadbury educational experiment must be seen in its historical, economic and social context to be fully understood. It was one firm's (and one family's) response to the education, training, leisure and cultural needs of the labour force in the new, urban, industrialized economy. It reflected, too, the late development of the national education system that Green has argued stemmed from the hostility to state intervention which arose out of the individualist, conservative orientation of the Victorian establishment and body politic.(153) With the gradual evolution of more extensive state facilities in the twentieth century, and especially after the Second World War, at least some of those furnished by Cadbury began to seem less necessary. The growth of affluence from the mid-

1950's also began moving the centre of gravity of people's lives away from the workplace. The Stock Exchange quotation of 1962, the merger with Schweppes in 1969, and the intensification of competitive pressures to trim costs, generated a much harsher management line on anything that did not have an overt and direct connection with the making and selling of cocoa and chocolate. All these different causes, together with a fall in the numbers employed, contributed to a drastic curtailment of the educational and educative-recreational arrangements and amenities that were once such an integral part of the factory regime at Bournville. Many were eliminated altogether so that by 1981 it could be said that educational provision at the firm, and the philosophy on which it was based, were effectively dead.

What was the kind of end product in which that provision was intended to result? The philosophy aimed at the all-round, harmonious development of personality and a well-educated, well-trained workforce of broad culture and attainments. It united the requirements of business and the community with the needs of the individual for life-long learning opportunities of the most extensive character. Ultimately, Cadbury clearly felt there was no inherent contradiction between education for the benefit of the individual and education for the benefit of society and the economy. Thus the qualities the firm wished to foster through its system included respect for people, the environment, and property - whether public or private; ethical and considerate behaviour; physical fitness; efficiency at work; love of study, the arts and natural beauty; the desire to be active both in the community and in the world of politics; and responsibility in discharging the obligations of a good citizen. Education had to be holistic and concern the whole person, and not merely the intellectual faculties. "A sound education will take into account the whole man - his work, his play, and his general

cultural outlook", stipulated George Cadbury, junior.(154) It was therefore not confined to the academic and the classroom and so provision at the factory embraced an astonishingly wide perspective. The philosophy behind it was pointed at making people dissatisfied with a boring and sterile existence. That objective was to be attained by bringing out all their talents and capacities, demonstrating to them what the world had to offer, and giving them the chance and the ability to chose - a gift of choice freely exercised in the knowledge of what was available and what could be gained from it.

There was accordingly nothing elitist or esoteric about the education system at Cadbury. It was based on a belief that accepted the potential of people to perceive, understand and act, irrespective of their domestic or scholastic backgrounds; and that education should be realistically related to life - life in all its aspects: home, family, community, leisure, work. There was an emphasis on the dignity of labour and a conviction "that the simplest work becomes skilled if performed in the best possible manner."(155) In that sense ALL employees were to an extent managers: they were managers of resources which could be used efficiently or inefficiently. Education and training were vital to ensure that they were used efficiently. In particular, Cadbury recognized the educational needs (as distinct from the demands) of young people to fit them for full lives as individuals and to make a social contribution as well as to be efficient workers. Education was required for personal, social and economic progress, though the recipients were not always comprehending of that. Hence compulsory continuation courses, which some undoubtedly resented but for which many were very grateful during the rest of their lives.(156) The sending of juniors on these courses typified the Cadbury vision, which was "not clouded by too-close attention to immediate results at the expense of lasting

and long-term ones".(157) As the chocolate manufacturers put it in 1938: "there are few limits to the forms of education which may be encouraged [by the company]: they may be ... vocational, recreational, or cultural, and in every case they are looked upon as being of benefit in the long run to the individual, to the firm, and ... to the community".(158)

The system thus incorporated a philosophy, a variety of schemes and a wide range of activities that together provided employees with educational opportunities throughout their lives. Learning was not seen "as being restricted to the young a one-off preparation ending for most in adolescence"(159) but a recurrent process, "since the fruitfulness of education depended, at least to some extent, on experience of life".(160) It was self-fulfilling and self-perpetuating: "once success is achieved, further success is probable" and desired.(161) When you stopped learning you stopped living. Education was about knowledge, skills and attitudes: personal, academic, physical, cultural and moral development. It should interact with all facets of the individual. Its raw material was life(162) and it entered into almost everything - there was little that could not be used for educational purposes.

Essentially Cadbury saw education "in terms of human values".(163) It helped nurture good people who think for themselves, are self-critical, self-propelled and, perhaps above all, conduct their lives with the needs of others in mind. Human values transcended those of wealth and power and individuals should be respected for what they were, not what they owned. It was important not to "judge our well-being in quantitative and material terms" because such an emphasis "establishe[d] a set of values which negate[d] the personal".(164) That meant education in the broadest possible sense. The educated society could not be defined

as one in which everybody had a degree and attended grand opera. It was one in which ordinary people were made extraordinary through education enabling and encouraging them to attain their full potential and act as caring, responsible members of their family, workplace, local, national and international communities. It was one in which there was learning for life.

Cadbury perceived that clearly entailed regarding education itself as of the highest possible worth and assigning it priority in order "to give each individual child and adult a full, continuing opportunity to realize his or her best self, both as an individual and as an active participant in the social, economic and cultural life of the community".(165) The task was not easy because, in the robust language of Sir Leslie Fielding, Vice-Chancellor of Sussex University "in the ... layabout Anglo-Saxon world [of English culture] education is generally accorded a low intrinsic value". Hence we are "an under-educated, under-trained and under-qualified nation [in which] there is still a suggestion of Eton-and-the-Guards-is-enough (or its lower middle class equivalent) [for entry] to the average Board Room [and] the workers live consumer-oriented lives of the 'East Enders' variety untroubled by matters of the mind".(166) The consequence of what Stephens has described as the "low-standing" of education in Britain is that the population is "desperately ill-educated in all aspects ranging from the needs of the economy, through social understanding and awareness, to political and social criticism".(167) He argues there is "a recognition that education brings greater enlightenment" and so "we cannot afford to continue with our present under-educated population".(168) We should "take life-long education as seriously as the Japanese" because it "holds the key to a better future".(169)

The Cadbury experiment showed what might be achieved. Education was seen as a vital element in developing and using that most important of resources - human potential - but there was a realization that participation was not simply a question of compulsion or access. A positive attitude to it had to be engendered and reluctance overcome. Hence the adoption of what Fordham, Poulton and Randle have dubbed "an 'ecological' approach... [with] a parallel 'non-formal' programme alongside the more usual formal classes [and] the starting points for learning ... found within the ... context of people's lives [rather than being] artificially imposed in a formal way from outside sources".(170) The intention was not to create "factory fodder" (Midwinter's phrase) (171) simply for what Gleeson and Mardle refer to as an "economic pay-off" (172) but autonomous individuals who would not be afraid to "analyze, criticize [and] challenge"(173) through established democratic procedures and who would be knowledgeable and perceptive about the influences which affected the patterns and conditions of their lives.(174) The Cadbury educational system was not, as Simon might contend, a device to maintain the status quo by instilling in employees "middle-class virtues and values" so that they would accept their fortunes coincided with those of the company.(175) It was a genuine attempt to assist them in improving the quality of their life experience and "their own prospects and self-development [as well as] to take an informed interest in the business and to have some understanding of its problems".(176) Cadbury wanted more, not less, aware workers to increase efficiency - subservience was inimical to that - and to enable them to have a part in management, especially in those areas that most directly impinged upon them. Hence the Works Council structure, for the sound functioning of which the education of employees was deemed essential and through which grievances could be voiced and investigated.

In 1950 the Bournville Works Magazine stated that the welfare facilities made available by the firm on a large scale since the beginning of the century were intended to bring "some of the privileges hitherto belonging to the leisured within the reach of manual and clerical workers, thus putting [Cadbury] amongst the pioneers of [a] social revolution."(177) Employees were regarded as human beings not mere machine-minders with labels marked "operative" or "chargehand" stuck on them. There was a recognition that so many people led stunted, unfulfilled lives, not realizing their potential, perhaps oblivious of much that life has to offer, and that "the unused margin of personal fulfilment is wide in any generation."(178) Through the educational and educative-recreational opportunities it provided Cadbury tried to ensure workers were not suborned by the ephemeral junk of consumer society or the tawdry, tatty and trivial in culture; and that they were not content with the low-quality, second-rate, mentally, physically, spiritually and environmentally unsatisfying half-life that Sandford and Law have so aptly described as one of "synthetic fun".(179) Stephens has suggested that the under-education of the British is particularly evident "in the area of cultural education" which tries to "counter-act stereotype and prejudice".(180) The Cadbury educational system in both its formal and informal aspects attempted "to lift all ... to experience and enjoy better things culturally"(181) and to "help people to live satisfying lives in our urban mass society" at the same time as "equipping them to stand up to its pressures".(182)

Economic and social change begets educational change and vice-versa: education is an affirming and transforming agent(183) that both conserves and remoulds.(184) What Musgrave has referred to as the "economic salience" of education (185) has come increasingly to the fore since the Second World War, especially from the 1960's. The United Kingdom's relatively poor economic performance has focussed

national policy attention on this salience and the economic ambience of educational structures and curricula. There has been an intensifying emphasis on the vocational and the role of education and training in stimulating economic growth and improving the competitiveness of industrial and commercial enterprise.(186) The national trend was reflected at Cadbury. Here non-vocational education provision was ended and educative-recreational amenities drastically curtailed with declining use and hardening management attitudes to what were now looked on as peripheral frills. The viability of welfare in terms of both productive efficiency and cost effectiveness is very difficult to prove and what was once regarded as an economic necessity was more and more viewed with suspicion and cynicism. Thus an amalgam of forces combined to demolish an entrenched philosophy that had been ingrained in the Cadbury business since the inception of the firm.

Perhaps the family may have been too inclined to see education as a panacea for all the world's ills: as Midwinter has indicated, it is possible to over-estimate the impact of education as an agent of social and economic change.(187) The results from education in generating greater social equality and higher rates of economic growth are never certain, always unpredictable and frequently disappointing. Effects on the individual are also inevitably variable and tussle with those of such factors as the home and the media. However, education does serve to enhance the control that people have over their lives through the knowledge, skills and insights it bestows and enables them to raise and deepen the quality of their life experience. It is also essential for the exploitation and application of human intelligence to the amelioration of social conditions and the efficiency of the processes of production, distribution and exchange. The United Kingdom has been singularly deficient in establishing an educational regime for the fullest development of the

capacities and capabilities of the mass of its population. The consequence is a mediocre level of attainment in many people that has been of detriment to the individual, business, the community and the nation.

The possibilities for human potential are considerable if harnessed and cultivated through education. The needs of the economy and society and the individual meet in the educational service. If that service is defective and inadequate then there is low productivity, social malaise, under-achievement, a narrowness of prospect and a limitation of hope. The service must be aimed at life-long learning and set in a sure foundation of broad, general education on to which vocational education and training can be grafted.(188) The Cadbury educational experiment demonstrated what might be gained but it demands the political will and vision, in terms of both ideology and the commitment of resources, to carry out the redefinition of national policy that is required to secure the advantages that could be forthcoming. "It is a question of education whether the United Kingdom remains a major culture and economy".(189) If, indeed, that is the case then Stephens may be right when he opines that "perhaps our first priority should be better educated politicians".(190)

Cadbury was not alone amongst employers in stressing the importance of education and training for their workers and in making available recreational amenities for employees' use. However, what the firm did was seemingly unparalleled in scale; in having a coherent, cohesive philosophy underlying the system which was constructed; in the influence exerted on national policy-making; and in the reputation it had at home and abroad. The relationship with the Bournville Day Continuation School/College was unique and the Cadbury scheme, in comparison with other companies' day continuation arrangements, had a number of "special characteristics... These [were] - equality of

treatment of boys and girls; the inclusion of [every grade of worker], skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled; the broad and general character of the curriculum; and the particular attention given to physical training".(191) The scholarship schemes for post-day continuation school education were unusual in themselves and even more so in their scope. Few firms accorded time off work to either junior or adult employees of any status for non-vocational courses and not many for vocational courses for the run-of-the-mill bulk of the labour force. The whole educational and educative-recreational system was a clear enunciation of the Cadbury belief that education was about life as well as work and that it was not only the wealthy, the comfortably-off and the academically able who should be educated beyond a minimal standard. The system was a demonstration that all employees were respected and worthy of respect, not merely the middle and upper echelons of management.

There were also evident deeper considerations. In 1938 George Cadbury, junior wrote that "it is only too sadly true that many people muddle through life without realizing the opportunities that lie around them, whilst, on the other hand, there are many frustrated lives among our young people".(192) Tegla Davies argued that the employer should

"feel a responsibility for keeping alive in an industrial atmosphere an appreciation of human and spiritual values and the development of a well-informed and mentally alert democracy We should ... constantly remind ourselves in an increasingly technical civilization that however important the machine may be, the man is even more important - whether it be the man whose genius invents it, or the man whose skill maintains it, or the man whose patient cheerfulness operates it...

No material standard is worth the deadening of the human spirit and until we recognize and act by it, then industrialism, on balance, is a loss to the mass of mankind, even though every factory operative drives to work in a Rolls Royce ... We may make industrial

life more efficient in terms of skills and techniques and 'adjusting people to the job' than it has ever been, and still find that the most important things slip through our fingers... Technology advances, but many of the things with which education and training are concerned do not change."(193)

Those words from 1956 have a growing relevance as rampant materialism and the domination of the cash nexus bring mounting problems of resource depletion, pollution and waste disposal. The popular singer Janet Jackson has warned starkly: "we are in a race between education and environmental catastrophe".(194)

The claims Cadbury made in its publications for the efficacy of the educational system it created at Bournville are substantiated by the personal experiences and comments of former employees. Nancy Kind, at the Bournville Day Continuation School from 1921 to 1925, asserts she absorbed a great deal from such subjects as Musical Appreciation and Art and would not otherwise have learnt to swim. There was much in her subsequent life she enjoyed but would never have known about without her attendance at the School.(195) Hilda Timmins (at Bournville Day Continuation School from 1926 to 1930) avers she was "very, very grateful for Maples College" (the nickname bestowed on the Girls' Section of the School after the move to The Green in 1925: it came from Maples Road on which the girls' side entrance was situated). Without the Bournville Day Continuation School Hilda maintains she "would never have become a forewoman".(196)

Anne Price (at the School from 1926 to 1929) said it widened horizons, generated new interests, and brought out latent talents and gifts that might have remained hidden. She instanced a friend, Elsie Crompton, who became a cellist in the Cadbury Bournville Musical Society factory orchestra. She herself likes writing - a skill she attributes to the Day Continuation School and which has

resulted in some published pieces. She also said the practices she learnt in Cookery she had utilized for the rest of her life.(197) Doris Broom attended the School between 1924 and 1929, including an extra voluntary year which she subsequently followed up with a Works Council part-time scholarship to the Birmingham School of Art. She was thereby enabled to move to the offices from production work and undertake design assignments in the Sales and Advertizing Department. Doris Broom believes "the Bournville Day Continuation School was of great value in extending the education of a student who had left the elementary school at 14 or even the secondary school at 16". It was of immense significance to intelligent girls who may have been forced to leave at the minimum age because their families could not afford to allow them to remain in full-time education. The Bournville Day Continuation School, perhaps together with later scholarships, gave them a second chance, "opened up routes to more advanced education, better careers, brighter prospects and more responsible positions" that would otherwise have been beyond their reach.(198)

John Bartlett was at the Bournville Day Continuation School in the early 1930's and secured a firm's scholarship to Cambridge in the latter half of the decade to read for a degree in Modern Languages. His post-Second World War career at Cadbury was largely in the personnel area and the operations of the Works Councils. He feels strongly that the education system "meant improved industrial relations. The labour force was well-educated and could take a wider point of view about things rather than the narrow, partisan approach adopted at other firms. This was especially to be seen in Workers' Representatives on the Works Councils. The Bournville Day Continuation School and places like Fircroft produced a better quality of representative than was the case elsewhere. Everybody at the School was treated the same: all were on a equal footing and at the

same level, so that afterwards people like Workers' Representatives and management luminaries were on Christian name terms - extremely rare for the time". The School, together with the games, sports and wide range of social activities in the various clubs and societies at the factory, generated "a very democratic atmosphere at the firm" which was not to be found in most companies.(199)

Learning should be both pleasurable and attractive. At the Bournville Day Continuation School, flagship component of the Cadbury educational system, it certainly could be.

"Our teachers were wonderful. I still remember Miss Partridge, whom we all adored, Miss Nixon, grey-haired and smiling, who taught us Esperanto, Miss Nettleton who taught us Economics and also introduced us to the mysteries of Monopoly, so that years later I was enabled to confound my young son with my knowledge when he tried to spring it upon me. I recall, too, Miss Orchard, who taught us Musical Appreciation, and Miss Peasgood, who took us for Physical Training.

I remember that after our dinner-break we all raced down to the swimming baths, and on the way back we would slip into the Chocolate Shop for a whole pound of Turkish Delight, which cost us the princely sum of sixpence, and which we ate from under the desk in the last lesson."(200)

So reminisced Mrs. M. Laidlaw in the Bournville Works Magazine of March, 1960. She was at the Day Continuation School in the inter-war period. That seems to have been a particularly illustrious era for it, with a competent, loyal, dedicated and enthusiastic coterie of staff under the leadership of Miss Cater and Mr. Bews.

The Cadbury educational experiment unquestionably had a profound effect on employees - their working careers, their leisure pursuits and their lives in general. It exhibited numerous facets: social engineering, economic functionalism, patriotism, high idealism, altruism, personal duty. It reflected Quaker religious conviction

and liberal political outlook. It had a moral and ethical dimension and showed a deep commitment to the amelioration of the human condition. It was ultimately an expression of passionate concern for the physical, mental and emotional well-being of ordinary people doing ordinary jobs. There can be no doubt a hundred and fifty years of educational provision at the firm of Cadbury led to many thousands of men and women experiencing happier, healthier and richer lives than they would otherwise have done. That was the real achievement.

FOOTNOTES

ABBREVIATIONS USED

B.M.	BOURNVILLE MAGAZINE
B.R.	BOURNVILLE REPORTER
B.W.M.	BOURNVILLE WORKS MAGAZINE
C.H.R.	CADBURY HISTORICAL RECORDS
C.N.	CADBURY NEWS
P.R.O.	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

CHAPTER ONE

1. Gardiner, A. G., Life of George Cadbury (1923), pp. 96-97.
2. Ibid, p. 97.
3. Ibid, p. 95.
4. Selecting the phrase as a title for this work has the approval of at least one Cadbury pensioner! Richard Leadbetter writes in a communication dated November 30th, 1986: "Your title 'Learning For life' is excellent. I learned a lot at Bournville and I am at least one man who has benefitted for the rest of his life from all the facilities provided for us there". His view of the phrase provides, perhaps, yet a fourth interpretation of it.
5. Cadbury Brothers, Education in the Factory (1923), p. 43.
6. Cadbury Brothers, Education and Training in Office and Factory (1948), p. 3.
7. B.W.M., Vol. LIV, No. 9, September, 1956, pp. 300-301.
8. It would certainly have agreed with the assessment of David Young, the Chairman of the Manpower Services Commission, who said at the National Education and Training Conference held in Birmingham in July, 1984, "There is a difference between education and training. Not many people nowadays would object to their daughters getting sex education at school". Reported in the Times Educational Supplement dated 13th July, 1984, p. 2, the "No Comment" column.
9. B.W.M., loc.cit.
10. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1948), loc.cit.
11. B.W.M., Vol. LVIII, No. 1, January, 1960, p. 9.
12. Cadbury Brothers, Education in Industry (1938), p. 5.
13. Brown, C. M., "Industrialists and Schools", History of Education, Vol. 9, No. 2, June, 1980, p. 117.
14. For an account of the issues involved see Hendrick, H., "'A Race of Intelligent Unskilled Labourers: the Adolescent Worker and the Debate on Compulsory, Part-Time Day Continuation Schools, 1900-1922", History of Education, Vol. 9, No. 2, June, 1980, pp. 159-173. Hendrick's article is very stimulating and interesting, but the debate is seen as one conducted almost exclusively about male education and employment and does not give sufficient emphasis to the fact that the day continuation schools programme started under the Education Act of 1918 was halted because of contractions in public expenditure rather than the status of its proponents ("the professional middle-class - social workers, teachers, sociologists, clerics, economists and educationalists", p. 171) and the quality of their argument. These middle-class professionals may have been "articulate, literate, but without real economic or political power" (loc.cit.) and thereby unable to prevent the reductions in public expenditure that largely ended the day continuation schools. Albeit, they had achieved the compulsory day continuation class clauses of the 1918 Act and had hence clearly won the argument against those who were not in favour of this part of the legislation.

15. Cadbury, G., Why We Want Education In Industry (1926). A copy of this pamphlet is available in the archives at Bournville - C.H.R. No. 360: 002758. The title phrasing of "education in industry" is significant in implying that educational provision was not a matter purely external to the operation of enterprise.
16. Ibid, pp. 3-4.
17. Ibid, p. 5. The stress on making education relevant to young people was perceptive and far-sighted. It should have been borne in mind by those who, certainly without much thought and in an almost cavalier fashion, raised the school leaving age in 1973 from 15 to 16 years. No proper consideration appears to have been given to what those who were being compelled to stay on at school, many against their wishes and inclinations, were to do in the extra year. Very little curriculum planning or development seems to have gone into meeting this problem to ensure that the extra year was not only in practice relevant and worthwhile but was seen to be so by those unwillingly having to stay at school for another session. The decision to raise the school leaving age in 1973 seems to have been taken simply because it was accepted wisdom that an extra year of compulsory schooling was, to use Seller and Yeatman terminology, "a good thing" and everybody else appeared to be doing it: at about this time the school leaving age was being raised in France, Denmark and elsewhere. (See Hopkinson, D., "The School Leaving Age", Trends in Education, No. 24, October, 1971, pp. 17-22). The consequence of raising the school leaving age in 1973 without any form of convincing cost-benefit analysis and curriculum innovation led only to disillusionment and growing truancy amongst reluctant pupils who would have preferred to have left school and may have been better off doing so.
18. Ibid, p. 6.
19. Ibid, p. 11.
20. Ibid, pp. 3, 8. The advocacy of proper education and training for managers went against the traditional "cult of the amateur" philosophy which held that managers were somehow or other naturally able to manage. Fifty years later, and the nation's relative economic decline becoming ever more apparent, attitudes were beginning to change and managerial education and training became much more fashionable. Note the emphasis in this section of George Cadbury's address on making certain there were no class-generated divisions between workers and management. Education was the key to workers and management understanding each other. It is significant that industrial disputes at the firm were practically unknown until the 1970's when management became harsher and the unions stronger. The Cadbury educational system undoubtedly enhanced understanding between management and workers and this was further encouraged by the fact that the system meant the promotion of many ordinary workers into management positions.
21. Ibid, pp. 6, 10-11.
22. Ibid, p. 12. The concept of education as an investment seems to have been an unusual one for the time but became much more familiar after the Second World War.
23. Ibid, pp. 3, 4.
24. See Hendrick, art.cit., passim.
25. Letter from the elder George Cadbury to Sir Oliver Lodge, Principal of Birmingham University, dated July 9th., 1909 (quoted

in Gardiner, op.cit., pp. 87-88). In a letter written at the same time to Professor W. J. Ashley of the University, George senior made plain his view of business as an instrument of disinterested ends. "I am most anxious" he wrote, "that in England we should never make a fetish of success in business, and of accumulated wealth, which have done so much to mar spiritual and mental development in the United States" (Ibid, p. 88).

26. Silver, H., Education and the Social Condition (1980), pp. 17-18.
27. For a very readable account of education as an instrument of social policy in the period since the Education Act of 1944 see Finch, J., Education as Social Policy (1984). The Introduction (pp. 3-5) is a useful general overview of the concept.

CHAPTER TWO

1. For the detailed early history of Cadbury see Williams, I.A., The Firm of Cadbury, 1831-1931 (1931), Chapters 1 and 2, and Rogers, T. B., A Century of Progress, 1831-1931 (1931), Chapters 1 and 2.
2. Rodgers, op.cit., p. 32.
3. B.W.M., Vol. VII, No. 12, October, 1909, p. 372.
4. Quoted in Williams, op.cit., pp. 27-28.
5. Williams, op.cit., p. 28.
6. B.W.M., Vol. VII, No. 12, October, 1909, p. 368.
7. Rodgers, op.cit., p. 32.
8. Simon, B., Education and the Labour Movement, 1870-1920 (1965), p. 76. A succinct account of the Adult Schools is contained in Harrison, J. F. C., Learning and Living, 1790-1960 (1961), pp. 300-312, and a more detailed account in Kelly, T., A History of Adult Education in Great Britain (1962, second edition 1970), passim, but especially chapters 13 and 15.
9. Gardiner, op.cit., p. 57. Richard Cadbury was equally energetic supporting the Adult Schools - he both gave tuition at them and was also instrumental in setting up a number of Schools in Birmingham. For an account of his efforts on behalf of the Adult School cause see B.W.M., Vol. V, No. 6, April, 1907, pp. 185-186 and B.W.M., Vol. V, No. 7, May, 1907, p. 225. For a full biography see Alexander, H., Richard Cadbury of Birmingham (1906).
10. "George Cadbury, 1839-1922", Memorial Number of the Bournville Works Magazine, 1922, p. 27.
11. Bournville is a country site no longer, of course! Along with Stirchley, King's Norton and Selly Oak it was absorbed by Birmingham in 1911 and the all-enveloping tentacles of the Second City now stretch for many miles into the rural environs beyond Bournville, which has become just another of Birmingham's numerous suburbs. The area's once large open spaces - urban farms existed in Bournville for about a quarter of a century after 1945 - have been steadily encroached upon and nowadays residents are frequently having to fight battles to preserve those unspoilt parts that remain.

12. Quoted in Gardiner, op.cit., p. 36.
13. Widespread building did not begin until about sixteen years later and the Trust was set up in 1900 by George Cadbury as a housing organization totally independent of the Cadbury firm. It was an attempt to realize his dream of the garden village where the people "could", as he put it, "breathe pure air, and be elevated by the influence of trees and flowers" - quoted in "George Cadbury, 1839-1922", the Memorial Number of the Bournville Works Magazine (1922), p. 30. He regarded the Bournville Village Trust as a contribution to the housing problem - an experiment that would help to establish a revolution in the conditions of housing throughout the nation. George understood that it was not enough to talk to a man about ideals. "How can he cultivate ideals when his home is a slum and his only place of recreation a public house?" he asked, according to Walter Stranz's short biography, George Cadbury (1973, p. 9). Hence, ultimately, the view that led to Bournville Village. This essentially pragmatic approach to social improvement was also indicated in the way in which George occasionally used unconventional places for some of his Adult School classes. Stranz (op.cit., loc.cit.) relates how George tried an old factory and closed public houses since they were more likely to appeal to the sort of people he wanted to reach than any kind of conventional establishment. The sort of practical direction he took in adult education was shown to be the most effective method during the Liverpool Education Priority Area Project in the 1970's - for a full description of this scheme see Lovett, T., Adult Education, Community Development and the Working Class (1976). For a recent account of the history of Bournville Village Trust see Henslowe, P., Ninety Years On (1984).
14. Quoted in Rodgers, op.cit., p. 38.
15. Detailed annual employment returns for 1891 to 1951 are contained in C.H.R. items No.'s 300:002744 and 300:002059.
16. Murray, B. G., "George Cadbury, Senior" in Jeremy, D. J., editor, Dictionary of Business Biography (1984), Volume 1, p. 551. For the detailed history of Cadbury after the move to Bournville up to the outbreak of the First World War see Rodgers, op.cit., Chapters 3 and 4 and Williams, op.cit., Chapter 3, et.seq.
17. B.W.M., Vol. VII, No. 11, October, 1909, p. 378.
18. Cadbury, E., Experiments in Industrial Organization (1912), pp. 221-222.
19. B.W.M., Vol. LVIII, No. 8, August, 1960, p. 286.
20. B.W.M., Vol. VI, No. 7, May, 1908, p. 370; Cadbury, E., op.cit., p. 13.
21. C.H.R. No. 301:002839, Foremen's Committee Minute Book, 1901-1906: October 2nd, 1901. The arrangements for return of fees were extended to the girls in 1903: it was reported in the Bournville Works Magazine (Vol. 11, No. 1, November, 1903, pp. 9-11) that the firm would pay fees up to 7/6 for all girls under 19 attending a "recognized class or classes held at a public institution" such as a Technical School or School of Art. The age limit was fixed because it was felt that girls of 19 and over were "earning enough to pay their own fees." (When fees were charged for classes provided by the firm at the Works - and this was by no means always done - then the same refund procedures were applied as for external classes. Fees charged for Works classes for employees were usually lower than those charged by, for example, the local authority for external classes).

22. C.H.R. No. 303: 002751, Bournville Youths' Club Papers, 1902-1913, p. 6; B.W.M., Vol. 1, No. 1, November, 1902, p. 1; B.W.M., Vol. 1, No. 2, December, 1902, p. 40. J. H. Whitehouse was one of the two joint editors of the Bournville Works Magazine when it began in 1902 - the other being Clarkson Booth. He was originally a clerk in the General Office but took charge of the Youths' Club when it was established. He eventually became a Member of Parliament and then Warden of Bembridge School in the Isle of Wight - see Williams, op.cit., p. 188.

23. Cadbury, E., op.cit., pp. 27-28. The introduction of compulsory physical training classes for juniors was almost certainly influenced by similar classes at the National Cash Register Company seen by George Cadbury, junior on a trip to the United States in 1901 and by the great debate in Britain on physical efficiency and the survival of the state prompted by the poor bodily condition of recruits enlisted to fight in the Boer War (1899-1902).

24. B.W.M., Vol. 1, No. 1, November, 1902, p. 22; Cadbury, E., op.cit., p. 28.

25. B.W.M., Vol. 1, No. 1, November, 1903, pp. 9-11. For a number of years up to 1906 girls' classes at the Works seem to have been organized by the Girls' Library Committee. (There were two main libraries in being at this time. The Girls' Library had been set up in 1903 - see B.W.M., Vol. 1, No. 4, February, 1903, p. 84. The men and youths already had a library of their own at that date. The Musical Society also developed its own specialist collection of books. All the existing libraries at the factory, large and small, were brought together in 1927 when the building of the new Dining Block allowed the commissioning of specialist library accommodation to be incorporated in new construction - see B.W.M., Vol. XXV, No. 5, May, 1927, p. 137). During the same period - the half decade or so up to 1906 - responsibility for boys' attendance at external classes together with the recommending of any internal classes for males that might be required at the Works seems to have been vested in the Foremen's Committee and, after its formation in 1905, the Men's Works Committee, which was the successor to the 1902 Suggestions Committee. For the necessary references see the pages of C.H.R. No. 301: 002839, the Foremen's Committee Minute Book, 1901-1906 and C. H. R. No.'s 301: 002830 and 301: 002831, the two Men's Works Committee minute books of 1905.

26. C.H.R. No. 301: 002839, Foremen's Committee Minute Book, 1901-1906: April 19th, May 2nd, and June 7th 1905; C.H.R. No. 301: 002830, Men's Works Committee Minute Book, January-September, 1905: May 22nd, 1905.

27. B.M.W., Vol. II, No. 11, September, 1904, p. 413.

28. B.W.M., Vol. III, No. 12, October, 1905, p. 391.

29. Weedall, A., Further Education For All (1963), p. 4.

30. C. H. R. No. 301:002839, Foremen's Committee Minute Book, 1901-1906: June 7th, 1905; C. H. R. No. 301: 002830, Men's Works Committee Minute Book, January-September, 1905: May 6th, 1905.

31. C.H.R. No. 301: 002830 Men's Works Committee Minute Book, January-September, 1905: loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. 1, No. 1, November, 1902, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol II, No. 7, May, 1904, p. 249.

32. B.W.M., Vol. IV, No. 1, November, 1905, p. 5; Williams, op.cit., pp. 72, 185; Rodgers, op.cit., p. 43; Weedall, op.cit., p. 4. A pavilion with gymnasium was also constructed in the Girls' Recreation Ground in 1902 and this enabled the teaching of gymnastics and games coaching to begin from September under Miss Hilda Grieve, the newly appointed Director of Physical Culture at the Works. For these advances see B.W.M., Vol. 1, No. 7, May, 1903, pp. 190-191 and B.W.M., Vol. 11, No. 12, October, 1904, p. 454. Miss Grieve's duties were probably confined to the female members of the workforce, though she may have contributed to the compulsory gymnastics classes for young male employees under 16 in addition to those for girls. Older male employees had gymnastics instructors of their own sex (B.W.M., Vol. 1, No. 4, February, 1903, p. 95) and in 1907 a full time "superintendent of gymnastics and physical culture" - Mr. R. J. Moorhouse, a well-known Birmingham athlete and gymnastics teacher - was appointed "to train the men and boys of Bournville Works" who would, as a consequence, proclaimed the factory magazine, "now have opportunities for physical development which are certainly unique" (B.W.M., Vol. V, No. 4, February, 1907, p. 115).
33. "1896 And All That" - Fifty Years of the Bournville Athletic Club 1896 - 1946 (1946), pp. 1-4. A copy of this commemorative booklet is available in the archives at Bournville - C.H.R. No. 351: 001997. See also Williams, op.cit., pp. 188-189.
34. Williams, op.cit., pp. 182, 187-188; Rodgers, op.cit., p. 53.
35. Cadbury, E., op.cit., p. 222.
36. B.W.M., Vol. II, No. 4, February, 1904, p. 103.
37. Cadbury, E., op.cit., Introduction, p. XVIII.
38. B.W.M., Vol. XXII, No. 3, March, 1924, p. 74.
39. B.W.M., Vol. XLI, No. 8, August, 1943, p. 120.
40. C.H.R. No. 365: 001911, Bournville Works Classes Management Committee Minutes, 1906-1912: January 10th, 1908; Cadbury, E., op.cit., p. 14.
41. B.W.M., Vol. XLI, No. 8, August, 1943, loc.cit.
42. C.H.R. No. 363: 003080, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1906-1908: August 23rd, 1906.
43. C.H.R. No. 365: 001911, Bournville Works Classes Management Committee Minutes, 1906-1912: December 7th, 1906.
44. B.W.M., Vol. VI, No. 12, October, 1908, p. 360; B.W.M., Vol. XLIV, No. 9, September, 1946, p. 189. Not all classes taught at the factory would necessarily have been put forward for grant aid since some of them may not have met Board of Education regulations - possibly with regard to eligible subjects or perhaps hours of tuition either in respect of the duration of lessons or total course time. In fact, later on the problem of hours was to loom large with some of the physical training classes and adjustments had to be made in order to get grant aid for them. It is interesting to note that the Home Dressmaking, Plain Sewing and Cookery classes were transferred to the Bournville Evening School Managers in January, 1907 on the basis of all fees and grants being paid to the local education authority, who in turn took over all expenses in connection with them (C.H.R. No. 365: 001911, Bournville Works Classes Management Committee Minutes, 1906-12: January 17th, 1907). The transfer seems to have been made because the accommodation available for

such classes at the new Bournville Elementary School building was much more convenient than that available at the Works. Bournville Elementary School had been opened in 1906 and enabled the establishment of Bournville Evening School, which used the building in the evenings for night school classes. (For these developments see B.W.M., Vol. V, No. 2, December, 1906, p. 44 and B.W.M., Vol. VI, No. 3, January, 1908, p. 108).

45. B.W.M., Vol. XLIV, No. 9, September, 1946, loc.cit. In the 1907-08 session the men's and boys' evening Gymnastics classes and the girls' Gardening class were added to those being supervised by the Board of Education - see C.H.R. No. 365: 001911, Bournville Works Classes Management Committee Minutes, 1906-1912: December 6th, 1907.
46. Ibid: loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. VI, No. 3, January, 1908, p. 106.
47. C.H.R. No. 365: 001911, Bournville Works Classes Management Committee Minutes, 1906-1912: January 10th, 1908.
48. B.W.M., Vol. VI, No. 3, January, 1908, loc.cit. Total expenditure on the classes in 1906-07 was £986 12s. 2d., of which the company met £895 4s. 2d., but that figure did not include office expenses or the cost to the firm (a third) of the senior girls' swimming costumes (C.H.R. No. 365: 001911, Bournville Works Classes Management Committee Minutes, 1906-1912: loc.cit.).
49. C.H.R. No. 363: 003080, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1906-1908: August 23rd, 1906.
50. B.W.M., Vol. X, No. 2, February, 1912, p. 39.
51. Full details of the development and application of the scheme for compulsory attendance by juvenile employees at evening school and the consequent negotiations with Worcestershire County Council can be found in the entries for 1906 and 1907 in C.H.R. No. 363: 003080, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1906-1908. The entries include some relevant local press cuttings.
52. Copies of these two letters are contained in C.H.R. No. 365: 001886, Bournville Works Education and Classes Management Committees: Sundry Papers, 1906-1911. If a parent responded by saying classes would be joined at a place other than Bournville a further letter was sent stressing that a two year course should be taken and include classes in English, Arithmetic, Drawing and, if a female employee, Needlework. If the classes had already been joined an offer was made to refund fees at the original institution if a transfer to Bournville School was accepted.
53. A report of the first speech can be found in B.W.M., Vol. VI, No. 1, November, 1907, pp. 3-4, and of the second in B.W.M., Vol. VI, No. 12, October, 1908, p. 370.
54. C.H.R. No. 365: 001886, Bournville Works Education and Classes Management Committees: Sundry Papers, 1906-1911.
55. C.H.R. No. 363: 003080, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1906-1908: September 24th, 1906; C.H.R. No. 365: 001911, Bournville Works Classes Management Committee Minutes, 1906-1912: January 10th, 1908. The local authority for further education in the Bournville area was Worcestershire County Council and for elementary education was the King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council. The County Council operated through a King's Norton Higher Education Committee for the area - the description "Higher Education" meaning secondary education together with that sector of education between school level and degree level now usually known as "further education". The King's Norton Higher Education Committee should not be confused

- with the Education Committee of King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council, though they did cover the same area and were supposed to liaise with each other. However, this they found practically impossible to do expect for co-operation over the 1906 Cadbury continuation classes course plan (B.W.M., Vol. X, No. 2, February, 1912, pp. 37-39).
56. C.H.R. No. 363: 003080, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1906-1908: August 28th, 1907.
 57. Ibid: loc.cit.
 58. Cadbury Brothers, The Educational Scheme (1913), pp. 6-7.
 59. B.W.M., Vol. V, No. 2, December, 1906, p. 44; B.W.M., Vol. IX, No. 1, January, 1911, pp. 7-8; Williams, op.cit., pp. 226-227; Gardiner, op.cit., pp. 153-154; MacFarlane, A., Bournville Junior School, 1906-1986 (1986) - an unpaginated booklet issued privately by the school to commemorate the eightieth anniversary of the original building of 1906, which is now the junior school for the 7 to 11 age range. The 1911 building currently caters for infants from 5 to 7 years. Under the old elementary school system which existed before 1944 the two buildings provided for all children up to the leaving age of 14. The present-day schools retain voluntary-aided status and remain in the ownership of the Bournville Village Trust to which they were given by their founder, George Cadbury senior, when built.
 60. C.H.R. No. 363: 003080, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1906-1908: loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. V., No. 5, March, 1907, p. 157; B.W.M. Vol. VII, No. 3, January, 1909, p. 72.
 61. C.H.R. No. 363: 003080, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes 1906-1908: February 20th, August 28th/30th and September 6th, 1907.
 62. B.W.M., Vol. VII, No. 3, January, 1909, pp. 72-73.
 63. Ibid, p. 73.
 64. Simon, op.cit. (1965), p. 214; Pimlott, J. A. R., "Continuing Education, 1870-1970", Trends in Education, Special Centenary Issue, February, 1970, p. 52.
 65. Simon, op.cit. (1965), p. 308. The Workers' Educational Association (or W.E.A.) had been founded by Albert Mansbridge in 1903 as "The Association to Promote the Higher Education of Working Men", adopting the simpler, less cumbersome appellation in August, 1905. See Dent, H. C., 1870-1970: Century of Growth in English Education (1970), p. 75.
 66. "The Times", January 3rd, 1905; "Birmingham Evening Mail", August 19th, 1907.
 67. P.R.O. No. ED46/15A. See also Pimlott, art. cit., pp. 52-53, and Sadler, M. E., editor, Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere (1907), pp. 724-727.
 68. Pimlott, art. cit., loc.cit.
 69. B.W.M., Vol. VI, No. 1, November, 1907, p. 4.
 70. Pimlott, art.cit., p. 53.
 71. P.R.O. No. ED46/15A. "The curriculum of these classes was to include instruction with reference to the crafts or industries of the district (including agriculture and the domestic arts), the

- study of English language and literature (also the Gaelic language and literature in Gaelic speaking districts) and instruction in the laws of health with opportunity for suitable physical training". Curtis, S. J., History of Education in Great Britain (1948, sixth edition, 1965), p. 567. The education system in Scotland has always been independent of, and has some organizational differences in comparison with, that in England and Wales. This means that the implementation of national policy developments in education usually requires separate legislation for Scotland. For a brief, but sound, survey of the history of post-school Scottish education below university level see Cormack, W. S., "A Century of Further Education", Scottish Educational Journal, Vol. 55, 19th May, 1972, pp. 416-418.
72. C.H.R. No. 363: 003080, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1906-1908: August 28th, 1907; B.W.M., Vol. IV, No. 11, September, 1906; Cadbury, E., op.cit., p. 17.
 73. C.H.R. No. 363: 003080, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1906-1908: January 25th, 1907; B.W.M., Vol. V, No. 5, March, 1907, p. 157. The O.H. Jones mentioned in the letter was the Secretary of both the Bournville Works Education Committee and Bournville Works Classes Management Committee and appears to have been the main person concerned with organizing educational provision at Cadbury at this time. The reference to the Sixth Standard in the letter was an indication of the way in which, in the elementary schools of the period, the work to be covered was clearly defined and graded according to a total of seven standards. There was also an ex-seventh standard. Pupils moved up to a higher standard (or class) on the basis of attainment, not age as nowadays.
 74. B.W.M., Vol. V, No. 5, March, 1907, loc.cit.; Sadler, op.cit., pp. 191-193, 292-293, 296-297, 307-308.
 75. B.W.M., Vol. III, No. 8, June, 1905, p. 245; Simon, op.cit. (1965), pp. 214, 308; McCann, W. P., Trade Unionist, Co-Operative and Socialist Organizations in Relation to Popular Education, 1870-1902, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester (1960), p. 407; Ferguson, R. W., "The Employer's Part in Continuation School Work" in Wray, W. J. and Ferguson, R. W., editors, A Day Continuation School at Work (1920, second edition, 1926), pp. 177-181; Ferguson, R. W. and Abbot, A., Day Continuation Schools (1935), p. 4; Nicholls, D. M., The Story of a Great Experiment - Bournville Day Continuation School, 1913-1946 (1946), p. 4; Sadler, op.cit., Chapter VIII, passim.
 76. Ferguson, art.cit. (1920), pp. 184-185.
 77. C.H.R. No. 363: 003080, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1906-1908: August 28th, 1907; C.H.R. No. 363: 003079, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1908-1915: August 21st, 1908; B.W.M., Vol. V, No. 5, March, 1907, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. VI, No. 1, November, 1907, p. 3; B.W.M., Vol. VII, No. 3, January, 1909, p. 72; B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 4, February, 1910, p. 125; B.W.M., Vol. VII, No. 7, May, 1910, p. 195; B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 14, December, 1910, p. 445; B.W.M., Vol. IX, No. 3, March, 1911, p. 82; B.W.M., Vol. XXII, No. 3, March, 1924, p. 74; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 13; Cadbury, E., op.cit., p. 23.
 78. B.W.M., Vol. VII, No. 7, May, 1909, pp. 197-198.
 79. C.H.R. No. 363: 003079, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1908-1915: May 5th, 1909; C.H.R. No. 364: 003081, Bournville Works School Committee Minutes, 1913: November 7th,

- 1913; C.H.R. No. 363: 002840, Education Department Notices: 1911-1923, p. 23; B.W.M., Vol. IX, No. 11, November, 1911, p. 349; B.W.M., Vol. X, No. 12, December, 1912, p. 375; B.W.M., Vol. XI, No. 12, December, 1913, p. 400; B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 9, September, 1914, pp. 272-273; Cadbury, E., op.cit., pp. 17-18.
80. C.H.R. No. 363: 003080, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1906-1908: July 11th, 1908.
81. Ibid.: May 1st, 1908.
82. B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 9, July, 1910, p. 286.
83. Ibid, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 9, September, 1914, p. 276; Cadbury, E., op.cit., pp. 46-47.
84. B.W.M., Vol. VII, No. 7, May, 1909, p. 198; B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 7, May, 1910, pp. 195-196; B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 9, July, 1910, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 10, August, 1910, p. 299; B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 9, September, 1914, loc.cit.; Cadbury, E., op.cit., loc.cit.
85. B.W.M., Vol. XI, No. 12, December, 1913, p. 399.
86. B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 7, May, 1910, p. 196; Cadbury, E., op.cit., p. 56.
87. B.W.M., Vol. X, No. 2, February, 1912, p. 35.
88. B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 7, May, 1910, pp. 195-196; B.W.M., Vol. X, No. 12, December, 1912, p. 383; Cadbury, E., op.cit., loc.cit. The normal arrangements for the return of class fees which applied only to employees under 19 was also extended to 21 for apprentices because compulsory attendance for them went on until that age - see B.W.M., Vol. XI, No. 9, September, 1913, p. 295.
89. B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 7, May, 1910, p. 196; B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 14, December, 1910, p. 443; B.W.M., Vol. IX, No. 2, February, 1912, pp. 35-36; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 41; Cadbury, E., op.cit., p. 47.
90. B.W.M., Vol. IX, No. 5, May, 1911, p. 149.
91. B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 14, December, 1910, p. 444.
92. B.W.M., Vol. IX, No. 3, March, 1911, p. 82.
93. B.W.M., Vol. IX, No. 10, October, 1911, p. 316. This "annual meeting" was, in fact, the second to be held to review the progress of the new apprenticeship scheme, by then just entering on its third year. The meetings allowed apprentices to discuss matters of mutual interest and concern with members of the Bournville Works Education Committee. Whether there were any more such meetings is difficult to discover. Though there appears to be no record of them, it seems reasonable to speculate that further meetings might have been held since they obviously had a useful function in helping to monitor the development of the new scheme.
94. Cadbury, E., op.cit., pp. 54-55, 228-229, 239-240.
95. B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 9, September, 1914, p. 272.
96. C.H.R. No. 363:003080, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1906-1908: July 11th, 1908.
97. Such an eventuality certainly occurred, but not on a scale that

might have provoked a change of policy.

98. C.H.R. No. 363: 003080, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1906-1908: loc.cit.
99. B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 6, April, 1910, p. 178.
100. B.W.M., Vol. X, No. 2, February, 1912, p. 35; B.W.M., Vol. XI, No. 12, December, 1913, pp. 399-400; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 46; Sadler, op.cit., pp. 296-299, 313-314.
101. B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 14, December, 1910, pp. 442-445.
102. B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 11, September, 1910, p. 338; B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 14, December, 1910, pp. 442-443; Cadbury, E., op.cit., pp. 17-18.
103. Cadbury, E., op.cit., pp. 18-20.
104. B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 11, September, 1910, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 14, December, 1910, pp. 444-445; Cadbury, E., op.cit., p. 22.
105. Cadbury, E., op.cit., pp. 22-24. The first of the "ordinary cottages" mentioned by Edward Cadbury was in Thorn Road near the Bournville Elementary School and was prepared as a typical artisan's home in 1909 by the firm itself to accommodate the holding of classes in Housewifery under the auspices of the Bournville Works School. This was done as an experiment "owing to the large number of girls employed upon most of whom the responsibilities of home life sooner or later devolve" (B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 6, April, 1910, p. 163). In fact, the experiment proved to be "a very successful" one during the 1909-10 session and "in this way the firm were fitting the girls they employed to make useful housewives" (*ibid*, p. 174). The local education authority showed "great interest in it" (*ibid*, loc.cit.) and the following session took over the cottage for Housewifery tuition (B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 11, September, 1910, p. 338) though the property appears to have remained in the firm's possession. This was the 1910-11 session when the fourth stage of the cocoa and chocolate company's extended four-year evening continuation class scheme came into effect. The fourth stage of the girls' course included Housewifery and presumably the local authority needed the cottage for classes in this subject. The use by Edward Cadbury of the plural "cottages" in 1912 suggests at least one other cottage had been made available for the teaching of housewifery at some time between 1910 and when he was writing. However, it is quite possible that the use of the plural was an error since in 1913 there is a reference in the Bournville Works Education Committee minutes to "A COTTAGE owned by the firm" in which Housewifery classes were given (C.H.R. No. 363: 003079, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1908-1915: December 17th, 1913 - author's emphasis). The same source also mentions the use of the Bournville Lane Workshop at the factory for boys' Science classes. This had been especially fitted up for such classes in the summer of 1910 (C.H.R. No. 363: 003079, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1908-1915: July 20th, 1910), and is another instance of Cadbury putting its own premises at the disposal of the local authority for pedagogic purposes. In fact, utilization of the Workshop by the local education authority seems to have become quite intensive. It was eventually let to Birmingham City Council, which operated the unit as "Bournville Technical School" five nights a week for classes in Woodwork, Science and Boot Repairing. The Cookery Kitchen in the Pavilion on the Girls' Recreation Ground was also rented to the Council for one night a week for classes in domestic subjects. For these developments see *ibid*: April 1st,

1913 and May 30th, 1914. (Birmingham City Council had taken over from Worcestershire County Council as the further education authority for the Bournville area in August, 1911).

106. B.W.M., Vol. X, No. 10, October, 1912, p. 299; Cadbury, E., op.cit., p. 24. There appears to be no record of any more such social occasions at "Westholme" after 1912. It seems probable, therefore, that they were not repeated, though it is also possible that they went on for a year or two, perhaps until the beginning of the Great War of 1914-1918. At Edward Cadbury's suggestion they were revived in the different form of leavers' gatherings for both girls and boys in the 1920's (B.W.M., Vol. XLII, No. 1, January, 1944, p. 4). These gatherings survived until the 1960's.
107. Cadbury, E., op.cit., pp. 20-21.
108. B.W.M., Vol. X, No. 4, April, 1912, p. 400; City of Birmingham Education Committee, Report Showing the Work Accomplished by the Education Committee During the Year Ended November 9th, 1911, pp. 73-74; City of Birmingham Education Committee, Report Showing the Work Accomplished by the Education Committee During the Year Ended November 9th, 1912., pp. 71-72. The rather complicated history of local authority provision of evening classes in Bournville and its surrounding area after 1878 can be found in fascinating detail in the February, 1912 issue of the Bournville Works Magazine (B.W.M., Vol. X, No. 2, February, 1912, pp. 36-39. See also B.W.M., Vol. X, No. 4, April, 1912, loc.cit. and B.W.M. Vol. X, No. 9, September, 1912, p. 259).
109. B.W.M., Vol. IX, No. 6, June, 1911, p. 179; B.W.M., Vol. XI, No. 12, December, 1913, p. 399. Though intended to do so on taking up his post, it was, in fact, some while after joining the firm before Ferguson's duties allowed him to assume the secretaryships of the Bournville Works Education and Classes Management Committees from O. H. Jones, his effective predecessor as educational organiser at the factory (C.H.R. No. 363: 003079, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1908-1915: April 12th and July 4th, 1911; C.H.R. No. 365: 001911, Bournville Works Classes Management Committee Minutes, 1906-1915: April 12th and July 19th, 1911).
110. B.W.M., Vol. X, No. 9, September, 1912, p. 259.
111. B.W.M., Vol. XI, No. 12, December, 1913, p. 399.
112. B.W.M., Vol. IX, No. 12, December, 1911, p. 370.
113. B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 9, September, 1914, p. 274.
114. B.W.M., Vol. X, No. 2, February, 1912, p. 36.
115. C.H.R. No. 363: 002840, Education Department Notices: 1911-1923, p. 63. This is the first occasion that the expression "Works Education Department" occurs in extant Cadbury records. The notice concerned the resumption of Office Routine classes in January after their mid-winter break.
116. B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 9, September, 1914, pp. 274 and 276.
117. B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 9, September, 1914, pp. 271-273.
118. P.R.O. No. ED114/937, Report of His Majesty's Inspectors on the Bournville Day Continuation School Boys' Section For the Period Ending 31st July, 1924, p. 1.
119. C.H.R. No. 363: 003079, Bournville Works Education Committee

- Minutes, 1908-1915: January 22nd, 1913.
120. This account is based on the entries for 1913 and 1914 in C.H.R. No. 363: 003079, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1908-1915. See also B.W.M., Vol. XI, No. 7, July, 1913, p. 201 and City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes 11th November, 1912 to 31st October, 1913: 27th June and 26th September, 1913.
 121. B.W.M., Vol. XI, No. 7, July, 1913, pp. 200-201.
 122. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1913), unpaginated Supplement (1914).
 123. Bews, C.J.V., "A Day Continuation School For Boys" in Wray and Ferguson, op.cit., p. 57.
 124. B.W.M., Vol. XXVII, No. 2, February, 1929, pp. 33-35.
 125. Ibid, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 9, September, 1914, p. 271. Aggregate instruction time seems to have been settled at 3 1/2 hours a week for 40 weeks during the day plus 2 hours one evening a week during the Autumn and Spring Terms (B.W.M., Vol. XI, No. 7, July, 1913, p. 200).
 126. B.W.M., Vol. XI, No. 11, November, 1913, p. 347. Weedall (op.cit., p. 4) implies that Morland and Impey joined the approach by Cadbury to the local education authority in the spring of 1913 to set up day continuation school classes. Though this is possible Weedall cites no reference to bolster his contention, which probably came from Nicholls (op.cit., p. 5). There certainly appears to be no evidence for it and it may be one of several inaccuracies and distortions contained in Weedall's booklet.
 127. City of Birmingham Education Committee, Report Showing the Work Accomplished by the Education Committee During the Year Ended November 9th, 1913, p. 85.
 128. Bews, C. J. V., art.cit., p. 57; City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes 11th November, 1912 to 31st October, 1913: 26th September, 1913. The arrangement with respect to the physical training instructors endured until September, 1970, when they finally became local authority employees having "for some considerable time devoted their full working week to college activities" (C.H.R. No. 301: 002454, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July-December, 1970, Education and Training Committee Minutes: September 25th, 1970).
 129. B.W.M., Vol. X, No. 2, February, 1912, p. 36.
 130. City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes 10th November, 1915 to 27th October, 1916: 21st July, 1916. The minutes show that the amount owed to Cadbury for the use of physical training teachers and apparatus was £80 for the 1913-14 session and £190 for the 1914-1915 session. The firm was "generously" prepared to waive the £80 for 1913-14 and had also indicated that, in any case, the sums claimed did "not nearly cover the actual cost incurred in providing the instruction". Hence it appears the firm was subsidizing the classes. However, it should be borne in mind that, before the opening of the Day School, physical training of juveniles had been carried out at the Works at the full expense of the firm since 1902, though from 1906 this was offset by any Board of Education grant received for the classes concerned.
 131. City of Birmingham Education Committee, Report Showing the Work Accomplished by the Education Committee During the Year Ended November 9th, 1913, p. 84.

132. B.W.M., Vol. XI, No. 11, November, 1913, p. 347.
133. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 13; Ferguson and Abbott, op.cit., p. 33.
134. Sadler, op.cit., Chapter VII, passim, but especially pp. 306-308.
135. Ferguson and Abbott, op.cit., p. 3.
136. Sadler, op.cit., p. 297.
137. Ibid, pp. 300-303, 308.
138. Ibid, Chapter VII, passim, but especially pp. 282-283, 296, 301.
139. C.H.R. No. 365: 001886, Bournville Works Education and Classes Management Committees: Sundry Papers, 1906-1911.
140. Ibid. The figure of 1,168 here does not fit in with that of 1,331 for the September to December period given in the Bournville Works Classes Management Committee Minutes (C.H.R. No. 365: 001911, Bournville Works Classes Management Committee Minutes, 1906-1912: January 10th, 1908). One possible explanation might be that the 1,168 refers to the total number of individual students in the classes while the 1,331 is the total number of enrolments in each class - with some students attending more than one class the latter figure would therefore include some double counting. In fact, statistics concerning Works classes of this period are a minefield of confusion. Several relevant sources in Cadbury archives seem to use different variables for what seems to be the same measurement and sometimes even give conflicting figures for what appears to be an identical variable. Complications arise as a result of many factors: for instance, double counting in the case of a single student attending more than one class; including or, conversely, excluding students in those classes not receiving grant aid from the Board of Education; and attempts to distinguish, not always very well, between students attending classes compulsorily - notably some of those involving physical training activities - and students attending classes voluntarily.
141. C.H.R. No. 364: 003082, Bournville Works School Committee Minutes, 1914: March 18th, 1914.
142. C.H.R. No. 364: 003081, Bournville Works School Committee Minutes, 1913. The minutes for the monthly meeting in October contain a sheet listing the total number of compulsory and voluntary students attending the Bournville Works School for all sessions from 1908-09 to the early figures for the 1913-14 session. It is not clear whether these statistics are for individual students or class enrolments. If the latter there would be double counting of students attending more than one class. It is also not clear whether they include only those classes in receipt of grant aid from the Board of Education - as most were - or, as seems probable, include all Works School classes whether grant aided or not.
143. C.H.R. No. 365: 001911, Bournville Works Classes Management Committee Minutes, 1906-1912: December 11th, 1912.
144. Ibid: March 12th, 1912; C.H.R. No. 363: 002840, Education Department Notices: 1911-1923, p. 33; B.W.M., Vol. II, No. 11, September, 1904, p. 419; B.W.M., Vol. X, No. 1, January, 1912, p. 21; B.W.M., Vol. XI, No. 12, December, 1913, pp. 399-400; B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 1, January, 1914, p. 7; B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 9, September, 1914, p. 273; B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 11, November, 1914, p. 348; Cadbury, E., op.cit., pp. 28, 41-43; City of

- Birmingham Education Committee Minutes 27th November, 1911 to 25th October, 1912: 29th March, 1912.
145. C.H.R. No. 363: 003080, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1906-1908: October 30th, 1907; C.H.R. No. 365: 001911, Bournville Works Classes Management Committee Minutes, 1906-1912: November 20th, 1907; B.W.M., Vol. VI, No. 3, January, 1908, p. 86; B.W.M., Vol. IX, No. 3, March, 1911, p. 83.
 146. C.H.R. No. 365: 001911, Bournville Works Classes Management Committee Minutes, 1906-1912: June 28th, 1911, January 17th, 1912; C.H.R. No. 364: 003081, Bournville Works School Committee Minutes, 1913: September 8th, 1913; C.H.R. No. 363: 002840, Education Department Notices: 1911-1923, pp. 6, 72-73; B.W.M. Vol. IX, No. 3, March, 1911, loc.cit.; Cadbury, E., op.cit., pp. 39-40.
 147. C.H.R. No. 365: 001911, Bournville Works Classes Management Committee Minutes, 1906-1912: January 17th, 1912; B.W.M., Vol. IX, No. 3, March, 1911, loc.cit.
 148. C.H.R. No. 365: 001911, Bournville Works Classes Management Committee Minutes, 1906-1912: January 6th and October 19th, 1910; Cadbury, E., op.cit., pp. 37-39.
 149. B.W.M., Vol. VII, No. 4, February, 1910, p. 122.
 150. The announcement was made in a memorandum dated August 26th, 1911 that was sent to correspondence students and which said that "it is felt by the Works Classes Committee that the Correspondence Classes hitherto held in English and Arithmetic have now fulfilled the purpose for which they were established, namely to enable senior workers to be in a position to take up local classes without having to attend in the elementary sections. The Correspondence Classes will therefore not be held next session." (See C.H.R. No. 363: 002840, Education Department Notices: 1911-1923, p. 1). The memorandum then congratulated the students on the progress they had made "in spite of the difficulties associated with correspondence tuition" and drew their attention to carrying on with their studies at local classes such as those in English, Arithmetic and Mathematics at Selly Oak and Stirchley Institutes and in the separate classes for adults at Bournville Evening School.
 151. C.H.R. No. 364: 003081, Bournville Works School Committee Minutes, 1913: June 18th, 1913; B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 9, September, 1914, p. 272.
 152. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1913), p. 6.
 153. C.H.R. No. 364: 003081, Bournville Works School Committee Minutes, 1913: December 17th, 1913; C.H.R. No. 343: 003079, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1908-1915: May 20th, 1914. The two Committees did merge eventually in 1921 since the division between them was obviously somewhat artificial and seems to have been based on the method of financing the education system rather than the best means of controlling it.
 154. C.H.R. No. 363: 003079, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1908-1915, May 13th, 1913; B.W.M., Vol. XI, No. 9, September, 1913, p. 295.
 155. C.H.R. No. 363: 002840 Education Department Notices: 1911-1923, p. 25; B.W.M., Vol. XI, No. 5, May, 1913, p. 139; Cadbury E., op.cit., pp. 223-229. The B.Y.C. Gardening classes perhaps supplemented with some theoretical instruction the practical instruction in the boys' Gardening classes held initially by

- Worcestershire County Council, and then Birmingham City Council, until they were taken over by Bournville Works School in 1912. Alternatively, the B.Y.C. theoretical classes may have been intended to precede the local authority practical classes. It is also possible they were supplied for those who could not get on to the practical classes or may be did not wish to join them, preferring instead theoretical instruction they could apply by themselves either at home or a rented allotment. What can be reasonably certain is that the B.Y.C. Gardening classes would not have competed with, but complemented, the local authority, then Works School, classes.
156. B.W.M., Vol. VII, No. 6, April, 1909, p. 193; B.W.M., Vol. XLI, No. 8, August, 1943, p. 121. Sadler, op.cit., Chapter XVII, comprises a detailed account of the Danish People's High Schools down to 1907.
 157. B.W.M., Vol. VII, No. 3, January, 1909, p. 67; Sadler, op.cit., pp. 46-47; Simon, op.cit. (1965), p. 311.
 158. Marks, W. and Cadbury, C., George Cadbury, Junior 1878-1954 (1982), p. 25. The house was situated near the Bournville Elementary School, which was on a corner of Woodbrook Road and Linden Road.
 159. B.W.M., Vol. VII, No. 3, January, 1909, pp. 67-68. See also Kelly, op.cit., p. 263.
 160. B.W.M., Vol. VII, No. 3, January, 1909, p. 68; Marks and Cadbury, op.cit., loc.cit.; Kelly, op.cit., pp. 262-263.
 161. B.W.M., Vol. VII, No. 10, August, 1909, p. 301.
 162. B.W.M., Vol. X, No. 3, March, 1912, p. 95.
 163. B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 5, May, 1914, p. 155; Marks and Cadbury, op.cit., loc.cit.
 164. B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 6, June, 1914, p. 6. The "Mr. George Cadbury" referred to in the quotation was presumably the elder George since the practice of the Bournville Works Magazine was to specify "junior" if his son was meant. However, this could have been omitted by mistake here.
 165. B.W.M., Vol. VII, No. 6, April, 1909, p. 184; Marks and Cadbury, op.cit., pp. 25-26; Kelly, op.cit., loc.cit.
 166. B.W.M., Vol. XI, No. 11, November, 1913, p. 348; B.W.M., Vol. XIX, No. 1, January, 1921, p. 11.
 167. Pimlott, art.cit., p. 52; Edwards, H.J., The Evening Institute (1961), Chapter 4, passim. Councils of boroughs with populations of over 10,000 and councils of urban districts with populations of over 20,000 also became local authorities for elementary education only under the 1902 Act.
 168. Simon, op.cit. (1965), pp. 303-304.
 169. Ibid, p. 327; Dent, op.cit., loc.cit. For a detailed account of the development of the Workers' Educational Association see Kelly, op.cit., Chapters 15 and 16 and Harrison, op.cit., Chapter 7.
 170. B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 1, November, 1908, p. 3.
 171. P.R.O. No. ED46/15A; Simon, op.cit. (1965), pp. 292, 350.

172. B.W.M., Vol. XI, No. 2, April, 1913, p. 122. The figure of 2,300 given in this issue of the Bournville Works Magazine is in an article urging contributions to an Employees' Exhibition to be held in June that would consist of ninetyfive sections showing what had been produced in classes, through hobbies and by way of all other leisure time activities and interests. Whatever the reason, there can be little doubt it is on the low side if the 1912-13 session is viewed in its entirety. The exact figure for the session is a mystery, but two other sources indicate that it was higher. The December, 1913 edition of the Bournville Works Magazine has a summary of the progress of the educational system over the sessions of 1911-12 and 1912-13 (B.W.M., Vol. XI, No. 12, December, 1913, pp. 399-400). This summary came from the annual reports on the educational system that had been written for the Directors of the firm since 1906. These were drawn up by R. W. Ferguson and, previous to his appointment in 1911, O.H. Jones. The report for 1911-12 was, abnormally, combined with that for 1912-13, presumably because the heavy duties on Reginald Ferguson when he took up office had prevented him from compiling it at the conclusion of the 1911-12 session. The information in the summary for 1912-13 shows a total of 2,670 students at classes excluding those taking voluntary Physical Training tuition at the factory for which no statistic is given, though there is an indication that the figure was about 350, thereby making a grand total of over 3,000 students. The minutes for the October, 1913 meeting of the Bournville Works School Committee contain two somewhat confusing lists of student numbers for attendance at Works School classes and external classes which suggest, taking the two lists together, that there was a total of 2,883 students at classes in the 1912-13 session (C.H.R. No. 364: 003081, Bournville Works School Committee Minutes, 1913: October 15th, 1913). Though there may be a small element of double counting of students attending more than one class or course in these higher aggregates, it is clear that the 2,300 mentioned in the April, 1913 Bournville Works Magazine is an underestimate of at least 500 or more if the 1912-13 session is being considered as an entity.
173. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1913), Preface. Also quoted in B.W.M., Vol. XI, No. 7, July, 1913, p. 201.

CHAPTER THREE

1. Details of Cadbury history during the Great War can be found in Williams, op.cit., pp. 96-100, Rogers, op.cit., pp. 53-54, and B.W.M., Vols. XIII-XVIII, 1914-1920. See also Delheim, C., "The Creation of a Company Culture: Cadburys, 1861-1931", American Historical Review, Vol. 92, No. 1, February, 1987, pp. 35-36. The inter-war period between 1918 and 1939 is covered in whole or in part in Williams, op.cit., Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 10, Rogers, op.cit., Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 9, and Cadbury Brothers, Industrial Record, 1919-1939 (1945).
2. B.W.M., Vol. XVIII, No. 3, March, 1920, p. 65.
3. C.H.R. No. 300:002744, Annual Employment Returns, 1891-1925; C.H.R. No. 300:002059, Annual Employment Returns, 1926-1951.
4. B.W.M., Vol. XXXI, No. 2, February, 1933, p. 37; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1945), p. 28. In the case of surplus employees actually discharged State Unemployment Benefit was supplemented for a while unless another job was found, and lump sum payments could be made based on length of service. Financial encouragement might also be given to learn a new trade or set up

in business.

5. C.H.R. No. 300:002059, Annual Employment Returns, 1926-1951. The complete picture for the firm at home and abroad in 1938 was as follows:

	<u>WOMEN</u>	<u>MEN</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>Employed at Bournville</u>			
14 and under 18 years of age	1,562	342	1,904
18 years of age and over	3,323	4,000	7,323
TOTAL	4,885	4,342	9,227
<u>Employed away from Bournville</u>	405	1,154	1,559
TOTAL EMPLOYED BY CADBURY BROTHERS	5,290	5,496	10,786
<u>Employed by Subsidiary Companies</u>	3,557	2,672	6,229
TOTAL EMPLOYED BY CADBURY BROTHERS AND SUBSIDIARY COMPANIES	8,847	8,168	17,015

6. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1945), Chapters 2-5, 8; Cadbury Brothers, The Organization of a Large Business (1958 edition), pp. 7-8; Cadbury Brothers, Industrial Challenge (1964), p. 90; Cadbury Brothers, Cadbury's of Bournville - the Building of a Modern Business (1969 edition), pp. 20-21, 25; Williams, op.cit., pp. 243-257; Rogers, op.cit., pp. 55-63, 67-70, 78.
7. Murray, B. G., "L. J. Cadbury", in Jeremy, D. J., op.cit., Vol. 1, p. 555; Delheim, art.cit., pp. 21-22; Williams, op.cit., pp. 238-239.
8. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1945), Chapter 7; Williams, op.cit., Chapters 6 and 10; Rogers, op.cit., Chapter 9. For an excellent analysis and summary of Cadbury endeavours beyond the U.K. in the inter-war years see Jones, G., "Multinational Chocolate: Cadbury Overseas, 1918-1939", Business History, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, March, 1984, pp. 59-76.
9. B.W.M., Vol. XVII, No. 3, March, 1920, p. 64; B.W.M., Vol. XLVI, No. 12, December, 1948, p. 245; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1945), Chapter 1; Williams, op.cit., pp. 239-240; Rogers, op.cit., pp. 72-73.
10. B.W.M., Vol. XXI, No. 11, November, 1923, p. 335; Bews, art.cit., loc.cit.; Nicholls, op.cit., p. 7; Weedall, op.cit., p. 7.
11. City of Birmingham Education Committee, Report Showing the Work Accomplished by the Education Committee During the Year Ended November 9th, 1914, p. 87. One of the "evening meetings" mentioned was a gathering of the Prefects and Sub-Prefects recently elected by the female students. It had been arranged for January 20th, 1914 by Miss Cater, the Chief Mistress of the Girls' Section of the School, and was supported by Cadbury. The Bournville Works Education Committee, "being very desirous of

- encouraging the corporate spirit in the School", made a donation of £1 to enable refreshments to be supplied at the function (C.H.R. No. 363:003079, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1908-1915: January 16th, 1914). The "dramatic entertainment" given by the boys took place on April 3rd, 1914, when scenes were performed from "Julius Ceaser" and "A Midsummer Night's Dream", together with other items. See B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 5, May, 1914, p. 146 for a full report. The concert given by the girls seems to have set a pattern for the future. In 1917 the Bournville Works Magazine was able to state that "concerts and other entertainments" associated with them had by then become "well-established" (B.W.M., Vol. XV, No. 4, April, 1917, p. 103).
12. C.H.R. No. 363:003079, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1908-1915: May 20th, 1914; B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 9, September, 1914, p. 271. The only other firm contributing students, Morland and Impey of the Kalamazoo Works, Northfield, sent around 40 young people aged 14 to 16 in 1913-14, including 26 girls. See Morland and Impey Ltd., "Coordination of School and Works" in Wray and Ferguson, op.cit., pp. 167-168. The Northfield company had a labour force of approximately 250 all told and attendance at day continuation school was compulsory for those selected to go.
 13. C.H.R. No. 363:003079, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1908-1915: December 17th, 1913.
 14. Ibid: May 20th, 1914, May 19th, 1915; B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 9, September, 1914, loc.cit.
 15. City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes 11th November, 1913 to 31st October, 1914: January 30th, 1914.
 16. C.H.R. No. 363:003079, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1908-1915: December 17th, 1913.
 17. City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes 11th November, 1913 to 31st October, 1914: May 1st, 1914.
 18. Nicholls, op.cit., p. 6.
 19. C.H.R. No. 363:002308, Bournville Education Committee Minutes, 1917-1918: March 9th, 1917; B.W.M., Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, February, 1935, p. 33; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 13.
 20. C.H.R. No. 363:002308, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1917-1918: loc.cit.
 21. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), loc.cit.
 22. B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 9, September, 1915, p. 270. See also C.H.R. No. 363: 003079, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1908-1915: May 19th, 1915. It is uncertain whether or not the 1914-15 experiment was repeated in the next session, 1915-16, but it does not appear to have been. The extant records are defective in this matter, but as only Stage One and Two girls were involved on day release in 1914-15 and Stage Three girls were added in the 1915-16 session (together with Stage Four in 1916-17) the single half day would almost certainly have had to have been reverted to in order that these stages could be accommodated in day classes.
 23. C.H.R. No. 363: 002308, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1917-1918: February 16th, 1917. The substance of the letter sent to the girls' parents mirrored that in the letter sent to the boys' parents. The implication in the letters that they were going only to the parents of selected boys and girls is

misleading. The offer of the extra voluntary half day seems to have been made to most, and probably all, the Day School students as standard practice and, if their application was formally approved, allowed to any boy or girl whose parents wanted them to have the additional tuition thus made available.

24. B.W.M., Vol. XV, No. 9, September, 1917, p. 233.
25. Ferguson and Abbott, op.cit., p. 36. A similar statement is made in Cadbury Brothers, op.cit., (1923), p. 14.
26. Cater, A. E., "A Day Continuation School For Girls" in Wray and Ferguson, op.cit., p. 140.
27. B.W.M., Vol. XV, No. 9, September, 1917, p. 235.
28. There can be little doubt that had wages been paid for it, the take-up of the extra half day would have been even greater. This was shown in 1921 when Cadbury decided to pay wages for the voluntary half day and the numbers applying for it rose substantially.
29. Ferguson and Abbott, op.cit., pp. 4, 42-47.
30. Report of the Consultative Committee on Attendance, Compulsory or Otherwise, at Continuation Schools, Volume I, Report and Appendices (Cd. 4757 1909), Volume II, Summaries of Evidence (Cd. 4758, 1909).
31. Hence it was known as the Lewis Committee.
32. See the Final Report of the Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment After the War (The Lewis Report), Volume I, Report (Cd. 8512, 1917), Volume II, Summaries of Evidence and Appendices (Cd. 8577, 1918).
33. The Lewis Report, Vol. I, p. 5.
34. The Lewis Report was approved by the firm as being in line with "the trend of progressive opinion" - see Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 5.
35. Extracts from Fisher's speech can be found in Maclure, J. S., Educational Documents - England and Wales, 1816-1963 (1965), pp. 173-175. The full text can be found in Hansard 5th Series, Vol. 97, August 10th, 1917.
36. The Education Act of 1918 as an entity, and the day continuation school clauses in particular, have received much scholarly attention recently. For a full analysis consult Andrews, L., The Education Act, 1918 (1976). See also Doherty, B., "Compulsory Day Continuation Education: an Examination of the 1918 Experiment", Vocational Aspect, Vol. XVIII, No. 39, Spring, 1966, pp. 41-56; Dean, D. W., "H. A. L. Fisher, Reconstruction, and the Development of the 1918 Act", British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. 18, No. 3, October, 1970, pp. 259-276; Troms, D. W., "the Emergence and Failure of the Day Continuation School Experiment", History of Education, Vol. 4, No. 1, Spring, 1975, pp. 36-50; and Sherington, G. E., "the 1918 Educational Act: Origins, Aims and Development", British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. 24, No. 1, February, 1976, pp. 66-85. The last article is expanded in Sherington, G. E., English Education, Social Change, and War (1981). Simon, B., The Politics of Educational Reform, 1920-1940, (1974), Chapter 1, contains a detailed narrative of the expenditure attack on education between 1920 and 1922. The observations of two contemporary commentators on the day continuation school clauses of the 1918 Act can be

found in Yeaxlee, B. A., Working Out the Fisher Act (1921) and Waterfall, E. A., The Day Continuation School in England (1923). For a good succinct account of the extent to which the clauses were put into practice refer to Ferguson and Abbott, op.cit., Chapter 2.

37. City of Birmingham Education Committee, Report of the City of Birmingham Education Committee, 1914-1924, p. 159. Aston was not the first development of this sort. In 1918 a branch of the Day School For Young Employees was formed at the works of the Austin Motor Company at Longbridge. Austin girls of 17 and under were required to attend for two hours a week. The branch was organized and supervised by Miss Cater and there were nearly 500 students on the books. For exactly what period of time this extension of the Day School For Young Employees was in being is difficult to discover from the records. It certainly ran in the 1918-19 session but it is possible that was the sum total of its existence. For the sparse details of Longbridge that are available see B.W.M., Vol. XVI, No. 9, September 1918, p. 208; City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes 12th. November, 1917 to 25th. October, 1918: January 25th., 1918; City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes 11th November, 1918 to 31st October, 1919: July 25th, 1919.
38. City of Birmingham Education Committee, Report of the City of Birmingham Education Committee, 1914-1924, pp. 155-160.
39. City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes 10th. November, 1920 to 28th. October, 1921: 25th. February and 23rd. March, 1921. See also Nicholls, op.cit., pp. 10-12 and Weedall, op.cit., pp. 14-17.
40. City of Birmingham Education Committee, Report of the City of Birmingham Education Committee, 1914-1924, pp. 159-160. Bournville was thus left to fly the flag alone - or almost alone: another day continuation school was to be observed in Birmingham in the late 1920's and early 1930's. It was in 1925 that the local education authority made arrangements with the Birmingham Co-operative Society for their junior male employees to attend classes specially held for them in rooms at the Birmingham Athletic Institute. The classes began in January, 1926 with about 120 students going for one half day a week. They went on for some six years, closing at the conclusion of the Autumn Term, 1932 because the number of male juniors had become insufficient for the Society to sustain them. It intimated that it would in all probability in the future send new entrants to the Bournville Day Continuation School. For the story of the Co-operative Society classes see City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes 10th November, 1925 to 29th October, 1926: December 23rd. 1925; City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 10th. November, 1932 to 27th. October, 1933: January 27th., 1933; City of Birmingham Education Committee: Report For the Period of Six Years Ended 31st. March, 1930, p. 122.
41. B.W.M., Vol. XIX, No. 2, February, 1921, p. 29.
42. As with the English Act, the compulsory day continuation school provisions of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918 were indefinitely postponed. There seem to have been no voluntary schools north of the border - a situation that appears to have been mirrored in Wales.
43. C.H.R. No. 363: 002748, Bournville Works Education and Bournville Works School Committees, Minutes, 1919-1920: March 31st., 1919. A memorandum to heads of department with regard to the expansion of day release for young employees aged 14 to 16 is worth quoting

in full because it shows the determination of the firm to keep in the vanguard of progress with respect to education in industry. It is dated September 10th, 1919.

"As you are probably aware, the 1918 Education Act introduces many important developments in English education. Certain sections of the Act provide that every boy and girl under 16 should attend day continuation school for two half days per week, corresponding usually to eight hours of school in each week.

"The date for the general commencement of this new arrangement has not yet been fixed, but it has always been the custom of the Bournville Works Education Committee to keep well ahead of legislation. The firm have therefore arranged that during the session now starting all boys and girls who were under 16 years of age on September 1st. shall attend the Day Continuation School classes for two half days per week, and a payment will be made in respect of both attendances.

"We are convinced of the value of the work done at these schools, and we therefore invite your cordial co-operation in making the new development a success.

"Boys and girls between 16 and 18 years of age will continue, as formerly, to attend the Day School on one half day per week with a second optional half day for those who desire it, and we expect a considerable proportion of these students will avail themselves of the voluntary half day.

"In planning the times of students for the arrangements mentioned above, efforts will be made to reduce to a minimum dislocation in the Departments."

This memorandum, minus the final paragraph, was also sent out to "the Parents or Guardians of Bournville employees under 16 years of age" in the form of a letter. For both these items see C.H.R. No. 363: 002840, Education Department Notices: 1911-1923, pp. 135, 137.

44. C.H.R. No. 363: 002748, Bournville Works Education and Bournville Works School Committees, Minutes, 1919-1920: November 29th., 1919.
45. C.H.R. No. 363: 002330, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1920-1922: December 17th., 1920. See also C.H.R. No. 363: 002749, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1921-1922: February 3rd., 1921.
46. C.H.R. No. 363: 002749, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1921-1922: September 13th., 1921. See also C.H.R. No. 363: 002330, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1920-1922: July 14th. and September 21st., 1921.
47. C.H.R. No. 363: 002331, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: February 24th., 1923.
48. The girls were brought into line in this respect in the 1930's. An entry in the Women's Education Minutes during the Autumn of 1934 says that from January, 1935 wages payments to over-age female students would be made on the same basis as the boys-weekly rather than at the end of the session in a lump sum. See C.H.R. No. 363: 002332, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: November 22nd., 1934.

49. C.H.R. No. 363: 002331, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: September 3rd., 1926., C.H.R. No. 363: 002333, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: October 8th, 1936.
50. C.H.R. No. 363: 002309, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: October 18th., 1923.
51. Ibid: December 7th., 1923; C.H.R. No. 363: 002331, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: February 22nd., 1924. The accommodation difficulties besetting the girls were epitomized by the fact that only the previous month it had been reported to the Women's Education Committee that the reading room in the B.Y.C. suite was in use as a teaching facility for them (C.H.R. No. 363: 002331, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: January 23rd., 1924).
52. C.H.R. No. 363: 002331, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: January 11th. and December 4th., 1926, July 7th., 1927, March 23rd., 1928; B.W.M., Vol. XXIV, No. 12, December, 1926, p. 364.
53. C.H.R. No. 363: 002331, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: March 23rd., 1928, 16th. May, 1929; C.H.R. No. 363: 002309, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: December 3rd., 1929.
54. C.H.R. No. 363: 002331, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: March 23rd., 1928; C.H.R. No. 363: 002309, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: loc.cit.; Ferguson, art.cit., pp. 191-196; Ferguson and Abbott, op.cit., p. 27. Eventually, the firm seems to have come round to the view that a full day of attendance was better than two separate half days. In the 1938 pamphlet describing the company's educational system, Cadbury stated that "attendance was formerly made at the Bournville Day Continuation School for two separate half days per week. The disadvantage of this were found, however, to outweigh its advantages, and attendance is now made for one complete day per week. This has the advantage of enabling scholars to give their individual attention to study and thus to appreciate their status and responsibilities as students." See Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), pp. 28-29.
55. C.H.R. No. 363: 002309, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: January 9th., 1928.
56. C.H.R. No. 363: 002308, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1917-1918., October 9th. and 17th., 1917; C.H.R. No. 363: 002749, Men's Education Committee Minutes 1921-1922: April 8th., June 18th. and September 13th 1921; City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes, 11th November, 1918 to 31st., October, 1919: September 26th., 1919; P.R.O. ED. 114/937, Report of His Majesty's Inspectors on the Bournville Day Continuation School - Boys' Section For the Period Ending 31st. July, 1924, p. 2; Nicholls, op.cit., pp. 6-7; Weedall, op.cit., p. 7.
57. C.H.R. No. 363: 002748, Bournville Works Education and Bournville Works School Committees, Minutes, 1919-1920: May 24th, 1919; B.W.M., Vol. XVIII, No. 9, September, 1919, p. 194; B.W.M., Vol. XLIX, No. 1, January, 1951, p. 9; B.W.M., Vol. LX, No. 11, November, 1962, pp. 400-402; Nicholls, op.cit., loc.cit.; Weedall, op.cit., p. 19; Gardiner, op.cit., pp. 131-132, 173; City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes 11th November, 1918 to 31st. October, 1919: June 27th., 1919. With the move to "The Beeches" arrangements for utilizing the premises containing the Girls' Section of the Day School changed. With Stirchley Institute they had been between Cadbury and the local education authority, but with "The Beeches" they were between Cadbury, the

- building's trustees, and the local education authority, thus bringing a third party into the picture. See C.H.R. No. 363: 002748, Bournville Works Education and Bournville Works School Committees, Minutes, 1919-1920: November 20th., 1920. There is no doubt that "The Beeches" was a much better environment for both staff and students. In an article in the girls' school magazine, Our Link, describing a presentation to Miss Cater, who had retired in the summer of 1929, held on December 7th. of that year, the writer reported that Mrs. Cooper (née Wood) "told us about the early days at Stirchley, where everything was cold, and mistresses sat on radiators and the trams made horrible noises every three minutes or so.... Miss Minnie Randall.... gave us a vivid account of life [at 'The Beeches']: of rests in the afternoon, lessons in the dell, and many other enchanting happenings". See Our Link, Vol. 1, No. 26, March, 1930, pp. 438-439 (available in C.H.R. No. 366: 002007, Bournville Day Continuation School Girls' Magazine, 1930-1931).
58. B.W.M., Vol. XVII, No. 4, April, 1919, p. 87; B.W.M., Vol. XXIII, No. 8, August, 1925, p. 245; Bews, art.cit., p. 58; Nicholls, op.cit., pp. 6-7.
59. C.H.R. No. 363: 0030709, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1908-1915: December 17th., 1913.
60. B.W.M., Vol. XVII, No. 4, April, 1919, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. XVIII, No. 4, April, 1920, p. 114; B.W.M., Vol. XX, No. 12, December, 1922, p. 336; B.W.M., Vol. XXIII, No. 8, August, 1925, pp. 245, 247. The minutes of the various Cadbury education committees have many references - see especially C.H.R. No. 363: 002749, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1921-1922; C.H.R. No. 363: 002309, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: years 1923 and 1924; C.H.R. No. 363: 002330, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1920-1922; C.H.R. No. 363: 002331, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: years 1923 and 1924. See also City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes for 11th. November, 1918 to 31st. October, 1919: March 28th. and September 26th., 1919; for 11th. November, 1919 to 28th. October, 1920: February 27th., 1920; for 10th. November, 1922 to 26th. October, 1923: July 27th., 1923. Under the agreement ultimately arrived at between Cadbury and the City the firm was responsible for the provision and renewal of suitable fixtures, movable furniture and equipment, and for heating, lighting, repair and upkeep of the new premises. The local education authority was responsible for the provision and renewal of ordinary school supplies and consumable materials, while paying to the firm an annual sum to cover rent of premises, furniture and equipment, a proportion of the cost of cleaning, heating, lighting, repairs and general upkeep, and a proportion of the rates. The authority had sole use of the premises within the usual school hours during terms and of part of the premises in the evenings for classes and social functions connected with the Day Continuation School. (This summary is based on an entry in C.H.R. No. 363: 002331, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: March 11th., 1926). The School itself remained under the education and financial control of the local education authority, which appointed all staff except for the physical training instructors. These were Cadbury employees who taught both in the Day Continuation School and the firm's own classes under an arrangement that had been in being since the inception of the Day School For Young Employees in 1913.
61. B.W.M., Vol. XXIII, No. 8, August, 1925, pp. 245-249. See also Williams, op.cit., p. 169, together with Ferguson and Abbott op.cit., pp. 67-69. (Both the Bournville Works Magazine and the Ferguson and Abbott sources contain plans of the Day Continuation School building).

62. C.H.R. No. 363: 002309, Men's Education Minutes, 1923-1929: May 7th., 1925; B.W.M., Vol. XXIII, No. 8, August, 1925, pp. 249-252; B.W.M., Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, February, 1935, p. 33.
63. Bews, art.cit., p. 65.
64. B.W.M., Vol. XXV, No. 2, February, 1927, p. 35.
65. Our Link, Vol. 1, No. 26, March, 1920, p. 454.
66. C.H.R. No. 363: 002330, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1920-1922: February 10th., 1922; B.W.M., Vol. XXIII, No. 8, August, 1925, p. 245.
67. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1945), p. 61. The drive to reduce costs was seen not only in more rapid mechanization, but also in a decision to end the practice of giving rewards to Continuation School students. This had begun in 1906 when attendance at evening classes was made compulsory. The amounts paid out had become quite sizeable and for the 1927-28 session the total figure was around £700 - £500 to the girls and £200 to the boys. In November, 1928 both the Men's and Women's Education Committees determined to withdraw the payment of rewards from the 1929-30 session, though they were to be made for the current (1928-29) session. It was argued that "circumstances and conditions of study have entirely altered since the time, over twenty years ago, when the rewards were instituted". Then attendance was at evening classes and the rewards could be regarded as at least some compensation for the fact that no financial allowances, except the possible return of fees, were obtainable for what was a compulsory obligation. Now attendance at continuation school was during the day and ordinary wages were paid for it. Thus rewards had become superfluous and with the urgent need to get down costs it was felt that an opportune moment had arrived to stop them. See C.H.R. No. 363: 002309, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: November 27th., 1928, together with C.H.R. No. 363: 002331, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: November 15th., 1928 and January 31st., 1929. (The decision did not apply to the special rewards given to apprentices, which were intended as assistance towards their purchase of books, tools and similar equipment related to the trade they were following).
68. C.H.R. No. 363: 002333, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: November 22nd., 1934. Whether or not the figures for the first two years in the table fit in with those for average recruitment for 1927 to 1929 from the different reference in Footnote 67 is hard to say. Educational statistics appearing in Cadbury sources are not always used in a precise way and may, at least on the surface, seem to be inconsistent.
69. C.H.R. No. 363: 002309, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: March 18th., 1929.
70. C.H.R. No. 363: 002331, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: May 16th., 1929.
71. The ostensible reason she gave was that she needed to return home to Weston-Super-Mare to help her sister look after their ageing and ailing mother. However, the personal problem this represented was certainly not new and her decision to go seems to have been very sudden. Hence, there can be little doubt that the Headmistress retired as a contribution to relieving the School's predicament and, perhaps, to reduce the pressures on others to leave. If this was the case then it would have been a remarkable example of the self-sacrifice Miss Cater had always urged on the girls as an essential part of human existence in a caring society.

72. City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes 12th. October, 1928, to 24th. October, 1929: June 28th., 1929. See also B.W.M., Vol. XXVII, No. 9, September, 1929, p. 285. Whether or not the Day School was ever in serious danger of closing during the crisis of the late twenties and early thirties is not clear. Nicholls (op.cit., p. 33) does imply such a danger when he states that "at one moment it seemed likely" the School "would cease to function" as a corporate body and "become a collection of unrelated... classes", but there is no evidence in either Cadbury or local education authority records to suggest that it was under a similar sort of threat to that which it had experienced in 1921.
73. This seems to be an acceptable interpretation of the figures given in the account of Mr. Bews' report for 1929-30 in the Bournville Works Magazine for September, 1930 (B.W.M., Vol. XXVIII, No. 9, September, 1930, p. 275). The report was delivered at the School speech day, which had become a combined affair for both boys and girls (now that there was a single head once more) instead of the separate functions previously held. According to the Bournville Works Magazine Mr. Bews said that "numbers had increased from 469 to 720 girls during the year and 335 to 432 boys". It seems reasonable to suppose that this meant the session started with 804 students in the Autumn Term and ended with 1,152 in the Summer Term. (In the Summer Term of 1929 there appear to have been 1,339 students - see City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes 11th. November, 1935 to 30th. October, 1936: October 30th., 1936 - and this contrasts with the fall to 804 in the Autumn Term of 1929: hence the crisis).
74. B.W.M., Vol. XXXI, No. 9, September, 1933, p. 287.
75. B.W.M., Vol. XXXII, No. 8, August, 1934, p. 267.
76. B.W.M., Vol. XXXVI, No. 3, March, 1938, p. 94; B.W.M., Vol. XXXVII, No. 3, March, 1939, p. 71. The record of 2,854 was achieved in 1937-38.
77. B.W.M., Vol. XXXVI, No. 3, March, 1938, loc.cit.; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 27; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1945), p. 64.
78. These started as soon as Mr. Bews assumed the sole leadership of the School. The Women's Education Committee noted in October, 1929 that a few Cadbury girls doing School Certificate and Matriculation courses were receiving suitable tuition in classes with boys and that "the principle of mixed classes for advanced work had been admitted". See C.H.R. No. 363: 002331, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: October 21st., 1929.
79. B.W.M., Vol. XXIII, No. 1, January, 1925, p. 7; Nicholls, op.cit., pp. 20, 34; Weedall, op.cit., p. 20.
80. The course details adumbrated in these paragraphs are culled mainly from Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), pp. 12, 20, 29-32, 71-77. See also B.W.M., Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, February, 1935, p. 50, plus Ferguson and Abbott, op.cit., p. 40 and Weedall, op.cit. pp. 21-22. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), pp. 16-24 present a comprehensive picture of the Bournville Day Continuation School course structure in the early 1920's and make an interesting comparison with the data in Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938) some fifteen years later. The only major difference appears to be that very specialized tuition for apprentices had gone from the School to technical colleges - such subjects as Pattern Making, for instance, were recorded in 1923 but not in 1938. This avoided overlapping between the School and the colleges (C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943:

- June 1st., 1934).
81. C.H.R. No. 363: 002333, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: November 19th., 1935; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), pp. 12, 27, 52; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), pp. 41-45, 67.
 82. C.H.R. No. 363: 002309, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: November 12th., 1925; B.W.M., Vol. XXXIV, No. 9, September, 1936, "Opportunities" - a leaflet insert describing the educational classes and courses for 1936-37 offered to employees at the factory by the firm and elsewhere by the local education authority and Workers' Educational Association; Cadbury, op.cit. (1923), pp. 52-53, 58, 63; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), pp. 42-43.
 83. C.H.R. No. 363: 002331, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: January 11th., 1926; C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: September 7th., 1934; C.H.R. No. 360: 001835, Education Department Notices: 1923-1931, p. 103; C.H.R. No. 360: 001950, Training Courses before 1950: Programmes and Timetables; B.W.M., Vol. XXIX, No. 9, September, 1931, p. 269; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), pp. 47-48, 50-51; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), pp. 43-44, 47-48, 79-80; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1945), p. 67; Williams, op.cit., pp. 177-178. Some of the broader background material in the Deputy Forewomen's Training Course, Industrial Administration Course and Girls' Office Organization Course seems to have been deleted as the years went on. Subjects like Economics and Industrial History, which appear to have been part of the courses when they began - see C.H.R. No. 363: 002840, Education Department Notices: 1911-1923, p. 374; C.H.R. No. 363: 001835, Education Department Notices: 1923-1931, loc.cit.; C.H.R. No. 360: 001950, Training Courses Before 1950: Programmes and Timetables; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), pp. 48, 50-51 - had been dropped by the end of the 1930's according to the list of subjects likely to be done in the three courses in Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), pp. 79-80.
 84. In this respect lecture courses and smaller, more informal study circles were especially prominent in the decade following the end of the First World War. In 1923, for instance, the tally of groups involved included Foremen and Deputy Foremen, Forewomen and Deputy Forewomen, Chargehands and Checkweighers, and members of the Confectionery Department. See C.H.R. No. 363: 002749, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1921-1922: September 13th., 1921; C.H.R. No. 363: 002309, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1923 - 1929: November 12th., 1925; C.H.R. No. 360: 001835, Education Department Notices: 1923-1931, pp. 10-12; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), pp. 50-51, 63; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 68.
 85. C.H.R. No. 360: 001835, Education Department Notices: 1923-1931, p. 149; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 61; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 47. The 5.30 p.m. start for classes, apart from being convenient for both categories, meant that those on nights could meet and mix with those on days, thus improving social contact in a way that might not otherwise have been possible (B.W.M., Vol. XXXIII, No. 10, October, 1935, p. 371).
 86. For example, it was stated in 1923 that English, Arithmetic, Physical Training and Boot Repairing classes for night workers had been tried, "usually in the afternoons" and "with varying degrees of success" - see Cadbury, op.cit. (1923), loc.cit. In November, 1935 it was recorded that Swimming and Life Saving classes were being held at 5.15-6.15 a.m. on Wednesday mornings, an Esperanto class at 5.30 - 6.30 a.m. on Tuesday mornings and

- Gymnastics classes at 5.30 - 6.30 a.m. on Tuesday and Friday mornings (C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: November 8th., 1935) while in January, 1936 it was reported that afternoon classes in Step Dancing, Carpentry and Ambulance were being continued into the Spring Term (B.W.M., Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, January, 1936, p. 24).
87. C.H.R. No. 363: 002748, Bournville Works Education and Bournville Works School Committees, Minutes, 1919-1920: January 17th., 1920; C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: October 2nd., 1936; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), loc.cit.
 88. C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: loc. cit. In view of this it is significant that a year later, in 1937, younger nightworkers were given the chance of applying for permission to attend classes and systematic courses of study as over-age students at the Day Continuation School. If it was forthcoming they received time off - either in the first part of the night so that they could attend evening classes or in the latter half of the night so that they could get some rest before or after going to day classes. See C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: September 20th., 1937; B.W.M., Vol. XXXV, No. 10, October, 1937, p. 343; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), loc.cit.
 89. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 42.
 90. C.H.R. No. 363: 002330, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1920-1922: November 4th., 1921; C.H.R. No. 363: 002333, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: November 22nd., 1934; C.H.R. No. 363: 002750, Men's and Women's Education Committees: Miscellaneous Documents, 1938-1948; B.W.M., Vol. XXIV, No. 9, September, 1936: "Opportunities" leaflet insert; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 43. The introduction of the new fees policy seems to have proved itself in practice as the Bournville Works Magazine reported in January, 1939 that the improved arrangements were operating "satisfactorily" (B.W.M., Vol. XXXVII, No. 1, January, 1939, p. 16).
 91. C.H.R. No. 363: 002331, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: September 1st, 1927.
 92. Board of Education, Education in England and Wales, 1926-27 (Cmd. 3091, 1928), p. 32; Curtis, op.cit., p. 502.
 93. C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: November 8th., 1935. Though the Deputy Forewomen's Training Course and Girls' Office Organization Course were not regarded as part of the Bournville Works Evening Institute the related Industrial Administration course definitely was. This was obviously because it was in receipt of grant aid from the Board of Education and took place in the evening while the other two were not in receipt of grant aid and took place during the day. However, neither of these reasons necessarily prevented a class or course being regarded as part of the Institute since some subjects offered under its banner did not attract assistance from the Board or might be taught at times other than in the evening. Most Institute tuition did, though, meet each of these criteria - i.e., was both grant aided and scheduled to be done in the evening.
 94. What Cadbury might put under the appellation "Bournville Works School" could be much more than would usually be covered by such a title. An indication of this can be found in a report by His Majesty's Inspectorate on the Bournville Works School in the 1923-24 session (P.R.O. ED114/935). The H.M.I. report contained

some criticisms of detail - for example, recommending more extensive use of the Swedish method of Gymnastics and less of the old German type (pp. 2-3) - but in toto was quite complimentary. It described, for instance, the physical training opportunities available to employees at the firm as "excellent" overall and the classes in health subjects like Ambulance and Home Nursing as being "well arranged" with great keenness displayed by students (p. 3). Though it was concerned only with those courses being accorded grant aid by the Board of Education the report did give what seems to be a comprehensive (though by no means exhaustive) list of Works School classes irrespective of their status with respect to grant aid (p. 2). The list included Gymnastics, Swimming, Life Saving, Home Nursing, Ambulance, Dancing, German, Esperanto, Industrial Administration, Industrial History, Mathematics for Chargehands, Mathematics and English for Deputy Foremen, "various classes for Checkweighers and Deputy Forewomen", and Gardening for boys and girls. The report pointed out (loc.cit.) that the Gardening class for girls was grant aided not by the Board of Education, as it had once been, but by the Board of Agriculture. (This had taken over the rendering of grant to the girls' Gardening class some while ago. A note in the Bournville Works School Committee Minutes for October, 1915 mentions simply that the girls' Gardening class "has now been duly recognized by the Board of Agriculture, both for last session and for the current session, after protracted correspondence with the Board of Education" over which of these central government departments should be responsible for it. No explanation is given for the Board of Education no longer being willing to continue its previous support. See C.H.R. No. 364: 003086, Bournville Works School Committee Minutes, 1915: October 15th., 1915 plus February 12th., April 16th. and June 25th., 1915). The H.M.I. report went on to say (loc.cit.): "the 'Works School' in its widest sense is considered to include all forms of educational activity carried on by the Works Education Committees independently of the local education authority - that is the classes referred to above, apprenticeship, trade classes, education for foremanship, promotion, and a number of miscellaneous activities somewhat difficult to classify". This idea of what constituted a Works School seems to have emanated from the personal view of R. W. Ferguson, the head of the Education Department at Cadbury. Evidence for that comes from an address on "Works Schools" which he gave in July, 1923 to a sectional meeting at the fifth annual conference of the Association For Education In Industry and Commerce, an organization he had been instrumental in setting up in 1919. Ferguson said that he attached to the term "Works School" a broader conception than that normally associated with the name. He regarded it as including all aspects of educational provision made by a company: not only day continuation arrangements for adolescents, but also the initiation of young employees, the training of new employees of any age, apprenticeship schemes, selection for promotion, the Staff Training College, training in salesmanship, education for foremanship, general adult education, education by travel and outdoor life, and physical training. See "Works Schools", summary of an address by R.W. Ferguson at the Fifth Annual Conference, Proceedings of the Association For Education In Industry and Commerce, Vol. VII, Part Two, 1923, p. 54.

95. Cadbury, op.cit. (1923), p. 63. The total was made up of: Foremen's Lectures, Deputy Forewomen's Training Course, Lectures and Study Circles arranged for Forewomen, Chargehands, Checkweighers and others: 215; German, French, Ambulance, Gardening, Boot Repairing, etc.: 318; physical training classes of various types, including Gymnastics, Dancing, Swimming and Life Saving: 783.

96. P.R.O. ED114/935, p. 2.
97. C.H.R. No. 301: 002388, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, June-December, 1927: Men's Council Minutes, September 26th., 1927. The total was made up of: Industrial Administration Course, Girls' Office Organization Course, Deputy Forewomen's Training Course, Lectures and Study Circles arranged for Forewomen, Foremen, Chargehands and others: 330; Economics, Industrial History, Psychology, Shorthand, English, Arithmetic, Esperanto, Handicrafts, Ambulance, Home Nursing, Gardening, and Boot Repairing: 646; various forms of physical training, including Gymnastics, Dancing, Swimming and Life Saving: 640; Miscellaneous: 21.
98. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 41.
99. These two figures for the 1935-36 session come from a table in the Women's Education Committee Minutes for the monthly meeting in April, 1942 (C.H.R. No. 363: 002333, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: April 23rd., 1942). The table shows the number of classes and students, the aggregate volume of class hours and student hours, together with expenditure by the firm, and Board of Education grant, for the Bournville Works Evening Institute in every session from 1935-36 to 1940-41. The table is concerned only with the grant-aided Institute classes. However, most of the Institute classes were grant aided so that additions to the figures from non-grant-aided classes would probably not be very great. Clues about this are furnished by the fact that in the Autumn Term of 1937 there were fifty-eight Institute classes of which only eight were not Board of Education supported (*ibid*: November 18th., 1937) and by the fact that in the 1939-40 session, which would have been affected by the outbreak of the Second World War, there were 1,262 students at Institute classes, of which 1,154 were at grant-aided classes and 108 at others (*ibid*: July 24th., 1941). One curious and interesting episode in respect to grant aid was that the popular Boot Repairing classes - of which there could be at least three running concurrently in a single session - had it withdrawn by the Board of Education in the early 1920's because of opposition to them by the National Federation of Boot Trade Associations (Bournville Works Education and Bournville Works School Committees, Minutes, 1919-1920: November 19th., 1920). A successful attempt to regain grant aid was made in the early 1940's (C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: October 10th., 1941, March 18th., 1942).
100. So far as can be ascertained from the sources, the figures quoted for student numbers in the 1920's and 1930's are for class entries, hence there may be some small amount of double counting of people who may have gone to more than one class. In other words the actual sum of individual students attending would have been lower.
101. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 70. Less formally structured groups of employees might also do this. So might any of the numerous committees that almost inevitably exist in any large business. Any classes or courses they set up would probably be of particular interest to those they represented or, occasionally, if they had a wider appeal might be open to all employees.
102. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 49. See also C.H.R. No. 350: 002169, Golden Jubilee of the Bournville Dramatic Society - 50 Seasons, 1912/13 to 1961/62, p. 4.
103. B.W.M., Vol. XVI, No. 11, November, 1918, p. 266.

104. B.W.M., Vol. XVI, No. 10, October, 1918, p. 240; B.W.M., Vol. XVIII, No. 3, March, 1920, pp. 81-82; B.W.M., Vol. XVIII, No. 5, May, 1920, p. 126; B.W.M., Vol. XXXIV, No. 10, October, 1936, p. 346; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 64; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 52; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1946), p. 27.
105. B.W.M., Vol. XXVI, No. 5, May, 1928, p. 150; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 44. The Weekend School on Greek Art and National Life was attended by no less than 130 people yet on the surface it could hardly be regarded as a subject that might excite more than a tiny minority. For details of this particular School see C.H.R. No. 304: 002382, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, January-June, 1924: Scholarships Committee Report No. 1, February 25th., 1924.
106. "Avoncroft" was the rural counterpart of Fircroft. The creation of the college was an attempt by George Cadbury, junior to halt the depopulation of the countryside by promoting agrarian efficiency and prosperity and by helping its young people to enjoy a better social and cultural life. Hence Avoncroft combined a liberal education with efforts towards enhanced performance on the land through the study of plant breeding, improved methods of cultivation and animal husbandry, and the more effective utilization of manpower. Agricultural research and experimentation was also carried out. Courses at the college when it opened took two terms but were soon extended to three terms of eleven weeks each. The curriculum went from farming subjects and workshop practice to English Literature, History and Economics. Bursaries were awarded to participants by the Board of Agriculture, Worcestershire County Council (Avoncroft was sited in the county), and the Land Settlement Association. The college dated from 1925 and was originally located at Offenham in the Vale of Evesham, but in 1935 the financial support of Edward Cadbury enabled a move to Stoke Prior, near Bromsgrove. Here larger premises and a much bigger estate were available. The change meant student capacity could be raised to a total of thirty individuals per annum and additional staff could be engaged. See B.W.M., Vol. XXIII, No. 11, November, 1925, pp. 367-369; B.W.M., Vol. XXIV, No. 4, April, 1926, pp. 113-116; B.W.M., Vol. XXXII, No. 7, July, 1934, p. 233; B.W.M., Vol. XXXIII, No. 12, December, 1935, pp. 405-407; Marks and Cadbury, op.cit., pp. 28-30.
107. B.W.M., Vol. XXVI, No. 11, November, 1928, p. 358; B.W.M., Vol. XXXIII, No. 10, October, 1935, p. 336; Cadbury, op.cit. (1938), p. 44. The Chargehands seem to have been a very lively group. They not only had their own Weekend Schools but also their own evening classes as well as often paying visits to other factories and to public institutions and utilities. See B.W.M., Vol. XXVI, No. 6, June, 1928, p. 123; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), loc.cit.; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1945), p. 67.
108. The Office Routine classes provided basic tuition for juniors in procedures used at Cadbury and are not to be confused with the Girls' Office Organization Course started in 1926. This was considerably more advanced and liberal in content and intended for selected older employees already carrying out responsible duties who wished to seek further progress and promotion in their careers.
109. In the Training Room at the centre of the new Department was equipment the speed of which could be regulated so girls could achieve gradually the dexterity necessary to perform on it in the required way. Though the Training Room was mainly for fresh female employees existing ones who were slow at their tasks could be sent there to bring their pace up to the normal level.

110. There was a tradition at Cadbury of keeping the sexes apart so far as that could be done. It was pre-eminently the case on the manufacturing side of the factory where segregation was so strict that any male permitted to enter a female only production area had to sport a red armband. See B.W.M., Vol. L, No. 4, April, 1952, pp. 99-100; B.W.M., Vol. XLVI, No. 12, December, 1958, p. 441; Delheim, art.cit., pp. 22-23.
111. B.W.M., Vol. L, No. 4, April, 1952, p. 101; B.W.M., Vol. LXV, No. 4, April, 1967, p. 126; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), pp. 43-46; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1945), loc. cit.; Williams, op.cit., pp. 175-177.
112. C.H.R. No. 363: 002748, Bournville Works Education and Bournville Works School Committees, Minutes, 1919-1920: January 16th. and 17th., 1920; B.W.M., Vol. XVIII, No. 3, March, 1920, pp. 61, 65; B.W.M., Vol. XVIII, No. 9, September, 1920, p. 233; B.W.M., Vol. XLVIII, No. 2, February, 1950, pp. 31-32; Ferguson, art.cit. (1920), p. 191; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), pp. 11, 35-37; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 11; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1945), p. 62; Williams, op.cit., pp. 171-172. The establishment of an Initiation School would probably have come before 1920 had it not been less feasible prior to that because pupils quit school when they actually reached the leaving age rather than at the end of the term in which the leaving age was attained. The latter arrangement was brought in by the Education Act of 1918 and meant juniors started at Bournville Works in three large groups every year corresponding with the end of each school term.
113. Merrett, W. J. M., "A Camp School For Boys" in Wray and Ferguson, op.cit., p. 123.
114. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 38.
115. C.H.R. No. 364: 003082, Bournville Works School Committee Minutes, 1914: May 20th., 1914; C.H.R. No. 364: 003086, Bournville Works School Committee Minutes, 1915: March 16th., 1915; C.H.R. No. 364: 003084, Bournville Works School Committee Minutes, 1916: June 21st., 1916; B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 7, July 1914, p. 212; B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 9, September, 1914, p. 280; B.W.M., Vol. XIII, No. 9, September, 1915, pp. 276-277; B.W.M., Vol. XIV, No. 8, August, 1916, p. 215; B.W.M., Vol. XIV, No. 10, October, 1916, p. 266; B.W.M., Vol. XV, No. 9, September, 1917, pp. 227-228.
116. C.H.R. No. 364:002301, Bournville Works School Committee Minutes, 1918: April 11th., 1918. See also the entry for April 17th., 1918.
117. C.H.R. No. 363: 002309, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: December 10th., 1925. A basis for comparison with the barge school was afforded by four "Lumber Camp Schools" that were set up in Wyre Forest, near Bewdley, in 1924, 1925, 1926 and 1927. The Wyre Forest ventures were designed to help meet some of the excess demand for vacancies on the barge journeys by providing a simpler form of Camp School for younger boys. These lads might then graduate to the barge school, or another wide-ranging educational holiday of some sort, at a later date and obtain even more benefit from it because of their previous experience in the Wyre Forest. The main activities of the forest school were wood chopping and nature study, together with visits to Worcester Cathedral and perhaps one or two other nearby buildings and localities of significance. The Lumber Camp Schools came to an end after 1927 because the fall off in the recruitment of juniors in the late 1920's rendered them less necessary as a safety-valve for the demand for barge school

- accommodation, which tended to drop along with the number of juniors taken on. B.W.M., Vol. XXII, No. 10, October, 1924, p. 310; B.W.M., Vol. XXIII, No. 10, October, 1925, pp. 314-316; B.W.M., Vol. XXIV, No. 10, October, 1926, pp. 312-313; B.W.M., Vol. XXV, No. 10, October, 1927, pp. 330-331.
118. B.W.M., Vol. XXX, No. 10, October, 1932, pp. 331-333; B.W.M., Vol. XXXIV, No. 10, October, 1936, pp. 331-334; B.W.M., Vol. XXXVII, No. 10, October, 1939, p. 345. Barge journeys were also repeated with successful routes being used again after a lapse of years.
119. B.W.M., Vol. XXXI, No. 10, October, 1933, pp. 311-314; B.W.M., Vol. XXXV, No. 10, October, 1937, pp. 344-345.
120. C.H.R. No. 363: 003082, Bournville Works School Committee Minutes, 1914: loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. XVII, No. 10, October, 1919, p. 230; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 40.
121. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), loc.cit.; Merrett, art.cit., pp. 132-133.
122. C.H.R. No. 364: 002305, Bournville Works School Committee Minutes, 1917: March 21st., 1917; C.H.R. No. 363: 002749, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1921-1922: October 12th., 1922; C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: July 19th., 1933; C.H.R. No. 363: 002840, Education Department Notices: 1911-1923, pp. 87, 121, 196; B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 7, July, 1914, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 9, September, 1914, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 10, October, 1914, pp. 307-308; B.W.M., Vol. XIII, No. 9, September, 1915, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. XIV, No. 8, August, 1916, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. XIV, No. 10, October, 1916, p. 266; B.W.M., Vol. XV, No. 9, September, 1917, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. XVII, No. 10, October, 1919, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. XXXV, No. 10, October, 1937, loc.cit.; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 54.
123. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), loc.cit. The usefulness of Camp School in bringing young town dwellers into touch with country life was emphasised on two occasions when it was actually held on a farm. In 1930 the farm was near Stroud, Gloucestershire and the Camp School undertaken there was described in the Bournville Works Magazine as an experiment "designed primarily to familiarize town workers with the principles of agriculture" - the full report is in B.W.M., Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, October, 1930, pp. 309-312. In 1934 the School was at Sheephouse Farm, Dursley, in Gloucestershire. The Bournville Works Magazine said the main object was to give students an impression of agriculture and country life. Lessons in farming delivered by a fully qualified teacher formed the foundation of the curriculum. These were supplemented by practical observations of the daily round on a farm and participation in such of the operations as lent themselves for the purpose. Visits to an agricultural implement factory, a woollen cloth factory, a quarry and an ancient camp and barrow demonstrated the antiquity of man's practice of agriculture and the connection between farming and other industries. There was an excursion to Bristol where the itinerary included, amongst other places, Avonmouth Docks, the Bristol Aeroplane factory, the Merchant Venturers' Hall, and the Cathedral. For the full details see the article in B.W.M., Vol. XXXII, No. 10, October, 1934, pp. 343-344.
124. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 40.
125. C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: October 24th., 1933.

126. P.R.O. ED114/935, p. 5. A succinct account of Camp School can be found in Williams, op.cit., pp. 172-173. C.H.R. No. 363: 002840, Education Department Notices, 1911-1923: pp. 86-96 and 103-110 offer a fascinating glimpse into the organization of the inaugural School in 1914. C.H.R. No. 366: 001965 and C.H.R. No. 366: 001966 are two parcels of miscellaneous items from 1914-1930 mostly connected with Camp School but also foreign tours undertaken by young employees. The Camp School items include official reports presumably intended for the relevant controlling Works Education Committee, inventories of stores and equipment required, correspondence - either duplicated or listed, and extensive notes on places of interest to which visits would be made. There are also personal chronicles written by Camp School staff, copies of articles on Camp School from the Bournville Works Magazine, photographs depicting Camp School and a sample of the very full, comprehensive booklets given to Camp School students before their adventure. These booklets contain helpful advice on how to prepare for Camp School, what to expect of Camp School life and well-researched background information on what would be seen on the trip. What all this material clearly indicates is the very considerable amount of effort that had to be put in to making Camp School a success each time it was held.
127. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1945), pp. 69-72; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964), pp. 68-69; Cadbury Brothers, Bournville Works and Its Institutions (1946 edition), p. 16; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1969), pp. 26-28; Williams, op.cit., pp. 86-87, 103-110, 114-126; Rogers, op.cit., p. 67; Delheim, art.cit., pp. 36-40.
128. B.W.M., Vol. XVII, No. 9, September, 1919, pp. 208-209; B.W.M., Vol. XVII, No. 11, November, 1919, p. 245; B.W.M., Vol. XVIII, No. 3, March, 1920, pp. 65-66, 73, 82; B.W.M., Vol. XVIII, No. 12, December, 1920, p. 302; B.W.M., Vol. XIX, No. 8, August, 1921, p. 194; B.W.M., Vol. XX, No. 4, April, 1922, pp. 105-106; B.W.M., Vol. XXI, No. 1, January, 1923, p. 20; B.W.M., Vol. XXI, No. 8, August, 1923, p. 250; B.W.M., Vol. XXVI, No. 7, July, 1928, p. 207; B.W.M., Vol. XXIX, No. 5, May, 1931, pp. 147-148; B.W.M., Vol. XXXI, No. 11, November, 1933, p. 361; B.W.M., Vol. XXXIV, No. 3, March, 1936, pp. 89-90; B.M.W., Vol. LIV, No. 3, March, 1956, pp. 96-97; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), pp. 12, 53-56, 60-61; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), pp. 55-57, 69-70; Williams, op.cit., p. 163. Apart from the specific references cited the Bournville Works Magazine contains much information about the Works Councils and their endeavours, educational and otherwise. The monthly issue had a regular column of news from the Councils and details of scholarships on offer were given as they were made available. There were also sometimes feature articles - for example, the holder of a scholarship might be invited to contribute a piece on his or her experiences. A mine of information is to be found in the minute volumes of the Men's and Women's Councils from 1918-1964 (C.H.R. Nos. 301: 002372 - 002440 and 301: 002521 - 002566 respectively) and then the single, amalgamated Works Council from 1964-1979 (C.H.R. Nos. 301: 002441 - 002469) when its existence ceased. Separately bound annual reports are extant from 1938-1957 (C.H.R. No. 301: 002021), 1958-1963 (C.H.R. No. 301: 002022) and 1964-1969 (C.H.R. No. 301: 002738).
129. B.W.M., Vol. XX, No. 10, October, 1922, p. 354; B.W.M., Vol. XXI, No. 8, August, 1923, p. 258; B.W.M., Vol. XXIV, No. 11, November, 1926, p. 347; B.W.M., Vol. XXVIII, No. 9, September, 1930, p. 277; B.W.M., Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, January, 1936, p. 14; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), pp. 12, 53-56; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), pp. 36-38; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1945), pp. 65-67. Aid in some form seems to have been made available, too, for short courses such as weekend schools, though the details are difficult to discover. An indication that this was done comes

- from a request made by the Checkweighers' Study Circle in 1925 to the Scholarships Committee of the Works Councils to the effect that scholarships should be put at the disposal of classes involving people like the Checkweighers, Chargehands and Foremen so they could go to weekend schools at Fircroft and other venues. However, Reginald Ferguson told the Scholarships Committee there were "already opportunities given by the firm on the recommendation of the Staffing Committees to Foremen and Forewomen A and B and Chargehands on the Men's side to attend weekend lecture schools organized by Mr. Seebohm Rowntree at Balliol College and elsewhere". See C.H.R. No. 301: 002383, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, December, 1924-June, 1925: Scholarships Committee Report No. 1, January 14th., 1925.
130. C.H.R. No. 363: 002840, Education Department Notices: 1911-1923, p. 397; C.H.R. No. 360: 001835, Education Department Notices, 1923-1931, pp. 70, 80, 165; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), pp. 54, 65; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 38. The Youths' Committee was a kind of junior works council that was inaugurated in December, 1920. Its initial function was to manage the Bournville Youths' Club and the social, recreational and educational facilities the Club furnished for young male employees. However, from the Committee's first meeting in January, 1921 it was confronted with matters affecting welfare, catering, the Day Continuation School, short time, and discipline. Before the end of the year it had become necessary to revive the Youth's Club Committee, which had been disbanded in 1914 with the coming of war. This relieved the Youth's Committee of a growing mass of detail resulting from a decision to make every male under 21 at the factory automatically a member of the B.Y.C. The Youths' Committee consisted partly of their own representatives elected annually by the youths and a smaller number of adult representatives appointed by the firm's Board of Directors. These would include at least one of the Board who would act as Chairman of the Committee at every other meeting, with the youths presiding alternately on a rota basis, so that all of them had the chance of acting as Chairman in turn. The Youths' Club Committee was also largely an elected body and so through their two committees - the Youths' Committee and the Youth's Club Committee - the members of the B.Y.C. learnt something of the art of democratic organization and control and were helped to develop self-reliance and a sense of responsibility. Additionally, youths over 16 were eligible to vote for Shop Committee and Men's Works Council representatives and this still further strengthened and reinforced their education in democratic principles and practices. See C.H.R. No. 303: 002751, Bournville Youths' Club Papers, 1902-1913; C.H.R. No. 350: 002994, Highlights in the History of the B.Y.C., 1900-1950: A Diagrammatic Chart; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 64; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 50; Cadbury Brothers, Bournville Works Youths' Committee - Thirty Years of Junior Joint Consultation (1950), pp. 3-7.
131. C.H.R. No. 363: 002330, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1920-1922: November 4th., 1921; C.H.R. No. 363: 002331, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: November 30th, 1923; C.H.R. No. 363: 002333, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: September 11th., 1930; C.H.R. No. 360: 001835, Education Department Notices: 1923-1931, pp. 5, 22; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), pp. 28-30; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), pp. 20-21, 45-46, 78. Monetary prizes were rarely given for the passing of examinations. The only exceptions were the rewards presented to apprentices - though these were not based purely on success in examinations and had to be spent on books, tools and other equipment for their trade - and the honoraria made to girls to acknowledge their achievements in the

examinations of the R.S.A.

132. C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: September 25th., 1933; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 29; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), pp. 46, 81-82.
133. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1945), p. 65.
134. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), pp. 48-49, 70. For further details of the Dramatic Society see two commemorative booklets: C.H.R. No. 350: 002166, The Bournville Dramatic Society, 1912-1933, which marked its twentyfirst anniversary, and C.H.R. No. 350: 002169, Golden Jubilee of the Bournville Dramatic Society - 50 Seasons, 1912/13 to 1961/62, which marked a half-century of treading the boards. In some cases (and with certain restrictions - for example, as to voting powers) membership of Works Clubs and Societies was open to the families and friends of employees - see Cadbury, op.cit. (1946), p. 22.
135. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 49.
136. C.H.R. No. 350: 002166, The Bournville Dramatic Society, 1912-1933, pp. 10, 19; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), loc.cit; Rogers, op.cit., pp. 67-69.
137. B.W.M., Vol. XXV, No. 5, May, 1927, p. 137. A reading room had existed since 1879 with the move to Bournville (Williams, op.cit., p. 64).
138. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), loc.cit.
139. C.H.R. No. 351: 001997, "1896 And All That" - Fifty Years of the Bournville Athletic Club, 1896-1946, pp. 12-13; B.W.M., Vol. XXVIII, No. 5, May, 1930, p. 161; B.W.M., Vol. XXXV, No. 8, August, 1937, pp. 245-249; Williams, op.cit., pp. 186-187; Rogers, op.cit., pp. 69-70.
140. B.W.M., Vol. XXXIV, No. 6, June, 1936, pp. 177-179; B.W.M., Vol. XXXV, No. 8, August, 1937, loc.cit. The factory recreation grounds and swimming baths, together with Rowheath and its lido, were administered by the joint Grounds Committee of the Works Councils.
141. B.W.M., Vol. XXXII, No. 11, November, 1934, p. 368.
142. C.H.R. No. 351: 001997, "1896 And All That" - Fifty Years of the Bournville Athletic Club, 1896-1946, pp. 17, 20; B.W.M., Vol. XXIV, No. 12, December, 1926, p. 386. Typical comments by directors came from Barrow Cadbury, who said at the opening of Rowheath in 1924 that "the firm were pleased to add the grounds to the facilities for men and women to play, rather than watch, games" (C.H.R. No. 351: 001997, "1896 And All That" - Fifty Years of the Bournville Athletic Club, 1896-1946, p. 13) and Paul Cadbury, who stated at the B.A.C. annual general meeting in 1926 that the firm "would rather provide another field for another team than another pavilion to accommodate people who simply wanted to watch a team" (B.W.M., Vol. XXIV, No. 12, December, 1926, loc.cit). It was felt that passive spectator enjoyment did not give the individual any opportunity to develop either physically or mentally or in terms of character and personality. Only active participation enabled that to be achieved.
143. B.W.M., Vol. XXXVI, No. 7, July, 1938, pp. 226-227. Including departmental teams, in a normal year in the late 1930's there were at the factory fiftyone football, twentysix cricket, thirtyseven tennis, thirtysix bowls, twentyeight hockey, and twentythree netball teams, "while many more participate[d] in

- swimming, water-polo, cross-country running, gymnastics, cycling, golf and other organized sport such as angling, and also in 'friendly' games" - Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1946), p. 23. It is unclear from this source if the figures given are exclusive of B.Y.C. teams or not, so it is possible these might have to be added on to the totals.
144. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), pp. 57-58. The counterpart pamphlet of 1938 contained a piece entitled "Education by Travel", too - Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), pp. 52-53.
145. C.H.R. No. 363: 002330, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1920-1922: June 17th., 1921, February 10th. and November 3rd, 1922; C.H.R. No. 363: 002749, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1921-1922: September 13th., 1921; C.H.R. No. 363: 002331, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: March 23rd., 1923; C.H.R. No. 363: 002840, Education Department Notices: 1911-1923, p. 346; C.H.R. No. 350: 002994, Highlights in the History of the B.Y.C., 1900-1950: A Diagrammatic Chart; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), loc.cit.; Cadbury Brothers, Camps and Tours For Industrial Workers (1931), passim; Williams, op.cit., pp. 173-174; Nicholls, op.cit., pp. 21-23. The Bournville Works Magazine regularly carried quite detailed reports of camps, holidays, treks and tours at home and abroad, thus further demonstrating the importance the firm attached to "education by travel".
146. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 58.
147. Cadbury Brothers, The Factory and Recreation (1935), pp. 59-61; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), pp. 56-57. The charitable trust involved was the Boeke Trust. It originated with Beatrice, youngest child of Richard Cadbury, who married Cornelius Boeke, a Dutchman, in 1912. She had inherited from her father shares worth a considerable fortune - plus a social conscience. The chocolate company shares were transferred to the Works Councils in 1922 for the period of her lifetime. The Boeke Trust was set up and a Works Councils Boeke Trust Committee formed. The latter disbursed the large income from the shares in accordance with the terms of the Trust, which stated that it must be spent on the promotion of international understanding, education, and the relief of hardship. After the Second World War a proportion of the income also went to the Boeke family. On Beatrice's death in 1976, at the age of 92, the capital reverted to her children. See B.W.M., Vol. LIX, No. 2, February, 1961, p. 56; B.R., Vol. 6, No. 3, May, 1974, p. 4; B.R., Vol. 8, No. 1, February-March, 1976, p. 1; Williams, op.cit., pp. 162, 252.
148. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 45.
149. Ferguson, art.cit. (1920), p. 199.
150. Ferguson, R. W., Training in Industry (1935), p. 7.
151. Ferguson, R. W., "The Organization of a Works Day Continuation School Scheme in Cooperation with the Local Education Authority", Proceedings of the Association For the Advancement of Education in Industry and Commerce, Vol. II, 1919, p. 6; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), pp. 67-68, 70; Ferguson, op.cit., p. 24.
152. Ferguson, art.cit. (1919), pp. 9-10; Ferguson, art.cit. (1920), pp. 193-194.
153. B.W.M., Vol. LIV, No. 9, September, 1956, p. 301; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), pp. 68-70.
154. Ferguson, op.cit., p. 8.

155. B.W.M., Vol. XXIV, No. 9, September, 1936, "Opportunities" leaflet insert. See also B.W.M., Vol. LIV, No. 9, September, 1956, loc.cit.; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 68.
156. Ferguson, art.cit. (1919), pp. 12-13.
157. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 69. George Cadbury, junior and Dorothy Cadbury chaired the Men's and Women's Education Committees respectively.
158. B.W.M., Vol. XXX, No. 11, November, 1932, p. 353; B.W.M., Vol. LII, No. 9, November, 1954, pp. 379-380.
159. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 70.
160. Board of Education, Education in 1937 (Cmd. 5776, 1938), pp. 28-29.
161. Ibid, loc.cit. The actual figure of those on day release as a proportion of part-time students as a whole coming under the Further Education Regulations of the Board of Education seems to have been about 3% in the 1930's in England and Wales. See Board of Education annual reports for the decade - for example, Education in 1933 (Cmd. 4631, 1934), p. 39 and Education in 1935 (Cmd. 5290, 1936), p. 56. In Scotland there were only 700 young people being released by employers for day classes in 1939 - day classes almost invariably of a vocational nature (Wallace, W., "Part-Time Day Release Education in Scotland", Vocational Aspect, Vol. 111, No. 7, November, 1951, p. 147).
162. Board of Education, Education in 1931 (Cmd. 4068, 1932), pp. 32-33.
163. In the 1925-26 session there were 24,308 at day continuation schools and 23,884 in 1926-27. The economic crisis after 1929 brought a nadir of 15,638 in 1933-34, and then occurred a climb to 19,629 in 1937-38. For these statistics see the following Board of Education annual reports: Education in England and Wales, 1926-27, loc.cit.; Education in 1934 (Cmd. 4968, 1935), p. 172; Education in 1938 (Cmd. 6013, 1939), p. 164.
164. Ferguson, op.cit., pp. 60-61.
165. C.H.R. No. 363: 002330, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1920-1922: June 17th., 1921; B.W.M., Vol. L, No. 4, April, 1952, p. 101.
166. It is very difficult to discover just how far other firms supplied classes and courses of this nature for their employees since there is a paucity of information on the topic, either published or unpublished. Ferguson (op.cit., pp. 17, 27) does mention, without going into details, that a number did furnish some general elements in their own educational and training programmes. However, it is highly unlikely that any company would have been found doing this on the Cadbury scale. For instance, did one ever make Gardening classes a part of its provision?
167. B.W.M., Vol. XXII, No. 3, March, 1924, p. 75.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. There is no detailed general account of Bournville Works in World

War Two. The facts given are based on Vols. XXXVII-XLIII, 1939-1945, of the Bournville Works Magazine together with C.N., Vol.3, No.4, June, 1984, p.7; Bournville Utilities, A War Record (1945), pp.3-5; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1945) p.40; and Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1946), p.28.

2. B.W.M., Vol. XXVIII, No.1, January, 1940, p.11.
3. B.W.M., Vol. XXXVII, No. 11, November, 1939, p.354; B.W.M., Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1, January, 1940, loc. cit.; Nicholls, op.cit., p.35; Weedall, op.cit., p. 27.
4. Nicholls, op.cit., pp. 34-35; Weedall, op.cit., loc. cit.
5. C.H.R. No. 363: 002333, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: April 23rd., 1942.
6. C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: March 18th., 1942.
7. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: June 2nd., 1944, February 16th., 1945.
8. B.W.M., Vol. XLIII, No. 8, August, 1945, p. 148.
9. C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: October 10th., 1941.
10. C.H.R. No. 363: 002333, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: October 12th., 1942; C.H.R. No. 360: 001922, Education Department Notices: 1939-1958, pp. 9,14.
11. C.H.R. No. 360: 001922, Education Department Notices: 1939-1958, p.29. See also C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: May 4th., 1945.
12. C.H.R. No. 363: 002333, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: December 6th., 1940.
13. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: June 2nd., 1944. Perhaps the main reason for the attenuated holiday structure was that, despite a general labour shortage at Cadbury, the war altered the proportion of juvenile employees to adults and this meant that it became less easy to fit in juniors on Saturdays and outwith School terms. Longer sessions made this less of a conundrum for the firm. See C.H.R. No. 363: 002333, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: June 10th., 1942 and C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: loc.cit.
14. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: May 4th., 1945.
15. B.W.M., Vol. XL, No. 10, October, 1942, pp. 159-160. See also C.H.R. No. 363: 002333, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: loc.cit.
16. B.W.M., Vol. XXXVII, No. 11, November, 1939, p.355. The war also brought "a revival of interest in Boot and Shoe Repairing." In the autumn of 1941 the men's class "was full and new girls' classes (2) were running after a lapse of several years." See C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: October 10th, 1941.
17. B.W.M., Vol. XXXVII, No. 11, November, 1939, pp. 354-355; B.W.M., Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1, January, 1940, loc.cit.

18. B.W.M., Vol. XXXVIII, No. 12, December, 1940, p.283.
19. C.H.R. No. 363: 002333, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: April 23rd., 1942, November 22nd., 1943.
20. C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: March 28th., 1941.
21. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: October 13th., 1944, February 16th. and September 14th., 1945, November 29th., 1946. As indicated in the text, the statistics quoted in the paragraph are for grant-aided classes only. Non grant-aided classes did exist but figures for them are not always extant. However, it is known that in 1940-41 there were additional, financially unsupported classes with 108 students and that in the previous session, 1939-40, there had been a total of 1,262 students - 1,154 in grant-aided classes and 108 in others. See C.H.R. No. 363: 002333, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: July 24th., 1941.
22. C.H.R. No. 363: 002333, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: December 6th., 1940.
23. C.H.R. No. 360: 001922, Education Department Notices: 1939-1958, pp. 10, 18, 20.
24. There is no record of the requirements - such as the need for an 85% attendance level to secure the refund of a class fee - being relaxed because of the war. The table of figures can be found in C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: February 19th., 1943.
25. B.W.M., Vol. XXVII, No. 10, October, 1939, p.345.
26. B.W.M., Vol. XLIV., No. 10, October, 1946, p.211.
27. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: May 4th., 1945.
28. C.H.R. No. 363: 002333, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: April 23rd., 1942. The physical training and club leadership scholarships were a reflection of a central government policy that entailed the vigorous promotion of youth leadership courses as part of a national youth service that had been set up in 1939. The service consisted of a tripartite relationship between the central government, local education authorities and voluntary organizations that was intended to aid the physical and social development of young people between 14 and 20. For a succinct account of the youth service inaugurated in 1939, and its antecedents, see Ministry of Education, Education, 1900-1950 (Cmd. 8244, 1951), pp. 59-60.
29. C.H.R. No. 360: 001922, Education Department Notices: 1939-1958, p.4. Girls also seem eventually to have gone on youth leadership courses. A reference in the Women's Education Committee Minutes for May, 1944 notes that two girls, along with three boys for a parallel Boys' Club leadership course, had been given scholarships to attend a week's training course for young leaders at Birmingham University. See C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: May 18th., 1944.
30. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: December 20th., 1944. Outward Bound courses had begun in 1941.
31. C.H.R. No. 301: 002021, Works Councils Annual Reports, 1938-1957: Bournville Works Men's Council, Report For Twelve Months Ended

- 30th. September, 1944, p.5.
32. Ibid: Bournville Works Men's Council, Report For Twelve Months Ended 30th. September, 1945, p.7 and Report For Twelve Months Ended 30th. September, 1946, pp. 12-13.
 33. C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: July 16th., 1943; C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: January 27th., 1944; B.W.M., Vol. XLI, No. 8, August, 1943, pp. 120-121; B.W.M., Vol. XLII, No. 1, January, 1944, p.4; B.W.M., Vol. XLII, No. 3, March, 1944, pp. 40-41; B.W.M., Vol. XLVI, No. 12, December, 1948, pp. 243-248; B.W.M., Vol. LII, No. 10, October, 1954, pp. 324-325.
 34. B.W.M., Vol. XLI, No. 10, October, 1943, p. 157.
 35. Musgrave, P.W., Society and Education in England Since 1800 (1968), pp. 101-109.
 36. C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: October 10th., 1941; C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: October 13th., 1944.
 37. B.W.M., Vol. XLI, No. 10, October, 1943, loc.cit.
 38. Amongst them, for instance, was Childwall Hall County College in Liverpool. At the end of the 1950's about 20,000 15 to 18 year olds in England and Wales were enrolled in establishments of a county college type - approximately 1% of the age group (Wood, J., "County Colleges - Myth and Reality", Education, Vol. 116, No. 2998, 8th. July, 1960, p.95). In the Education (Scotland) Act of 1945 the equivalent of the English county college was designated as a "Junior College", but none were ever set up using that appellation. However, Langside College (subsequently Langside College of Further Education) was launched by Glasgow Education Authority in February, 1947 as a prototype for the Scottish junior college. A number of other institutions - for example, Regent Road in Edinburgh and Ardeer in Ayrshire - also began to offer general courses for young workers either as their main provision or as part of their overall range. See Wallace, art.cit., pp. 148-149, 151 and British Association For Commercial and Industrial Education, Junior Colleges in Scotland (1949), pp. 20, 28-29.
 39. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: December 20th., 1944.
 40. B.W.M., Vol. XLI, No. 11, November, 1943, p.174.
 41. B.W.M., Vol. LIV, No. 8, August, 1946, p. 163.
 42. C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: March 28th., 1941.
 43. C.H.R. No. 363: 002333, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: January 21st., 1943.
 44. Nichols, op.cit., p. 36.
 45. C.H.R. No. 353: 002333, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: April 23rd., 1942.
 46. C.N., Vol. 2, No. 2, November, 1982, p. 3. See also Murray, B.G., "L. J. Cadbury", in Jeremy, op.cit., pp. 554-557.
 47. The main details of Cadbury history between 1945 and 1963 can be

- found in Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964). There is no general account of subsequent years.
48. B.M.W., Vol. LX. No. 5, May, 1962, pp. 8-9; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964), pp. 7, 39-41, 90-91; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1969), p. 21. In fact, it was 1960 before any substantial new construction was sanctioned at Bournville.
 49. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964), p.2.
 50. B.W.M., Vol. LVII, No. 6, September, 1959, p. 212; B.W.M., Vol. LXI, No. 5, May, 1963, p. 5; B.W.M., Vol. 7, July, 1963, p. 230; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964), pp. 75, 85, 90-91; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1969), p. 20.
 51. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964), p. 85.
 52. B.W.M., Vol. LVIII, No. 8, August, 1960, p. 263; B.W.M., Vol. LXI, No. 7, July, 1963, p. 232.
 53. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964), pp. 42-44.
 54. Ibid, pp. 76, 85, 90-91.
 55. Ibid, p. 76.
 56. B.W.M., Vol. LVIII, No. 8, August, 1960, loc.cit.; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit., (1964), loc.cit.
 57. B.W.M., Vol. LVII, No. 6, September, 1959, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. LX, No. 5, May, 1962, p. 8; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964), p. 83.
 58. B.W.M., Vol. LX, No. 5, May, 1962, p. 5; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964), p. 86.
 59. B.W.M., Vol. LXI, No. 5, May, 1963, p. 7. The story was similar in 1963. Home sales were stationary, as were exports for the third year in succession, but the overseas subsidiaries recorded an extra £2,500,000 worth of products sold (B.W.M., Vol. LXII, No. 6, June, 1964, p. 195).
 60. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964), loc.cit.
 61. B.W.M., Vol. LIX, No. 7, July, 1961, p. 254. See also Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964), p. 91.
 62. B.W.M., Vol. XLV, No. 7, August, 1947, p. 83.
 63. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: September 27th., 1946.
 64. Ibid: May 24th., 1946.
 65. Ibid: September 27th., 1946, March 29th., 1947.
 66. Ibid: September 27th., 1946.
 67. Ibid: July 25th., 1947.
 68. B.W.M., Vol. XLIV, No. 8, August, 1946, pp. 159-164.
 69. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: July 19th, 1946.
 70. Weedall, op.cit., p. 31.

71. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: April 4th., 1946.
72. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: July 19th., 1946; C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: July 24th., 1947; B.W.M., Vol. XLIV, No. 11, November, 1946, p. 227; B.W.M., Vol. XLV, No. 2, February, 1947, p. 31.
73. City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes 12th. November, 1945 to 25th October, 1946: September 27th., 1946. (A Cadbury source, C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: September 27th., 1946, gives a figure of "nearly 150 applications" for Mr. Bews' post, but presumably the City Education Committee minutes are more accurate in this respect).
74. B.W.M., Vol. XLV, No. 1, January, 1947, p. 10; B.W.M., Vol. XLV, No. 2, February, 1947, loc.cit.
75. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: loc.cit.
76. B.W.M., Vol. XLIV, No. 8, August, 1946, p. 159.
77. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: loc.cit. B.W.M., Vol. XLV, No. 7, August, 1947, p. 144 records that at the end of the 1946-47 session the School had 936 boys and 1,324 girls on its register from 41 employers.
78. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: December 20th., 1944. In the following year local education authority classes provided for Lewis's junior employees were extended and also subsequently introduced for boys from Tube Investments (ibid: February 16th. and September 14th., 1945). Another effect of the 1944 Act was the abolition of fees for day continuation school students at Bournville from April, 1945. No fee had been levied on employers who had sent students before 1926, but had been on those who had begun sending students since then because they were not considered to be founders of the School. This was an anomalous situation that could no longer be sustained, especially as the legislation specified that no fees would be charged by County Colleges. See City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes 10th. November, 1944 to 26th. October, 1945: March 29th., 1945. The local authority decision was noted with approval by Cadbury (C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: July 6th., 1945).
79. City of Birmingham Education Committee, Scheme of Further Education and Plan For County Colleges (1956), p. 17.
80. Ibid, pp. 2, 4, 20. In December, 1949 there were 2,943 at Bournville and eight other centres - mostly in accommodation made available by firms (C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: March 10th., 1950). In the Autumn Term of 1951 there were 3,506 and in December, 1953 2,413 (ibid: April 4th., 1952 and February 19th., 1954). For the 1956-57 session detailed statistics are extant in Ministry of Education, Report By Her Majesty's Inspectors On Some Aspects of the Provision Made By the Birmingham Local Education Authority for the Education and Welfare of the Young Worker Surveyed During the Period February, 1957 to March, 1958 (1958), pp. 17, 40. There were 2,135 students between 15 and 18 enrolled in officially designated day continuation classes in Birmingham. Of these, 1,018, or 32%, were boys and 2,117, or 68%, were girls. 1,994, or 64%, were taking general education courses - 1,465 of them, 73%, were girls. 512, or 16%, were attending one day or one day and

evening a week to prepare for G.C.E., R.S.A., or Civil Service examinations in such subjects as English, Mathematics and History. The remainder were largely following vocational or preliminary vocational courses. The students were taught in four day continuation colleges and four groups of classes - two meeting in local authority premises, two in firm's premises. Of the colleges, by far the biggest was Bournville, which always supplied the bulk of the city's day continuation population. The Kingsbury Day Continuation College occupied a substantial converted house owned by the local education authority. Kynoch Day Continuation College and Lewis's Junior College catered for employees of Imperial Chemical Industries and Lewis's Ltd. respectively and used rooms offered by the companies involved. With the exception of Bournville Day Continuation College all the colleges and classes were attached to institutes of further education and controlled by the Principals of those institutes. A fifth Day Continuation College, Digbeth, opened in September, 1957 in part of an assembly hall rented by the city's Education Department from another division of the Council. It was designed for municipal employees and police cadets formerly going to Bournville.

81. Ibid, p. 3. See also p. 20.
82. Ministry of Education, Education in 1947 (Cmd. 7426, 1948), p. 3; Ministry of Education, Education in 1949 (Cmd. 7957, 1950), p. 34; Education, 1900-1950, p. 51; Pimlott, art.cit., p. 53. The burgeoning part-time day release figures were no mere temporary post-war phenomenon. By the early 1960's there were 600,000 part-time day students. Most of these were employees receiving day release - a quarter of a million of them juniors under 18. See Ministry of Education, Education in 1962 (Cmd. 1990, 1963), pp. 29, 32. (All statistics quoted in text and footnote are for England and Wales only).
83. B.W.M., Vol. XLVII, No. 4, April, 1949, p. 98; B.W.M., Vol. XLVII, No. 8, August, 1949, p. 189.
84. Cadbury Brothers, Education and Training in Office and Factory (1951 edition), p. 13; Weedall, op.cit., pp. 35-36.
85. Weedall, op.cit., loc.cit.
86. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: April 4th., 1952; B.W.M., Vol. L, No. 5, May, 1952, p. 165; B.W.M., Vol. L, No. 9, September, 1952, p. 284; H.M.I. Report (1958), pp. 17-18, 40.
87. H.M.I. Report (1958), pp. 17-18; Weedall, op.cit., p. 36.
88. B.W.M., Vol. LI, No. 11, November, 1953, p. 352.
89. Cadbury Brothers, Education and Training in Office and Factory (1960 edition), p. 14.
90. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: October 5th., 1951.
91. C.H.R. No. 301: 002562, Bournville Works Women's Council Minutes and Reports, 1961, Further Education Committee Minutes: May 15th., 1961.
92. Weedall, op.cit., p. 40. On a more regular, mundane basis the close connection between College and company was shown in frequent meetings of their personnel. An exemplar of one type of such contact is a note in the minutes of the Cadbury Education Committee monthly sitting for May, 1954 to the effect that

"lunch-time visits had been paid to the [Bournville Day Continuation] College by two groups of Committee members and topical problems had been discussed with the Principal and members of the staff." See C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: May 28th., 1954.

93. B.W.M., Vol. LI, No. 11, November, 1953, p. 352.
94. Ibid, loc.cit.
95. B.W.M., Vol. LII, No. 1, January, 1954, pp. 16-17.
96. Ibid, p. 15.
97. Ibid, loc.cit.
98. B.W.M., Vol. XLII, No. 8, August, 1949, p. 189.
99. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: October 8th., 1948.
100. Ibid: August 12th., 1949.
101. Ibid: April 2nd., 1954.
102. Ibid: August 12th., 1949.
103. Ibid: September 8th., 1950. Cadbury decided to stipulate that Arithmetic should be compulsory for their first year students, but with the proviso that it could be dropped if a satisfactory level of performance had been reached by the end of any term.
104. Ibid: April 2nd., 1954. The raising of the school leaving age to 15 in 1947 reduced the length of the general courses at the College from four years to three and increased the scope for experimentation with them since, at least in theory if not in practice, students arrived with a higher standard of education than heretofore.
105. Ibid: April 21st., 1950.
106. Ibid: July 11th., 1950.
107. Ibid: April 2nd., 1954.
108. C.H.R. No. 301: 002433, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1957: August 22nd., 1957, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on July 16th., 1957; Weedall, op.cit., pp. 41, 46.
109. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1948), p. 13,; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), p.13.
110. C.H.R. No. 301: 002434, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1958: January 9th., 1958, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on December 16th., 1957; C.H.R. No. 301: 002435, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1959: October 29th., 1959, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on October 9th., 1959.
111. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1948), p. 3.
112. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: September 14th., 1945.
113. Ibid: September 9th., 1946.

114. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: August 30th, 1950.
115. Ibid: July 18th. and August 10th., 1951.
116. Ibid: August 8th., 1949. The qualification aimed at was the appropriate National or City and Guilds Certificate.
117. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), p. 18; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1960), p. 20. See also C.H.R. No. 361: 002154 and C.H.R. No. 361: 002125, "Apprenticeships at Bournville", two editions (from 1954 and 1961 respectively) of an unpaginated booklet issued by Cadbury describing the arrangements at the firm for those wishing to learn a skilled trade.
118. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: September 4th. and 19th., 1952. The long established regulation under which Cadbury apprentices who had completed their training had to leave the firm to gain outside experience also came under review after World War Two. It was initially questioned in 1948 because many apprentices were not returning to Bournville after going away, but it was left intact (ibid: April 6th., 1948). The situation was reviewed again in 1950 and led to the requirement being rescinded for those apprentices called up for National Service on completion of their training at 21. National Service was in future to be regarded as equivalent to outside experience as far as the broadening it gave was concerned, especially as many recruits were, in fact, employed in their trades while on military duty (ibid: March 3rd., 1950). National Service was usually done at 18, but apprentices in training could defer it until 21 and this Cadbury strongly encouraged their own to do (ibid: December 5th., 1951). Eventually, in 1957 the two years' outside experience regulation was finally dropped as a blanket requirement because National Service had replaced it for most apprentices. Each case would henceforward be dealt with individually on its merits. (See C.H.R. No. 301: 002434, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1958: January 9th., 1958, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on December 16th., 1957). Thus an obligation that had existed since the beginning of the apprenticeship scheme half a century before was lifted, never to be reimposed, even when conscription ended in 1960.
119. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: September 19th., 1952; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), pp. 13, 15-17; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1960), p. 16; Weedall, op.cit., p. 53.
120. C.H.R. No. 301: 002434, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1958: October 2nd., 1958, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on September 29th., 1958.
121. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1960), pp. 11-12.
122. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1948), p. 10. In 1959 Adrian Cadbury, who had recently been appointed to the Board of Directors, told the Men's Works Council that graduates were needed in industry on a mounting scale because business was becoming more complex and jobs more specialized. Progress in production efficiency with the use of mechanical and electronic aids created a demand for manpower with the best technical qualifications. He pointed out that most graduates at Bournville were technical experts and even "Arts" graduates commonly had degrees in Economics or Mathematics and Statistics. The influx of graduates had had little effect on management opportunities as a whole because these had expanded along with the firm and, in any case, it was essential to keep an equilibrium between people coming in from outside with skills and

- those who had acquired their skills within the company. The two sources were complementary since they involved different talents on offer. At Bournville, Adrian concluded, the firm's principal concern was to ensure a proper balance of recruitment and promotion so that available opportunities were open, as far as possible, to all those with sufficient ability for the posts to be filled. See B.W.M., Vol. LVII, No. 7, October, 1959, pp. 270-271.
123. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), p. 12.
 124. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: March 22nd., 1946; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), loc.cit.
 125. C.H.R. No. 360: 001922, Education Department Notices: 1939-1958, p. 38.
 126. C.H.R. No. 301: 002434, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1958: March 6th., 1958, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on February 18th., 1958. It is difficult to discover when, or if, the 1946 guidelines on payment to voluntary over-age students were altered. There is no relevant reference in the Education Committee minutes up to 1954 and the minutes for 1955 to 1960 are not extant. (As a substitute for the missing minutes reports of Education Committee meetings made to the Men's and Women's Works Councils have been utilized. These reports, which were usually identical and normally written by the Education Committee secretary, are very brief and thus obviously do not contain the detail that the actual minutes did). One possibility is that the 1946 guidelines may simply have been forgotten, or fallen into disuse. In this case there would be no reference to any alteration to them in the minutes. Another possibility is that a change in them may have been omitted from the minutes or not even been discussed in Committee.
 127. Ibid: October 2nd., 1958, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on September 29th., 1958.
 128. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: October 2nd., 1953, April 2nd., 1954; C.H.R. No. 301: 002439, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, July-December, 1963, Further Education Committee Minutes: August 9th., 1963; H.M.I. Report(1958), p. 40; Weedall, op.cit., pp. 36, 41, 46, 55.
 129. City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes 25th May, 1959 to 2nd. May, 1960: January 4th., 1960.
 130. B.W.M., Vol. LVIII, No. 5, May, 1960, p. 162.
 131. Ibid, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. LVIII, No. 6, June, 1960, p. 204; City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes 25th. May, 1959 to 2nd. May, 1960: loc.cit.
 132. C.H.R. No. 301: 002562, Bournville Works Women's Council Minutes and Reports, January - December, 1961, Further Education Committee Minutes: May 15th., 1961; C.H.R. No. 301: 002437, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, July-December, 1962, Further Education Committee Minutes: August 10th., 1962; C.H.R. No. 301: 002439, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, July-December, 1963, Further Education Committee Minutes: loc.cit.; Weedall, op.cit., p. 56.
 133. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: August 5th., 1954; C.H.R. No. 301: 002431, Bournville Works

- Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1955: March 10th., 1955, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on February 25th., 1955; B.W.M., Vol. XLVI, No. 8, August, 1948, p. 162; B.W.M., Vol. LV, No. 3, March, 1957, p. 93; B.W.M. Vol. LVI, No. 1, January, 1958, p. 30; Nicholls, op.cit., p. 35; Weedall, op.cit., pp. 38-40, 42, 45-46, 59-62.
134. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: July 24th., 1947; C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: July 25th., 1947; B.W.M., Vol. XLIII, No. 9, September, 1945, p. 179; B.W.M., Vol. XLV, No. 7, August, 1947, p. 144.
135. Weedall, op.cit., p. 40.
136. B.W.M., Vol. LV, No. 4, April, 1957, p. 139. The social life of the College remained vigorous in the early 1960's, but then waned along with student interest and the virtual collapse of the general courses towards the end of the decade.
137. B.W.M., Vol. XLIV, No. 9, September, 1946, p. 189.
138. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1948), p. 20.
139. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: April 2nd., 1954.
140. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1948), loc.cit.; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1960), p. 22.
141. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: October 8th., 1948; C.H.R. No. 360: 001922, Education Department Notices: 1939-1958, p. 95.
142. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: December 17th., 1948; B.W.M., Vol. XLVII, No. 2, February, 1949, p. 31; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), p. 20.
143. C.H.R. No. 360: 001922, Education Department Notices: 1939-1958, p. 108.
144. Ibid, p. 129.
145. Ibid, p. 166. The "Charm School" was an innovation that proved very popular and two groups had to be formed - for adults, which 150 joined, and for juniors. See B.W.M., Vol. LIII, No. 11, November, 1955, p. 397. Those classes designated as for youths only would usually be restricted to B.Y.C. members - though all young males at the factory were automatically B.Y.C. members. Youths' Club classes were not regarded as part of the B.W.E.I. prior to the war, but at least some were brought under the Works Institute umbrella in the post-war period. Classes additional to those in the notice (such as the cricket and tennis courses alluded to in the B.G.A.C. section) would be forthcoming in the two later terms of the session, so that its contents are by no means exhaustive.
146. C.H.R. No. 301: 002431, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1955: loc.cit.
147. C.H.R. No. 301: 002434, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1958: May 15th., 1958, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on May 7th., 1958.
148. C.H.R. No. 301: 002562, Bournville Works Women's Council Minutes and Reports, 1961, Further Education Committee Minutes: January 13th., 1961 ; C.H.R. No. 301: 002436, Bournville Works Men's

- Council Minutes and Reports, January-June, 1962, Further Education Committee Minutes: May 4th., 1962.
149. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: November 17th., 1950.
 150. C.H.R. No. 301: 002432, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1956: September 27th., 1956, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on September 21st., 1956.
 151. B.W.M., Vol. LVIII, No. 4, April, 1960, p. 112.
 152. C.H.R. No. 301: 002562, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1961, Further Education Committee Minutes: October 20th., 1961.
 153. C.H.R. No. 301: 002435, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1959: January 18th., 1959, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on December 1st., 1958; B.W.M., Vol. LVIII, No. 4, April, 1960, loc.cit.
 154. B.W.M., Vol. LVIII, No. 4, April, 1960, loc.cit. The Bournville Works Magazine feature commemorated the retirement from the Gardeners' Department of R. J. Platten, who had taught the girls' gardening classes for some thirty years. According to the magazine the Ministry of Agriculture official inspecting the class in 1958 had told Cadbury to "treasure Mr. Platten as one of an old order of practical gardeners which is rapidly disappearing and which is not being replaced by a better one." The retirement of Mr. Platten in 1960 may very well have been a factor in the ultimate closure of the girls' gardening class the following year - perhaps a crucial element in its fading attractions.
 155. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: April 6th. and October 5th., 1951; B.W.M., Vol. XLVIII, No. 10, October, 1950, p. 299. The figure is for enrolments and there would have been a few students who went to more than one class. However, even taking this into account, it is clear 10% of employees at the factory availed themselves of the opportunity to go to B.W.E.I. courses.
 156. C.H.R. No. 301: 002431, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1955: September 22nd., 1955, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on September 9th., 1955. No statistics for B.W.E.I. numbers in the late 1950's and early 1960's are contained in the extant records.
 157. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: May 1st., 1953. The aggregate total of classes, recognized and unrecognized, is not given in the minutes.
 158. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: November 29th., 1946. The only mention in the post-war records of the value of the grant for the girls' gardening class from the Ministry of Agriculture is £25 in 1947-48 (C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: October 8th., 1948).
 159. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: April 4th, 1952, March 6th., 1953, February 19th, 1954; C.H.R. No. 301: 002432, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1956: April 12th, 1956, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on April 6th., 1956.
 160. C.H.R. No. 301: 002433, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1957: January 24th., 1957, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on January 8th., 1957.

161. C.H.R. No. 301: 002434, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1958: May 15th., 1958, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on May 7th., 1958.
162. C.H.R. No. 301: 002435, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1959: June 25th., 1959, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on June 10th., 1959. No further figures for grant aid are to be found in the available records.
163. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: May 30th., 1952, August 5th., 1953; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), loc.cit.; Ministry of Education, Education in 1952 (Cmd. 8835, 1953), pp. 16-17.
164. Ministry of Education, Education in 1956 (Cmd. 223, 1957), pp. 34-35.
165. C.H.R. No. 301: 002432, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1956: September 27th., 1956, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on September 21st., 1956. See also C.H.R. No. 301: 002434, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1958: loc.cit., where it is stated that the Ministry had "insisted on increased fees" in 1956.
166. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: February 11th., 1949.
167. Ibid: April 21st., 1950.
168. C.H.R. No. 301: 002435, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1959: January 8th., 1959, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on December 1st., 1958.
169. C.H.R. No. 301: 002562, Bournville Works Women's Council Minutes and Reports, 1961, Further Education Committee Minutes: December 1st., 1961.
170. B.W.M., Vol. XLIX, No. 9, September, 1951, "Filling Your Leisure - Ideas for the Winter Months": a leaflet insert containing details of evening classes at the factory, local authority colleges and institutes, Fircroft, and the Extra-Mural Department of Birmingham University; information on Works clubs and societies; and a description of the Works Councils' scholarships.
171. C.H.R. No. 301: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: April 4th., 1952.
172. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: May 30th., 1946.
173. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), pp. 15-17. It was eventually decided that all those desirous of achieving the position of Forewoman had had to have previously worked as a Chargehand. See B.W.M., Vol. LII, No. 4, April, 1954, pp. 108-109.
174. B.W.M., Vol. LIV, No. 9, September, 1956, p. 301.
175. Ibid, loc.cit.; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), loc.cit.; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964), p. 63.
176. C.H.R. No. 330: 002213, "For Your Information - a Guide For Employees" (1952), p. 10; C.H.R. No. 330: 002044, "Information - Cadbury: a Guide for Employees" (1966), p. 13. These items are two editions of an information guide issued to new employees.
177. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), p. 16.

178. Ibid, p. 15. See also C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: December 5th., 1947.
179. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: February 11th., 1949.
180. They are to be found in C.H.R. No. 361: 001931, Training Course Programmes, 1946-1949. See also Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), p. 11 and Cadbury Brothers op.cit. (1960), p. 12.
181. The booklet is contained in C.H.R. No. 360: 001950, Training Courses Before 1950: Programmes and Timetables.
182. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), p. 18.
183. Ibid, p. 11. See also C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: May 4th., 1945, September 27th. and November 29th., 1946 and March 29th., 1947. The experiment may have had its origins in the inter-war period when sometimes an Initiation School had to be postponed until new employees had been at work a few weeks and the delayed School was shown to have an efficacy of its own - Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 35.
184. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: September 25th., 1947; C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: December 5th., 1947; B.W.M., Vol. XLVIII, No. 2, February, 1950, pp. 31-32.
185. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: May 30th., 1952; Cadbury Brothers, Education and Training in Office and Factory (1967 edition), p. 10. The extended full-time tuition meant the girls had an opportunity to do some simple office jobs and to practise using the telephone, taking messages and filing.
186. C.H.R. No. 301: 002434, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1958: January 9th., 1958, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on December 16th., 1957. Windmill House (at Weatheroak) and the Log Cabin were both local youth centres to the south of Birmingham.
187. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), loc.cit. See also C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: November 29th., 1946, March 29th., 1947.
188. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes 1948-1954: April 6th., 1951.
189. Ibid: September 19th., 1952; C.H.R. No. 360: 001922, Education Department Notices: 1939-1958, p. 45; B.W.M., Vol. XLIV, No. 10, October, 1946, p. 211; B.W.M., Vol. LVII, No. 9, September, 1949, pp. 222-223; B.W.M., Vol. LIII, No. 10, October, 1955, p. 338.
190. B.W.M., Vol. XLVI, No. 9, September, 1948, pp. 189-190.
191. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: June 17th., 1949. The "alternatives" are not specified in the minutes but may have included reconstruction projects and voluntary work, both at home and overseas, and international study tours.
192. Ibid: August 12th., 1949; B.W.M., Vol. XLVII, No. 9, September, 1949, loc.cit. The B.Y.C. War Memorial Scheme was started after the cessation of hostilities to foster contacts and travel between young people at the factory and on the continent. The outcome of the experiment involving the foreigners was deemed

- favourable by the Education Committee since they mixed amicably with the Cadbury boys and their presence enhanced the educational content of Camp School as well as promoted international goodwill and understanding. It was repeated at some subsequent Schools - for example, in 1959, when three German youths participated in the Camp School of that year (B.W.M., Vol. LVII, No. 7, October, 1959, pp. 272-274).
193. B.W.M., Vol. XLVIII, No. 9, September, 1950, p. 286. See also Williams, op.cit., pp. 91-92.
 194. B.W.M., Vol. XLIX, No. 9, September, 1951, p. 289.
 195. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: September 19th., 1952. See also B.W.M., Vol. L, No. 9, September, 1952, pp. 296-297.
 196. B.W.M., Vol. LI, No. 10, October, 1953, pp. 324-325; B.W.M., Vol. LII, No. 10, October, 1954, pp. 339-340; B.W.M., Vol. LIII, No. 10, October, 1955, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. LIV, No. 10, October, 1956, p. 353; B.W.M., Vol. LV, No. 10, October, 1957, p. 368.
 197. B.W.M., Vol. LVI, No. 10, October, 1958, p. 380; B.W.M., Vol. LVII, No. 7, October, 1959, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. LVIII, No. 9, September, 1960, p. 337.
 198. B.W.M., Vol. LII, No. 10, October, 1954, loc.cit.
 199. B.W.M., Vol. LVII, No. 7, October, 1959, loc.cit.
 200. B.W.M., Vol. LIV, No. 10, October, 1956, loc.cit.
 201. C.H.R. No. 360: 001922, Education Department Notices: 1939-1958: pp. 83, 165, 183.
 202. B.W.M., Vol. LVII, No. 7, October, 1959, p. 273.
 203. Ibid, loc.cit.
 204. C.H.R. No. 363: 002309, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1923-1929: February 27th., 1928.
 205. C.H.R. No. 363: 002749, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1921-1922: March 3rd. and April 8th., 1921; C.H.R. No. 363: 002840, Education Department Notices: 1911-1923, p. 247.
 206. Cadbury Brothers, Education in the Factory (1927 edition), pp. 36-37.
 207. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: June 13th. and December 5th., 1947; C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: February 11th., 1949; C.H.R. No. 360: 001922, Education Department Notices: 1939-1958, p. 60; B.W.M., Vol. XLVI, No. 2, February, 1948, p. 41; B.W.M., Vol. XLVI, No. 4, April, 1948, p. 77; B.W.M., Vol. XLVII, No. 2, February, 1949, p. 31; B.W.M., Vol. XLVII, No. 6, June, 1949, p. 135.
 208. C.H.R. No. 363:002292, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: November 27th., 1947.
 209. How long Vacation Schools went on being held for boys is not easy to determine, but they do seem to have disappeared gradually in the 1950's. An entry in the Education Committee minutes for January, 1951 logs the fact that a shortage of male juvenile labour meant that there had been no educational programmes for

- youths during the Christmas holiday and that other holidays might be affected if the shortage persisted (C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: January 12th., 1951). A surviving series of factory notices about physical training for youths during holidays finished in 1955 (C.H.R. No. 360: 001922, Education Department Notices: 1939-1958, p. 60, et.seq.). The 1951 edition of Education and Training in Office and Factory mentions that the "Works Education Department arranges for Bournville youths to visit, on their normal College days, industrial and public undertakings in Birmingham" when the College is shut. See Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), p. 13. The sentence is omitted from the 1960 edition of the same booklet.
210. C.H.R. No. 301: 002021, Works Councils Annual Reports, 1938-1957: Bournville Works Men's Council, Report For Twelve Months Ending 30th. September, 1946, p. 13. See also ibid: Bournville Works Women's Council, Report for Twelve Months Ended 30th. September, 1946, pp. 10-11.
211. B.W.M., Vol. XLIV, No. 12, December, 1946, p. 242.
212. C.H.R. No. 301: 002021, Works Councils Annual Reports, 1938-1957: Bournville Works Men's Council 34th. Annual Report (1951-52), p. 8.
213. Ibid: Bournville Works Men's Council 26th. Annual Report (1953-54), p. 13; B.W.M., Vol. XLIX, No. 12, December, 1951, p. 380; B.W.M., Vol. LI, No. 10, October, 1953, p. 327.
214. C.H.R. No. 301: 002021, Works Councils Annual Reports, 1938-1957: Bournville Works Men's Council 37th. Annual Report (1954-1955), p. 11.
215. B.W.M., Vol. LIV, No. 3, March, 1956, p. 97. An off-shoot of the aborted revival was an experiment in 1953 when a lecture for nightworkers was given at 5.45 a.m. by Gil Merrick, the Birmingham City and international football star, but barely 120, instead of the expected 400, men turned up so the experiment was not repeated (C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: March 6th., 1953).
216. B.W.M., Vol. XLIX, No. 4, April, 1951, p. 123; B.W.M., Vol. LIV, No. 3, March, 1956, p. 96; B.W.M., Vol. LV, No. 1, January, 1957, p. 24; B.W.M., Vol. LVII, No. 3, March, 1959, p. 105; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), pp. 22-23. See also Education, 1900-1950, pp. 57-58 and Ministry of Education, Education in 1959 (Cmd. 1088, 1960), p. 54.
217. C.H.R. No. 301: 002021, Works Councils Annual Reports, 1938-1957: Bournville Works Men's Council 37th. Annual Report (1954-1955), p. 10; B.W.M., Vol. LI, No. 6, June, 1953, pp. 192-193; B.W.M., Vol. LIII, No. 6, June, 1955, p. 193; B.W.M., Vol. LIII, No. 10, October, 1955, pp. 342-343; B.W.M., Vol. LIV, No. 3, March, 1956, pp. 96-97; B.W.M., Vol. LV, No. 1, January, 1957, p. 16; B.W.M., Vol. LVI, No. 5, May, 1958, pp. 180-181; B.W.M., Vol. LIX, No. 11, November, 1961, pp. 421-422.
218. B.W.M., Vol. LIV, No. 3, March, 1956, p. 96. Antecedents for its propitious outcome can be discerned in the celebrated Weekend Schools the Councils directed at the factory in the 1920's and in those the Chargehands carried on from 1928. Indeed, the style of the Works Councils' conferences was similar to that of a Chargehands' Weekend School with a mixture of the heavy and serious intermingled with the light and diverting.
219. B.W.M., Vol. XLIX, No. 9, September, 1951, p. 271; B.W.M., Vol.

- XLIX, No. 11, November, 1951, p. 330; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), p. 23.
220. B.W.M., Vol. XLIX, No. 7, July, 1951, p. 213; B.W.M., Vol. LVII, No. 3, March, 1959, p. 105.
221. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), p. 23.
222. B.W.M., Vol. XLIX, No. 7, July, 1951, loc.cit.
223. B.W.M., Vol. LIV, No. 3, March, 1956, loc.cit. The scheme was finally abandoned in 1971 as a consequence of the "poor response from employees" that had been shown to it in the previous few years (C.H.R. No. 301: 002457, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July, 1971-January, 1972, Education and Training Committee Minutes: November 30th., 1971). At the same time, and for the same reason, the three months' scholarship to the International People's College at Elsinore, Denmark, was also dropped.
224. B.W.M., Vol. L, No. 12, December, 1952, p. 404; B.W.M., Vol. LI, No. 10, October, 1953, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. LIV, No. 3, March, 1956, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. LV, No. 12, December, 1957, p. 431; B.W.M., Vol. LVII, No. 3, March, 1959, loc.cit. There was much soul-searching as to why the art, music and drama scholarships were not as prized as they had been in the 1920's and 1930's. Enquiries discovered no really satisfactory or concrete explanation and it may be that people were simply not as prepared as they once were to make the sustained and substantial personal commitment of effort and energy that these scholarships needed.
225. C.H.R. No. 301: 002021, Works Councils Annual Reports, 1938-1957: Bournville Works Men's Council 36th. Annual Report (1953-54), loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. XLVIII, No. 7, July, 1950, p. 205; B.W.M., vol. L, No. 12, December, 1952, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. LIV, No. 7, July, 1956, p. 237; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), p. 24. The Works Councils' scheme of grants for the education of employees' children had to be dovetailed with reforms introduced by the Education Act of 1944. Modifications duly came in 1950. Secondary schooling was now free of all fees, so grants for children below the new leaving age of 15 were abolished. The parents of those remaining at school after 15 had to start by applying for local authority assistance. If a sum in excess of £10 was forthcoming then there would be no money from the Works Councils; if less than £10 then the Scholarships Committee would offer £10 in lieu of the public grant. If the local authority application proved completely unsuccessful, then a grant of £10 would be considered by the Committee. Employee parents with students in full-time higher education (defined as courses leading to a degree) could apply for £30 p.a. if they were not eligible for help from public funds; while those with students in full-time further education (defined as courses not leading to a degree) could apply for up to £30 a year maximum if they were unable to obtain public money. Responsibility for these post-school grants was later assumed by the Cadbury Educational Trust. Facilities were also available under the 1944 Education Act for adults attending full-time, residential courses such as those at Hillcroft and Fircroft to receive local authority support. Hence employees who were accorded full-time, residential scholarships had to apply for a local authority grant and only if it was refused were they financed by the Works Councils. In either case the Councils paid the scholarship holder's National Insurance and company pension contributions. See C.H.R. No. 301: 002021, Works Councils Annual Reports, 1938-1957: Bournville Works Men's Council 30th. Annual Report (1947-48), pp. 8-9; B.W.M., Vol. XLVIII, No. 7, July, 1950, loc.cit.; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), pp. 22-24.

226. C.H.R. No. 301: 002562, Bournville Works Women's Council Minutes and Reports, 1961, Further Education Committee Minutes: June 23rd. and December 1st., 1961; B.W.M., Vol. XLIX, No. 7, July, 1951, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. LX, No. 1, January, 1962, p. 22. Until October, 1955 the source of money for the foreign visit grants was the Boeke Trust, but from that date the Scholarships Committee, which allocated them, assumed liability for their funding. See C.H.R. No. 301: 002021, Works Councils Annual Reports, 1938-1957: Bournville Works Men's Council 38th. Annual Report (1955-56), p. 12 and B.W.M., Vol. XLIX, No. 4, April, 1951, p. 123.
227. C.H.R. No. 301: 002022, Works Councils Annual Reports, 1958-1963: Bournville Works Men's Council 44th. Annual Report (1961-62), p. 26. Total Works Councils' spending in 1960-61 was £7,152 (p. 43 of the Report). The £3,241 on scholarships was therefore approaching a half of it.
228. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), p. 23.
229. C.H.R. No. 360: 001922, Education Department Notices: 1939-1958, pp. 67, 84; B.W.M., Vol. XLIX, No. 9, September, 1951, p. 273; B.W.M., Vol. LIV, No. 3, March, 1956, loc.cit.; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), p. 22.
230. C.H.R. No. 301: 002435, Bournville Men's Works Council Minutes and Reports, 1959: June 11th., 1959, Council discussion on the employment of graduates; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1967), p. 17.
231. B.W.M., Vol. LVIII, No. 11, November, 1960, pp. 426-427; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964), p. 62.
232. B.W.M., Vol. LX, No. 10, October, 1962, pp. 360-361.
233. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: June 13th., 1947; B.W.M., Vol. LI, No. 4, April, 1953, p. 130; B.W.M., Vol. LV, No. 11, November, 1957, p. 409; B.W.M., Vol. LVI, No. 12, December, 1958, p. 473. Young female workers received scholarships, too. When the Outward Bound Mountain School in Eskdale, Cumbria, put on a course for girls for the first time in October, 1951 two Cadbury employees, selected by the Women's Staffing Committee, were accorded scholarships to go on it. See B.W.M., Vol. L, No. 1, January, 1952, pp. 22-23.
234. B.W.M., Vol. LXV, No. 4, April, 1967, p. 157. See also Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), loc.cit.
235. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: November 17th., 1950, July 11th., 1952, August 5th., 1953, August 5th., 1954; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), pp. 21-22.
236. C.H.R. No. 301: 002434, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1958: August 7th., 1958, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on July 15th., 1958. It is not clear whether the figure of £475 refers solely to class fees or also includes examination fees. If the latter were included they would form only a small part of the total. There is an additional statement that girls who had passed R.S.A. examinations had received an aggregate of £16 in repaid fees and honoraria of £65. The figure of £475 may very well incorporate fees reimbursed for attendance at Works classes. The amounts quoted in the paragraph for the first half of the 1950's do not, but would have been increased by less than £20 per annum had they done so in the sessions when refunds were available.
237. C.H.R. No. 330: 002213, "For Your Information - A Guide For

- Employees" (1952), loc.cit.
238. B.W.M., Vol. XLIV, No. 6, June, 1946, p. 116; B.W.M., Vol. XLVII, No. 8, August, 1949, pp. 191-198; B.W.M., Vol. XLVIII, No. 12, December, 1950, p. 375; B.W.M., Vol. LI, No. 12, December, 1953, pp. 395, 397-398; B.W.M., Vol. LII, No. 12, December, 1954, pp. 425-426; B.W.M., Vol. LIV, No. 11, November, 1956, pp. 400-401; B.W.M., Vol. LV, No. 3, March, 1957, p. 110; B.W.M., Vol. LV, No. 11, November, 1957, pp. 413-414; B.W.M., Vol. LVI, No. 11, November, 1958, pp. 430, 432-433; B.W.M., Vol. LVII, No. 8, November, 1959, p. 345; C.N., Vol. 9, No. 2, March, 1990, p. 11.
239. B.W.M., Vol. L, No. 9, September, 1952, p. 307.
240. B.W.M., Vol. XLV, No. 3, March-April, 1947, p. 58; B.W.M., Vol. XLVII, No. 6, June, 1949, p. 136; B.W.M., Vol. LV, No. 6, June, 1957, p. 212; B.W.M., Vol. LIX, No. 9, September, 1961, p. 330; B.W.M., Vol. LXI, No. 12, December, 1963, p. 455.
241. C.N., Vol. 1, No. 10, August, 1982, p. 8. See also C.N., Vol. 2, No. 7, May, 1983, p. 11. Membership had dropped to barely 50 subscription payers and it had become unviable.
242. B.W.M., Vol. LIII, No. 7, July, 1955, p. 222.
243. B.W.M., Vol. LV, No. 6, June, 1957, loc.cit.; B.W.M., Vol. LIX, No. 7, July, 1961, pp. 248-249; B.W.M., Vol. LIX, No. 11, November, 1961, pp. 409, 413; C.N., Vol. 1, No. 8, June, 1982, p. 8. The remarkable Chargehands' Association was not amongst those that experienced difficulties in the changing social climate of the post-war years. It was the subject of an article in the November, 1952 edition of the Bournville Works Magazine and its most important objects were then stated to be the provision of a channel of communication between Chargehands and the firm on any matter relating to their status and welfare; the raising of the efficiency of Chargehands through lectures and classes; and the fostering of comradeship by means of social activities. The Association's 1952 programme included talks on "Manual Lifting" by the Works doctor, "World Government" by Mr. H. Osborne, M.P., and the firm's pension scheme. There was a visit to an iron foundry at Halesowen; the annual outing - in 1952 to the Elan Valley; the annual dinner; and the annual Weekend School at Avoncroft. In addition, a theatre and supper party had been scheduled and, for the first time, a children's Christmas party. The Bournville Works Magazine concluded by saying that the Association had all the factory's Chargehands in its ranks and was as thriving as it had ever been. See B.W.M., Vol. L, No. 11, November, 1952, p. 374. It continued to prosper until the late 1960's, when it became the Supervisors' Association on the redesignation of the Chargehand.
244. B.W.M., Vol. LV, No. 11, November, 1957, p. 405; B.W.M., Vol. LIX, No. 8, August, 1961, p. 300.
245. B.W.M., Vol. XLVI, No. 6, June, 1948, p. 126; B.W.M., Vol. LVII, No. 7, October, 1959, p. 279.
246. B.W.M., Vol. LIX, No. 7, July, 1961, p. 273; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964), p. 62. The property is still in the company's possession in 1991, maintained by the walking section of the Bournville Club. See C.N., Vol. 9, No. 4, June, 1990, p.8.
247. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: May 7th., 1948; B.W.M., Vol. XLVI, No. 6, June, 1948, p. 129. Consecutive chairmen of the Education Committee after C.W. Gillett were Brandon Cadbury, Michael Cadbury and Charles

- Cadbury. J. S. Jones was Secretary throughout the 1950's.
248. B.W.M., Vol. LVIII, No. 7, July, 1960, pp. 245-246; B.W.M., Vol. LVIII, No. 9, September, 1960, p. 321. Another result of the revision was that the joint Welfare and Recreation Committee was retitled the Social Purposes Committee (previously the name of one of its sub-committees).
 249. B.W.M., Vol. LII, No. 9, November, 1954, loc.cit.; B.R., Vol. 2, No. 10, November, 1970, p. 5.
 250. C.H.R. No. 301: 002562, Bournville Works Women's Council Minutes and Reports, 1961, Further Education Committee Minutes: April 21st., 1961.
 251. C.N., Vol. 3, No. 7, October-November, 1984, p.1.
 252. B.W.M., Vol. LVII, No. 6, September, 1959, pp. 212-213.
 253. B.W.M., Vol. LX, No. 5, May, 1962, p. 9; B.W.M., Vol. LXIII, No. 10, October, 1965, p. 372.
 254. Cadbury Group, Annual Report, 1967.
 255. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964), p. 85.
 256. B.W.M., Vol. LXI, No. 5, May, 1962, pp. 8-9; B.W.M., Vol. LXIII, No. 6, June, 1965, pp. 208-211; B.W.M., Vol. LXV, No. 6, June, 1967, p. 214; B.W.M., Vol. LXVI, No. 1, January, 1968, p. 5; B.W.M., Vol. LXVI, No. 4, April, 1968, p. 137; C.N., Vol. 9, No. 2, March, 1990, p. 1; Williams, op.cit., pp. 139-144. The acquisition of Pascall acknowledged already existing links. The Australian subsidiary of Cadbury, dating from 1922, was founded with the sugar confectionery producers and was known as Cadbury Fry Pascall. It became Cadbury Schweppes (Australia) after the merger of Cadbury and Schweppes in 1969. The restaurant sector had originally been encompassed in the late 1930's with the purchase of R. S. McColl, which in 1968 ran quality eating places, an outside catering service and a shop-fitting agency.
 257. B.W.M., Vol. LXIII, No. 10, October, 1965, pp. 371-372, 379; C.N., Vol. 8, No. 1, February, 1989, pp. 1, 9, 12.
 258. B.W.M., Vol. LXV, No. 6, June, 1967, loc.cit.
 259. B.W.M., Vol. LXV, No. 3, March, 1967, pp. 87-91.
 260. B.W.M., Vol. LXVI, No. 8, September, 1969, p. 279.
 261. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1969), p. 1.
 262. Cadbury Group, Annual Report, 1967.
 263. B.W.M., Vol. LXV, No. 3, March, 1967, p. 96.
 264. B.W.M., Vol. LXVI, No. 7, August, 1968, p. 240.
 265. B.W.M., Vol. LXIII, No. 6, June, 1965, pp. 209-211; B.W.M., Vol. LXVI, No. 5, May-June, 1968, pp. 159-163.
 266. B.M., Vol. 1, No. 3, June, 1969, pp. 65-66. Relatively low rates of return on capital are almost inevitable in confectionery production because of the nature of the industry, which utilizes very specialized plant and equipment and demands the holding of large stocks of costly raw materials.
 267. B.W.M., Vol. LXVII, No. 1, January, 1969, p. 14; B.M., Vol. 1,

- No. 3, June, 1969, p. 66; Cadbury Group, Annual Report, 1968; Cadbury Schweppes, Cadbury at Bournville, 1879-1979 (1979: unpaginated centenary booklet).
268. B.M., Vol. 1, No. 3, June, 1969, loc.cit. The Cadbury Schweppes merger was part of a wider trend in the confectionery industry in the late 1960's - another spectacular one was Rowntree and Mackintosh (B.M., Vol. 1, No. 4, August, 1969, p. 105).
269. B.R., Vol. 5, No. 2, March, 1973, p. 3. In 1982 Reckitt Industrial Cleaning Systems was annexed to this component of the Cadbury Schweppes empire (Cadbury Schweppes Group, Annual Report, 1982).
270. Fashions in business lore and management practice come and go and the diversification orthodoxy of the post-war decades, which clearly influenced Cadbury policy on the issue, came to an end in the 1980's. It was superseded by a fresh doctrine which urged convergence on "core" activities. In 1980 Adrian Cadbury was stating fiercely that "de-mergers would not make ... sense in our operation. We set out to broaden the base of Cadbury Schweppes and there would be no sense in de-merging any part of the organization." Terry Organ, United Kingdom Region Managing Director, said equally fiercely at the same time that the Foods and Beverages Division "is a fundamental part of Cadbury Schweppes U.K." (Both were speaking at a company conference - see B.R., Vol. 12, No. 3, June, 1980, "Cadbury Schweppes Round-Up" supplement, p.i). In 1985 both Health and Hygiene and Foods and Beverages were sold off via management buy-outs so that Cadbury Schweppes could focus attention on its key areas of confectionery and soft drinks (Cadbury Schweppes Group, Annual Report, 1986).
271. B.W.M., Vol. LX, No. 5, May, 1962, p. 13; B.R., May, 1975, Cadbury Schweppes Special Report: 1974 Results (no pagination); B.R., Vol. 10, No. 1, February-March, 1978, p.1; B.R., Vol. 12, No. 3, June, 1980, p. 1; B.R., Vol. 12, No. 7, October, 1980, p. 1; C.N., Vol. 6, No. 6, September, 1987, p. 1; C.N., Vol. 8, No. 2, March, 1989, pp.1, 3; C.N., Vol. 8, No. 3, April, 1989, p. 3; C.N., Vol. 9, No. 2, March, 1990, pp. 1, 9; Cadbury Schweppes, op.cit. (1979); "Birmingham Evening Mail", March 7th., 1984; "Sunday Mercury", December 23rd., 1984; "Daily Mail", April 14th., 1990; I.T.V. "Venture" series programme on Cadbury, broadcast April 1st., 1985.
272. A phrase used by a Bournville worker in the I.T.V. "Venture" series documentary of 1985.
273. B.W.M., Vol. LXVI, No. 10, November-December, 1968, pp. 371-372; B.R., Vol. 1, No. 1, February, 1969, p. 1; B.M., March, 1970, pp. 10-11 (no volume or sequence number, though in fact it was Volume 1, Number 7). A subsequent poll of workers at the factory showed that 23% disliked the Bournville Reporter, nearly two-thirds preferred the old-style Bournville Works Magazine, and only 13% favoured newspaper over magazine (B.R., Vol. 3, No. 5, July, 1971, pp. 2-3).
274. B.R., Vol. 3, No. 5, July, 1971, p. 1.
275. I.T.V. "Venture" series, April 1st., 1985.
276. C.H.R. No. 330: 002575, Survey on Attitudes to Employment at Bournville (1962: cardboard bound foolscap booklet), pp. 6-7.
277. B.R., Vol. 3, No. 7, September, 1971, p. 6; B.R., Vol. 6, No. 4, June, 1974, "Cadbury Schweppes Round-Up" supplement, p.i; B.R., Vol. II, No. 3, May, 1979, p. 1; C.N., Vol. 8, No. 1,

February, 1989, loc.cit.; Cadbury Schweppes Group, Annual Report, 1983.

278. The story of this period can be found in Weedall, A., Ward, D. J., and Twyman, P. M., Bournville College of Further Education, 1913-1988 (1988), which is a second edition of Weedall's earlier Further Education For All. It consists of a reprint of the previous, 1963 booklet with three extra chapters covering the interval since its original appearance. Apart from the deletion of some material there is no substance to the claim in the Preface that the account in the 1963 edition has been "rewritten" and "up-dated". Errors have thus been perpetuated and others are detectable in the fresh writing. The Golden Jubilee of the former Day School For Young Employees was celebrated on May 1st., 1963 with a gathering and reception that included Lady Albemarle, Chairman of the Youth Employment Council; Sir William Alexander, secretary of the Association of Education Committees; Cadbury Directors - notably, Paul Cadbury, Chairman of the Board, and Charles, who had responsibility for education at the firm; past and present members of the College teaching staff - notably all three heads, C.J. V. Bews, B.Z. Cohen and the current incumbent, A. Weedall; Principals of several further education colleges; members of the City of Birmingham Education Committee; and Works Council representatives from Cadbury (B.W.M., Vol. LXI, No. 6, June, 1963, pp. 189-191). The 75th anniversary in 1988 was marked by a function at the College on October 18th. and a civic reception at the town hall on October 26th., at each of which Sir Adrian and Lady Cadbury were guests (private communication dated November 9th., 1988 from Patricia Twyman, Principal, Bournville College of Further Education). Additionally, the B.B.C. Radio Four series for the physically handicapped, "Does He Take Sugar?", devoted a whole broadcast on October 6th. to the work of the College in pioneering learning facilities for disabled students.
279. C.H.R. No. 301: 002441, Bournville Works Council Minutes, March-June, 1964, Further Education Committee Minutes: May 8th., 1964; C.H.R. No. 301: 002442, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July-December, 1964, Further Education Committee Minutes: October 9th., 1964; C.H.R. No. 301:002443, Bournville Works Council Minutes, January-June, 1965, Further Education Committee Minutes: April 23rd., 1965; C.H.R. No. 301: 002445, Bournville Works Council Minutes, January-June, 1966, Further Education Committee Minutes: January 28th. and May 20th., 1966; C.H.R. No. 301: 002446, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July-December, 1966, Further Education Committee Minutes: September 9th. and October 7th., 1966; C.H.R. No. 301: 002449, Bournville Works Council Minutes, January-June, 1968, Further Education Committee Minutes: May 3rd. and June 14th., 1968; C.H.R. No. 301: 002451, Bournville Works Council Minutes, January-June, 1969, Further Education Committee Minutes: May 9th., 1969; C.H.R. No. 301: 002460, Bournville Works Council Minutes, January-June, 1973, Education and Training Committee Minutes: May 4th., 1973; C.H.R. No. 301: 002461, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July-December, 1973, Education and Training Committee Minutes: August 10th., 1973; B.W.M., Vol. LXIV, No. 8, August, 1966, p. 344; Weedall, Ward and Twyman, op.cit., pp. 60, 78-79; Department of Education and Science, Education and Science in 1971 (1972), p. 16.
280. C.H.R. No. 301: 002439, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, July-December, 1963, Further Education Committee Minutes: August 9th., 1963.
281. C.H.R. No. 301: 002449, Bournville Works Council Minutes, January-June, 1968, Further Education Committee Minutes: May 3rd., 1968. The next largest contributors of students to the College in that session were the British Motor Corporation and

- the Post Office with 200 and 150 respectively.
282. C.H.R. No. 301: 002450, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July-December, 1968, Further Education Committee Minutes: August 9th., 1968.
 283. Ibid: October 25th., 1968; B.W.M., Vol. LXVI, No. 9, October, 1968, p. 347.
 284. C.H.R. No. 301: 002451, Bournville Works Council Minutes, January-June, 1969, Further Education Committee Minutes: March 14th., 1969.
 285. C.H.R. No. 301: 002450, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July-December, 1968, Further Education Committee Minutes: loc.cit. See also B.W.M., Vol. LXIII, No. 4, April, 1965, p. 169 and Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1967), pp. 7-8.
 286. C.H.R. No. 301: 002467, Bournville Council Minutes, July-December, 1977, Education and Training Committee Minutes: September 30th., 1977. This minute clearly indicates that there was no problem that year in ensuring quality recruits - there had been 2,000 applications for only sixty office vacancies!
 287. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1967), p. 12. See also Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964), p. 63.
 288. B.W.M., Vol. LXIII, No. 8, August, 1965, p. 318; B.W.M., Vol. LXV, No. 3, March, 1967, pp. 104-106; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1967), p. 7; Weedall, Ward and Twyman, op.cit., pp. 47-52.
 289. Department of Education and Science, The Further Education of the General Student (1967), passim, but especially pp. 3, 5, 7, 17. The list of establishments taking part in the survey and given at the back of the report totalled thirtynine. Bournville College of Further Education was involved; so were several day colleges in London, York Boys' Day Continuation School and, in Scotland, Langside College of Further Education, Glasgow plus Regent Road Institute, Edinburgh. See also Education in 1962, pp. 32-33; Department of Education and Science, Education in 1964 (Cmnd. 2612, 1965), p. 58; and Department of Education and Science, Education and Science in 1967 (Cmnd. 3564, 1968), p. 60.
 290. The Further Education of the General Student, p. 15. See also p. 2.
 291. B.M., Vol. 1, No. 5, October, 1969, p. 151; B.R., Vol. 1, No. 9, October, 1969, p. 3; Education in 1964, pp. 13-14, 56; Department of Education and Science, Education and Science in 1968 (Cmnd. 3950, 1969), p. 57; Department of Education and Science, Education and Science in 1970 (1971), p. 39.
 292. C.H.R. No. 301: 002453, Bournville Works Council Minutes, January-June, 1970, Education and Training Committee Minutes: January 16th., 1970.
 293. C.H.R. No. 301: 002454, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July, 1970-January, 1971, Education and Training Committee Minutes: July 3rd., 1970.
 294. Ibid: July 14th., 1970.
 295. Ibid: loc.cit.; C.H.R. No. 301: 002457, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July, 1971-January, 1972, Education and Training Committee Minutes: July 23rd., 1971; C.H.R. No. 301: 002459, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July-December, 1972, Education and Training Committee Minutes: November 17th., 1972; C.H.R.

- No. 301: 002467, Bournville Council Minutes, July-December, 1977, Education and Training Committee Minutes: *loc.cit.*; B.R., Vol. 4, No. 6, August, 1972, p. 3; C.N., Vol. 1, No. 1, September, 1981, p. 3.
296. C.H.R. No. 301: 002457, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July, 1971-January, 1972, Education and Training Committee Minutes: January 14th., 1972; C.H.R. No. 301: 002455, Bournville Works Council Minutes, January-June, 1974, Education and Training Committee Minutes: February 8th., 1974. Ironically, the grant problem that occasioned the change to City and Guilds 444 disappeared in 1973. The F.D.T.I.T.B. then became essentially an advisory and consultancy service with only a token 0.03% levy on companies that conformed to its requirements (though this, in turn, meant no grants were payable). See C.H.R. No. 301: 002457, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July, 1971 - January, 1972, Education and Training Committee Minutes: December 17th., 1971; C.H.R. No. 301: 002459, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July-December, 1972: September 22nd., 1972 and C.H.R. No. 301: 002461, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July-December, 1973, Education and Training Committee Minutes: August 10th., 1973.
297. B.R., Vol. 4, No. 6, August, 1972, *loc.cit.*; Weedall, Ward and Twyman, *op.cit.*, pp. 59, 61.
298. C.H.R. No. 301: 002454, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July, 1970 - January, 1971, Education and Training Committee Minutes: January 15th., 1971.
299. *Ibid*: July 14th., 1970. Author's emphasis.
300. C.H.R. No. 301: 002464, Bournville Council Minutes, January-June, 1976, Education and Training Committee Minutes: January 29th., 1976.
301. Cadbury Brothers, *op.cit.* (1967), pp. 3, 20.
302. Cadbury Brothers, *op.cit.* (1964), p. 60.
303. Personal interview with author.
304. C.H.R. No. 301: 002467, Bournville Council Minutes, July - December, 1977, Education and Training Committee Minutes: September 30th., 1977. The block release students from production departments usually did the City and Guilds operatives course inaugurated in 1971, but in the late 1970's at least some undertook experimental Unified Vocational Preparation (or U.V.P.) courses. These were introduced by the government in an attempt to discover what forms of further education and training were best suited for young workers and their employers and were aimed at the 40% of school leavers who received little or no further education and training on entering employment. U.V.P. schemes were based on the established City and Guilds pattern with vocational, semi-vocational and general education and training components, though lasted for one session rather than up to two sessions. The U.V.P. project endured for six years and the biggest difficulty encountered was the familiar problem of persuading employers that there were potential benefits to them in releasing their workers to participate in the schemes. Many employers were reluctant to allow even limited numbers to take part in U.V.P. courses of further education and training, which were planned as an integrated whole. See C.H.R. No. 301: 002468, Bournville Council Minutes, January - June, 1978, Education and Training Committee Minutes: April 14th., 1978; Weedall, Ward and Twyman, *op.cit.*, pp. 59, 61; Department of Education and Science, Education and Science in 1976 (1977), p. 16; Department of Education and Science, Annual Report: 1977 (1978), pp. 13-14;

- Department of Education and Science, Annual Report: 1980 (1981), p. 18; Department of Education and Science, Annual Report: 1981 (1982), p. 18.
305. C.H.R. No. 301: 002456, Bournville Works Council Minutes, February - June, 1971, Education and Training Committee Minutes: February 17th, 1971; C.H.R. No. 301: 002461, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July - December, 1973, Education and Training Committee Minutes: September 21st., 1973; C.H.R. No. 301: 002455, Bournville Works Council Minutes, December, 1973 - June, 1974, Education and Training Committee Minutes: June 7th., 1974; C.H.R. No. 301: 002462, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July, 1974 - February, 1975, Education and Training Committee Minutes: February 7th., 1975; C.H.R. No. 301: 002463, Bournville Works Council Minutes, March, 1975 - January, 1976, Education and Training Committee Minutes: June 12th., 1975; C.H.R. No. 301: 002467, Bournville Council Minutes, July - December, 1977, Education and Training Committee Minutes: December 22nd., 1977; B.R., Vol. 3, No. 11, January, 1972, p. 2; B.R., Vol. 9, No. 8, December, 1977, p. 3; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964), pp. 58-59; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1967), pp. 3, 10.
306. Department of Education and Science, Education For Employees - An H.M.I. Survey of Part-Time Release For 16 - 19 Year Olds (1984), pp. 7, 9-10. The statistics given are for England and Wales.
307. C.H.R. No. 301: 003457, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July, 1971 - January, 1972, Education and Training Committee Minutes: November 19th., 1971; C.N., Vol. 1, No. 3, November, 1981, p. 7.
308. C.N., Vol. 1, No. 7, April, 1982, pp. 6-7; C.N., Vol. 1, No. 8, June, 1982, p. 9. The recruitment of apprentices (of which there were fortysix in training in Confectionery Division in 1981 - B.R., Vol. 13, No. 6, July, 1981, p. 3) eventually ceased altogether, but was resumed in 1987 (C.N., Vol. 6, No. 3, April, 1987, p. 2). The "new breed" of apprentices, known formally as "technical trainees", differed from their traditional counterparts in an exclusive trade by being "trained to a much higher standard in a multitude of skills" (C.N., Vol. 9, No. 7, November, 1990, p. 11) to meet a demand for "fewer but more comprehensive personnel responsible for operating, maintaining and managing significantly changed plant" (C.N., Vol. 4, No. 5, August, 1985, p. 3).
309. C.N., Vol. 9, No. 6, September, 1990, p. 3. The employment of school leavers as operatives in production departments was phased out during the first half of the 1980's. An early Youth Training Scheme programme in the production sector of the factory failed and thereafter the government scheme was confined to the offices and other non-production areas.
310. *Ibid*, p. 5.
311. C.N., Vol. 9, No. 7, November, 1990, *loc.cit.*
312. C.N., Vol. 9, No. 6, September, 1990, *loc.cit.*
313. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1960), p. 22.
314. C.H.R. No. 301: 002439, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, June-December, 1963, Further Education Committee Minutes: August 9th., 1963.
315. B.W.M., Vol. LVIII, No. 8, August, 1960, p. 286; B.W.M., Vol. LXI, No. 11, November, 1963, p. 411; B.W.M., Vol. LXV, No. 3, March, 1967, pp. 98, 119. F. W. Jackson spent his entire fortyone years at the Bournville Cadbury factory in the steam

power unit, from which he retired in 1931. Before coming to Bournville from Stratford-on-Avon in 1890 he had served a six year apprenticeship with a boot and shoe maker. He died in 1967, aged 96.

316. C.H.R. No. 301: 002440, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, January-February, 1964, Further Education Committee Minutes: January 17th. and February 14th., 1964; C.H.R. No. 301: 002738, Works Council Annual Reports, 1964-1969: Bournville Works Council 46th. Annual Report (1963-64), p. 25.
317. C.H.R. No. 301: 002442, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July-December, 1964, Further Education Committee Minutes: October 9th., 1964.
318. C.H.R. No. 301: 002444, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July-December, 1965, Further Education Committee Minutes: September 10th., 1965.
319. Ibid: December 3rd., 1965.
320. B.W.M., Vol. LXIV, No. 8, August, 1966, p. 340.
321. C.H.R. No. 301: 002445, Bournville Works Council Minutes, January-June, 1966, Further Education Committee Minutes: March 25th., 1966.
322. Ibid: May 20th., 1966. See also C.H.R. No. 301: 002446, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July-December, 1966, Further Education Committee Minutes: September 9th., 1966.
323. C.H.R. No. 301: 002446, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July - December, 1966, Further Education Committee Minutes: October 7th., 1966.
324. C.H.R. No. 301: 002448, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July - December, 1967, Further Education Committee Minutes: September 8th., 1967.
325. C.H.R. No. 301: 002446, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July - December, 1966, Further Education Committee Minutes: loc.cit.
326. C.H.R. No. 301: 002447, Bournville Works Council Minutes, January - June, 1967, Further Education Committee Minutes: January 31st. and May 19th., 1967.
327. C.H.R. No. 301: 002450, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July - December, 1968, Further Education Committee Minutes: August 9th., 1968; C.H.R. No. 301: 002452, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July-November, 1969, Further Education Committee Minutes: September 26th., 1969.
328. C.H.R. No. 301: 002449, Bournville Works Council Minutes, January - June, 1968, Further Education Committee Minutes: May 3rd., 1968. For a brief period in the mid-1970's, starting with the 1973-74 session, the Education and Training Committee ran an evening class rebate scheme for women over 50 and men over 55 to assist them in taking courses that might help them make best use of their new-found leisure after retirement (C.H.R. No. 301: 002455, Bournville Works Council Minutes, January - June, 1974, Education and Training Committee Minutes: March 29th., 1974).
329. C.H.R. No. 301: 002450, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July - December, 1968, Further Education Committee Minutes: October 25th., 1968.

330. C.H.R. No. 301: 002452, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July - November, 1969, Further Education Committee Minutes: loc.cit.; C.H.R. No. 301: 002453, Bournville Works Council Minutes, December, 1969 - June, 1970, Education and Training Committee Minutes: January 16th., 1970.
331. C.H.R. No. 301: 002454, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July, 1970 - January, 1971, Education and Training Committee Minutes: September 25th., 1970.
332. C.H.R. No. 301: 002457, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July, 1971 - January, 1972, Education and Training Committee Minutes: July 23rd., 1971.
333. C.H.R. No. 301: 002462, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July 1974 - February, 1975, Education and Training Committee Minutes: July 5th. and August 23rd., 1974; B.R., Vol. 7, No. 5, July-August, 1975, p. 4.
334. The Club was still offering a few classes and courses in the early 1990's, largely catering for various types of dancing and "keep fit" activities.
335. C.H.R. No. 301: 002455, Bournville Works Council Minutes, January - June, 1974, Education and Training Committee Minutes: March 29th., 1974.
336. B.R., Vol. 6, No. 6, June, 1974, p. 1. These sort of courses were not unprecedented and had their counterparts before and after World War One.
337. B.R., Vol. 10, No. 4, July, 1978, p. 3; B.R., Vol. 11, No. 5, August, 1979, p. 3; B.R., Vol. 12, No. 2, April, 1980, p. 3. Such classes were reminiscent of the B.W.E.I. "English For Foreigners" courses of the early 1950's.
338. B.W.M., Vol. LXI, No. 12, December, 1963, p. 436; B.W.M., Vol. LXV, No. 4, April, 1967, pp. 126-127. In the first four years of its existence 2,500 women passed through the Factory Training Centre together with a few night-shift men on packing duties.
339. C.H.R. No. 301: 002454, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July, 1970 - January, 1971, Education and Training Committee Minutes: December 31st., 1970; B.W.M., Vol. XLIX, No. 10, October, 1951, p. 303; B.W.M., Vol. LVII, No. 2, February, 1959, pp. 49-51. The new-style technical trainees of the late 1980's utilized the tuition workshops of Midland Training Group Services and similar enterprises.
340. C.H.R. No. 301: 002457, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July, 1971 - January, 1972, Education and Training Committee Minutes: October 22nd., 1971.
341. B.W.M., Vol. XLIX, No. 1, January, 1951, p. 9; B.W.M., Vol. LVI, No. 1, January, 1958, p. 14; B.W.M., Vol. LX, No. 11, November, 1962, pp. 400-402; B.R., Vol. 2, No. 2, March, 1970, p. 3; B.R., Vol. 3, No. 11, January, 1972, p. 4; B.R., Vol. 9, No. 3, May - June, 1977, "Cadbury Schweppes Round-Up" supplement, p. iv; C.N., Vol. 8, No. 2, March, 1989, p. 9.
342. C.N., Vol. 4, No. 5, September - October, 1985, p. 9.
343. C.N., Vol. 4, No. 4, August, 1985, p. 3.
344. C.N., Vol. 4, No. 5, September - October, 1985, loc.cit.
345. Cadbury Management Initiative pack supplied to the author by the

Training and Development Department.

346. C.N., Vol. 9, No. 1, February, 1990, p. 5. See also C.N., Vol. 9, No. 3, May, 1990, p. 8.
347. B.M., Vol. 1, No. 5, October, 1969, p. 151.
348. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1960), p. 16.
349. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit., (1967), p. 10.
350. C.H.R. No. 301: 002454, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July, 1970 - January, 1971, Education and Training Committee Minutes: September 25th., 1970; C.H.R. No. 301: 002458, Bournville Works Council Minutes, February - June, 1972, Education and Training Committee Minutes: April 7th., 1972; C.H.R. No. 301: 002460, Bournville Works Council Minutes, January - June, 1973, Education and Training Committee Minutes: March 9th., 1973; C.H.R. No. 301: 002461, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July - December, 1973, Education and Training Committee Minutes: September 21st., 1973; C.H.R. No. 301: 002463, Bournville Works Council Minutes, March - December, 1975, Education and Training Committee Minutes: October 17th., 1975; C.H.R. No. 301: 002467, Bournville Council Minutes, July - December, 1977, Education and Training Committee Minutes: July 15th., 1977; B.W.M., Vol. LXV, No. 4, April, 1967, p. 126; C.N., Vol. 9, No. 6, September, 1990, loc.cit.; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1967), pp. 10-11.
351. C.H.R. No. 301: 002436, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, January - June, 1962, Further Education Committee Minutes: March 23rd., 1962; C.H.R. No. 301: 002437, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, July - December, 1962, Further Education Committee Minutes: August 10th., 1962; B.W.M., Vol. LX, No. 7, July, 1962, p. 252; B.W.M., Vol. LX, No. 10, October, 1962, pp. 364-365.
352. C.H.R. No. 301: 002438, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, January - June, 1963, Further Education Committee Minutes: June 7th., 1963; C.H.R. No. 301: 002442, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July - December, 1964, Further Education Committee Minutes: September 11th., 1964.
353. C.H.R. No. 301: 002438, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, January - June, 1963, Further Education Committee Minutes: loc.cit.; C.H.R. No. 301: 002439, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, July - December, 1963, Further Education Committee Minutes: September 27th., 1963; B.W.M., Vol. LXI, No. 10, October, 1963, p. 357.
354. B.W.M., Vol. LXII, No. 10, October, 1964, pp. 356-357.
355. C.H.R. No. 301: 002443, Bournville Works Council Minutes, January - June, 1965, Further Education Committee Minutes: May 21st., 1965; C.H.R. No. 301: 002444, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July - December, 1965, Further Education Committee Minutes: September 10th., 1965; B.W.M., Vol. LXIII, No. 10, October, 1965, p. 389.
356. B.W.M., Vol. LXIV, No. 8, August, 1966, p. 347.
357. C.H.R. No. 301: 002447, Bournville Works Council Minutes, January - June, 1967, Further Education Committee Minutes: June 9th., 1967.
358. C.H.R. No. 301: 002453, Bournville Works Council Minutes, December, 1969 - January, 1970, Education and Training Committee Minutes: June 5th., 1970.

359. B.W.M., Vol. LXI, No. 11, November, 1963, p. 392; B.W.M., Vol. LXII, No. 2, February, 1964, p. 64; B.W.M., Vol. LXIII, No. 2, February, 1965, p. 56. In 1965 Workers' Representatives became known simply as "Representatives" and the Shop Committees were renamed "Departmental Committees" because "the terms 'Workers' and 'Shop' [had] a rather old-fashioned, Victorian style inappropriate to a modern business." See C.H.R. No. 301: 002738, Works Council Annual Reports, 1964-1969: Bournville Works Council 47th. Annual Report (1964-65), p. 2. However, it was not until 1976 that the word "Works" was dropped and the title "Bournville Council" adopted in preference to "Bournville Works Council".
360. C.H.R. No. 301: 002452, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July - November, 1969: October 9th., 1969; C.H.R. No. 301: 002453, Bournville Works Council Minutes, December, 1969 - July, 1970, Education and Training Committee Minutes: January 16th., 1970; C.H.R. No. 301: 002458, Bournville Works Council Minutes, February - June, 1972, Education and Training Committee Minutes: February 11th., 1972; B.W.M., Vol. LXVI, No. 7, August, 1968, pp. 244-245; B.M. Vol. 1, No. 6, December, 1969, pp. 170-172; B.R., Vol. 1, No. 4, May, 1969, p. 3; B.R., Vol. 1, No. 10, November, 1969, p. 1; B.R., Vol. 1, No. 11, December, 1969, p. 1.
361. C.H.R. No. 301: 002022, Works Councils Annual Reports, 1958-1963: Bournville Works Men's Council 44th Annual Report (1961-62), pp. 2-3 and 45th. Annual Report (1962-63), p. 44; B.W.M., Vol. LIX, No. 9, September, 1961, p. 329; B.W.M., Vol. LX, No. 1, January, 1962, pp. 21-22.
362. B.W.M., Vol. LXV, No. 2, February, 1967, p. 56.
363. B.W.M., Vol. LXVI, No. 2, February, 1968, p. 62.
364. This summary is culled from the pages of the Bournville Works Magazine and the Bournville Reporter for the period together with the minutes of the Further Education and Education and Training Committees. A comprehensive and categorized list of the current range of Works Council scholarships can be found in C.H.R. No. 301: 002457, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July, 1971 - January, 1972, Education and Training Committee Minutes: November 30th., 1971. Up to 95% of average wages was paid for standard working hours lost to those attending short-term residential and part-time day courses plus National Health Insurance stamp and fares for travel where applicable. An additional £6 maximum (£10 from the 1974-75 session) could be paid for books and materials to students on certain designated courses such as part-time Fircroft and Fine Arts studies.
365. B.R., Vol. 2, No. 4, May, 1970, p. 2.
366. An excellent account of the problems that arose can be found in a contemporary report to the Education and Training Committee by W. A. Myatt and H. S. Adams, two of its members. The report concerned the better training of Departmental Committee secretaries and chairmen in the context of the intensifying and worsening difficulties being experienced in conducting and controlling meetings. See C.H.R. No. 301: 002465, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July-December, 1976, Education and Training Committee Minutes: September 6th., 1976.
367. C.H.R. No. 301: 002454, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July, 1970 - January, 1971, Education and Training Committee Minutes: September 25th., 1970. See also the minutes of the subsequent debate in the full Works Council meeting of January 27th., 1971.

368. C.H.R. No. 301: 002457, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July, 1971 - January, 1972, Education and Training Committee Minutes: loc.cit.; C.H.R. No. 301: 002469, Bournville Council Minutes, July, 1978 - February, 1979, Education and Training Committee Minutes: October 27th., 1978. Total spending on these grants dropped substantially with the raising of the school leaving age to 16 in 1973. By an odd quirk they were still in existence in 1991: unadvertised and unutilized - and still at £15!
369. B.R., Vol. 5, No. 11, January, 1974, p. 3; B.R., Vol. 6, No. 1, March, 1974, p. 3; B.R., Vol. 6, No. 2, April, 1974, p. 3 and pp. i-iii of the supplement "Cadbury Schweppes Report on 1973"; B.R., Vol. 7, No. 4, June, 1975, "Cadbury Schweppes Round-Up" supplement, p. i; B.R., Vol. II, No. 3, May, 1979, pp. 1, 3; B.R., Vol. II, No. 5, August, 1979, p. 1; B.R., Vol. II, No. 8, December, 1979, p. 3; B.R., Vol. 13, No. 4, May, 1981, p. 4.
370. B.R., Vol. 12, No. 4, July, 1980, p. 3; B.R., Vol. 13, No. 4, May, 1981, loc.cit.; C.N., Vol. 1, No. 1, September, 1981, p.10.
371. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1967), p. 7. In October, 1968, speaking to the Further Education Committee, J. S. Jones also mentioned a book scheme introduced "some years ago" under which employees on approved courses could obtain assistance of up to fifty percent with book costs in excess of £3 (C.H.R. No. 301: 002450, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July - December, 1968, Further Education Committee Minutes: loc.cit.).
372. B.R., Vol. 1, No. 6, July, 1969, p. 6.
373. B.W.M., Vol. LXIII, No. 6, June, 1965, p. 225.
374. C.H.R. No. 301: 002452, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July-November, 1969: loc.cit.; B.R., Vol. 1, No. 10, November, 1969, p. 10; B.R., Vol. 2, No. 9, October, 1970, p. 5.
375. B.R., Vol. 4, No. 3, April, 1972, p. 1. See also B.R., Vol. 4, No. 1, February, 1972, p. 8.
376. C.N., Vol. 9, No. 4, June, 1990, p. 8.
377. B.R., Vol. 3, No. 1, February, 1971, p. 1.
378. B.R., Vol. 1, No. 9, October, 1969, p. 5. Membership of the Works Library had peaked in 1948 at 2,689, when 145,142 books had been issued. In 1968 there were 1,500 members with book issues at fifty percent of the 1948 level. Nonetheless it continued to be "one of Bournville's most popular institutions ... its reading room newspapers and magazines ... daily in big demand [and] the reference section ... a draw for students" (ibid, loc.cit.).
379. Ibid, p. 3; B.R., Vol. 2, No. 1, February, 1970, p. 1; B.R., Vol. 3, No. 2, March, 1971, p. 1.
380. B.R., Vol. 9, No. 2, March - April, 1977, p. 3; B.R., Vol. 9, No. 4, July, 1977, p. 3; B.R., Vol. 9, No. 5, August - September, 1977, p. 1; C.N., Vol. 4, No. 7, December, 1985, p. 11.
381. B.R., Vol. 12, No. 8, December, 1980, p. 1; B.R., Vol. 13, No. 4, May, 1981, p. 3; C.N., Vol. 1, No. 8, June, 1982, p. 5.
382. "Birmingham Evening Mail", 10th. July, 30th. July and 17th. September, 1985, 31st. December, 1986; "The Carillon: Bournville Village Trust News", Autumn, 1985.
383. C.N., Vol. 1, No. 4, December, 1981, p. 1; C.N., Vol. 2, No. 3,

- December, 1982, p. 1; C.N., Vol. 3, No. 5, July, 1984, p. 8.
384. B.R., Vol. 6, No. 5, July, 1974, p. 12.
385. B.R., Vol. 13, No. 4, May, 1981, loc.cit.
386. B.R., Vol. II, No. 7, November, 1979, "Cadbury Schweppes Round-Up" supplement, p. iii. In the 1970 attitude survey amongst a sample of 586 workers only 38 people had said they would miss sports, social and other amenities if they left the Bournville factory for a job elsewhere (B.R., Vol. 3, No. 5, July, 1971, p. 2). Eight years before the much bigger survey covering most production department employees at Cadbury found that the overwhelming majority rated the sports and social facilities very highly and "were more than satisfied with" them (C.H.R. No. 330: 002575, Survey on Attitudes to Employment at Bournville, pp. 6, 9).
387. B.R., Vol. 12, No. 9, January, 1981, p. 2; B.R., Vol. 13, No. 4, May, 1981, loc.cit.
388. B.R., Vol. 12, No. 8, December, 1980, loc.cit.
389. B.R., Vol. 12, No. 7, October, 1980, p. 4.
390. B.R., Vol. 3, No. 1, February, 1971, p. 2. The merger mentioned in the letter is that with Schweppes and the statement from the Chairman was the annual report for 1968 published in 1969 when the Schweppes merger was proceeding.
391. B.R., Vol. 13, No. 4, May, 1981, loc.cit. For an account of managerial behaviour in the period of rapid change at Cadbury from the 1960's through the 1970's and 1980's see Smith, C., Child, J. and Rowlinson, M., Reshaping Work - The Cadbury Experience (1990). See also the following working papers generated by the mid-1980's South West Birmingham Project, which was centred on Aston University Business School and examined the consequences of economic restructuring in the area with Cadbury Schweppes at Bournville and the Rover Group at Longbridge as its main focus: Maguire, M. and Smith, D., Dimensions of Restructuring in South West Birmingham: An Exploratory Analysis (September, 1985); Smith, D., Factory Regimes: Historical and Comparative Perspectives With Particular Reference To South West Birmingham (June, 1987); Smith, D., Industrial Transformation, Residential Change and Politics In South West Birmingham (August, 1987); Smith, D., Plant Level Restructuring: A Framework For Analysis Based Upon Reflection On the Cases Of Austin Rover At Longbridge and Cadbury Schweppes At Bournville (December, 1987); Smith, D., The Flexible Factory: A Comparison of Two Cases From South West Birmingham (December, 1987).
392. B.R., Vol. 12, No. 7, October, 1980, p. 2.
393. B.R., Vol. 12, No. 9, January, 1981, loc.cit.
394. C.N., Vol. 5, No. 2, April, 1986, p. 2.
395. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1967), pp. 5-6.
396. Ibid, p. 5; B.W.M., Vol. LXVII, No. 4, April, 1968, p. 153; B.R., Vol. 1, No. 3, April, 1969, p. 7; B.R., Vol. 2, No. 3, April, 1970, p. 3.
397. C.H.R. No. 301: 002452, Bournville Works Council Minutes, July-November, 1969: loc.cit.; B.R., Vol. 2, No. 2, March, 1970, p. 7.

398. B.R., Vol. 2, No. 10, November, 1970, loc.cit.
399. C.H.R. No. 301: 002460, Bournville Works Council Minutes, January-June, 1973, Education and Training Committee Minutes: April 6th., 1973.
400. C.N., Vol. 7, No. 8, December, 1988, p. 9.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. C.N., Vol. 8, No. 4, June, 1989, p. 2.
2. B.W.M., Vol. XLII, No. 1, January, 1944, p. 5; B.W.M., Vol. XLVI, No. 12, December, 1948, pp. 245-248.
3. Quoted in Scott, R., Elizabeth Cadbury, 1858-1951 (1955), p. 11.
4. Cadbury Brothers, An Outline of the Educational Scheme Connected With The Bournville Works (1912, abridged version), p. 1. The 1912 pamphlet came out in detailed and shorter versions; only the shorter is extant in the historical records at Bournville.
5. B.W.M., Vol. XLVI, No. 12, December, 1948, pp. 243-244.
6. B.W.M., Vol. III, No. 1, November, 1904, p. 16; B.W.M., Vol. V, No. 2, December, 1906, p. 59; Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1927), p. 31.
7. B.W.M., Vol. XIV, No. 7, July, 1916, p. 187.
8. B.W.M., Vol. XII, No. 10, October, 1914, p. 295.
9. B.W.M., Vol. XV, No. 9, September, 1917, p. 232.
10. B.W.M., Vol. X, No. 2, February, 1912, p. 35.
11. Cadbury, E., op.cit., Introduction, pp. XIX-XX.
12. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 5.
13. Ibid, p. 3.
14. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1948), pp. 4-5.
15. Ibid, p. 5.
16. Ibid, p. 4.
17. Ibid, p. 10.
18. Ibid, p. 14.
19. Ibid, p. 4; Cadbury Brothers, Joint Consultation (1963 edition), pp. 14-15.
20. B.W.M., Vol. XLIV, No. 8, August, 1946, p. 163.
21. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1948), pp. 13-14.
22. Ibid, p.4.
23. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: April 4th., 1946.

24. B.M., Vol. 1, No. 1, February, 1969, p. 26.
25. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: July 19th., 1946.
26. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 41. See also B.W.M., Vol. XXXIII, No. 9, September, 1935, "Educational Facilities, Session 1935-36" leaflet insert.
27. C.H.R. No. 363: 002333, Women's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: November 19th., 1935.
28. C.H.R. No. 365: 001911, Bournville Works Classes Management Committee Minutes, 1906-1912: December 6th., 1907.
29. C.N., Vol. 9, No. 2, March, 1990, p. 2.
30. Ministry of Education, Education in 1963 (Cmd. 2316, 1964), p. 57. See also Ministry of Education, Education in 1962 (Cmd. 1990, 1963), p. 70.
31. Education in 1964, p. 76.
32. C.H.R. No. 301: 002374, Bournville Works Men's Council Minute Book No. 3, June-December, 1920: Report For The Period November 21st., 1918 To December 31st., 1919 discussed at the Council meeting of July 19th., 1920.
33. B.W.M., Vol. XXI, No. 1, January, 1923, loc.cit.
34. C.H.R. No. 360: 002651, Scholarships Survey By Works Councils, 1952: Completed Questionnaires.
35. C.H.R. No. 301: 002021, Works Councils Annual Reports, 1938-1957: Bournville Works Men's Council 34th. Annual Report (1951-52), p. 9.
36. B.W.M., Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, January, 1936, p. 28.
37. B.W.M., Vol. L, No. 9, September, 1952, pp. 283-284.
38. B.W.M., Vol. LIV, No. 3, March, 1956, pp. 96-97.
39. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 36.
40. C.H.R. No. 360: 001835, Education Department Notices: 1923-1931, p. 77.
41. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), pp. 38-39.
42. B.W.M., Vol. XXXIV, No. 10, October, 1936, p. 331.
43. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 59.
44. For an excellent exposition of this ecumenical view of recreation by an independent observer see Harris, D.C., "Education For Leisure", Vocational Aspect, Vol. XVIII, No. 41, Autumn, 1966, passim, but especially pp. 204-205. See also Arnold, P. J., Education, Movement and the Curriculum: A Philosophic Enquiry (1988) and Kirk, D., Physical Education and Curriculum Study (1988).
45. C.H.R. No. 351: 001997, "1896 And All That": Fifty Years of the Bournville Athletic Club, 1896-1946, p. 20.
46. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1935), p. 7.

47. B.W.M., Vol. LIII, No. 3, March, 1955, p. 193.
48. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 56.
49. C.N., Vol. 2, No. 9, September, 1983, p. 2.
50. C.H.R. No. 350: 003038, Bournville Youth's Club Handbook (undated, but circa 1949), p.9.
51. B.W.M., Vol. VI, No. 12, October, 1908, p. 360.
52. Cadbury, E., op.cit., p. 14.
53. Ibid, p. 67.
54. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1945), p. 64.
55. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1948), p. 9.
56. Ibid, loc.cit.
57. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1951), p. 9.
58. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1948), loc.cit.
59. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1945), loc.cit.
60. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 32.
61. Gillett, C. W., "Part-Time Day Education In Operation: An Employer's Experience" in British Association For Commercial And Industrial Education, The Value Of Part-Time Day Education And Some Methods Of Organizing It (1943), p. 21.
62. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), loc.cit.
63. Ibid, p. 33.
64. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: May 7th., 1948. Irrespective of employer, the firm also paid for the physical training clothing of students at the Day Continuation School - "College" from 1949. Only in that year did the local education authority agree to defray 50% (approximately £1,000) of the annual cost to Cadbury. See ibid: April 29th., 1949, July 11th., 1950 and City of Birmingham Education Committee Minutes 26th May, 1949, to 1st May, 1950: July 4th., 1949.
65. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1948), loc.cit.
66. Gillett, art.cit., loc.cit.
67. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1945), loc.cit.
68. Gillett, art.cit., pp. 18, 23.
69. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1948), p. 3.
70. Davies, A. T., Industrial Training (1956), p. 35.
71. Ibid, pp. 35-36. The amounts spent on education and associated educative-recreational activities at Cadbury in comparison with the firm's total outlay is extremely difficult to discover from the available records, but the proportion seems to have been relatively small. There was a substantial cost incurred, but it was not massive and the benefits accruing were clearly felt to justify the money and effort expended.

72. Cadbury, E., op.cit., Preface, pp. XII-XIII.
73. B.W.M., Vol. LIV, No. 3, March, 1956, p. 96.
74. B.W.M., Vol. L, No. 10, October, 1952, p. 338. He was speaking at a meeting of the Old Fircrofters Guild.
75. C.H.R. No. 330: 002044, "Information-Cadbury: A Guide For Employees" (1966), p. 17.
76. B.W.M., Vol. XLII, No. 11, November, 1944, p. 185.
77. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p.35.
78. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1948), p. 7.
79. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1963), p. 15.
80. Simon, op.cit. (1965), p. 307.
81. Marsland, D., "Education and Training as Transformation of Persons: Some Mechanisms of Socialization", Vocational Aspect, Vol. XXIV, No. 57, Spring, 1972, p. 9.
82. Ibid, p. 11.
83. Smith, D., op.cit. (June, 1987), pp. 24-25.
84. B.W.M., Vol. XLII, No. 11, November, 1944, loc.cit.
85. B.W.M., Vol. XXXV, No. 1, January, 1937, p. 15.
86. C.H.R. No. 330: 002575, Survey of Attitudes to Employment at Bournville, p. 6.
87. Cadbury, E., op.cit., pp. 262-263. See also Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964), p. 71.
88. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 49.
89. Ibid, pp. 32-33.
90. C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: September 27th., 1946.
91. Davies, op.cit., loc.cit.
92. C.H.R. No. 301: 002391, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, January-June, 1929, Scholarships Committee Report No. 1: January 15th., 1929; B.W.M., Vol. LI, No. 10, October, 1953, p. 329; B.W.M., Vol. XLIV, No. 9, April, 1956, pp. 126-127; B.W.M., Vol. LV, No. 1, January 1957 p. 25.
93. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1935), p. 7. Emphasis in original.
94. B.W.M., Vol. XLIII, No. 5, May, 1945, p. 90.
95. B.W.M., Vol. XLII, No. 3, March, 1944, pp. 40-41.
96. Ibid, loc.cit.
97. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1964), p. 60.
98. C.H.R. No. 301: 002292, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1944-1948: March 29th., 1947. Record of a tribute paid at an Education Week in Birmingham from 8th. to 15th. March, 1947 held to mark the raising of the school leaving age to 15.

99. C.H.R. No. 360: 003040, Schools Department Materials Catalogue (1952). C.H.R. Nos. 360: 002162 and 360: 002157 contain catalogues from 1954 and 1962 respectively. In addition to texts of various kinds, teaching aids supplied to schools and colleges comprised, inter alia, films, film-strips, slides, charts and models. They emanated from a flourishing Schools Department (subsequently Schools Service) that generated a variety of material, mostly about cocoa and chocolate manufacture, for free distribution or sale to educational establishments. Speakers were also available to visit and deliver talks on the company and its products. There were no less than six of these engaged full time on the task in 1970 (B.R., Vol. 2, No. 1, February, 1970, pp. 4-5). In 1991 the Public Relations Department dealt with this kind of work while the Training and Development Department had links with twentythree schools under a schools and industry programme designed to increase awareness and understanding of the role of industry in the economy, (C.N., Vol. 10, No. 2, March, 1991, p. 8).
100. C.H.R. No. 363: 003079, Bournville Works Education Committee Minutes, 1908-1915: March 24th., 1915. Others were: domestic - Starkie Barnes, former Inspector of Schools, Birmingham; Miss F. Nicholson, Leeds Education Committee; J. G. Ketchen, London; Miss A. T. Marks, His Majesty's Inspector, Board of Education; and approximately forty delegates from a conference of the Friends' Guild of Teachers at Woodbroke; foreign - J. Sassenbach, Secretary of the Trades Council and member of the Berlin Education Authority; Dr. Franz Zahnbrecher, Numberg, and Karl Otto Wagner, Muhlhausen, Germany; Reverend A. W. Kuusisto, Helsingfors, Finland; H. G. Cousins, Auckland Training College and Miss Emily K. Naylor, New Zealand; plus a party of twenty Americans on a social study tour enquiring into educational issues.
101. Quoted in C.H.R. No. 363: 002292, Men's Education committee Minutes, 1944-1948: November 29th., 1946.
102. B.W.M., Vol. LXIII, No. 8, August, 1965, p. 318.
103. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1948), p. 3.
104. Cadbury had a thriving Publication Department at Bournville that issued works of both a general nature on the firm and also of a more specialist type on the techniques of cocoa and chocolate production. What became the Cadbury Schweppes Group Publications Department closed in 1987, transformed into a separate independent enterprise operating on a contract basis for the company from offices just outside Birmingham.
105. B.W.M., Vol. VII, No. 6, April, 1909, p. 192; Cadbury Brothers, Thirty Years Of Progress, 1879-1909 (1909), p. 5. The deputation, consisting largely of educational interests, cited the firm's innovations at Bournville and the Prime Minister was reported as replying that if more employers made attendance at continuation school a condition of employment, like Cadbury, then part of the problem at least would be solved.
106. B.W.M., Vol. XXVI, No. 5, May, 1928, p. 143; B.W.M., Vol. XXX, No. 11, November, 1932, p. 353.
107. C.H.R. No. 301: 002432, Bournville Works Men's Council Minutes and Reports, 1956: April 12th., 1956, Report to Council of Education Committee meeting held on April 6th., 1956. Two Central Advisory Councils (one each for England and Wales) had been set up in 1944 to advise the Minister of Education on "such matters connected with educational theory and practice as they think fit and upon any questions referred to them by him"

- (Education, 1900-1950, pp. 10-11).
108. C.N., Vol. 8, No. 2, March, 1989, p. 9.
109. Cadbury Schweppes Group, Annual Report, 1985.
110. C.H.R. No. 330: 002642, Appointment of Women to Management Staff - 1951 Correspondence with the Institute of Personnel Management.
111. C.H.R. No. 363: 002295, Education Committee Minutes, 1948-1954: May 7th., 1948; B.M., Vol. 1, No. 4, August, 1969, p. 107. For the development of B.A.C.I.E. see Dawe, T. M., An Outline History Of The British Association For Commercial And Industrial Education, 1929-1953 (1954, unpublished manuscript in B.A.C.I.E. archives) and Powell, L., Sixty Years Of B.A.C.I.E. (1979).
112. B.W.M., Vol. LII, No. 11, November, 1954, p. 379.
113. C.H.R. No. 363: 002324, Men's Education Committee Minutes, 1930-1943: March 5th., 1937; B.W.M., Vol. XLII, No. 5, May, 1944, p. 83. In 1976 the Open University and B.B.C. television devoted an entire programme called "Educating the Workforce" to the story of the Bournville Day Continuation School, and the link with Cadbury, as part of the University's Schooling and Society course E202.
114. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 28.
115. B.W.M., Vol. VIII, No. 13, November, 1910, p. 388.
116. B.W.M., Vol. X, No. 1, January, 1912, p. 3. A Board of Education Inspector's report of 1912 reinforces this assertion. "The enlargement of the city boundaries has brought into the city a district where the interest of the employer has had a very marked effect on the work of and attendance at the evening schools; this is the King's Norton area, in which the Works of Messrs. Cadbury Brothers are situated. This firm has worked out a very complete scheme for the improvement of its employees. An important feature of the scheme is the use made of the schools provided by the local authority". Quoted in Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), loc.cit.
117. B.W.M., Vol. XLVIII, No. 10, October, 1950, pp. 298-299.
118. Weedall, Ward and Twyman, op.cit., p. 59.
119. B.W.M., Vol. XLVIII, No. 8, August, 1950, pp. 236-252.
120. B.R., Vol. 1, No. 11, December, 1969, p. 3.
121. Rossetter, W., "Youth Workers As Educators" in Jeffs, T. and Smith, M., editors, Youth Work (1986), p. 52.
122. B.W.M., Vol. XLI, No. 11, November, 1943, pp. 181-182.
123. McCrone, K. E., Sport and the Physical Emanicipation of English Women, 1870-1914 (1988). This book is an excellent exploration of its chosen theme and puts contemporary events at Cadbury into their national perspective.
124. B.W.M., Vol. XLII, No. 1, January, 1944, p. 4.
125. B.W.M., Vol. XLII, No. 3, March, 1944, p. 40; B.W.M., Vol. LVI, No. 12, December, 1958, loc.cit.
126. B.W.M., Vol. XLI, No. 11, November, 1943, p. 174.

127. B.W.M., Vol. XXIX, No. 12, December, 1931, p. 364.
128. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 43.
129. A comprehensive investigation into why it still pertains that so few girls receive leave from work for part-time study can be found in Benett, Y. and Carter, D., Day Release For Girls (1983).
130. Weedall, op.cit., p. 42.
131. Cater, art.cit., p. 41.
132. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1948), p. 3.
133. B.W.M., Vol. XXXVII, No. 3, March, 1939, p. 71.
134. A common story even in the 1990's highlighted in the January 9th., 1991 edition of the B.B.C. R5 "Education Matters" series.
135. The Further Education Of The General Student, p. 20.
136. Ibid, pp. 17-18. Compulsion would be especially efficacious for females, who usually do not get day release from work if in employment, a situation David Hopkinson has condemned as "not only unjust to individuals but disastrous for the future of our society". See Hopkinson, D., "The 16-18 Question", Trends In Education, No. 20, October, 1970, p. 9.
137. Education, 1900-1950, p. 38.
138. Triggs, E., "The Quest For Pre-Vocationalism: New Directions", Vocational Aspect, Vol. XL, No. 105, April, 1988, pp. 3-4; Norton-Williams, R. and Finch, S., Enquiry 1: Young School Leavers (1968); Department of Education and Science, Schools And Working Life: Some Initiatives (1981); Jamieson, I. and Lightfoot, M., Schools And Industry: Derivatives From the Schools Council Industry Project (1982).
139. "The Guardian", March 1st., 1989.
140. Times Educational Supplement, May 18th., 1990, p. A2.
141. Mills, E., "Work As A Learning Experience" in Vermilye, D. W., editor, Relating Work And Education (1977), p. 90.
142. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 5.
143. B.W.M., Vol. XLIII, No. 8, August, 1945, p. 149.
144. "Sowing The Seedcorn", B.B.C. R4, January 17th., 1991.
145. James E. and Benjamin, G., Public Policy And Private Education In Japan (1988), p. 48. It has been argued that it is this stress on the general-academic that leads Japanese teenagers to be two years ahead of their contemporaries in Europe and the United States. See Lynn, R., Educational Achievement In Japan (1987).
146. B.W.M., Vol. XXVI, No. 5, May, 1928, p. 143.
147. B.W.M., Vol. IX, No. 5, May, 1911, p. 149.
148. B.W.M., Vol. XLIX, No. 12, December, 1951, pp. 371-372; B.W.M., Vol. LIII, No. 12, December, 1955, p. 423. The residential nature of the courses was regarded as a significant aspect of them, giving participants a chance to be in a wholly different atmosphere to that of their normal home and work surroundings in which they could meet counterparts from other businesses.

Cadbury was a very strong exponent of the value of residential courses, conferences and gatherings.

149. Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission (Command Paper 3966, 1867-68), Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 72.
150. The question has absorbed a very considerable amount of scholarly attention in the last quarter century. An excellent account highlighting the role of education is Roderick, G. W. and Stephens, M. D., editors, Industry, Education and the Economy of Britain, Volume 1, Where Did We Go Wrong? (1981), Volume 2, The British Malaise (1982). Chapter 11 of Barnett, C., The Audit Of War (1986) assesses that role in a brief compass. Perhaps the best synthesis of all the factors is contained in Kirby, M. W., The Decline Of British Economic Power Since 1870 (1981) while Sked, A., Britain's Decline: Problems and Perspectives (1987) is a neat and concise summary of the whole debate.
151. A Job With A View, booklet aimed at school leavers, circa late 1940's. Contained in C.H.R. No. 360: 001950, Training Courses Before 1950: Programmes and Timetables.
152. Davies, op.cit., p. 35.
153. Green, A., Education and State Formation (1990). Barnett, op.cit., p. 210 sees the tardiness as a consequence of "the profound British dislike" of centrally controlled state organizations and services that are a charge on public funds.
154. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 6.
155. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 44.
156. A not unusual outcome - scepticism frequently turns to appreciation. See The Further Education Of The General Student, pp. 6, 16.
157. B.W.M., Vol. LXI, No. 11, November, 1963, p. 402.
158. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 45.
159. Midwinter, E., Education and the Community (1975), pp. 16, 98.
160. B.W.M., Vol. XXXIV, No. 12, December, 1936, p. 390. See also B.W.M., Vol. XXXIX, No. 6, June, 1941, pp. 133-134 and B.W.M., Vol. LXI, No. 1, January, 1963, pp. 7-8.
161. Fordham, P., Poulton, G. and Randle, L., Learning Networks In Adult Education (1979), pp. 160-161.
162. Midwinter, E., Patterns Of Community Education (1973), p. 8.
163. B.W.M., Vol. LIII, No. 12, December, 1955, loc.cit.
164. Garforth, F. W., Education and Social Purpose (1962), p. 101.
165. Midwinter, op.cit. (1975), p. 96.
166. Fielding, Sir Leslie, Perestroicka in Academe - Or "Carry On, Vice-Chancellor!", address to the annual general meeting of the Institute of Manpower Studies, December, 1990, pp. 6-7.
167. Stephens, M. D., "Education, Economics and Social Change" in Molyneux, F., Low, G. and Fowler, G., editors, Learning For Life (1988), p. 4. [The title of this book suggests to the author he should have patented the same title of his thesis when he started it!].

168. Stephens, M. D., editor, Culture, Education and the State (1988), p. XIII, editor's Introduction.
169. Stephens, art.cit., loc.cit.
170. Fordham, Poulton and Randle, op.cit., p. 5.
171. Midwinter, op.cit. (1973), p. 72.
172. Gleeson, D. and Mardale, G., Further Education or Training? (1980), p. 2.
173. Rosseter, art.cit., loc.cit.
174. Gleeson and Mardale, op.cit., pp. 146-147.
175. Simon, B., Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870 (1960), pp. 126-127.
176. B.M., Vol. 1, No. 5, October, 1969, p. 151.
177. B.W.M., Vol. XLVII, No. 8, August, 1950, p. 252.
178. Department of Education and Science, Education in 1965 (Cmnd. 2938, 1966), p. 9.
179. Sandford, J. and Law, R., Synthetic Fun (1967).
180. Stephens, editor, op.cit., loc.cit.
181. Mrs. Gertrude Haynes, who started at Cadbury in 1904 (letter B.R., Vol. 11, No. 4, July, 1979, p. 4). This was, perhaps epitomized by the way in which, though the pot-boilers were in the Works Library, the Bournville Works Magazine noted approvingly in 1935 that the borrowing of books "of a more lasting character and value ... [than] light fiction ... is growing" (B.W.M., Vol. XXXIII, No. 1, January, 1935, p. 25). Again in the late 1950's there was rejoicing in the magazine at a trend to read "more serious books" in the Library shown by an upsurge in the demand for them (B.W.M., Vol. LV, No. 10, October, 1957, p. 362).
182. Whitely, W. M., The Uneducated English (1969), pp. 2-3.
183. Midwinter, op.cit. (1973), pp. 32-33.
184. Garforth, op.cit., p. 7.
185. Musgrave, P. W., "A Model For the Analysis of the Development of the English Educational System From 1860" in Musgrave, P. W., editor, Sociology, History and Education: A Reader (1970), pp. 20-21.
186. These developments are covered from various perspectives in Baron, S., Finn, D., Grant, N., Green, M. and Johnson, R., Unpopular Education (1981); Hough, J. R., Education and the National Economy (1988); Pollard, A., Purvis J. and Walford, G., editors, Education, Training and the New Vocationalism (1988); and Plunkett, D., Secular and Spiritual Values (1990).
187. Midwinter, op.cit. (1973), p. 32.
188. For an exposition of the primacy to be accorded general education see Burstyn, J. N., editor, Preparation For Life (1986). Its most important gift is the ability to reason objectively.
189. "Sowing the Seedcorn".

190. Stephens, art.cit., loc.cit.
191. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1923), p. 27.
192. Cadbury Brothers, op.cit. (1938), p. 5.
193. Davies, op.cit., pp. 36-38.
194. Sleeve notes, "Rhythm Nation" album (1990).
195. Personal interview with author.
196. Personal interview with author.
197. Personal interview with author.
198. Personal interview with author.
199. Personal interview with author. John Bartlett retired in 1976 and he indicated he was of the opinion that the years from 1962 with the Stock Exchange quotation and then the merger with Schweppes had been ones of "quite traumatic change" for the chocolate manufacturers.
200. B.W.M., Vol. LVIII, No. 3, March, 1960, p. 92.

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