

## **‘Belles from Bristol and Bournville in new surroundings’: female confectionery workers as transnational agents, 1918-1928.**

Dr Emma Robertson

**Abstract:** In existing histories of the development of multinational business, women are usually absent. Yet when the British confectionery companies of Cadbury, Fry and Pascall took the bold step to build an entirely new factory in Tasmania in the early 1920s, women workers were important, and mobile, actors. This article draws on business history archives and genealogical material, from both Britain and Australia, to explore how a select group of British women became the ‘pioneers’ of the Cadbury-Fry-Pascall company. It examines why women were key to the formation of an Australian subsidiary, how they influenced, and sometimes challenged, the creation of workplace culture and practice, and the consequences of this mode of female labour migration.

**Keywords:** Chocolate; women; labour; Australia; Britain; migration; Cadbury; Fry; interwar; multinational

### **Introduction:**

In July 1921, Miss Maud M. Gallimore left her home in Kings Norton, Birmingham, and her work as a forewoman at Cadbury Bournville, to set sail for the Australian state of Tasmania. Two months later, accompanied by Bournville colleagues, Mr Maurice Oyston (Wages Office) and Mr Arthur Lodge (Costs Office), she arrived at an unfinished 246 acre factory site on the isolated Claremont peninsular nine miles to the north of Hobart.<sup>1</sup> She had been appointed Chief Forewoman of what was to become a brand new confectionery manufacturing facility, established through the partnership of three British firms: Cadbury, Fry and Pascall.<sup>2</sup> The new factory was intended to circumvent Australian import tariffs and to allow each company to reclaim the profitable market lost to local manufacturers such as MacRobertson during the First World War.<sup>3</sup> By the mid 1920s, over forty migrant workers had arrived from the three partner firms, including the sixteen women employees who are at the centre of this study. A photograph in the Cadbury inhouse journal, *Bournville Works Magazine*, depicted five of these ‘Belles from

Bristol and Bournville', relaxing at the waters' edge in Tasmania, seemingly enjoying their new life.<sup>4</sup> Beyond such romantic imaginings, their experiences provide important evidence of the complexities of labour migration for women, of female worker agency in the imperial/global economy, and of the transnational transmission and translation of gendered corporate and shopfloor cultures.

The experiences of Miss Gallimore and her fellow Cadbury-Fry-Pascall (CFP) workers do not fit into prevailing models of single, working-class women's emigration to the British dominions. Unlike the interwar female migrants studied by Jan Gothard, for example, they were not destined for domestic service.<sup>5</sup> Nor were they funded by the sponsorship of either government or philanthropic institutions.<sup>6</sup> Whilst their emigration was almost exactly coterminous with the implementation of the Empire Settlement Act of 1922, they were not part of this arrangement, even as it provides an important context.<sup>7</sup> These women moved explicitly as factory workers – a particularly undesirable category of migrants from the Australian perspective – and their migration was instigated and assisted by British business interests.<sup>8</sup> CFP did not intend them to marry for the good of dominion demographics, at least not until they had completed their initial contracts. These women may be exceptional, and small in number, but their experiences are nonetheless instructive in questioning current accepted understandings of female migration in this period.

The labour migration of women factory workers is worthy of further exploration. As Joy Parr has noted, a factory scheme existed as part of the British Women's Emigration Society from 1904. Yet Parr is one of the very few scholars to examine the direct recruitment of women by industry, across national borders.<sup>9</sup> There have been studies of the internal migration of young single women to textile mills in the nineteenth century but these women, as Wendy Gordon has explored, generally left rural areas to pursue new, unfamiliar factory employment.<sup>10</sup> Parr examines the assisted migration of approximately 700 experienced women textile workers from the English Midlands to Paris, Canada between 1907 and 1928. Whilst there are some important similarities with the case of CFP, these women were recruited as contract labourers by the Canadian Penmans Company rather

than moving within one organisation.<sup>11</sup> Intra-company migrations are typically associated with the post-Second World War era, with women rarely taking part except as accompanying family members.<sup>12</sup>

Existing studies of women's migration do provide helpful conceptual frameworks. There has been a welcome emphasis on women's agency and on the gendered experience of mobility.<sup>13</sup> A recent trend towards the transnational, as in the edited collection on Italian women by Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta, has inspired new approaches that hold multiple locations in tension – rather than focusing primarily on the experiences of migrants at a single end point.<sup>14</sup> As James Hammerton points out, migrants have always been inherently 'transnational'.<sup>15</sup> However, in adopting the terminology of 'transnational agents' here, I argue that the CFP women have something new to tell us about labour migration histories. They acted transnationally not simply in the sense of crossing, and sometimes re-crossing, national borders but also in becoming conscious agents of transnational capital. Their working lives provide a corrective to business histories of multinationals that ignore human actors, especially women.<sup>16</sup> Rather than reifying the nation in this analysis, I emphasise the on-going construction of, and challenges to, 'national' borders – processes that these women experienced at a very personal level. Whilst transnational terminology is problematic in obscuring the persistent imperial dimension to the relationship between Britain and Australia (as Hammerton observes, shared British subject status meant that emigration could be conceptualised by some migrants as 'translocal'), the very existence of a CFP factory in Hobart was partly a product of tariffs intended to define and protect 'national' borders since Australian Federation in 1901.<sup>17</sup>

Despite an emphasis on border crossings and mobility, I do not intend to neglect the locally grounded lives of these sixteen women: in England (Bournville, Bristol and London) and in Australia (Hobart). Through the institutions of Cadbury, Fry and Pascall, these localities were intricately interconnected, and held in tension, both with each other and with the interwar global economy.<sup>18</sup> Thus women workers (in Britain and Australia) were, as Christiane Harzig argues, simultaneously local and global agents. Indeed, Janine Dahinden suggests the

transnational is predicated on the interrelationship between mobility and locality.<sup>19</sup> CFP would not succeed in Hobart without a knowledge of local conditions and for this they depended partly on the insights provided by migrant workers.

This article brings together individual labour migration histories with corporate history. Mary Louise Roberts notes the absence of women in the company archive as one of the challenges of studying transnational gender history.<sup>20</sup> This is not the case here. By reading against the grain in official company documents held in Britain and Australia, exploring materials beyond the Board minutes (including in-house journals) and accessing additional genealogical material such as census data and shipping records, I retrace the working lives of individual women as they moved between parent and subsidiary firms, between metropole and dominion.<sup>21</sup> This is important not only for recognising the agency of women in the imperial/global economy; it also contributes to a broader understanding of how the founding of multinational enterprise has been deeply gendered.<sup>22</sup> The actions of Boards of Directors, for example, have been informed by the performance of certain kinds of masculinities, and the recruitment of a new labour force overseas was determined by ideologies of gender partly imported from the 'home' organisation but also redefined in relation to a new local context.<sup>23</sup>

As Catherine Hall recently argued, women and gender matter to mainstream thinking on big historical problems – in this instance, labour and globalisation.<sup>24</sup> This article positions women as central agents in the CFP story for the first time.<sup>25</sup> In so doing, it offers rich insights into the lived gendered dynamics of employment in British multinationals at a local, national and transnational level. I begin by introducing the female 'pioneers' of CFP and establishing the processes of corporate-assisted emigration. Next, I focus on these women as agents of corporate culture, organisation and practice. Finally, I consider how the CFP women were able to resist, challenge and reframe business objectives according to their own experiences and ambitions as skilled labour migrants.

### **Wanted Down Under: the female 'pioneers'**

Between 1921 and 1924, twelve women arrived at the Hobart factory site from the three partner firms, on contracts of between two to five years. A further three moved without a specific contract but with the promise of work. Miss V Wallace became one of the last women to be recruited directly from the home firms in 1925, by which time CFP managers in Australia were arguing it would be 'impolitic' to employ English over Australian workers given the economic climate.<sup>26</sup> In establishing their subsidiary, the Directors (including one woman, Dorothy Cadbury) required the expert knowledge of 'a skilled nucleus of workers' from the home firms – including of women – if they were to recreate the standard of confectionery produced in England. It was this 'quality' that would win back customers who had previously bought their imported goods.<sup>27</sup> Parr argues that in the Penmans case, whilst male managers viewed women's skills as 'limited', 'The healthy profitability of the firm ... depended on them sufficiently to justify the inconvenience of off-shore recruitment and the risk of extending pre-paid passages.'<sup>28</sup> For CFP, being able to recruit tried and tested employees from within the parent companies reduced such risks.

The transfer of workers between UK firms and their Australian subsidiaries was not without precedent, although documented examples of women as migrant industrial workers are rare. Bryant and May had encouraged at least one woman to emigrate from Britain when it opened its Melbourne matchmaking factory in 1909. She had been engaged in training local workers.<sup>29</sup> More broadly, specialist workers had been deliberately imported to aid industrial development in Australia from the late nineteenth century. Raelene Frances found that manufacturers brought out male workers from England for their knowledge of work practices and of new technology. Eric Richards similarly notes that 'the Victorian textile industry grew with substantial reinforcement derived from imported British labour' but does not clarify whether this included women, nor the extent to which this was a policy adopted by individual firms.<sup>30</sup> The assumption is generally that women migrants were targeted not for their industrial skills but for their domestic labour and reproductive capacities. The CFP

experiment highlights how female workers could move within a manufacturing firm across national boundaries.

There is no evidence of a competitive application process for Australian postings (except for the Works Manager): Board representatives of each company appear to have approached those employees deemed suitable. The language used in a document outlining migrant workers' entitlements supports this: 'Agreement for those who come to Claremont *at the request* [my emphasis] of the Parent Companies in respect of allowances for leave at home'.<sup>31</sup> Precise information on why management chose particular women does not appear in the company archive but they were each long-serving, experienced members of staff. Miss Maud Gallimore and Miss Alice Bracey, two senior workers in age and status, started their employment with Cadbury in the late nineteenth century, aged 13 and 14 respectively. By the early 1920s, Miss Gallimore was on the Staff at level B and Miss Bracey was a level A forewoman. They were both 39 years old at the time of migration. Miss Laura Dorothy Cristoe, from Pascalls, was only 22 but was sufficiently experienced to be assigned a senior position as Forewoman B at the new factory, with a five-year contract.<sup>32</sup>

Referred to explicitly as 'pioneers' in the *Bournville Works Magazine*, the migrants (women and men) were representative of the core areas of work in the factories of Cadbury, Fry and Pascall.<sup>33</sup> Two Cadbury workers brought key skills and experience in confectionery production: Miss Ada Attrill, aged 26, was listed as 'skilled confectioner' on her CFP contract; Miss Alice Gaskell (31) was a 'Skilled Coverer Fork and Bowl' (a sign of the continued importance of work by hand for the highest quality chocolates). Others brought expertise in handling the finished product: Miss Edith Russell (37), moved from Pascall to become Forewoman A of Training in the Packing of Sweets; Miss Ada Harris (32), formerly of Frys, took up the post of Forewoman A in Cocoa Packing. Miss Nora Hawkins, who was 25 when she arrived in Tasmania, already had over 10 years experience with Cadburys and was employed as a 'skilled boxer'. Miss E E Salter (36), possibly from Cadbury, was listed on the shipping records for June 1922 simply as Cocoa Worker – she may have been the 'skilled enrober' requested by Claremont in March of that year.<sup>34</sup>

Although the majority of the women were from the manufacturing side, Miss Emmeline Day left her post in the Audit Office at Cadbury to move to clerical work at the new factory in 1921 and Miss V Wallace arrived in 1925 to take up secretarial duties.

In contrast to many of the male migrants, all these women were unmarried (a marriage bar operated at the Australian subsidiary as at the parent firms).<sup>35</sup> However, not all travelled without family. The oldest female migrant, Mrs Ada Corbett, aged 51, was a widow from Frys, employed as a 'skilled confectioner' and forewoman. She moved with her three daughters. One, Gertrude Alice Corbett (28), was a skilled hand coverer, also from Frys, on a two-year contract. The oldest daughter, Elsie Grace (30), moved without a specific position but was promised work in the future: she was given an allowance for the first weeks until a position could be found.<sup>36</sup> Elsie had been employed as an artist in the postcard industry (according to the 1911 census) and it appears she became a Storekeeper – probably in Cadbury's stores at Claremont.<sup>37</sup> The youngest daughter, Miss R Corbett (16), had no occupation listed on the shipping records. Similarly, Miss Lillian Baldwin (who was to become an important member of the new workforce) had no occupation listed; she travelled first class with her father (a senior Cadbury foreman) and other family members. Miss Gallimore also made the 12,000-mile journey in the company of close relatives: her brother and his family were moving to Sydney. Nora Hawkins later became an active agent of chain migration when she encouraged her sister Hilda (21), brother Alf (19), younger brother Leonard (14) and her parents to emigrate in 1923. Hilda was a former Bournville worker, employed since 1917.<sup>38</sup> As Christiane Harzig asserts, we should conceptualise women migrants as 'decisive agents pursuing their own agenda at the local and global levels'. However, the 'networks' actively used by the CFP women were not only, or even primarily, those identified by Harzig of 'family, kin, friendship, neighbourhood/village' but were those of workplace.<sup>39</sup> Work and family networks could overlap in both the local and the global context as these women travelled from imperial metropole to dominion (and often back again).

Although not officially categorised as ‘assisted migrants’ to the dominion, each of these female pioneers, and their male colleagues, moved with the direct assistance of their home firm and of the CFP partnership: this included payment of fares and removal expenses, and arrangement of travel. Such corporate-assisted migration barely features in historical accounts. Even at the time it was treated as something of a novelty. A contemporary article from *Tropical Life* in 1922, though partly tongue-in-cheek, suggested that firms such as ‘that which has just gone to Tasmania’ who ‘took their own staffs to their factories abroad’ might finally achieve the large-scale emigration of women to the colonies.<sup>40</sup> The article implied the failure of existing assisted migration schemes, which focused on domestic service, and tapped into long-held fears for the physical and moral safety of unaccompanied single women.<sup>41</sup> Companies could, according to the author, provide reassuring paternalist protection: ‘What parent would not implicitly trust their girls to them, or what friendless girl would not “jump at” going under such conditions?’ The women who arrived on the isolated Claremont peninsular in the early 1920s were accommodated in a company-owned hostel close to the factory, under the watchful eye of a local matron. This was not ideal, with Misses Gallimore, Harris, Gaskell and Hawkins requesting cottages on the company estate equivalent to those offered to male colleagues.<sup>42</sup> Still, the hostel offered immediate security for migrants arriving at an unknown location and may have been an important female-only space, where the new migrants could gather (perhaps around the piano donated by the firm). As Gothard, points out, assistance with accommodation for single women migrants was a broader issue, given the expense and difficulty of finding rooms in some dominion cities.<sup>43</sup>

The needs of industry and of the ‘girls’ themselves, not to mention the demographic need of the colonies, were not necessarily compatible. The *Tropical Life* article continued, ‘If ... Cadbury-Fry-Pascall went to Canada, we fear the women’s labour list would run ... *January 1<sup>st</sup>. Landed 2000 girls, February 1<sup>st</sup>. All married*’. Cadbury, in their reply, were quick to point out that ‘we do not anticipate publishing a matrimonial supplement’. Yet they did not entirely discount the possibility of wedding bells in the future.<sup>44</sup> Whether marriage was in the minds of the CFP women is impossible to determine. Far from being ‘girls’, these were



experienced women workers, most in their 20s and 30s. The task of setting up the factory and the nearby company estate dominated their lives for at least the first few years.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, they found themselves trebly isolated geographically and socially on the Claremont Peninsular: distanced from the urban centre of Hobart, distanced from the rest of Australia, and 12,000 miles from home. As senior women workers, the gendered factory hierarchy also distanced them from local female, and male, employees.<sup>46</sup> Such isolation was hardly conducive to finding a spouse. Most of the CFP migrants would not fulfil the predictions made by *Tropical Life*: seven returned to England (only one of these appears to have married), two stayed and never married (Mrs Ada Corbett and one of her daughters), two stayed and married (Miss Attrill in 1926 and Miss Nora Hawkins some time later) and five women could not be traced over the long term.

### **Bournville Spirit: re-making workplace culture, organisation and practice**

In forming an Australian subsidiary, Cadbury, Fry and Pascall were not simply engaged in a logistical exercise of shipping machinery and staff overseas, they were (re)building corporate culture and practice in an entirely new setting. Workers were central to this process. The gendered division of labour established at Claremont broadly reflected that of the home firms. In Britain, women constituted the majority of confectionery manufacturing workers. They held important and well-defined (though not immutable) roles, carrying out key tasks such as sorting, decorating and packing confectionery.<sup>47</sup> It is not surprising to read George Cadbury's recommendation that in selecting a suitable Australian site for the factory, 'there should be women's labour available as well as men's in the proportion of two to one'.<sup>48</sup> This is not to suggest that the gendered organisation of labour was exported without modification. A report from Claremont, dated September 1920, referred to the potential employment of women in the tin box room and in moulding:

We do not see why this work should not be successfully done by girls ... It is practically all girls' work in other Australian Chocolate Factories, and the fact that Bournville has abandoned girl labour in the Tin Box Shop need not weigh too strongly with us in Australia.<sup>49</sup>

Here was an opportunity to rethink definitions of appropriate work for women, at least partly in relation to local Australian practices.<sup>50</sup>

Women workers from England were crucial to the (re)establishment of institutional hierarchies and structures at the new factory. This process was complicated by the involvement of three distinct 'home' firms, although Cadbury were quick to establish their dominance.<sup>51</sup> Initially there were two forewomen (level A) for the chocolate section (Cadburys and Frys) and two to oversee the Pascalls section, with one Chief Forewoman on Staff (Miss Gallimore) to manage the entire operation.<sup>52</sup> Tensions surfaced between these senior women, suggesting that the pre-eminence of Cadbury was not uncontested. A report on a private conference between the three firms, held at Bournville, recorded that S W Pascall recognised the need to give 'a hint to Miss Russell of Miss Gallimore's powers'.<sup>53</sup> Yet she continued to be 'difficult at the factory' according to a cable from Hobart to Bournville in February 1924.<sup>54</sup> Pascall management were themselves reluctant to accept the dominance of Bournville and this was perhaps reflected in the attitude of their senior forewoman. Miss Bracey, a respected former Bournville employee, also proved ill suited to the new environment: 'while her service has been invaluable and her energy unstinted, her slight natural awkwardness makes her less useful or adaptable than might have been expected.' It was hoped that her return to England would help achieve 'equilibrium in the control of the women's departments'.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, during a brief period as Chief Forewoman (following Miss Gallimore's return to Bournville), she was found to have managed the factory very successfully, suggesting that interrelationships between senior women, even from the same home firm, were difficult.<sup>56</sup>

The gendered nature of confectionery production, as outlined above, meant that relationships between supervisors and supervisees were played out largely in gender-specific spaces, with little direct interaction between women and men on the shopfloor.<sup>57</sup> British women ran the most labour-intensive sections and thus had contact with the majority of local workers (some of whom may have been first-generation migrants themselves). The two biggest departments by September 1922 were Pascalls, with 47 girls, 11 women and 2 forewomen; and

the Enrobers with 43 girls, 5 women, and 2 forewomen. Overall, employee numbers had increased rapidly in 1922, with 147 workers in May, increasing to 289 by September. Four English women, with Miss Gallimore, thus effectively supervised over a third of the workforce.<sup>58</sup> One attraction of the Hobart location had been the untapped population of female labour; local women were expected to be unused to factory work, with no training in confectionery.<sup>59</sup> The implication was that they could be educated in CFP ways from the start but this increased the workload for British women supervisors. In April 1923 it was noted, 'that all have been working under difficulty in training hands ... and some of the forewomen specially are in need of a change.'<sup>60</sup> Whilst there is very limited evidence of everyday relationships on the shopfloor, the response of the Female Confectioners Union (FCU) later that month to an 'urgent' request from local workers for representation suggests that they were far from the passive employees the company may have hoped for.<sup>61</sup>

Those migrants not involved in the direct supervision of local employees were employed as 'technical' forewomen (level B) and as 'skilled' workers able to teach key techniques such as enrobing, packing and box-making. These practices were necessarily, and intentionally, those brought from England. Indeed, much to the disgust of certain Australian competitors, CFP had been allowed to import machinery without penalty.<sup>62</sup> An early photograph from the new venture depicted a trial run of the Enrober at which 'all the girls from England assisted'.<sup>63</sup> Miss Baldwin, former Cadbury worker and daughter of a male migrant, was responsible for instructing 'the girls' on a machine she may once have used at Bournville. As at Penmans textile mills, such technical knowledge had significant economic value to justify corporate-sponsored emigration schemes.<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, as workers in transnational business, women needed to adapt their everyday working methods to suit their new local environment. The smaller size of the (inexperienced) factory workforce, the limited production in the early years, and the product range necessitated different working patterns to those familiar from England. The Australian climate was also a factor, as highlighted in the complaints from parents about their daughters working in direct sunlight in the Pascall section.<sup>65</sup> This room was later rearranged but it would have been

English women migrants who had the task of supervising and training distressed, young, inexperienced workers under difficult conditions.

Individual migrant women were invested in the development of the best working practices, and in the overall success of the subsidiary. Miss Gallimore was credited with 'upholding the high standard of manufacture' through her work on the Sales Committee and in the Inspection Department, which 'has been of vital importance to the Australian business'.<sup>66</sup> The continued influence of British management and of the parent firms more broadly, enacted partly through requiring any migrant visiting 'home' to attend training at parent factory headquarters, made these women profound transnational agents of workplace practice and company culture. During a period of training in England, Miss Harris demonstrated her active interest in, and knowledge of, the CFP business by requesting that she be allowed to take back to Hobart details of improvements to machinery she had witnessed.<sup>67</sup> Migrant women were thus positioned, and positioned themselves, as intermediaries between local workers in Australia and company management (in Australia and Britain), and as transnational intermediaries between management in Australia and in Britain. Such dynamics have yet to be explored fully in the historical literature, where the transnational agency of women (where acknowledged at all) tends to be limited to their negotiation of familial ties.<sup>68</sup> It is impossible to tell the degree to which the CFP women's efforts were out of loyalty to their 'home' firms or from a newfound loyalty to the subsidiary imagined as a separate company. Indeed, attempts to draw such a distinction may oversimplify complex relationships. Still, as will become apparent, most continued to be connected in some form to their parent firm.

Alongside their work in establishing the hierarchy and everyday practices of the new factory, women were shaping less tangible corporate culture. In the UK, Cadbury, Fry and Pascall each had a reputation for being 'enlightened' employers.<sup>69</sup> The design of the Claremont factory (including adequate cloakrooms and toilets, gardens and ample dining rooms) and the desire to build a 'Tasmanian Bournville' of company cottages, demonstrates British managers' intention to transplant this model across national borders.<sup>70</sup> Miss Gallimore was personally

credited, by the Australia Committee Commission sent out from England in 1923, with upholding the 'best traditions of Bournville'.<sup>71</sup> She voiced her own investment in this corporate identity when she hoped 'that something of the Bournville Spirit ... be retained' following the visit of Mr and Mrs W A Cadbury.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, members of the Australian Committee, which met regularly at Bournville to oversee all developments, were cautious as to whether the expense of providing extensive welfare measures at Claremont was justified before the company was profit-making. They had also been advised by Major Hutchins (from the Electrolyte Zinc company – another British multinational in Tasmania) that, 'Success will be dependent upon the complete absence of paternalism.'<sup>73</sup> Given the reluctance of the Australian Committee and of CFP Directors to step in, women's voluntary contributions to establishing workplace culture were especially important. Individual migrant women took the initiative, independently of senior management, in (re-)establishing welfare activities familiar to them from England. Miss Bracey offered Physical Education classes to the local girls, physically shaping a new industrial labour force who were generally deemed to be unhealthy in comparison to their Bournville peers.<sup>74</sup> It was 'Miss Gallimore's wish' that the company nurse visit sick employees on the estate during work hours.<sup>75</sup> These women migrants established modes of industrial welfare, and surveillance, using 'local' models imported from England, particularly from Bournville, remade in a new local context.<sup>76</sup>

Women migrants were also agents of more formalised welfare. Following the establishment of an Athletics Club, primarily by male construction workers employed to build the factory, the company moved to take over the funding and supervision of recreational activities. An organising committee was formed of key workers (all British migrants), including Miss Gallimore and Miss Russell.<sup>77</sup> A full Welfare Committee was eventually reconstituted in 1923, with three management and three worker representatives, to oversee 'a) Recreation and Grounds b) Education c) Social Work d) Sickness Insurance and e) Canteen'.<sup>78</sup> British women were members and thus continued to be instrumental in the translation of industrial welfare, principally the Cadbury strain, into a new local/ global setting.

Australia's system of compulsory industrial arbitration provided a key challenge to the wholesale importation of corporate culture.<sup>79</sup> Cadbury in the UK maintained relatively good relations with unions, which workers were free to join.<sup>80</sup> In Australia, the Female Confectioners Union (FCU) were frustrated by Cadbury's attempts to provide all workers with the same conditions, rather than reserving certain privileges for union members (who were supposed to have more secure employment, paid holidays, and guaranteed wages).<sup>81</sup> Miss Gallimore became an important early intermediary between company directors (in both Britain and Australia) and the FCU. The union delegates who travelled over from Melbourne formed a favourable impression of the Chief Forewoman:

Miss Gallimore conducted us through the whole of the women's section of the factory and, in addition, showed Miss Wearne the private conveniences that are provided for the comfort of the girls, and explained many matters to her. Miss Gallimore has a charming personality. I was very much impressed with her frank manner, and I feel certain that the girls will receive fair treatment from her.<sup>82</sup>

The 'frank' and 'fair' manner of Miss Gallimore was in-keeping with a Cadbury corporate ethos of business with a human touch and the confidence she inspired may well have helped to smooth over tensions that surfaced over signing the union agreement. CFP managers wanted to send the document home for approval by the Australian Committee but the union refused to allow such a delay. The document was eventually signed and the *Women's Clarion* reported the successful recruitment of 138 members by 1924.<sup>83</sup> It is unlikely that any of the original migrant women became FCU members, given their distinct status as supervisors and skilled workers whose working conditions were determined not by Australian labour legislation but rather in consultation with their home firms.

The small size of the Tasmanian subsidiary and the challenges it was to face early on, meant that there were opportunities for English migrants to take on greater responsibilities in the workplace than would have been possible in England and to develop closer relationships with company directors. In the absence of an adequate sales team, Miss Gallimore and Mr Lodge took the initiative in promoting new products.<sup>84</sup> Misses Bracey, Harris and Russell became active on the Works Committee and Sales Committee.<sup>85</sup> Miss Corbett (most likely Elsie) took on the

role of design and lettering for confectionery packaging, doing so in her spare time. This was recognised and rewarded by sending her to art classes.<sup>86</sup> Miss G Corbett was promoted in 1925 to Deputy Forewoman for a probationary period of six months whilst Miss Harris returned to England for training. Miss Harris herself became Chief Forewoman when Miss Gallimore and later Miss Bracey returned to England: a promotion which not only meant a large salary increase (the Chief Forewoman was paid £575 per annum from January 1924, with Miss Harris earning £375) but also placed her on the Staff and entitled her to company shares as well as enhanced benefits such as paid leave in England.<sup>87</sup> Although effectively remaining within the same company, through migration CFP women developed their careers in ways that may have been more difficult to attain at the 'home' firm. In this sense they have much in common with the post-First World War 'career women' migrants identified by Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine, for whom 'negative motives and imperialistic predilections were ... displaced by an independent sense of adventure and ambition'.<sup>88</sup>

Miss Gallimore's success as Chief Forewoman prompted the Australian Commission in Bournville to contemplate her appointment to the Claremont Board of Directors. However, the Commission sent to Australia in 1923 advised against this. N P Booth's arrival as Director and Chairman of the subsidiary meant that Miss Gallimore was no longer needed to achieve adequate representation of the 'factory' on the Board (previous Directors had been of a Sales background) nor to provide a Staff voice. Moreover, her appointment would have upset the balance of power with the Chief Foreman, Harry Colbourne, who was not to be offered a similar position. It was hoped that the arrival of Booth would give Miss Gallimore 'due recognition of her value in other spheres without being appointed to the Board'.<sup>89</sup> Senior management remained a male domain then, despite Miss Gallimore's acknowledged and wide-ranging influence. The extent of the pressure she was under became apparent when she suffered a breakdown in 1924. She was quickly returned to Bournville for the sake of her health but with her reputation as a valued employee undiminished.<sup>90</sup>

Even after returning from Claremont, several migrant women pursued successful lifelong careers at their 'home' firms. Miss Gaskell, for example, returned in 1925 to a Forewoman B position at Bournville and was promoted to Forewoman A in 1939. She retired in 1946.<sup>91</sup> Whilst the high number of return migrations was at least in part the result of challenging circumstances at the new factory, we should avoid, as Marjory Harper cautions, 'the simplistic and unqualified correlation of success with settlement and failure with return'.<sup>92</sup> Some women may have conceptualised their migration as a temporary posting overseas. Indeed, as Alistair Thomson concluded from interviews with migrants, individual perceptions of emigration in terms of either permanent settlement or sojourn may change over time.<sup>93</sup> Miss Gallimore's experience made her extremely valuable as an intermediary between the home firm and its subsidiary. In August 1925, she was preparing to receive a visit from E H A Smith of the Female Confectioners Union at Bournville: a man she had encountered some years previously in Tasmania.<sup>94</sup> Later, her knowledge of the Australian market was called upon. Following the rejection of a consignment of labels sent from Bournville to Claremont, for example, Miss Gallimore was consulted 'in the selection of designs suitable for use in Australia'.<sup>95</sup> Her connection to the Australian subsidiary continued back 'home' as she was able to offer 'local' knowledge of the 'global' context.<sup>96</sup> Whether or not Miss Gallimore's sense of her own place in the empire had changed as a result of her experiences, she articulated imperial sentiment many years later on the occasion of the Sales Representatives conference:

Miss Gallimore spoke of the pride felt by the women of the British Empire in Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth for the womanly tact and grace she has shown during her tour in Canada and America ... Proud too, of course, to have Miss D.A. Cadbury on the Board of Directors, for there were still many firms who looked askance at the idea of a women director.<sup>97</sup>

Although reported second hand, this suggests an explicitly feminised imperial sensibility in which political and corporate empires intersected.

### **'Better off at Bournville': challenging the transnational**

Women workers who became intra-company migrants must be recognised as agents, and beneficiaries, of the transmission and maintenance of workplace



hierarchies, practices and corporate culture across national borders. This is not to suggest that they accepted without question the workings of senior management. As Lisa Chilton observes of migrants more broadly, there was an expectation of improving their economic situation to one in which 'their labour would be better rewarded'. Harper and Constantine postulate, 'It was likely that some and perhaps many single women migrants from the UK felt that their expectations had been falsely raised by those who had recruited them, and complained.'<sup>98</sup> This was certainly the case at CFP. Some women were quick to protest at insufficient wages, given the higher prices they were facing. The Claremont Board minutes of April 1922 record that Misses Attrill, Gaskell and Hawkins had asked for their wages to be increased to £4 a week from £3, backdated to the time of their arrival: 'They contended that they were better off at Bournville ... and that the wage fixed for them at Bournville was a guaranteed minimum and they were told that it would be revised on taking up their work here.'<sup>99</sup> They were awarded an additional 10/ a week, with Miss Corbett put on the same wage of £3 10/. Mrs Corbett was to be paid £3 5/. These raises were carried out with some reluctance as it was noted that for Fry workers Mrs and Miss Corbett, £3 was a significant improvement on their respective weekly wages in England of 51/ and 55/.<sup>100</sup> Women utilised internal company mechanisms successfully to advance their working conditions but this was limited by a broader patriarchal wage and employment structure in both England and Australia, which devalued women's labour relative to men.<sup>101</sup>

Women workers were acutely conscious of the state of the developing business and by 1923 their patience was wearing thin at the slow progress. In January, Ada Attrill tendered her resignation whilst simultaneously asking for a raise. She pointed out: 'Some months ago (when products were placed on the market) the deputy's [sic] were promised a rise in salary. Up to now nothing more has been said on the subject.' She received a terse response: 'On consideration of your application for an increase in wages, reference was made to your action in resigning so soon after taking up your duties here following on the expenditure incurred by the Company in bringing you to Australia. It was also pointed out that the factory is by no means working up to full efficiency'.<sup>102</sup> Management viewed Miss Gaskell's request for a wage increase more sympathetically: she was

promised more responsibility, and remuneration, once production increased. That the factory struggled to establish itself in Australia – a situation only exacerbated by the Depression from 1929 – placed additional pressures on management and workers. Some women were active and vocal in holding their employers to account, which they achieved through management channels rather than through union activity.

Most migrants were entitled to leave 'at home' after completing their initial two year contracts, although travel was not fully paid until after five years and leave was initially unpaid (a serious issue given the time needed to make the long journey). Miss Harris asserted that Mr C R Fry had promised her leave after two to three years and she used this in negotiating a change of contract: 'I shall be pleased to take charge of Messrs. Pascall's Department if arrangements can be made for me to visit my home at reasonable intervals.'<sup>103</sup> In 1924, she and Miss Gallimore were granted leave every four years under an amended contract. Whilst 'loyally accepting the present position', the women continued to feel that they were 'being given less than they were promised.'<sup>104</sup> Harris had not given up. She restated her demands, explicitly contrasting her situation as a single woman with family in England (and a sick mother), with the men who went out with wives and families.<sup>105</sup> On 6 November 1925 'it was agreed as a special case to recommend that her leave periods should be every three years'.<sup>106</sup> Booth, however, was resistant to the idea and in February 1926 the issue was referred to Dorothy and Edward Cadbury, 'who consider that 3 years is a sufficient period to ask Miss Harris to put in ... especially as Miss Harris's home is in England and her mother in failing health.'<sup>107</sup> In 1929, she was again granted leave every three years, with it being noted that she 'is now the only member of Claremont staff from one of the home Firms without family connections in Tasmania'.<sup>108</sup> Moving from the local to the global context entailed personal risks, which could be particularly taxing for single women distanced from family support networks.<sup>109</sup> This was finally recognised by the home and subsidiary firms but it was too late for many of the early migrants. By the late 1920s, at least seven of the female pioneers had returned to England – three (Miss Gallimore, Miss Cristoe and Miss Russell) as a consequence of serious ill health.<sup>110</sup>

With former Bournville men at its helm, CFP sustained the ambivalent position of migrant employees by at once claiming them and continuing to connect them to their parent organisation. On receiving the news of Mr George Cadbury's death, for example, the Australian Directors proposed that 'A letter of sympathy to be sent ... signed by old Bournville employees'.<sup>111</sup> The Cadbury company, and to a lesser extent Fry and Pascall, also reinforced distinctions between employees from the 'Parent' companies and local Australian workers, through measures such as only supplying the Cadbury inhouse *Bournville Works Magazine* to English migrants (though this included Fry and Pascall workers).<sup>112</sup> When Mrs Corbett was asked to retire, Fry were contacted regarding her pension arrangements and many other migrants retained membership of home pension schemes.<sup>113</sup> There is evidence, though limited, that migrants internalised such distinctions and, understandably, continued to identify with the 'home' firm at which they had spent a considerable portion of their working lives. Mr Booth expressed to his former colleagues how he still 'lived in terms of Bournville' in Australia.<sup>114</sup> This persistent attachment would have assisted the resettlement of those women and men who did eventually return to the UK to take up positions in their home firm, though it is impossible to ascertain to what extent it was a factor in any lack of identification with, and sense of belonging to, their new Australian work setting. It is not entirely clear whether the companies involved had expected single female migrants to remain overseas indefinitely. In practice, they enabled and sometimes enforced return migration. As mentioned, several women were able to negotiate a return to the UK on terms that positioned them as employees completing a secondment overseas, rather than as failed permanent empire settlers.<sup>115</sup> Their influence as 'pioneers' of the Australian factory would remain in CFP working practices and corporate culture.

## **Conclusion:**

Female migrant workers were key to establishing British confectionery manufacture behind the Australian tariff wall. They actively (re-)produced institutional hierarchies, workplace practices, and systems of industrial welfare,

adapting knowledge brought from their 'home' firms to their new local/global context. They were also significant actors in creating a wider company ethos for the new subsidiary: transplanting and transforming corporate, workplace and community culture, specifically that associated with Cadbury as the dominant partner, across permeable 'national' borders within the British Empire. Miss Gallimore's seniority, and the respect she commanded, helped to cement Cadbury's dominance and the imagining of CFP culture as the direct descendent of Bournville. However, each of the migrant women was crucial given the small size of the workforce in the early 1920s. The personalities of these women intersected with, and helped to establish, the dynamics of the relationship between the three parent firms, enacted transnationally, to produce a particular kind of workplace culture in Hobart.

The CFP experiment in Tasmania had serious personal consequences for British women workers, not least in requiring them to move over 12,000 miles. Work at the new factory was difficult, given the inexperience of their fellow workers, their isolation in working and living on the Claremont Peninsular, and the early struggle of the CFP subsidiary to become profit making. At least three of the women became seriously ill, which forced them to leave Hobart. Whilst other interwar British empire migrants may have shared certain elements of this experience, women CFP workers faced particular challenges, but also received an unusual level of non-familial support, unique to their situation as employees of a multinational company. At least seven out of sixteen eventually returned to their 'parent' companies and continued to build successful careers. A few remained in Australia to marry and become part of a more familiar migration narrative for single women.

Cadbury and Fry, along with numerous other British firms, were building networks of subsidiaries throughout the empire and beyond in the first half of the twentieth century. Many of these multinationals employed significant numbers of women both at 'home' and overseas. Historians need to explore how gendered workplace culture and practice developed in the local/global contexts of transnational corporations. As this article has demonstrated, women workers are

not absent from the business archive, although their experiences may be at times be hidden behind unquestioned masculinist narratives of entrepreneurial adventure. I argue that Cadbury, Fry and Pascall women were active, and actively transnational, agents of global business at a crucial formative stage. Their lives should inspire scholars to reassess national labour histories, women's role in the global economy, and the experiences of women workers as migrants/return migrants.

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### Acknowledgements

For access to archival documents and for research support, thanks to Sarah Foden, Bruce Smith, and to the staff of Mondelēz International at Bournville, UK and at Claremont, Australia. Thanks to members of the La Trobe Bendigo Arts Writing Group and to A. James Hammerton for comments on drafts of this paper. This research has been supported by internal research grants from La Trobe University.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Tasmania was an unlikely site given its distance from the major confectionery markets. See Peter Wilde and Elissa Sutherland (2010), *Venturing Overseas: Geography and the Cadbury Chocolate Factory at Claremont, Tasmania, 1921-67*, *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, 15, pp.101-129.

<sup>2</sup> Cadbury and Fry merged their financial interests in May 1919 but retained separate management. The Australian factory operated initially as a wholly owned subsidiary of the three firms, with Cadbury the main shareholder. See Geoffrey Jones (1984), *Multinational Chocolate: Cadbury Overseas, 1918-1939*, *Business History*, 27, no. 1, pp.59-76; John Bradley (2008), *Cadbury's Purple Reign* (Chicester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd).

<sup>3</sup> Australia accounted for almost 60% of Cadbury exports between 1911-14. Jones, 'Multinational Chocolate,' p.61. British companies benefitted from a preferential tariff in comparison with 'foreign' firms but still had to calculate whether they could be more profitable behind the tariff wall. On Australian tariff policy see David Merrett and Simon Ville (2011), *Tariffs, Subsidies, and Profits: A Re-Assessment of Structural Change in Australia, 1901-39*, *Australian Economic History Review*, 51, no. 1, pp.46-70.

<sup>4</sup> *Bournville Works Magazine (BWM)*, Oct 1922, p.291. Many more women migrated as wives and daughters, making their own important contributions to the new workplace community.

<sup>5</sup> Janice Gothard (1990) 'The Healthy, Wholesome British Domestic Girl': Single Female Migration and the Empire Settlement Act, 1922-1930, in Stephen Constantine (Ed.), *Emigrants and Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp.72-95; Eric Richards identifies '[u]p to a quarter' of the c.323,000 immigrants between 1921-29 as domestic servants and housewives. Eric Richards (2008) *Destination Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press), pp.97-8.

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<sup>6</sup> See for example, Lisa Chilton (2007) *Agents of Empire: British Female Migration to Canada and Australia, 1860s-1930* (Toronto: Toronto University Press); Brian L. Blakeley (1988) The Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women and the Problems of Empire Settlement, 1917-1936, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 20, no. 3 (Autumn), pp.421-44.

<sup>7</sup> Under this Act, Australian, New Zealand and Canadian governments, in collaboration with the British, offered assisted passages to migrants, including female domestic servants, in line with particular social, economic and demographic objectives. See Gothard, 'The Healthy, Wholesome British domestic girl', p.72. Approximately 200,000 Britons made use of this scheme to move to Australia between 1921-1933. However, it was aimed at getting people onto the land rather than into industry. A. James Hammerton and Alistair Thomson (2005) *Ten Pound Poms: Australia's Invisible Migrants* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), p.29.

<sup>8</sup> Gothard observes that factory workers were deemed not 'the right type of girl' for interwar Australia. Gothard, 'The Healthy, Wholesome British Domestic Girl', p.78. Similarly, Richards notes that, 'Most prospective female migrants from Britain in the 1920s were urban factory and office girls, categories regarded as unsuited for Australian needs.' Richards, *Destination Australia*, pp.97-8.

<sup>9</sup> Joy Parr (1987) The Skilled Emigrant and Her Kin: Gender, Culture and Labour Recruitment, *The Canadian Historical Review*, LXVIII, no. 4, p.531; also Joy Parr (1990) *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns 1880-1950* (Toronto: Toronto University Press).

<sup>10</sup> Wendy Gordon (2002) *Mill girls and strangers: single women's independent migration in England, Scotland and the United States, 1850-1881* (Albany: State University of New York Press).

<sup>11</sup> Parr, The Skilled Emigrant, p.531.

<sup>12</sup> A. James Hammerton (2005) Postwar British Emigrants and the 'Transnational Moment': Exemplars of a 'Mobility of Modernity'? in Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake (Eds) *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective* (Canberra: ANU E-Press), p.132. Management scholars have begun to explore the gendered transnational experiences of female managers as a product of contemporary globalisation. For example, Jeff Hearn et al. (2008), 'Women Home and Away': Transnational Managerial Work and Gender Relations, *Journal of Business Ethics*, 83, pp.41-54; Paula M. Caligiuri and Wayne F. Cascio (1998) Can We Send Her There?: Maximizing the Success of Western Women on Global Assignments, *Journal of World Business*, 33, no. 4, pp.394-416.

<sup>13</sup> There is a burgeoning scholarly literature on the history of women migrants, to which it is impossible to do justice here. For an excellent recent collection on labour migration, see Pamela Sharpe (2001) (Ed.) *Women, Gender and Labour Migration: Historical and Global Perspectives* (London and New York: Routledge).

<sup>14</sup> Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta (2002) (Eds.) *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).

<sup>15</sup> Hammerton, Postwar British Emigrants, p.125.

<sup>16</sup> Alfred Chandler and Bruce Mazlish's 2005 edited collection, *Leviathans*, devotes just one chapter to 'the issues with a focus on workers', and this contains no evidence from workers themselves: Neva Goodwin (2005) The Social Impacts of Multinational Corporations: An Outline of the Issues with a Focus on Workers,

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in Alfred D. Chandler Jr. and Bruce Mazlish (Eds) *Leviathans: Multinational Corporations and the New Global History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

<sup>17</sup> Hammerton, Postwar British Emigrants, p.127.

<sup>18</sup> Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels Petersson challenge simplistic associations of the interwar period with 'deglobalisation', stressing continuities in international trade, at least until the Wall Street Crash of 1929. Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Petersson (2003) *Globalization: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), p.106.

<sup>19</sup> Christiane Harzig (2001) Women Migrants as Global and Local Agents: New Research Strategies on Gender and Migration, in Sharpe (Ed.) *Women, Gender and Labour Migration*, pp.15-28; Janine Dahinden (2010) The Dynamics of Migrants' Transnational Formations: Between Mobility and Locality, in Rainer Brauböck and Thomas Faist (Eds) *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press), pp.51-71.

<sup>20</sup> Mary Louise Roberts (2005) The Transnationalization of Gender History, *History and Theory*, 44, p.459.

<sup>21</sup> Archival material relates primarily to Cadbury and Fry. No separate Pascall records have been located. On a similar use of genealogical methods to trace women from the Australian Female Confectioners' Union, see Cathy Brigden (2012) Tracing and Placing Women Trade Union Leaders: A Study of the Female Confectioners Union, *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 54, no. 2, pp.238-255.

<sup>22</sup> On women in the global/imperial economy, see Stephanie Barrientos and Diane Perrons (1999) Gender and the Global Food Chain: A Comparative Study of Chile and the U.K., in Haleh Afshar and Stephanie Barrientos (Eds), *Women, Globalisation and Fragmentation in the Developing World* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press), pp.150-173; Mary Hancock (1983) Transnational Production and Women Workers, in Annie Phizacklea (Ed.) *One Way Ticket: Migration and Female Labour* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), pp.131-145; Swasti Mitter (1986), *Common Fate, Common Bond: Women in the Global Economy* (London: Pluto Press). For an historical perspective, see Emma Robertson (2009), *Chocolate, Women and Empire: A Social and Cultural History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

<sup>23</sup> On institutions as gendered, and as constructing gender, see Susan Halford and Pauline Leonard (2006), *Negotiating Gendered Identities at Work: Place, Space and Time* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). According to Hearn et al, in research on contemporary global management gender was either ignored or analysed only in terms of women's experiences – men were too often 'an absent presence'. Hearn et al., 'Women Home and Away'. For an historical approach to masculinity and work cultures, see M. Roper (1991) Yesterday's Model: Product Fetishism and the British Company Man, 1945-85, in J. Tosh and M. Roper (Eds) *Manful Assertions* (London: Routledge).

<sup>24</sup> Plenary address to the International Federation for Research in Women's History conference, Sheffield Hallam University, August 2013.

<sup>25</sup> The limited existing literature on the Cadbury-Fry-Pascall venture in Hobart makes little mention of the English staff and does not examine the role of migrant women. It has tended to adopt an Australian perspective, as in Wilde and Sutherland, *Venturing Overseas*. Ruth Barton has studied the women workers at the Cadbury factory but does not address the experiences of women

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from the 'parent' firms. Ruth Barton (2001), Gender, Skill and Trade-Unionism: Women Workers at Cadbury in Tasmania, 1920-51, *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 11, pp.37-62.

<sup>26</sup> Cadbury Archive - Mondelēz International, Birmingham, Cadbury papers (hereafter CA), 070 003287, Australian Committee Minute Book 1925, 11 Jun and 6 Nov. Even in 1920, the Joint Board of Cadbury and Fry had determined to 'keep the numbers down as low as possible and to skilled men, so as to avoid any trouble with the authorities over contract labour'. CA, 423 003267, Joint Export Committee Minutes, 13 May 1920.

<sup>27</sup> CA, Joint Board Minute Book 1 File A, 1918-19, Joint Export Committee, Meeting Minutes, Cheltenham, 15 May 1919, point no.6.

<sup>28</sup> Parr, *The Skilled Emigrant*, p.533.

<sup>29</sup> This particular woman becomes visible in the historical record through voicing her dissatisfaction with conditions in Australia. 'Match-making Industry. A Girl's Grievance', *The Argus*, 4 March 1910, p.4.

<sup>30</sup> Raelene Frances (1993), *The Politics of Work: Gender and Labour in Victoria 1880-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p.54; Richards, *Destination Australia*, p.98.

<sup>31</sup> Cadbury Archive - Mondelēz International, Claremont, Cadbury-Fry-Pascall papers (hereafter Claremont, CFP), Minute Book Jan to Dec 1923. By contrast, Mr J Smith was not entitled to the 'Home Leave Scheme' having moved at his own request (CA, 070 003290, Australian Committee Minute Book, 10 Feb 1928).

<sup>32</sup> Employment details in this and subsequent paragraphs have been compiled from staff cards held at Bournville (CA), shipping records available at the Public Record Office, Victoria, Australia (PROV) and at the National Archives, Kew, UK (TNA), and from details of contracts held at Claremont. Thanks to Sarah Foden of Mondelēz International in particular, for helping to trace Cadbury women.

<sup>33</sup> *BWM*, December 1920, p.295.

<sup>34</sup> Enrobing entailed covering the sweet centres of assortments with chocolate. Claremont, CFP, Board Minutes, 24 March 1922, Minute No.79. Although the British confectionery industry recognised certain areas of women's work as skilled, this did not lead to pay on a par with men. Chris Smith, John Child, and Michael Rowlinson (1990), *Reshaping Work: The Cadbury Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp.70-1. For the Australian context, Barton notes that '[w]omen were often used as the group against which men's work could be judged to be skilled'. Barton, Gender, Skill and Trade-Unionism, p.42.

<sup>35</sup> A marriage bar operated at Cadbury until the Second World War, except for some part-time workers. Smith, Child, and Rowlinson *Reshaping Work*, p.71. In Australia, the Female Confectioners Union (founded 1916) supported a marriage bar in the Victorian industry. See Brigden, 'Tracing and Placing Women Trade Union Leaders', p.239.

<sup>36</sup> Claremont, CFP, Board Minutes, 16 Dec 1921, Minute no.18.

<sup>37</sup> TNA, *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1911*

[Class: RG14; Piece: 15069; Schedule Number: 76] and Australian Electoral Commission, *Electoral roll*, 1922 (Tasmania, Division of Franklin, Subdivision of Glenorchy).

<sup>38</sup> In 1991, as Cadbury celebrated seventy years in Hobart, Nora (now aged 95) recalled for the inhouse journal how she had been 'instrumental in having her



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sister Hilda and brother Alf join the Company'. State Library of Tasmania, Hobart, NS1211/2, *Claremont Action. Cadbury Schweppes Australia Limited*, no. 415 (November 1991), n.p.

<sup>39</sup> Harzig, *Women Migrants as Global and Local Agents*, p.25. Parr notes the importance of family chain migration for female textile workers in the Canadian town of Paris. She also comments on the unusual pattern of women, rather than men, being the first in families to migrate – a pattern which can be seen here on a much smaller scale. Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners*, p.26.

<sup>40</sup> Article from *Tropical Life*, reprinted with commentary in *BWM*, July 1922, pp.180-2.

<sup>41</sup> Recruitment posters in the 1920s featured the slogan, 'Men for the Land, women for the Home'. The Federal government in Australia had taken over the managing of immigration from 1921 but the states still controlled the migrants who were selected for assistance and they requested large numbers of domestic servants and farm labourers (a third of the total assisted migrants in 1925). James Jupp (2004), *The English in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p.60, pp.118-9.

<sup>42</sup> Claremont, CFP, Board Minutes 7/10/21-21/1/24, 26 April 1923, Minute 528.

<sup>43</sup> Gothard, 'The Healthy, Wholesome British Domestic Girl', p.78. On hostels in white settler communities as safe spaces for single women, see Chilton, *Agents of Empire*, p.158.

<sup>44</sup> Article from *Tropical Life*, reprinted with commentary in *BWM*, July 1922, pp.180-2. Gothard points out that the availability of wives for male colonists featured in the approaches to encouraging migration adopted by Canada but was less concerning from the Australian perspective. Gothard's focus on the 'productive' rather than 'reproductive' value of women to Australia, though applied to the nineteenth century in her study, is similarly relevant here. Jan Gothard (2001), *Wives or Workers? Single British Female Migration to Colonial Australia*, in Sharpe (Ed.) *Women, Gender and Labour Migration*, pp.145-162.

<sup>45</sup> Parr found that few women mill workers who migrated to Paris married within the first eighteen months, relating this to the difficulties of meeting a spouse in a town with female-dominated industry. Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners*, p.29.

<sup>46</sup> I use the term 'local workers' purely to make a distinction between those who migrated directly through the company and those already living in Australia. 'Local' CFP workers in this period, although not the focus of this article, most likely claimed Anglo-heritage in some form and may have maintained their own transnational relationships. This is a topic for further research. See also Barton, *Gender, Skill and Trade Unionism*.

<sup>47</sup> Women had made up more than half the number of factory workers at Cadbury until just after the First World War. Smith, Child, and Rowlinson, *Reshaping Work*, p.70. See also Emma Robertson, *Chocolate, Women and Empire*, pp.182-3.

<sup>48</sup> Claremont, CFP, Minute Book File 1924 [also contains older items], George Cadbury Jnr., 'Notes on Australian Factory', 16 August 1919.

<sup>49</sup> Claremont, CFP, Board Meetings Minute File Jan 1920-Dec 1921, report signed by A. Hackett, 2 Sept 1920.

<sup>50</sup> The gendered organisation of the Australian industry had developed in different ways to that in Britain, in part due to the dominance of smaller, male-

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dominated, workshops for a much longer period. In 1926, during a visit to a UK confectionery factory, MacPherson Robertson, founder of Melbourne company MacRobertsons, was shocked to see so many women 'at work in the actual process of manufacturing' (as he defined it). See Helen Margaret Marchant (1989) *Sweet Labour: Sex Segregation and Industrial Organization in the Confectionery Industry in New South Wales 1889-1985* (Sydney: University of New South Wales); Rosemary Kelly (1992) Pay Equity for Women in the Confectionery Industry: An Analysis of Issues and Options for Change, *Equal Pay Research Series* (Commonwealth Department of Industrial Relations), pp.29-32; MacPherson Robertson (1927), *MacRobertson Abroad* (Melbourne: The Welcome Home Committee), p.94.

<sup>51</sup> See CA, 070 003281, Australian Committee Minute Book File 1924, 'Australian Matters: Report on Private Conference held at Bournville on 10<sup>th</sup> December 1923', in which Pascall representative will recommend to his Board that Cadbury become the leading firm.

<sup>52</sup> Being on 'Staff' brought many privileges and only Miss Gallimore was employed at this level initially. When the five administrative forewomen were reduced to two (a Chief and Deputy) around 1925, they were each placed on staff and forewomen B were promoted to A level. CA, 070 003281, Australian Committee Minute Book File 1924, Report of Commission, undated.

<sup>53</sup> CA, 070 003281, Australian Committee Minute Book File 1924, 'Australian Matters: Report on Private Conference held at Bournville on 10<sup>th</sup> December 1923'.

<sup>54</sup> CA, 070 003281, Australian Committee Minute Book File 1924, Copy of Cable received from Hobart 23 February 1924. Miss Russell was very ill by this time and having to take regular rest breaks from work.

<sup>55</sup> CA, 070 003281, Australian Committee Minute Book File 1924, Report of Commission, p.31.

<sup>56</sup> CA, 070 003288, Australian Committee Minute Book, 8 January 1926, and 'Welcome back to Miss Bracey', 9 July 1926.

<sup>57</sup> On the gender order of the Australian shopfloor, see Jill Julius Matthews (1984) *Good and Mad Women: The historical construction of femininity in twentieth century Australia* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin), pp.93-4.

<sup>58</sup> Claremont, CFP, Minute Book File 1924, Staff Numbers for 1922.

<sup>59</sup> In 'A Comparison of Some Factory Figures in the Various States of Australia', it was noted: 'Very little female factory labor in Tas' with a mark placed against this in the 'In favor of' column. It was also recorded that 'Practically no young girls employed in Tas' with the number of girls under 16 in factory work listed as just 89, compared to 2449 in New South Wales and 2301 in Victoria. The lower wages paid in Tasmania were also noted as a positive advantage. Claremont, CFP, Minute Book File January 1920 to December 1921. Melbourne had several large confectionery factories in operation. MacRobertsons, one of the main rivals to CFP, was a major employer, boasting 2,500 workers in 1926. Robertson, *MacRobertson Abroad*. For an overview of the industry in Australia, see Kelly, Pay Equity for Women, p.15.

<sup>60</sup> Claremont, CFP, Minute Book File January to December 1923, Memo from E H Colleyshaw to Bournville Board, 9 April.

<sup>61</sup> Melbourne University Archives (MUA), Female Confectioners' Union (FCU), 1988.0155 5/1, *The Women's Clarion*, 20 April 1923, p.2. Tasmanian Premier, Sir

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Walter Lee, had advised CFP that his state 'had a smaller percentage of strikes than any other State in the Commonwealth.' Claremont, CFP, Minute Book File January 1920 to December 1921, Notes of an interview with Sir Walter Lee, Premier of Tasmania, at the 'Grand Hotel', Melbourne, on Saturday February 14, by E.H. Colleyshaw, and A. Hackett. On letters of complaint from women workers, printed in the FCU journal, see Barton, *Gender, Skill and Trade-Unionism*, pp.52-3.

<sup>62</sup> An article on 'The Lure of the Imported', in the journal of the Female Confectioners' Union, drily observed that promises of welfare provisions at CFP could be achieved using money 'saved by the Government's action in allowing free entry of their machinery'. MUA, FCU, 1988.0155 5/1, *The Women's Clarion*, 20 February 1922, pp.3-4.

<sup>63</sup> *BWM*, Feb 1923, p.47 (correction to caption from October 1922).

<sup>64</sup> Parr, *The Skilled Emigrant*, p.533.

<sup>65</sup> Claremont, CFP, CFP Board Minutes, 7 December 1922, No.332.

<sup>66</sup> CA, 070 003287, Australian Committee Minute Book 1925, 6 Feb 1925, No.366 (a copy of Bournville Board Minute of 28 January 1925).

<sup>67</sup> CA, 070 003287, Australian Committee Minute Book 1925, 4 December 1925.

<sup>68</sup> For example, Hammerton, *Postwar British Migrants*.

<sup>69</sup> In the twentieth century, paternalism was tempered by increasingly formalised, less personal methods, combined with scientific management techniques. Michael Rowlinson has rightly drawn attention to these methods at Cadbury as a corrective to an overemphasis on the religious motivations of the company founders. Michael Rowlinson (1988) *The Early Application of Scientific Management by Cadbury*, *Business History*, 30, no. 4, p.377.

<sup>70</sup> *BWM*, Feb 1922, p.39.

<sup>71</sup> CA, 070 003281, Australian Committee Minute Book File 1924, Report of Commission, p.30.

<sup>72</sup> *BWM*, Sept 1923, p.265.

<sup>73</sup> Claremont, CFP, Minute Book File Jan to Dec 1923, Report from Hutchins to Colleyshaw, 27 July 1923. On welfarism in Australia, see Frances, *The Politics of Work*, pp.140-1.

<sup>74</sup> CA, 070 003288 Australian Committee Minute Book 1926, 9 July, Minute No.94.

<sup>75</sup> Claremont, CFP, Minute Book File Jan to Dec 1923, 'Supplementary to Year's Report', Sister Rushton, 16 April 1923. Sister Rushton (a local recruit) also engaged in visits to employees in hospital and in their own homes 'by my own wish to keep in touch as much as possible with all cases absent by sickness'. Although not a former employee of Bournville, she acted in a manner consistent with the 'Bournville Spirit'. Local women were thus crucial in shaping workplace culture at CFP.

<sup>76</sup> Although labelled at the time as a 'Bournville', and thus place-specific, 'local' model, Cadbury's industrial welfare practices had been formed partly through and in relation to transnational (especially US) trends. Rowlinson, *The Early Application of Scientific Management by Cadbury*, p.377. Frances notes similarly how Australian companies were influenced by overseas developments in industrial organisation (particularly Fordism and Taylorism from the US) but that these were adapted 'piecemeal' according to local conditions, rather than being accepted wholeheartedly. Frances, *The Politics of Work*, p.183.

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<sup>77</sup> BWM, July 1922, p.180.

<sup>78</sup> Claremont, CFP, Claremont Board Minutes, 5 June 1923, no.566; CA, 070 003281, Australian Committee Minute Book File 1924, Report of Commission, p.25. Although it was hoped that this would eventually form the basis of Works Councils, as at Bournville, this system was not successful in Australia and it is the Welfare Committee which survived into the postwar period.

<sup>79</sup> For an excellent study of the impact of Australian compulsory arbitration in comparative perspective, see Raelene Frances, Linda Kealey, and Joan Sangster (1996) *Women and Wage Labour in Australia and Canada, 1880-1980*, *Labour/Le Travail*, 38 (Fall), pp.54-89. There was a degree of national regulation in Britain through the system of National Joint Councils and Interim Industrial Reconstruction Committees established as a result of the Whitley Reports after the First World War. As Smith et al note, in 1919 members of the Cocoa and Chocolate Manufacturers and the National Federation of Women Workers agreed on wages and conditions for women workers in the industry. Smith et al, *Reshaping Work*, p.69.

<sup>80</sup> Smith, Child, and Rowlinson, *Reshaping Work*, p.66.

<sup>81</sup> For more on the confectionery unions, see Brigden, Tracing and Placing Women Trade Union Leaders; Marchant, *Sweet Labour*; Kelly, Pay Equity for Women; Barton, Gender, Skill and Trade-Unionism.

<sup>82</sup> *Women's Clarion*, 20 April 1923, p.3. The piece appears to have been written by the male secretary of the FCU at the time, Mr E H A Smith.

<sup>83</sup> MUA, FCU, 1988.0155 BOX 1, Tasmanian Branch, Minutes of 9 March 1924, First Annual Conference. However, these minutes also record the dismissal of a 'large number of girls', with more union than non-union workers affected.

<sup>84</sup> CA, 070 003281, Australian Committee Minute Book File 1924, Report of Commission on Visit to Cadbury-Fry-Pascall, n.d., p.5.

<sup>85</sup> Claremont, CFP, Board Minutes, 2 May 1923, Minutes 543 and 544.

<sup>86</sup> Claremont, CFP, Board Minutes, 15 November 1923, Minute 719. No first name is given; Elsie Grace (the eldest daughter) had worked in the postcard industry as an artist in England according to the 1911 Census.

<sup>87</sup> Salary details from CA, 070 003281, Australian Committee Minute Book File 1924, Letter to Miss Dorothy Cadbury from Mr Tatham, 22 November 1923.

<sup>88</sup> Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine (2010) *Migration and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p.220.

<sup>89</sup> CA, 070 003281, Australian Committee Minute Book File 1924, Report of the Commission, p.29.

<sup>90</sup> CA, Board of Directors at Bournville, copy of minute 29 October 1924, no. 874.

<sup>91</sup> CA, Staff Card for Miss Gaskell.

<sup>92</sup> Marjory Harper (2005) (Ed.) *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), p.9. The figure she quotes of a 40% return migration rate to the British Isles between 1870 and 1914 are similar to those of the CFP migrants (p.6).

<sup>93</sup> Alistair Thomson, 'My Wayward Heart': Homesickness, Longing and the Return of British Post-War Immigrants from Australia, in Harper (Ed.) *Emigrant Homecomings*, pp.105-30.

<sup>94</sup> CA, 070 003286 Australian Committee Minute Book 1925, 28 August.

<sup>95</sup> CA, 070 003289 Australian Committee Minute Book 1927, 8 April, No.44.

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<sup>96</sup> These terms are each relative and therefore become increasingly slippery and imprecise when women move across constructed national borders yet remain within both a company and imperial network.

<sup>97</sup> *BWM*, August 1939, p.263.

<sup>98</sup> Chilton, *Agents of Empire*, p.177; Harper and Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, p.237.

<sup>99</sup> Claremont, CFP, Board Minutes, 21 April 1922, Minute 119, 'Wages for Women'. A woman migrant had made similar complaints at the Australian subsidiary of Bryant and May (see note 27).

<sup>100</sup> Claremont, CFP, Board Minutes, 6 April 1922, Minute 104. This was used to rescind an earlier minute advocating a pay rise. However, the pay rise was reinstated later that month as discussed.

<sup>101</sup> For the Australian context, see Frances, Kealey and Sangster, *Women and Wage Labour*, p.55.

<sup>102</sup> Claremont, CFP, Minute Book File January to December 1923, Ada Attrill note 8 January 1923 and Reply dated 26 January 1923.

<sup>103</sup> Claremont, CFP, Minute Book File Jan to Dec 1923, handwritten letter from Miss Harris to Colleyshaw, 11 Dec 1923.

<sup>104</sup> CA, 070 003281, Australian Committee Minutes Book File 1924, Report of Commission, p.31.

<sup>105</sup> CA, 070 003287, Australian Committee Minute Book 1925, 11 Sept.

<sup>106</sup> CA, 070 003287, Australian Committee Minute Book 1925, 6 Nov.

<sup>107</sup> CA, 070 003288 Australian Committee Minute Book 1926, 19 Feb.

<sup>108</sup> CA, 090 000089, Overseas Factories Committee Minutes 1929-30, 17 June 1929.

<sup>109</sup> Harper and Constantine similarly note the 'family ties and gendered duties which commonly affected women's migration, both in their going out and in their coming home'. Harper and Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, p.244.

<sup>110</sup> Cadbury Archive, 070 003281, Australian Committee Minute Book File 1924, 7 February, Minute 112 and 17 March, Minute 236, and 27 March, Minute 257.

<sup>111</sup> Claremont, CFP, Board Minutes, 1921-24, 30 October 1922, Minute 287.

<sup>112</sup> CA, 070 003286, Australian Committee Minute Book 1924, Meeting at Bournville 4 January 1924, No.80. Exceptions could be made for Staff on application but not for ordinary workers.

<sup>113</sup> CA, 070 003281, Australian Committee Minute Book File 1924, 'Salary Revision' (c. December 1923).

<sup>114</sup> *BWM*, February 1928, n.p..

<sup>115</sup> This adds another layer to developing understandings of return migration. See especially Harper (Ed.) *Emigrant Homecomings*.