

PART I: The 1870s

Chapter 1

PHILANTHROPY FOR CHILDREN: THE ROYAL COMMISSION
AND WOMEN PHILANTHROPISTS' "NATURAL RIGHTS".

to shut them [women] out from all participation in the control of establishments for the training of the young, is to deprive the public of the benefit of their counsel upon matters upon which they are more competent to decide than men. (1)

(a) Established Patterns of Philanthropy.

The role of women in philanthropic child-care at the beginning of the 1870s was small and largely confined to individualistic "Lady Bountiful" activity. There were important indications throughout the decade, however, of an increasing demand for women to have more influence in philanthropy. This demand was both by and on behalf of women and its most explicit and influential expression came from the Royal Commission into Public Charities of 1873-4. In advocating a strengthening of women's influence in philanthropy in its second Report, the Royal Commission also revealed many of the existing characteristics of women's philanthropy. For this reason the Report is the focus of much of this chapter.

Women's philanthropy in the 1870s had two major characteristics. The first was that women did not seek to challenge the established aims of philanthropy. These aims as particularly applied to philanthropic child-care are outlined below. The second characteristic was that women's philanthropy operated within the restrictions of the woman's sphere. As explained in the Introduction, the woman's sphere delineated the activities and functions

1. Royal Commission into Public Charities, Second Report, N.S.W.L.A., V. & P., 1873-4, vol.VI, p.59.

that men determined were appropriate to women. Such activities reflected the role of women within the bourgeois family and the acceptance of the theory that the two sexes were fundamentally different. Woman's sphere ideology meant that wherever philanthropy involved the care of boys and girls together or just girls, women had a right and duty to involvement and influence. The woman's sphere ideology also accepted the hierarchical divisions between women which reflected the basically male-determined class structure.

The philanthropic care of children by 1870 was achieved primarily through institutions housing those judged to be destitute or neglected. As shown in Tables 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3, by the end of the 1870s such institutions housed 1,891 children and 425 more were pupils of the Sydney Ragged Schools. These figures indicate that by 1880, 2.3% of the child population of Sydney was under charitable care.¹ The children's institutions were run both by the government and by private organisations. The importance of the government in the provision of child-care is shown by the large proportion of institutionalised children (43.2% by 1879) who lived in state-run institutions. A further 53.6% lived in institutions which received government subsidies or grants. In any consideration of philanthropic child-care, therefore, the role of the government is of crucial importance.² However, in their attitudes towards women in philanthropy and towards the aims of philanthropy there existed no clear distinction between the state institutions and those run by private organisations.

Before examining the impact of women upon philanthropy

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1. Census of N.S.W., 1881, p.xxix. A "child" is defined here as being less than 15 years old. By 1881, Sydney and the suburbs contained 81,668 children; 36.3% of the population.
 2. E.Govan, Public and Private Responsibility in Child Welfare in New South Wales, Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1951, outlines the growth of government care for destitute children.

TABLE 1.1

GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS FOR CHILDREN, SYDNEY, 1870s¹

Name	Year founded	Location	Category of Children	Number of Inmates ²	
				1-1-1870	31-12-1879
Roman Catholic Orphan School	Founded 1800 as Female Orphan School; Protestant/Roman Catholic Separation 1837; Amalgamation Male and Female Protestant Orphan Schools 1850	Parramatta	Destitute male and female orphans	332	340
Protestant Orphan School				238	234
Industrial School Ship (the "Vernon")	Established under Acts of 1866 ³	Sydney Harbour	"Neglected" boys	135	124
Girls' Industrial School		Newcastle until 1871, then Bileola (Cockatoo Island)	"Neglected" girls	105	114 (including 17 infant males)
Girls' Reformatory/ from 1879, Shaftesbury Reformatory		Newcastle until 1871, then to Bileola, then in 1879 to Watsons Bay	Girls convicted of a crime	3	4
			(Totals)		
				813	816

1. The source of information for all such Tables in this thesis are the relevant Statistical Registers of N.S.W. and A.R.s. The categorisation of inmates was not rigidly applied.
2. There are discrepancies in the Statistical Registers, throughout the period of this thesis, between the totals given of inmates in institutions, e.g., Statistical Register, 1879, p.6 cf. ibid., 1880, p.6, number of inmates at Girls' Industrial School.
3. The Acts also provided for a Boys' Reformatory but this section was not implemented until 1894. Boys convicted of a crime were sent to prison or to the "Vernon".

TABLE 1.2 PRIVATE PHILANTHROPIC INSTITUTIONS FOR CHILDREN, INVOLVING WOMEN PHILANTHROPISTS.
SYDNEY, 1870.

Name, Year founded	Situated	Category of Children	Number of Child Inmates		Management
			1-1-1870	31-12-1879 ¹	
Sydney Female School of Industry, 1826	city/ from 1872 Darlinghurst	Destitute girls admitted 5-8 years old	50	40	Committee of Anglican Ladies (S)
Randwick Asylum, 1852	Randwick	Destitute and neglected admitted 4-10 years old	750	641	S.R.D.C./ from 1854 advisory Ladies' Visiting Committee (S)
N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, 1860	Paddington/ from 1871 Darlington	Educatable deaf and from 1869 blind, admitted 5-12 years old (boarders and day pupils)	36	71	Male Committee/ from 1864 advisory Ladies' Visiting Committee (S)
Sydney Ragged Schools, 1860	Surry Hills, Glebe and The Rocks	"slum"	323	425	Male Committee (S)
N.S.W. Benevolent Asylum ² , 1818	Pitt Street, city	Infants born in Asylum. Also receiving-house for homeless and neglected children	112	191	N.S.W. Benevolent Society/ from 1879, advisory Ladies' Visiting Committee (S)
			(Totals)		
			1271	1368	

(S) - Government subsidy.

1. The statistics were supplied by the organisations themselves and are, throughout the period covered in this thesis, to be treated with caution, as guides rather than exact tabulations.
2. The Asylum was primarily for adult women and is examined in Chapter 2.

TABLE 1.3 PRIVATE PHILANTHROPIC ORGANISATIONS FOR CHILDREN, INVOLVING WOMEN PHILANTHROPISTS.
FOUNDED IN SYDNEY IN THE 1870s.

Name, Year founded	Situated	Category of Children	Number of Child Inmates 31-12-1879	Management
Female Protestant Training School for Domestic Servants/ Lisgar Training School, 1870 Creche, 1874	Surry Hills/ from 1876 "Lisgar" Liv- erpool St., city	Destitute girls ad- mitted 8-11 years old	21	Predominately Womens' Committee/ by 1876 a private enterprise
	Charlotte Place, city	Under 5 years old of employed mothers	(10 during 3 months)	Ladies' Committee
Sydney Foundling Institution/ from 1876, Infants' Home, 1874	Darlinghurst/ from 1876 Ashfield	Foundlings, destitute first child of un- married mothers	46	Ladies' Committee (G)
Cottage Home for Destitute Children 1879	Newtown	Destitute	7-8	Mrs Jefferis
Society for Board- ing Out Destitute Children, 1879	-	Destitute	57	Ladies', then mixed sex, Committee (G)
Sick Children's Hospital, 1879 (opened 1880)	Glebe	Sick, destitute	n.a.	Ladies' Committee (G)
			(Total) <u>131-132</u>	

G - Government Grants (none of the above had a guaranteed subsidy).

for children, it is important to note the general characteristics and constraints operating upon such philanthropy. Philanthropy in the 1870s was a far remove from present child-care methods with their stress on the welfare of the individual and the unity of the family. Rather the aim was to benefit society by taking destitute children from their suspect working class environment and family and transforming them into useful and deferential workers. There was an easy assumption that what benefited employers naturally benefited the whole society. Existing social structures were accepted as God-given improvements on the basically sound structures of Britain: of "Home". There was therefore no bashfulness about organising philanthropy to bolster those same structures. Nor was there bashfulness in promoting philanthropy in terms of benefits to the philanthropists rather than recipients: altruism was rarely claimed as motivation until the twentieth century when Freud popularised the guilt-ridden analysis of self-motivation.¹ In the 1870s, social control² was an explicit and main aim of philanthropy and women philanthropists did not question this assumption.

All the major private philanthropic organisations operating in 1870 (detailed in Table 1.2) issued statements

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1. I owe this point originally to psychologists J.Schlunke and M.Garnett; the un-self-consciousness of philanthropists' self-interested motivation was at first frustrating for this historian trained to look for subtle inferences. e.g., Mrs Charles Garnett, "How and Why the Navy Mission Society was Formed" in A.Burnett-Coutts (ed.), Woman's Mission, London, 1893, p.95, stated that she began philanthropic work because "The prospect opened a vista of new interests in a lonely life". Such a statement from a philanthropist today is almost unthinkable.
 2. A.Donajgrodzki, "Introduction", in his (ed.), Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain, New Jersey, 1977, p.14. Social control refers to the non-coercive maintenance of social order by "internalised and largely unconscious control mechanisms, deeply embedded in social forms". G.Stedman Jones, "Class Expression v. Social Control", History Workshop, 4, Autumn 1977 criticises, in effect, sloppy or thoughtless use of the concept.

which demonstrated their acceptance of the aim of social control. All aimed to remove destitute or neglected children from their urban "slum" environment by placing them under the control of middle class philanthropists. After a period of alternative socialisation and vocational training, the children were sent to the country to be model workers - girls as domestic servants, boys as labourers or semi-skilled workmen.

The fear of the city as a source of hostile sub-cultures, social discontent and rampaging mobs and a complementary belief in rural purity was a basic tenet of later nineteenth century philanthropy in Australia, America and Britain.¹ Typical of this belief was the Ragged Schools' description of their pupils' homes as "hot-beds of vice".² Overcrowding in slums and Sydney's rapidly increasing population³ were deplored for their effects on children's innocence and hence morality. Children could not be "decent in habit or thought" whilst family members of all ages "live, eat and sleep in one room". In the country, it was asserted, children had "at least room to be good".⁴

The fear of pauperisation, the motivating factor behind much Australian philanthropy, was as strong as the fear of urban degeneration. Both possibilities threatened the colonial vision of a well-ordered, low-tax society that was finally ridding itself of the last vestiges of convictism. This fear was expressed most urgently by the N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind. Ensuring the "education and maintenance" of deaf or blind children was only part of the Institution's aim. Just as important was

1. A.Mayne, *Disease, Sanitation and the "Lower Orders"*, Ph.D., A.N.U., 1980; A.Platt, *The Child Savers*, Chicago, 1969, esp. p.65 and G.Stedman Jones, *Outcast London*, Oxford, 1971, esp. ch.16.

2. Sydney Ragged Schools, *A.R.*, 1871-2, p.11.

3. See Table 1.8, p.40.

4. Sydney Ragged Schools, *op.cit.*, 1871-2, p.11.

the determination to make such children wage-earning adults and so "prevent them becoming, ... a burden upon public charity in after years".¹

Typically, the Institution never suggested that benevolence towards the inmates was their sole, or even main, aim. What the executive of the Institution termed as its "noble object"² was the prevention of pauperisation and the poor law, with its associated workhouses.³ There was no need to disguise any anti-Poor Law motivation, nor the need to prevent attacks on the ruling class' wealth and power.⁴ The Institution's President, the Rev. George King, was quite within the mainstream of social thought when he urged increased support of the Institution in terms of social control. As he put it:

If the wealthy classes would, by their superabundance, bridge over the deep chasm which God permits to exist between the rich and poor, we should have less of that class jealousy which seems in our day to threaten society with one of its worst social evils - the disaffection of the employes. If this growing social evil is to be eradicated from our midst, it must be by letting the working class see that they had the best sympathies of those placed in higher stations; thus giving them to feel that in their night of adversity and affliction the upper classes were their best friends. (5)

Given such a philosophy, it follows that all the major philanthropic organisations were specifically run by the ruling

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1. N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, A.R., 1871-2, p.4.
 2. loc.cit.
 3. The British Poor Law, originating with Elizabeth 1, was amended in 1834 to minimise pauperisation by restricting relief to workhouses, D.Fraser, (ed.), The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century, London, 1976.
 4. e.g., The Empire (Henry Parkes' editorial) 4 February 1873; Royal Commission Report, op.cit., p.58 and K.Inglis, The Australian Colonists, Melbourne, 1974, p.122. The latter refers to the popular song celebrating the absence of workhouses and "poor law coves so cruel".
 5. N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, op.cit., 1872-3, p.15.

class on behalf of the working class. Organisation members were either appointed or, if elected, the voting qualification was an annual subscription of at least £1. Further, it followed that the care of destitute children was the most crucial philanthropic task. If pauper tendencies could be trained out of the future generation, then the need for the dreaded Poor Law was eliminated.

Another assumption was that poverty was a crime in itself, or at least a sign of criminal weakness.¹ The Society for the Relief of Destitute Children (S.R.D.C.), for example, assured subscribers that by admitting children into their Randwick Asylum, they were preventing them "growing up in the midst of crime and profligacy, in the miserable homes occupied by their impoverished parents".² Poverty and pauperism were not considered signs of external factors, such as low wages, but of character weakness. Accordingly it was never considered necessary that apprentices from philanthropic institutions be paid the minimum average wage.³ Equally logically, it was considered desirable to alienate the children from their past environment and families.⁴ This logic particularly affected working class children whose mothers were widows or deserted wives.⁵ These women faced limited, poorly paid employment opportunities and inadequate or non-existent child-care

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1. cf. Tasmania, J. Brown, Poverty is not a Crime, Hobart, 1977.
 2. S.R.D.C., A.R., 1873, p.19 cf. ibid., 1869, p.17.
 3. One of the lowest paid were Randwick Asylum apprentices at 6d, rising to 4/6 per week, two thirds of which was to be put into trust during the six year apprenticeship cf. the minimum average weekly wage in 1870 with board for a male labourer was 11/6 and for female general house servants, 10/-, Statistical Register of N.S.W., 1870, p.11.
 4. Ragged School, A.R., 1872-3, p.11 and S.R.D.C., By Laws and List of Directors, N.S.W.L.A., V.&P., 1870-1, vol.1V, p.3 stress on "dissolute and abandoned parents".
 5. A.O'Brien, "Deserted Wives in Late 19th Century Australia", Australian Women and the Law Conference Paper, August 1978, Sydney University, explored the particular dilemma of deserted wives. Her forthcoming Ph.D. thesis (Sydney University) examines the reverse side of this thesis - the plight of the poor who were objects of philanthropy.

facilities. Almost invariably their children were admitted to philanthropic institutions; as invariably their need was attributed to the innate weakness of women without male providers.

Another important characteristic of philanthropic child-care was the determination that only the "deserving poor", that is, the morally unimpeachable, utterly destitute,¹ should be helped. To ensure this, philanthropists made their services as unattractive as possible. The clearest illustration of this determination occurred with the Ragged Schools. The name was not, as has been assumed, an example of middle class insensitivity.² Rather, they were originally called "Free Schools" and deliberately changed to deter all but those willing to incur the humiliation of attending a "Ragged School".³

One of the most important influences upon private philanthropic organisations for children, and especially, as argued in the following chapter, for adults, was evangelism. Of the private philanthropic organisations for children established by 1870 all but the School of Industry were dominated by evangelicals. Even the School of Industry had previously been an evangelical organisation.⁴ Evangelicals were Protestants⁵ who understood their basic

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1. R.Kennedy, "Charity and Ideology in Colonial Victoria", Bowyang, 5, April/May 1981, p.17 pointed out that "poor" generally meant "destitute".
 2. F.MacDonnell, The Glebe, Sydney, 1975, p.89.
 3. C.Murray, The Ragged School Movement in New South Wales, 1860-1924, M.A. (Pass), Macquarie University, 1979, p.45, notes but does not explain the significance of this change.
 4. E.Windschuttle, The Female School of Industry, Sydney, 1826-1847, B.A. (Hons.) Sydney University, 1977, p.6.
 5. In not restricting the term evangelical to the Church of England, I am following K.Heasman, Evangelicals in Action, London, 1962, and J.Hastings (ed.), Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, vol.5, Edinburgh, 1971, entry for Evangelism, rather than F.K.Brown, Fathers of the Victorians, Cambridge, 1961. I follow K.Dempsey, "To Comfort or to Challenge", Sociology Papers, La Trobe University, n.d., p.16n, and popular practice and include the Church of England as part of the Protestant church.

duty as Christians to be one of actively spreading the Christian message. To a nineteenth century evangelical the main purpose of any organisation was to evangelise, that is, to win converts to their version of Christianity. Evangelicals believed that the essential message of Christianity was salvation of an essentially depraved humanity by faith through the atoning death of Christ. Their overriding concern was for the individual soul and this concern led to an individualistic approach to social problems, and a tendency to oppose social reform measures to overcome poverty.¹ Evangelicals held that each person - women as well as men - had an impelling duty to attempt to convert others. The resultant earnestness and single-mindedness never enjoyed widespread support.² Nevertheless evangelicals, as in Britain, dominated the major philanthropic institutions.³

The image of women as the "gentle sex" may produce expectations that they would adopt a less wholeheartedly self-interested approach to philanthropy. This thesis reveals no evidence that such an expectation is confirmed. Women as much as men, were influenced by the dominant mores. In addition, women had less power and so were in a weaker position to effectively challenge the dominant ideology. Rather, it is proposed in this thesis that women in the 1870s sought to strengthen their sphere of influence to

1. Heasman, op.cit., pp.19-20.

2. e.g. D.T., 29 December 1879, writing of a Christmas breakfast for destitute children reflected popular opinion in their hope that "for once the poor little things should have a chance of enjoying themselves without being preached or prayed at afterwards".

3. Heasman, op.cit., p.14, estimated that 75% of British philanthropic organisations were evangelical during 1850-1900. The significance of evangelicals is borne out by the number of organisations examined in this thesis that they controlled. It was claimed that the same clique (all evangelicals) ran the Town Hall, Sydney Infirmary, Randwick Asylum and the N.S.W. Benevolent Society, quoted in M.Horsburgh, Government Subsidy of Voluntary Social Welfare Organisations, M.Soc. Work, University of N.S.W., 1975, p.119.

apply their particular energies and expertise and, at times, different methods. They never questioned the overall aims and rarely challenged the ideology of the woman's sphere which both limited their actions and justified their actions within those limitations. The result of the woman's sphere ideology was that high status¹ women, that is, ladies, were considered justified in demanding power over the socialisation of those of the same sex. The clearest demand for increased power for philanthropic "ladies" in terms of the woman's sphere ideology was made in the report and evidence of the Royal Commission into Public Charities for 1873-4.

The 1873-4 Royal Commission was appointed as a result of widespread dissatisfaction with the management of public charities in N.S.W., that is, government-run or subsidised charities. Heading the five man Commission was lawyer W.C.Windeyer whose wife was a leading figure in the social and philanthropic movements of the following decades.² Also on the Commission was Charles Cowper Jnr. who as Water Police Magistrate had resided on Bileola Island where the Girls' Industrial School and Reformatory was located. His solution to previous disturbances on Bileola had been to ask suitable women to give religious instruction to the girls.³

In keeping with the woman's sphere concept, the major determinant on the role of women in government institutions for children was the sex of the inmates. If inmates included girls then a role for women in the management of the institutions was ensured. Conversely, if

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1. I follow the neo-Weberian definition of status as an effective claim to social esteem in terms of positive or negative privileges, R.Omodei, "Beyond the Neo-Weberian Concept of Status", Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, (accepted for publication 1981).
 2. See Appendix A, entry for Windeyer.
 3. Royal Commission, Report, op.cit., pp.72-3, 77.

the institution housed only boys then women were excluded from the management. Philanthropists were not viewed as surrogate parents to the child inmates but as role models to children of the same sex. Thus women played a role in all of the government run institutions that included girls among its inmates but no part in the boys' nautical school, the "Vernon". On the "Vernon" reformation was to be achieved through quasi-naval discipline and the inculcation of a masculine ethos.¹ Feminine influence was as firmly eschewed aboard the "Vernon" as on any British naval ship. In the other four state-run institutions, feminine influence was expected to play the role for the female inmates that masculinity did for the "Vernon" boys. The Royal Commissioners upheld this division and sought to strengthen the feminine ethos in the other institutions which solely or partially housed girls.

Women had played a major role in founding the Orphan Schools out of which the Protestant and Roman Catholic Orphan Schools had developed.² A Ladies' Visiting Committee had regularly inspected the Schools but the Committee was defunct by the 1870s. Both Schools had a Board of Trustees but neither Board included volunteer women philanthropists nor had any power over the management of the School.³ A similar situation was revealed by the Royal Commission at the Industrial School and Reformatory. The Sisters of the Good Samaritan gave religious instruction to the Catholic girls and a proprietor of a Balmain "ladies' school", Mrs

1. Royal Commission, Report, op.cit., pp.86-90; L.Ritter, "A Comparison of the N.S.S. "Vernon" ... ", Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society Journal, 7:2, Spring, 1978 and A.Shorten, "Nautical School Ships", ibid., 5:2, Spring 1976.

2. Memorandum on the history of the Parramatta Orphan Schools, N.S.W.L.A., V. & P., 1885-6, vol.2, pp.801-6 and J.Nolan, The History of the First Roman Catholic Orphan Schools in New South Wales, M.Ed., (Sydney University?), 1964. The latter was consulted at St. Scholastica's Convent, Glebe. The university was not stated on the thesis.

3. Royal Commission Report, op.cit., pp.90-3.

Henrietta Foot, regularly visited the Protestant girls.¹ Apart from these women, acting in the "Lady Bountiful" tradition, volunteer women philanthropists had no managerial role in the state institutions. The greatest scope for women in these institutions was as paid officials, especially the most powerful of these positions, that of Matron. The Matrons' capabilities had direct and important repercussions on the overall role of women in philanthropy. Official recognition of their effectiveness paved the way for greater public acceptance of women as unpaid philanthropists.

The Matron of the Protestant Orphan School was Mrs Betts whose husband, and on his death, son, was Master of the School.² Mrs Betts was virtually the sole administrator of the Orphan School both because of her formal powers and her opportunities to accrue informal powers over her long service (by 1874, 22 years) as Matron.³ Her salary of £164 p.a., with board, was a professional's rate and twice the minimum wage of a skilled male tradesman.⁴

The Roman Catholic Orphan School provided similar career opportunities for its Matron, Mother M. Magdalen (Mrs Adamson).⁵ She received the same salary and had the same powers as her Protestant counterpart but was

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1. ibid., p.69 and evidence, p.79. (Mrs Foot's occupation is given in Sands' Sydney Directory, 1877, p.136 and 1883, p.347). She was mistakenly referred to as Mrs Tooth.
 2. Royal Commission evidence, op.cit., p.28.
 3. ibid., p.91.
 4. Statistical Register of N.S.W., 1870, p.11.
 5. Nineteenth century custom was to refer to professed nuns as Mrs, then their secular surname. The Commissioners accordingly referred to Mother M. Magdalen as Mrs Adamson. The Freeman's Journal, 23 October 1924 refers to this custom. It compares with the Victorian habit of calling an upper servant "Mrs" regardless of marital status but conferring the prestige of that title.

under the additional constraint of the rules of her order and owed obedience to the Archbishop of the Sydney archdiocese.¹ The government-appointed Board of Trustees did not interfere with the Matron's management of the School. As Matron, Mother M. Magdalen's authority was bolstered by her status in private life and within her order. As summarised in Appendix A, she had the status of a lady and her high standing was confirmed in 1877 when she was elected the first Good Samaritan nun to head the order.²

Mrs Betts and Mother M. Magdalen were both praised in the Royal Commission Report; their administrations were respectively labelled "efficient" and "most able and economical" and their personal influence on the inmates praised.³ In an era when women had few professional opportunities and were commonly considered incapable of administration, such official commendation was of great importance. The Matrons' efficiency helped establish that male traits were not needed in order to effectively deal with the financial and administrative aspects of philanthropic administration. That one of the women was a nun, an ultimate symbol of womanliness, could only reinforce the message. Proof that women were "the best of administrators"⁴ was needed as the position of professional women was constantly challenged. Mother M. Magdalen's administration had been challenged in 1870 by a dissaffected schoolmaster and was only vindicated after an official enquiry.⁵ Similarly the Royal Commissioners investigated Mrs Kelly, the teacher at the Girls' Industrial

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1. P. Fitz-Walter, *Benedictinism encountered in Australian Education*, M.Ed., University of Queensland, 1968, p.317 gives the rules of the order. A Sister of the Good Samaritan vows to obey her superior as God's representative, (anon), *The Wheeling Years*, Sydney, 1956, p.40.
 2. Her successor as Matron was Mother M. Gertrude Byrne, see Appendix A. Previously the Superior had been Mother Scholastica Gibbons, a Sister of Charity and also listed in Appendix A.
 3. Royal Commission Report, *op.cit.*, pp.91,93.
 4. *ibid.*, p.59.
 5. *N.S.W.L.A., V. & P.*, 1870, vol.11, pp.581-7 and *The Freeman's Journal*, 5 and 19 March 1875. The Matron had previously charged the schoolmaster with excessive flogging of an inmate.

School who had been charged by the School's storekeeper with "feminine imprudence". She too was upheld by the investigation.¹ Miss Lucy Osburn and her band of Nightingale nurses, who arrived in Sydney in 1868, experienced similar pressure to prove their abilities despite their sex.² The dedication, ability and public vindication of women such as these reinforced public acceptance of women's abilities within the woman's sphere. Yet the novelty of middle class women earning their own living meant that they still suffered, like governesses,³ from not having all the status and privileges of a "lady". Unpaid women philanthropists were not hampered by the stigma attached to women earning their own living and so reaped the advantages of their paid colleagues' high repute without personally suffering the disadvantages.

The achievements of the Orphan School Matrons were particularly impressive as the Royal Commission Report revealed the difficulties of their work. As could be expected in a city with a rapidly increasing population, the numbers of children cared for in the orphan schools increased, over the decade, by approximately a third. In practice, a much wider range of children than orphans were admitted⁴ and the subsequent overcrowding added to the Matron's problems of operating in an old building under archaic laws.⁵ In addition, the Matrons had no systematic means of checking up on the inmates' welfare after they left the School, to return to their families or to be apprenticed. They, therefore, had no way of verifying their claims that most became "respectable" members of the working class.⁶

1. Royal Commission, Report, op.cit., p.78.

2. F.MacDonnell, Miss Nightingale's Young Ladies, Sydney, 1970, *passim*.

3. M.Peterson, "The Victorian Governess" in M.Vicinus (ed.), Suffer and Be Still, Bloomington, 1972.

4. Royal Commission, Report, op.cit., pp.91,96 and Admission Register, Roman Catholic Orphanage, Parramatta, 3 April 1877 - 11 March 1884, held (1979) at the Good Samaritan Training College, Arncliffe, Sydney.

5. Royal Commission, op.cit., evidence, p.30 and Report, pp.90-2.

6. ibid., Report, pp.91,93.

The efficiency of the Matron of the Girls' Reformatory, Mrs Agnes King, was added proof of the capabilities of women in philanthropy. She was accorded professional status and a yearly salary of £120 plus board.¹ Like the other Matrons she was hampered by poor working conditions, particularly in her case by the Reformatory buildings which had originally been a convict-built prison. Yet she too managed to transcend the conditions that made running the small Reformatory a difficult achievement. The Royal Commissioners judged her an efficient and humane administrator and consequently recommended that the Reformatory be placed entirely under her control.² Such was the opposition to women being placed in positions of power, however, that this recommendation was not adopted. When Bileola Reformatory was moved and became the Shaftesbury Reformatory, the administrative model implemented was that of conventional adult roles within a bourgeois nuclear family. The Matron was subject to the orders of a male superintendent and her duties were primarily to oversee household arrangements.³ This wife-role had little power compared with the position of "Lady Superintendent" envisaged for King by the Royal Commissioners. In this case their recommendation was more of a psychological boost to women workers rather than a cause of policy change and greater official recognition of women's abilities.

The remaining State institution examined by the Commissioners was the Girls' Industrial School. The School provided a career outlet for another category of woman; the married woman who, with her husband, was a career philanthropist. Such couples were not uncommon in Sydney and had their counterparts in Britain.⁴ The Superintendent and Matron of the Industrial School were respectively, George and Mary Ann Lucas. As described in more detail in

1. ibid., evidence, p.86.

2. ibid., Report, p.82.

3. N.S.W. L.A., V. & P., 1879-80, vol.2, pp.971-2.

4. e.g., the Booths of the Salvation Army, C.Bramwell-Booth, Catherine Booth. The Story of Her Loves, (1970) London, 1973.

Appendix A, their appointment provided the couple with a livelihood after a lifetime of philanthropic enterprise. For her work as Matron, Mrs Lucas received her board plus £100 p.a. Mr Lucas was also Superintendent of the Reformatory and received £200 and board for his combined duties.¹

The Royal Commission advocated a greater role for women in the running of charitable institutions rather than male superintendence over a subordinate matron as occurred at the Girls' Reformatory and Industrial School. The official ideal of the duties of the male and female in administration paralleled that of a husband and wife except that the Matrons had independence and authority unthinkable for a wife.² Hence it was consistent for the Commissioners to condemn the only husband and wife administration; the Lucases at the Industrial School. The Lucases were reviled and the Commissioners displayed no sympathy for an aged couple, probably forced by financial need, undertaking difficult work at a time when retirement would have been more appropriate. The Commissioners claimed that Mr Lucas had capitalised on his previous charity, was illiterate, slovenly and that both he and Mrs Lucas had "an infirmity of temper" that had led to the brutal ill-treatment of the girls.³ In the opinion of the Royal Commissioners, the "state of riotous insubordination" at Bileola was due to the Lucas' "absence of method, judgement, culture and self-control".⁴ The addition of "culture" to the criticism was not just a sneer at Mr Lucas' illiteracy. It also was indicative of the Commissioners' opinion that the Lucases were not of sufficiently high status to inspire the inmates with the respect and awareness of the power⁵ of their superiors.

1. Royal Commission, evidence, op.cit., p.71.

2. The S.M.H., 20 June 1874, thundered against the idea of a wife being an official partner of her husband.

3. Royal Commission, Report, op.cit., pp.70-1.

4. ibid., p.72.

5. loc.cit., the Commissioners referred to "moral power".

The result of the Commission's inquiry into the Industrial School, apart from the Lucases' resignation, was an additional insistence on the need for women to have power in philanthropic institutions. The Commissioners successfully recommended that "the School [be] placed entirely under the control of a woman".¹ This was a particular instance of their overall finding which, the Commissioners claimed,

proved beyond all doubt that, as administrators of large establishments, women are in every way equal to men, the highest results being indeed obtained in institutions under the control of women. (2)

In addition, non-executive lady visitors were to be encouraged for their "ameliorating influence on the young."³

Recommendations of Royal Commissions are rarely adopted in full and the 1873-4 Royal Commission was no exception. Yet the opinions expressed by Royal Commissions are influential. The 1873-4 Royal Commission's main recommendation (that of boarding out, discussed below) was adopted and it had been appointed by a Government which looked for expert opinion that would not offend the mainstream opinion of the electorate. The Commission's report could not but help to consolidate and vindicate the right of women to power in philanthropy. This was particularly so as it was extensively reported, and supported, in the colony's leading papers.⁴ In addition, as argued below, it expressed an ideology that was widely accepted by the 1880s.

An important element in the Commissioners' argument that women should have a greater role in philanthropic management was the concept of strict division between the

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1. Royal Commission, Report, op.cit., p.79. Mrs Selina Walker became Superintendent.
 2. loc.cit.
 3. ibid., Report, p.29.
 4. e.g. S.M.H., June-July, 1874.

sexes. Not only should men have control over boys, but women should have control over girls. The Commissioners' argument accepted the popular belief that there were irreconcilable psychological differences between the sexes.¹ This belief was based firmly on nineteenth century scientific knowledge and perceived differences between the sexes² now attributed to differing sexual socialisation. On the basis of this assumption, the Commissioners argued that relationships based on complete trust and confidentiality could only exist between members of the same sex. They quoted Florence Nightingale that "in disciplinary matters a woman only can understand a woman"³ and further asserted that girls "need the teaching and example of feminine purity".⁴

The Commissioners, however, wanted to employ not just women as administrators, but ladies, that is, middle class women with attributes of gentility whose roles previously were little more than as ineffectual Ladies Bountiful or powerless lady visitors. The conviction with which the Commissioners argued for ladies to have real power in woman's sphere philanthropy was strengthened by the presence in the colony of two prominent philanthropic English ladies who gave evidence before the Commission: the Misses Florence and Rosamond Hill.⁵ The main obstacle in the adoption of the Commissioners' recommendation was that suitable ladies to become Lady Superintendents and charitable administrators were considered lacking in the colonial population. Henry Parkes, the Premier, responded to the Royal Commissioners'

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1. B.Harrison, *Separate Spheres*, op.cit., ch. 4.
 2. e.g. J.Ruskin, "Of Queen's Gardens" in his Sesame and Lilies, (1893), London, 1902, p.107 that the two sexes "are in nothing alike". Ruskin first gave "Of Queen's Gardens" as a lecture in 1871. See also H.Greeley, "My Notion on Women's Rights", The Freeman's Journal, 15 January 1870, and S.M.H. 20 June 1874.
 3. Royal Commission, Report, op.cit., p.79. It is probable that this quotation was a paraphrase of Nightingale's assertion in a letter to William Windeyer that "A man can never govern a woman", 22 March 1874, Windeyer Papers, MSSP1, series 22/1-2, Sydney University archives.
 4. Royal Commission, Report, op.cit., p.79.
 5. The importance of the Hills was Australia-wide; R. and F. Hill, What We Saw In Australia, London, 1875.

recommendations not by promoting the officials commended by their report but by offering Rosamond Hill the job of Lady Superintendent of the Industrial School. After some delay she declined.¹ Her refusal meant that the School and, for a time, Reformatory continued under the superintendence of a man, with a woman as subordinate Matron. The general prosperity of the middle class in the 1870s, the novelty of the idea of a lady being employed and the high rate of marriage for women² meant that colonial society lacked women who could qualify on both counts as a "lady superintendent". Such a situation was in contrast to England, where the excess of females over males meant that many middle class women did not marry and so chose "genteel" occupations retaining as much as possible their status as lady.³

While the Royal Commission failed in its immediate object of attracting ladies to administer the institutions, their advocacy and praise added dignity to women's philanthropy. Philanthropists frequently received a bad press,⁴ but women philanthropists were particularly attacked during the late nineteenth century. In particular, British literature, widely read in Australia, contained savage caricatures of women philanthropists. The extreme of this trend was reached with Wilkie Collins' characterisation of the unlovable evangelical philanthropist, Miss Drusilla Clack.⁵ Charles Dickens also contributed by his scathing "The Ladies Societies"⁶ and satire on Caroline Chisholm as Mrs Jellyby

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1. Rosamond Hill to Henry Parkes, 10 and 14 December 1873, Parkes Correspondence, ML A988 and A923.
 2. 95% of women in N.S.W. in 1871 had married by the time they reached the age cohort 45-9 years old, P.MacDonald, Marriage in Australia, Canberra, 1975, p.96.
 3. R.Auchmuty, Victorian Spinsters, Ph.D., A.N.U., 1975 and H.Schupf, "Single Women and Social Reform", Victorian Studies, XV11:3, 1973-4.
 4. e.g. D.T., 3 July 1879, Daniel O'Conner, M.L.A. described philanthropists as "well-meaning, if somewhat weakminded men, fond of a little fussy importance, and as good hands to a muddle as any other irresponsible body without a head".
 5. W.Collins, The Moonstone, London, 1868.
 6. C.Dickens, Sketches By Boz, London, 1836, ch.V1.

in Bleak House. The Australian image of the woman philanthropist tended to be that of a thoughtless, superficial "do-gooder" who only pauperised and antagonised the people they purported to help. For example, The Freeman's Journal, perhaps motivated by the comparative lack of upper-middle class Catholic ladies, sneered:

Fine ladies not unfrequently play at philanthropy. Some time as they can spare from dress and amusement they give to framing plans of relief for the poor. These are always plans that give their inventors a prominent position, that include society in its holiday clothes, and that depend for success on other people's pockets. (1)

The Royal Commission Report gave official credence to an alternative view with their insistence that philanthropy needed women with power commensurate with their status as ladies. While sharing the colonial disdain for "my ladies bountiful" the Royal Commissioners saw for ladies an essential role in supervising the state employees of children's institutions.² It was a view that won a widely varying range of adherents in the state's privately run philanthropic institutions.

The Royal Commission also influenced and revealed the role of women in the colonies' two largest privately-run children's institutions; the Randwick Asylum and the N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind. These two institutions were both managed by a male executive with the assistance of an advisory women's visiting committee. It has been easy for historians to overlook such committees as they had no formal powers over management. However, using public and formal powers to implement their ideas was not relevant to these women's managerial style. Rather in the

1. The Freeman's Journal, 7 December 1872.

2. Royal Commission, Report, op.cit., e.g. p.86.

manner advocated by Ruskin in "Of Queen's Gardens" they sought to influence and truly advise the men. The right to advise is not, as can be so easily assumed, empty of power.¹ The women neither sought more formal powers nor were prepared to be mere token symbols of women's participation.

The Royal Commission strongly defended the right of women to influence philanthropic policy. The efficiency of the women employees of state children's institutions gave the Commissioners ample opportunity to advocate an active role for women in philanthropy. Equally, the male-run Randwick Asylum enabled the Commissioners to point to the evils of institutional charity without adequate feminine influence.

The Royal Commissioners were opposed in principle to what they stigmatised as the "barrack system" of institutionalising destitute children. They found nothing at the Randwick Asylum to modify their opinion. The Commissioners concluded that the Asylum was basically "a mistake". They condemned the too harsh and therefore ineffective socialisation of the children, the unremitting implementation of the work ethic, the inadequate supervision of apprentices and the over-large (from 56 to 68 Directors) executive.² The Commissioners decided that it was the lack of feminine influence that was the cause of much of the trouble. Accordingly, their solution was to increase the power of high status women, of "ladies", within the Asylum. The Commissioners recommended that the executive be reduced to 15, a third of whom should be ladies.³ This recommendation was

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1. cf. the real but indirect role of the political hostesses of Britain who so bitterly opposed women's suffrage, Harrison, *Separate Spheres*, op.cit., pp.81-3.
 2. Royal Commission, Report, op.cit., pp.108,97. S.R.D.C., A.R., 1873, p.11 explained that sick children admitted to the Asylum's hospital were not "left to brood over their ailments; the convalescents are employed either in nursing those who may temporarily require assistance, or in the general routine of domestic duties". S.M.H. 6 March 1873 gives one example of the abuse of a Randwick apprentice.
 3. Royal Commission, Report, op.cit., p.98.

in keeping with their belief that the socialisation of the young was within the woman's sphere.¹

The Commissioners noted that the Ladies' Visiting Committee took neither an active nor interested part in the supervision of the Asylum.² This was despite the numbers of women on the committee, appointed by the male committee, having nominally increased.³ The reason for the inactivity was significant - the ladies had been over-ruled by the male executive. The Ladies' Committee had complained of the Matron's inefficiency and she had consequently resigned. It was when the men re-instated the Matron that the Ladies' Committee refused to work further for the Asylum.⁴ To the ladies, indirect power was real and important.

The Commissioners, with their strong belief in the innate differences between the sexes, naturally sided with the women:

as to the fitness of a woman to have control of a large number of children, many of them girls, ... women would more probably form a correct opinion than men, and be less likely to be talked over and imposed upon. (5)

It was necessary to have not only a Matron in charge of the children, but ladies in control of the Matron. The rationale was the concept of the woman's sphere as quoted at the head of this chapter. The men controlling Randwick Asylum rejected this argument that women had a natural right to influence within the Asylum. Their resistance was due to vested interests in maintaining the status quo; to the importance of philanthropy in furthering a professional or

1. ibid., Report, p.59.

2. ibid., Report, p.97.

3. Membership figures are taken from J.Coulter, Randwick Asylum, Sydney, 1916, pp.13-4. There are slight discrepancies between the figures and those in the eight A.R.s available between 1870-82. In the absence of ms records, Coulter's figures are used for consistency.

4. Royal Commission, Report, op.cit., p.97, evidence, p.126.

5. ibid., Report, p.97.

political career¹ and perhaps to the fear that women would oust men completely from the management. The latter situation had occurred at the Sydney Female Refuge, of whose executive some were members.²

The idea that women had a right to influence the Asylum's management had widespread acceptance. It had been the recommendation of an inquiry in 1855.³ Two years after the 1873-4 Royal Commission, a parliamentary Board of Inquiry reached a similar conclusion as to the benefits of supervision by ladies:

The influence of the kindly visits of ladies must be a beneficial influence on young children; and ... have the effect of encouraging the persons in charge in the performance of their duties, and in their exertions to promote the welfare and happiness of the children. (4)

In response, more women's names were formally added to the Ladies' Committee. Mostly, these were relatives of the men of the executive.⁵ Still they would not take an active interest where they had no influence and still the Asylum was plagued by scandal and accusation. The harsh treatment of the children and the punitive attitude even towards those of the parents who were clearly the "deserving poor" exceeded the accepted standard. Destitute widows, the epitome of the deserving poor, were championed when the Asylum refused to let them know where in the

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1. e.g. S.M.H., 14 October 1868, quoted Windeyer in parliamentary debate as referring to his "learned friend Mr Darley. Who knew him? Did we find him supporting any of our philanthropic or charitable institutions?". The Royal Commission Report, op.cit., p.97 noted the effect of reporters at the Asylum meetings on board members' locquaciousness.
 2. A case study of this institution is presented in Chapter 3.
 3. Report of the Board of Inquiry into the Benevolent Asylum and the Asylum for Destitute Children N.S.W.L.A., V. & P., 1855, vol.1.
 4. ibid., 1875-6, vol.1V, p.105.
 5. 43 of the 69 women had a husband or relative on the men's committee during 1870-80.

country their children were apprenticed.¹ Editorials condemned the Asylum, one naming it "an Institution for the torture of friendless children".² Feelings were only exacerbated when an Asylum spokesman, S.H.Pearce,³ displayed his contempt for the children by stating that the

children ... were the dregs of the
bad characters of Sydney ... whose
feelings had to be appealed to by
the rod. (4)

Pearce further strained public credibility by attributing the marks of beatings on the children's bodies to the result of their play.⁵

Another parliamentary select committee was appointed in 1879 to inquire into the Asylum but the possibility of women reforming the institution was by then minimal. The Ladies' Committee remained silent (cf. in 1856 when it wrote its own report vindicating the Asylum against the findings of the parliamentary inquiry⁶) and was soon disbanded. The support the Asylum received from the women of Sydney, as seen in subscription lists summarised in Table 1.4, fell to a miniscule 6%.⁷ The Select Committee echoed the 1873-4 Royal Commissioners and recommended that the all-woman Boarding-out Society be granted money to experiment in alternative means of care of destitute children. The male bastion of the Randwick Asylum was about to crumble.

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1. D.T., 27 September 1879. Invariably this meant permanent separation from the children. The mothers living in rented accommodation had a high geographic mobility which would make it difficult for children to trace them after an apprenticeship of six years. R.V.Jackson, "Owner-Occupation of Houses in Sydney, 1871 to 1891", in C.B.Schedvin and J.W.McCarty, Urbanisation in Australia, Sydney, 1970.
 2. D.T., 14 November 1879.
 3. A long-time mayor of Randwick and executive member of the S.R.D.C., A.D.B., 5, entry for S.H.Pearce.
 4. D.T., 6 November 1879.
 5. loc.cit.
 6. S.R.D.C., A.R., 1856, p.5.
 7. Enthusiastic support came from country employers benefiting from cheap apprenticed labour. The pastoral family of the Dangars, e.g. had nine listings in the 1869 subscription list including £100 from Mrs G.Dangar. Such support was maintained throughout the decade.

In contrast to the Randwick Asylum, the N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind enjoyed a reputation for being both humane and effective. This reputation was aided by the Institution increasingly being a school for fee-paying children as well as a charity for destitute children. As all children shared the facilities they all benefited. The Royal Commission, so critical of children's institutions, praised its "good" management, unsectarian principles and "truly charitable character".¹

The Commissioners could be accused of bias as the wife of one was on the Institution's Ladies' Committee.² Yet the same consideration of her membership had not caused any sparing of criticism for the Randwick Asylum. Rather it appears that they were satisfied by the influence which the Ladies' Committee exerted in the Institution's management. It was a view shared by others. The Echo (9 October 1877) reported that the Institution "has been chiefly managed by ladies, and perhaps we are justified in attributing to that fact the peace and harmony which have prevailed".³ Similarly the Inspector of Public Charities reported the Ladies' Committee's "vigorous work, apparently in perfect harmony with the local management".⁴

The Institution's Ladies' Committee exemplifies the real but indirect power possible for "ladies". Underlying their power was the women's financial contributions. As Table 1.4 indicates this was not due to their regular subscriptions but rather their ability to raise large sums

1. Royal Commission, Report, op.cit., p.117.

2. Agnes Metcalfe, see Appendix A.

3. Quoted in the N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, A.R., 1877, p.10.

4. Inspector of Public Charities, A.R., 1877-8, p.13.

TABLE 1.4

FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR PHILANTHROPIC CHILD-CARE, 1870s**

Organis- ation	Year	Number of sub- script- ions/don- ations(1)	Subscript- ions/dona- tions by women (No.) (%)	Amount Sub- scribed/don- ated (£. s. d.)	Amount subscrib- ed/donated by women (£. s. d.) (%)	Amount of wom- en's separate fund-raising (£. s. d.)(as % of total income)	Work value/ payments on behalf of inmates. (£. s. d.)(as % of total income)
S.R.D.C. ²	1875*	386	85 22.0	1699. 3. 0	172. 8.2 10.1	- 0	384.19.0 3.3
	1880	689	47 6.8	1277. 6. 4	103. 0.0 8.4	- 0	435.18.9 2.0
N.S.W.In-	1870	460	62 13.5	556.17. 6	82. 8.9 14.8	- 0	132.14.4 10.6
stitution	1875*	497	42 8.5	556.13. 2	68.10.0 12.3	- 0	341. 0.8 15.5
for the	1880*	728	59 8.1	1820.18. 0	78.18.0 4.3	- 0	707.13.1 23.1
Deaf and Dumb, and Blind							
Female	1870-1	72	54 75.0	178. 6. 0	122. 8.0 68.6	207.10.6 33.2	58.18.0 9.4
School	1874-5	69	57 82.6	123.11. 0	84. 2.0 68.1	188. 5.2 29.4	161.13.6 25.3
of In- dustry							(including £60 from one parent)
	1879-80	89	73 82.0	181. 6. 0	126. 5.0 69.6	724.18.6 58.8	89. 2.2 7.2
Sydney	1871-2	327	55 16.8	598. 7. 1	98.13.6 16.5	- 0	- 0
Ragged	1874-5	436	61 14.0	1179.10.10	115.13.6 9.8	- 0	- 0
Schools	1879-80	271	44 16.2	701.12. 0	69. 5.0 9.9	- 0	- 0

1. This column in all such tables in this thesis refers to the number of subscriptions and donations listed. For consistency, several rules are followed. All subscriptions or donations are counted separately as it is not always possible to distinguish between duplicate entries and subscriptions or donations by individuals of the same name. In a small number of cases, money is given jointly. In the case of "Misses - " donating, they are counted as two, as are donations by married couples. Which spouse actually gave the money is not considered as important as which name/s they considered it appropriate to cite in the subscription list. There are a small number of anonymous donors, none of which are counted as women. The high percentage of support from women of women's organisations therefore errs on the side of underestimation. Most importantly, the stat-

TABLE 1.4 continued

istics given in these tables are indications of trends only. The information given in the reports cannot be checked for accuracy. Inconsistencies also occur between organisations as to, for example, the duplication of subscriptions or donations and the inclusion of small fund-raising events and legacies. It is as an indication of trends that these statistics are significant, not as exact tabulations.

2. 1870-2 A.R.s are unavailable; statistics for 1869 are incomplete as pages are missing from the reports.

* City subscription list only.

** Sources for all such tables in this thesis are the relevant A.R.s.

in times of special need. In 1870, for example, the Ladies' Committee collected funds for the new building. As a result 65.9% of the £1,352-7-2 contributed came from women, all of which was collected by the Ladies' Committee except for £100 which was donated by Mary Roberts.¹ It would have been pointless and irrelevant for them to exploit their power more directly or formally. Unlike the men, their status was not affected by the lack of publicity received through, for example, the annual reports.² Quiet work of which only those of a similar status were aware furthered one's status as a lady whilst men, to further their status and careers, generally needed wider publicity.

The Ladies' Committee viewed its role as a right to real power and a serious responsibility. The ladies' attitude was demonstrated during a dispute which was aired in the letter page of The Sydney Daily Telegraph. A brother of a teacher who had been summarily dismissed from the Institution claimed that she had been dismissed by the Ladies' Committee which had no power to do so. The Institution's President, the Rev. George King, whose wife was on the Ladies' Committee, maintained that as it was the ladies who had dismissed the teacher, only the ladies could re-instate her.³ It was not ladylike to engage in public debate but privately they could and did protest. Ann Goodlet, the Ladies' Committee secretary, wrote to the men that the ladies had not been aware of the dismissal and so could not take responsibility.⁴ Her letter suggests

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1. N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, op.cit., 1870, p.13. See also Appendix A, entry for Roberts.
 2. e.g. N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, op.cit., 1870, p.6 merely acknowledged the ladies and "their young friends" as helping the girl inmates in their industrial occupations, especially sewing.
 3. D.T., 25 October 1879. See also Appendix A, entry for King.
 4. N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, A.R., 1879, p.21. See also Appendix A, entry for Goodlet.

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that the ladies had recommended but had not been formally notified of the dismissal and, on this technical point, denied awareness of it. The ladies had the independence and confidence to challenge the veracity of the President of the Institution. Their status was purely advisory¹ but their influence was not taken lightly. Their attitude is particularly revealing given the small numbers on the two committees (28 men and 25 women) and the extent to which they were linked by ties of marriage, kinship and religion. By the end of the decade, for example, six of the eleven members of the Ladies' Committee had husbands on the men's committee.

Controversy did mark the Institution during this decade. Bitter accusations of anti-Catholicism by a parent of an inmate led to the founding in 1875 of the Dominican nuns' Waratah Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.² In 1879 there were accusations of corruption and misuse of funds. It was claimed that over half of the Institution's income went in salaries and commissions and that the honorary secretary was paid £50 per annum between 1875-9.³ The Ladies' Committee took no direct part in these troubles but their active support helped maintain the Institution's reputation of sound and honest management.

The Royal Commission only concerned itself with public charities, that is, subsidised or entirely state

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1. N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, A.R., 1868, p.18.
 2. M.A.O'Hanlon, Dominican Pioneers in New South Wales, Sydney, 1949, pp.84-5. The Institution was located in the Hunter Valley.
 3. D.T., 4 August and 15 October, 1879. Balance sheets of the annual reports for 1875 and 1880 reveal that 43.5% and 37.6% of income respectively was spent on salaries. See also N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, A.R., 1879, p.22.

financed charitable institutions.¹ The Sydney Ragged Schools, for example, which were run by a male executive and dependent on female teachers² received no subsidy and so were not investigated by the commissioners. The feminine influence of the teachers, however, was likely to have satisfied the Commissioners.

To receive a subsidy, an organisation had to prove that it was "unsectarian". It was its "sectarian" nature that prevented the Commissioners examining the most successful example of women's philanthropy in Sydney: the Sydney Female School of Industry. The School of Industry was run entirely by women of the ruling class and dominant church in the tradition of "noblesse oblige".³ By 1870 the School had over thirty years of female tradition behind it.⁴ If innate differences between the sexes towards philanthropy existed, as the Royal Commissioners assumed, they should be found at the School.

From a management point of view, the School vindicated the Commissioners' belief in female efficiency. No evidence has been discovered that suggests the usual managerial conflict that periodically occurred in philanthropic institutions. The small and exclusive nature of the committee ensured its harmony. The School's Matron apparently accepted her subordinate position as a superior servant, such as the ladies were used to employing, rather than as a professional worker. The Matron's position was

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1. The interaction between subsidy and government control is analysed by M. Horsburgh, "Subsidy and Control", Journal of Australian Studies, 2, November 1977.
 2. These teachers, both voluntary and employed, were not of sufficient status to be listed in the annual reports, so little is known of them. A comprehensive study of the schools is Murray, op.cit.
 3. As married women lacked a separate legal identity, the school did have male Trustees. However, the Trustees did not interfere with the management. The Sydney Female School of Industry, A.R., 1870-1, p.10.
 4. The first 21 years are analysed in Windschuttle, op.cit. Little had changed from that period to 1870.

socialisation was maintained by isolating the girls from their previous associates and the rest of the community. Unless in exceptional circumstances, parents or friends could only see the children once a month and only then in the presence of the Matron.¹ Except for clergymen and doctors, men were only allowed to visit the children in the presence of members of the Committee.²

The analogy of slavery with the girls' situation is strong. In practice, children could be withdrawn from the school but only if their parents could afford to pay. Mrs Champion, for example, had to pay £60 to the School for the six years her daughter lived there.³ The rationalisation was that such payments only covered the child's board and keep. For poor families wishing to be reunited after a period of dislocation and hardship caused by the unemployment, sickness or death of a parent, or for those who simply could not afford to keep a totally dependent child, it must have appeared that they were required to buy the child back. A few mothers attempted to incite their child to misbehave to the extent that she would be expelled⁴ but this was not an easy task. The children were young and would be strictly punished before the final step of expulsion.

The girls' lot did not necessarily improve after they were apprenticed. The committee had the power to recall any girl not treated with kindness, not provided with sufficient food or clothes or not caused to attend a Protestant church regularly.⁵ As was usual with apprenticeships, however, there was no systematic checking of these conditions.

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1. ibid., 1872-3, p.7.
 2. ibid., 1872-3, p.8.
 3. ibid., 1874-5, p.9.
 4. ibid., 1880-1, p.10.
 5. ibid., 1872-3, p.6.

There is evidence the ladies were aware that, even by their own standards as employers, the girls were "sometimes placed in difficult and laborious situations".¹ No action was taken to ease these girls' lots other than to publicly offer thanks that they endured them. Again the slave analogy is apt; women who stood in loco parentis enforced servitude without safeguarding against abuse. The analogy is strengthened by the fate of Esther Dawes, whose mistress died and "left" her to a friend.²

The slavery analogy does not mean that the apprenticed girls were not paid, but the wages were low. Only after six to nine years training and after three years employment with one employer could the girls become eligible for a wage of 10/- a week, the minimum average wage for general house servants.³ Even if she was one of the few girls compliant enough to earn a good conduct bonus of £2.10.0 after four years' service, she still averaged little more than 8/- per week.⁴

Individually as well as collectively, the committee ladies benefited from the School. Breillat, for example, subscribed £1 in 1872-3 while her family company sold flour and bran to the School worth £63.11.4.⁵ Others occasionally hired apprentices from the School and virtually all subscribers ensured themselves of this right by subscribing at least £1 annually. The committee ladies' priorities were amply demonstrated by the School's expenses. In 1870-1, for example, expenses for the School feast for the

1. ibid., 1874-5, p.10.

2. ibid., 1879-80, p.11.

3. ibid., 1874-5, p.12 and Statistical Register of N.S.W., 1870, p.11.

4. The Sydney Female School of Industry, A.R., 1872-3, p.7. Only one to six girls annually received the bonus during this decade. It was also given on their marriage.

5. ibid., 1872-3, pp.12,15. See also Appendix A, entry for Breillat.

pupils were £3; for the annual ball attended by the Committee, expenses were £98-9-0.¹ However, it is too simple to dismiss the women running the Female School of Industry as heartless hypocrites consciously exploiting the girls they were avowedly protecting. Rather it appears that their benevolence, like their male counterparts, was constrained by class and individual interest. The women simply aimed, efficiently and ruthlessly, to inculcate in the girls what the ruling class considered desirable qualities in the working class; industry, sobriety, chastity and piety. If the committee ladies benefited directly it simply indicated a greater personal involvement, not a greater hypocrisy.

As women increasingly sought, and had sought for them, greater involvement in the philanthropic care of children, the Female School of Industry provided an indisputable example of successful philanthropy by ladies. The School also displayed its position within the woman's sphere by the financial support it received. As Table 1.4 indicates,² the male-run organisations were predominantly supported by men. The female-run School of Industry, in contrast, was just as overwhelmingly supported by women. The concept of the woman's sphere in organisations concerned with philanthropic child care was clearly reflected in practice as well as in ideology.

The concept of the woman's sphere did not conflict with the hierarchical structure of colonial society. Women philanthropists assisted females of the lowest class and status and claimed for themselves the class and status of lady. Within this broad category of lady, however, there were important distinctions. Generally, the highest status women belonged to the School of Industry. Some of these, perhaps attracted by vice-regal patronage, also

1. ibid., 1870-1, p.14.

2. See above, following p.24.

belonged to the S.R.D.C.'s Ladies' Committee.¹ Mostly, however, the members of the latter and the Institution's Ladies' Committee were ladies of lesser status.

Detailed information of over half the members of the School of Industry is given in Table 1.5 and, for most, in Appendix A. These women represented the families who held key administrative posts and vast wealth in the colony. The latter not only enabled large sums to be raised for the School, as shown in Table 1.4, but was also a great potential source of influence in times of need. As in its foundation years, membership was dominated by a few elite families, notably the Deas Thomsons and Stephens. Lady Stephen took a particularly active interest in the School through its House Committee.² In keeping with their elite status the School's supporters were broad or high church Anglicans.

Of less status and dominated by evangelical Protestants were the Asylum's and Institution's Ladies' Committees.³ Their relative inferiority in status is accompanied by an increase in historical anonymity. The women were rarely identified in detail in the annual reports and no manuscript records of the Ladies' Committees are known to exist. Despite cross-checking, the biographical summaries do contain a margin of error. An example of the difficulties is "Mrs Barker" listed as a member of the Randwick Asylum Ladies' Committee from 1856-1875 and 1879-82. It would appear safe to assume that "Mrs Barker" was Joanna, wife of Thomas Barker, a founder, director and honorary treasurer of the

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1. This attraction declined as Randwick Asylum's disrepute grew and the governor ceased to attend annual meetings cf. the effect of royal patronage in Britain, B.Harrison, "Philanthropy and the Victorians", op.cit., and the summary of D.Owen, English Philanthropy 1660-1960, Massachusetts, 1964, p.480 "Snob appeal, after all, was one of the more efficient handmaidens of good works".
 2. E.Stephen, Diaries, MLMSS 777/3, *passim*.
 3. Perhaps in an effort to appear unsectarian, the Asylum's Ladies' Committee was not exclusively evangelical, including even one and possibly two, Jews.

TABLE 1.5

IDENTIFIED MEMBERS OF THE SYDNEY FEMALE SCHOOL OF INDUSTRY, 1870s*

Name, Membership of philanthropic network (N)	Name, occupation of husband or, if unmarried, father	Kin on Committee/ other known links between members	Age in 1870 or on joining	Number of Children
Mrs Anna Allwood	Robert, clergyman	R.Allwood, trustee of C.Kemp's estate	57	0?
Mrs Jane Barker (N)	Frederic, Bishop of Sydney	-	63	0
Mrs Mary Barker (N)		husband's first wife	31	0
Mrs Elizabeth Billyard (N in 1860s)	William, ex-Crown Solicitor of N.S.W.	-	50s?	?
Mrs Mary Breillat (N)	Thomas, merchant	-	mid 60s?	7
Mrs Catherine Busby	William, pastoralist/politician	-	late 30s?	14
Lady Mary Hay (N)	John, pastoralist/politician	-	mid 50s?	0
Mrs Stella Kemp	Charles, politician/businessman	Allwood (see above)	43?	1 adopted
Lady Eliza Manning (N)	William M., barrister/politician	husband protege of E. Deas Thomson	mid 40s?	4 & 3 step
Lady Isabella Martin	James, politician/Chief Justice	-	38	15
Mrs Anna Smith	Eustace, ?	-	43	2
Lady Eleanor Stephen (N)	Alfred, barrister/Chief Justice	daughter-in-law/son's mother-in-law	60	8 & 7 step

TABLE 1.5 continued

Name, Membership of philanthropic network (N)	Name, occupation of husband or, if unmarried, father	Kin on Committee/ other known links between members	Age in 1870 or on joining	Number of Children
Mrs Caroline Stephen (N)	M. Henry, barrister	mother-in-law	43	4 (3 died in infancy)
Lady Anne Deas Thomson (N)	Edward, ex-Colonial Secretary	mother-daughter	64	7
Miss Eglantine Deas Thomson			25?	0
Mrs Susan Tooth	Frederick, merchant/pastoralist/brewer	daughter's (or step) mother-in-law	?	4? (or step)

(N) Membership of philanthropic network, determined in all such tables by membership of another philanthropic organisation in the relevant decade.

* The sources for, and further details of, the biographies of known network members in all such tables are included in Appendix A.

S.R.D.C., particularly as so many wives of members were on the Ladies' Committee. As well, Thomas Barker was a founding member of the Sydney Female Refuge Society, an organisation that had many members in common with Randwick Asylum's Committee. However, Thomas Barker's first wife died in 1851 and he did not marry again until 1857, so she could not have been the "Mrs Barker" whose membership dates from 1856. On the other hand, the Anglican¹ Bishop Frederic Barker and his wife arrived in Sydney in 1855 and the break in membership between 1876 and 1879 correlates with the illness and death of Mrs Jane Barker in 1876 and the Bishop's remarriage in 1878. Furthermore, the Barkers lived at Randwick and strongly supported evangelical dominated organisations such as the S.R.D.C. It is assumed then that "Mrs Barker" was the bishop's wife, particularly as "Mrs Frederic Barker" sent yearly subscriptions to the Asylum after she and the Bishop returned to England.²

Other problems of identification arise from the relaxed attitude towards exact spelling. Georgina Mackie's surname, for example, was frequently misspelt as "Mackay" and her sister, Helen Hunter Baillie, was also known as "Mrs Bailey". There is no means of proof that a "Miss Mackay" and/or "Mrs Bailey" were not also members of the committees, along with the sisters.

The women's anonymity obscures patterns of membership and recruitment that would otherwise be obvious. Most frustratingly, it only allows a glimpse of an aspect of women's philanthropy that appears of considerable importance. This

1. For convenience, the term "Anglican" is used as a contraction of "Church of England". However, the description Anglican Church was not officially adopted until 1981.
2. e.g. S.R.D.C., A.R., 1885,p.57 and 1889,p.58.

aspect was the connection of kinship between the women. Given the change of surname on a woman's marriage, however, even the presence on the same committee of mothers and daughters is obscured. It can therefore only be postulated that familial patronage was important to women embarking on an unfamiliar role in organised philanthropy. In addition, such links between members could only re-inforce a committee's ideological homogeneity and unity.

Despite such problems, nearly a third of the Asylum's Ladies' Committee and nearly two thirds of the Institution's Ladies' Committee are identified in Tables 1.6 and 1.7. Both Committees were appointed and it is reasonable to assume that the rest of the women had similar characteristics. The women were all middle class whose husbands or fathers had achieved commercial or professional success. Both committees contained women with access to influence within the political, religious, professional, judicial and business communities. Although no one woman's influence can be reliably estimated, their combined access to wealth and power was great.

Philanthropic membership was both a sign and source of status. It was the duty of women to consolidate the status of their male kin by displaying a knowledge of upper-middle class patterns of social interaction, dress and behaviour.¹ Membership of a high status committee was also an important means of status consolidation. For example, although wealthy, Pottier's husband was considered to be of dubious gentility because, as a veterinary surgeon, he associated with grooms in the course of his work.² The

1. cf. Davidoff, op.cit.

2. B.I.Murray-Prior, pers. comm. cf. The Sydney City Mission Herald, 1 September 1908 which explained in the obituary of John Pottier that although his work "brought him into contact with the rougher side of humanity ... he was also always the Christian gentleman". See also Appendix A, entry for Pottier.

TABLE 1.6

IDENTIFIED MEMBERS OF THE LADIES' VISITING COMMITTEE OF THE S.R.D.C., 1870s

Name, Membership of Philanthropic Network (N)	Name, Occupation of husband or, if unmarried, father	Kin on S.R.D.C. Committees/other links between members	Age in 1870 or on joining	Religion	Number of Children
Mrs Helen Hunter Baillie (N)	John, banker	brother-in-law/sister	53	Pres.	0
Mrs Jane Barker (N)	Frederic, Bishop of Sydney		63	C. of E.	0
Mrs Mary Barker (N)		husband's first wife	31	C. of E.	0
Mrs ? Caldwell (N)	John, grocer/retired M.L.A.	husband/niece	?	Meth.	? & at least 3 step
Mrs Nora Crane (N)	William, public servant	brother-in-law?/sister	?	C. of E.	4 & ? step
Mrs Emma Dawson (N)	John, lawyer	husband	?	Meth/Quaker	?
Mrs Elizabeth Davies	John, ironmonger/politician	husband	mid 20s?	Pres.	?
Mrs Katherine Dowling (N)	James S., District Court Judge	husband	43	C. of E.	6
Mrs Elizabeth Frazer	John, merchant/company director	sister/husband	early 40s?	Pres.	7
Mrs Ann Goodlet (N)	John, merchant	husband	49	Pres.	0
Mrs (Lizzie) Harris	John, ?/alderman	husband	early 30s?	Pres.	8
Lady Mary Hay (N)	John, pastoralist/politician	husband	mid 50s?	C. of E.	0
Mrs ? Hezlett	William, businessman	husband	?	?	?
Miss Laura Hogg	? Thomas, ?	father?/sister	?	C. of E.	0
Mrs Wilhelmina Lang	John D., clergyman	husband/sister	58	Pres.	10
Mrs Mary Manson	William, merchant	sister	?	Pres.	?

TABLE 1.6 continued

Name, Membership of Philanthropic Network (N)	Name, Occupation of husband or, if unmarried, father	Kin on S.R.D.C. Committees/other links between members	Age in 1870 or on joining	Religion	Number of Children
Mrs Agnes Metcalfe (N)	Michael, merchant/ customs agent	husband	early 50s?	C. of E.	8
Mrs Alice Pearce	Simeon, civil ser- vant/land agent	husband	mid 40s?	C. of E.	6
Mrs Susanne Penfold	Edward, stationer/ property investor	husband	?	Congreg.	6
Mrs Eliza Pottie (N)	John, veterinary surgeon	-	40	Quaker/ Pres.	6
Mrs Maria Raphael	Joseph, merchant/ politician	husband	mid 50s?	Jewish	4
Mrs Elizabeth Renwick	Arthur, physician/ politician	father-in-law	33	Congreg.	6
Lady Anne Deas Thomson (N)	Edward, ex-Colonial Secretary	husband	64	C. of E.	7
Mrs Mary Stephen	George, public ser- vant/geologist/ barrister/faith healer	brother-in-law/ nephew	mid 50s?	C. of E.	13
Mrs (Fanny) Wise (N)	George, immigration agent	husband	53	C. of E.	0

TABLE 1.7 IDENTIFIED MEMBERS OF THE LADIES' VISITING COMMITTEE OF THE N.S.W. INSTITUTION
FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB, AND BLIND, 1870s

Name, Membership of Philanthropic Network (N)	Name, Occupation of husband	Kin and other links between Institutions' Committees	Age in 1870 or on joining	Religion	Number of Children
Mrs Helen Hunter Baillie (N)	John, banker	brother-in-law/sister	53	Pres.	0
Mrs Elizabeth Barry (N)	Zachary, clergyman	-	?	C. of E.	10
Mrs Mary Breillat (N)	Thomas, merchant	daughter married Dowling's nephew	mid 60s?	C. of E.	7
Mrs Katherine Dowling (N)	James S., judge	Breillat (see above)/sister	43	C. of E.	6
Mrs Ann Goodlet (N)	John, merchant	husband	49	Pres.	0
Lady Mary Hay (N)	John, pastoralist/politician	husbands were	mid 50s?	C. of E.	0
Mrs Sophie Holt (N)	Thomas, merchant/financier/M.L.C.	business associates	late 50s?	Congreg.	6
Mrs Jane King (N 1860s)	George, clergyman	husband	early 50s?	C. of E.	7
Mrs Kassie Love	James, merchant	husband/parents-in-law	35	C. of E.	5
Miss Georgiana Mackie (N)	-	brother-in-law/sister	about 50?	Pres.	0
Lady Eliza Manning	William M., barrister/politician	Wife was her step-children's aunt	mid 40s?	C. of E.	4 & 2 step
Mrs Agnes Metcalfe (N)	Michael, merchant/customs agent	parents?/brother?	early 50s?	C. of E.	8
Mrs Maria Mort	Henry, auctioneer/commission agent/pastoralist	sister	mid 40s?	C. of E.	0
Mrs Julia Pell	Morris, Professor	-	mid 40s?	?	8
Mrs Elizabeth Scott	William, College warden/astronomer	husband	late 40s?	C. of E.	6
Mrs (Fanny) Wise (N)	George, immigration agent	husband/Manning (see above)	53	C. of E.	0

nomination to join a committee that was patronised by the Governor's wife and whose members included many of the colony's elite was an important confirmation of both the husband's and wife's status.

The need for women to have a high status as well as wealth is illustrated by the case of Mrs Mary Roberts. Roberts gave large donations to the Institution and Asylum in the 1870s and she had donated £1,000 to the Asylum in 1868.¹ On her death in 1885 she left over £22,000 to the Asylum² and an equal sum to the Institution. However, she was on neither Ladies' Committees, and more unusually, on her death her legacy was announced as a bald statement of fact with none of the usual details of her life or eulogising of a benefactor. Roberts also left equally large sums of money to the Sydney and Royal Prince Alfred Hospitals and smaller sums to other Protestant organisations.³ None of these gave any details of her life nor listed her as a committee member. The answer to these anomalies appears to lie in her lack of status rather than a dislike of publicity. As outlined in Appendix A, Roberts was illegitimate. Her parent's outrage of the dominant sexual mores meant that even after her death, Roberts (cf. her money) was considered unacceptable. Although varying in status, members of the two Ladies' Committees and the School of Industry committee had, unofficially, to fulfil minimum requirements of respectability.

The philanthropists' motives cannot be completely unravelled, especially due to the lack of individual, introspective sources.⁴ Likely motives include the desire for

1. S.R.D.C., op.cit., 1875, p.46.

2. Coulter, op.cit., p.68.

3. Mary Roberts, Last Will and Testament, Probate no.11861.

4. cf. Harrison, op.cit., pp.358-9 and Prochaska, op.cit., p.13n was able to consult 400 such sources.

purposeful activity outside the home and in the company of friends,¹ the status conferred and, especially for evangelicals, the fulfillment of a religious duty.

The known women philanthropists were generally married, a high proportion were childless and most were middle aged or old. The high rate of married philanthropists was not surprising in a colony in which spinsters had a low status and where 95% of women married.² Its significance is that it precluded the kind of importance that English spinsters achieved.³

A high proportion of the women were childless; over a third of the women whose child-bearing is known, had no children. This proportion compares with Coghlan's estimation of 11.13% of married women being childless by the 1890s.⁴ It would not be valid to generalise from my sample to the rest and suggest that nearly a third of the Committees' membership was childless. However, it should be noted that there was nothing in the selection procedure of the sample that predisposed an over-representation of childless women. It was a time when heavy emphasis was laid upon women's maternal destiny and little was known of the biological causes of sterility. Childless women, stigmatised as "barren", could have joined committees of children's institutions to prove that, whatever was the cause of their childlessness, it was not lack of "feminine" warmth and interest in children. As well, childless women generally had more free time to devote to organised philanthropy and so a majority of such women belonged to more than one philanthropic organisation.

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1. T.Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class, (1899), Boston, 1973, esp. pp.221-4, 231-2.
 2. McDonald, op.cit., p.96.
 3. Auchmuty, op.cit. and Schupf, op.cit.
 4. T.A.Coghlan, The Decline in the Birth Rate of New South Wales and other phenomena of child-birth, Sydney, 1903, pp.45-6.

The third feature is that the women were predominantly middle aged to old.¹ There are individual exceptions where over-riding considerations prevailed, such as the second Mrs Barker and Miss Eglantine Deas Thomson. In their cases, their husband's position and mother's status, respectively, were more important than age. Generally, however, women began their philanthropic careers this decade in their forties or fifties. This characteristic is at first surprising given the low standard of health of the typical middle-aged woman.² Two reasons for this phenomenon are likely. Younger women had other commitments - such as the care of the young or aged of their families and so could not join. Secondly, and more importantly, a woman's age was an aspect of her prestige and status. This assumption was only made explicit when it was under challenge³; in the nineteenth century it was simply practised. As a woman approached menopause, leaving behind pregnancies and the

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1. Wherever possible, an estimated age has been calculated from the date of marriage or parents' marriage. Until 1897 no information was given in N.S.W. marriage registers about the age of contracting parties, N.Hicks, *Evidence and Contemporary Opinion About the Peopling of Australia*, Ph.D., A.N.U., 1971, p.20. However, statistics for 1901 and 1911 show that N.S.W. women consistently married one year younger than their Victorian counterparts, McDonald, *op.cit.*, pp.138-41. It is assumed that this trend was carried back to 1891 in N.S.W. and that the age of marriage was consistent during much of the century. The median age of marriage in N.S.W. during this time is therefore calculated as 22 years. The ages calculated on these assumptions are guides only, especially as the place of marriage is not always known, but they are generally supported by the ages of women whose birth dates are known.
 2. S.Encel, *et.al.*, *Women and Society*, Melbourne, 1974, p.19.
 3. e.g., *The Woman*, XV:1, 1 March 1922, Edith Cowan, the first woman M.L.A., argued that no woman less than 40 years old should enter Parliament. I owe this reference to Ros Omodei, University of N.S.W.

then mysterious occurrence of menstruation, her bodily experiences became more like the male. She was then deemed more "normal", more reasonable and more dignified. It was only then that she was considered eligible to join the calm deliberations of other high status women in a philanthropic organisation.

Women's philanthropy by 1870 was confined to individual activity and a small number of relatively homogeneous organisations. The major organisations caring for children were dominated by evangelical or elite women who ascribed to a consensus on philanthropic aims. This consensus was reinforced by their common class interests, status concern and kinship links. Their philanthropic activity was justified and restricted by the concept of the woman's sphere. During the decade the most influential exponent of women's sphere philanthropy was the 1873-4 Royal Commission. Within the limits of their perceived "natural" abilities and rights, women also practised philanthropy in increasingly varied ways. These innovations in women's philanthropy for children in the 1870s are examined in the following section.

(b) Philanthropic Innovations during the 1870s

Women's philanthropy by 1870 had already a tradition of women's influence within the woman's sphere. The strengthening of this influence was, as demonstrated above, advocated by the 1873-4 Royal Commission and had long been achieved by the Female School of Industry. The Royal Commissioners' ideals were implemented in 1879 with the introduction of boarding out for destitute children.

Three major influences operated upon women's philanthropy during this decade. Firstly, there was a continuing concern to supply middle class households with differential and competent servants. Secondly, women philanthropists continued to be isolated from those they attempted to assist and control. Thirdly, there was a new faith in the achievements of medicine which resulted, inter alia, in the founding of Sydney's first hospital for children. All these influences were reflected in one or more of the philanthropic innovations that are shown in Table 1.3.¹

Underlying these influences and the increasing role of middle-class women in philanthropy² were demographic and economic changes. A basic pre-requisite for women's philanthropy was enough women with the leisure to join a philanthropic society. During the 1870s Sydney had larger numbers of leisured women than ever before. During the decade, as shown in Table 1.8, Sydney experienced a rapid population increase. There were nearly 20,000 more females in the age cohort 21-70 in 1881 than in 1871.

1. See above, following p.2.

2. Middle class women increased their rights in other areas as well, for example, Windeyer's 1879 Married Women's Property Act.

TABLE 1.8 POPULATION OF SYDNEY AND SUBURBS 1861-81
(excluding Shipping) COMPILED FROM THE CENSUS

Year	Total Population	Total Females	Numbers of Females Age Cohort 21-70
1861	95,156	48,943	31,738
1871	137,586	70,879	35,237
1881	224,939	112,176	52,920

Coinciding with the rise of population in Sydney in the 1870s was the continuing economic boom which lasted to the late 1880s. The boom did not benefit all the population and so the need for charity remained,¹ but the colony's middle class enjoyed a high level of prosperity. This prosperity partly freed middle class women from the demands of household and child management and allowed them to engage in leisure activities, including membership of religious and philanthropic organisations. As an invitation to join one of the major women's philanthropic organisations was a sign of wealth and status, the prosperity of the 1870s greatly increased the eligible pool from which members of women's philanthropic organisations were drawn. It is not possible to estimate accurately the precise numbers of women in Sydney who were of sufficiently high social status and who had the necessary economic resources to allow them to engage in organised philanthropy. Occupational and social categories used for women in the relevant census are too general and changeable to be of use. However, from the findings of Fisher it is clear that at least 30% of the female population can be excluded. She had estimated that between 1861 and 1891 approximately 30% of women of working age were employed for wages, and at any one

1. J.Roe, "Social Policy and the Permanent Poor" in E.L. Wheelwright and K.Buckley, (eds.) Essays in the Political Economy of Australian Capitalism, vol.1., Sydney, 1975, points out the permanency of poverty in Australia even in "boom" periods.

time many women excluded from this figure had been in paid employment up to their marriage.¹ These categories of women, by definition working class, were excluded from organisations of philanthropists although they were vulnerable to becoming the objects of other women's philanthropy. From the population figures given in Table 1.8 therefore, a minimum of 30% has to be subtracted in order to obtain an estimate of the potential numbers of women philanthropists in Sydney during the 1870s. Of this potential population of women philanthropists, not all had the inclination, health or opportunity to become philanthropists.

The most significant innovation achieved during the decade was the introduction of boarding out. Associated with this innovation were cottage homes. These two innovations eventually replaced large institutions as the dominant mode of philanthropic care for destitute children. They were both systems which based their methods upon the rationale of the woman's sphere and which relied upon a large number of women for success.

The system of boarding out children was a refinement on the older practice of raising needy children in families other than their own immediate one. Boarding out meant that destitute children were placed in selected homes to be brought up as members of the family. It was an alternative to institutions such as the Randwick Asylum. The foster mothers were paid a small fee (5/- a week for healthy children in 1879)² to cover expenses. The cottage home system was a compromise between boarding out and institutional care. Under the Cottage Home system, seven or eight children were placed under the care of an employed "mother" or

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1. S.Fisher, *Life and Work in Sydney 1870-1890*, Ph.D., Macquarie University, 1977, p.121.
 2. Society for Boarding Out Destitute Children, *A.R.*, 1879-80, p.3.

matron. They attempted to live like a conventional nuclear family and it was often referred to as the "family system".¹ By the 1870s both systems had challenged the older system of large children's institutions throughout western Europe, Britain and America.²

Mrs Marian Jefferis started a Cottage Home in July 1879 and, along with Mesdames Mary Windeyer and Mary Garran, formed the Boarding Out Society. The Society was granted £200 from the Parkes government to "try out" boarding out in 1879. They added to their numbers Lady (Marian) Allen, Miss Mary Stuart and Dr Arthur Renwick. Details of these members are given in Appendix A.

The members of the Boarding Out Society had significant features in common. Three of the women were married to politicians, Renwick was a politician himself and Stuart was either the sister or daughter of a politician. Jefferis' husband was vocal and influential on religious, social and political issues.³ All were associated with the liberal belief that Australia could avoid the social problems of Britain and build a vigorous and prosperous colonial society. In their vision of a new society, important elements included Protestant Christianity and the maintenance of the class system without its more extreme inequalities.⁴ None of the women were members of a children's institution so they had little to lose by challenging the existing system. All had a vested interest in the existing aims of philanthropy in that they were middle class and relied upon servants to free them from household and child-raising chores. These

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1. Cottage Home for Destitute Children, A.R., 1879-80 and S.M.H. editorial, 16 June 1874.
 2. Royal Commission, Report, op.cit., pp.43-51; R. Bremmer (ed.), Children and Youth in America, vol. 2, Massachusetts, 1971, pp.247-53 and Young and Ashton, op.cit., ch.8.
 3. e.g., J. Jefferis, "The Enfranchisement of Labour", in Various Sermons and Tracts, (binder's title) ML P559.
 4. They were representative of the moderate reformers described in B. Dickey, "'Colonial Bourgeois' - Marx in Australia?", Australian Economic History Review, XI V:1, March 1974, pp.24,32.

six people, fortified by political influence and strong religious and social convictions, successfully challenged the existing method of philanthropic child care.

The two systems of boarding out and cottage homes, as indicated by the overlap in founders, were not meant to compete. As Jefferis explained:

we cannot hope to find homes for all our destitute and orphan children under the Boarding Out System. Why, then, should we not try both, and so have family life for all those who, through sad misfortune and wicked neglect, are left to the State to maintain and train? (1)

Both were measures whereby women philanthropists could exercise power within the woman's sphere. It was accordingly strongly advocated by those who wished to increase women's power within their sphere. Dickey has pointed out the role of prominent men in ensuring the implementation of boarding out.² Dr Garran's editorials in the S.M.H. were influential and William Windeyer's Royal Commission Report was the most important public advocacy of boarding out in N.S.W. The latter's recommendation for boarding out was only delayed because of the period's political instability. Dickey also correctly stresses the role of women from Adelaide and London. Much of the initiative came from the founders of systematic boarding out in South Australia; the Misses C.Emily Clark and Catherine Spence.³ Both Mesdames Jefferis and Garran had lived in Adelaide and the former had been active in founding boarding out there. In addition, Emily Clark was a close friend of the Windeyers, as were her cousins Rosamond and Florence Hill.

1. Cottage Home, op.cit., p.11.

2. Dickey, No Charity There, op.cit., pp.64, 82-4.

3. S.Eade, Catherine Helen Spence, M.A. thesis, A.N.U., 1973, ch.6; S.M.Crompton, "Wards of the State", t/s, Adelaide, 1925 and C.E.Clark, Memoirs, t/s, Adelaide, n.d. The latter two are in Caroline Emily Clark, Papers, South Australian State Archives, PRG 331.

However, the role of women residing in N.S.W. is neglected in Dickey's account of the establishment of boarding out. Boarding out in N.S.W. owed much to an international and intercolonial network of women lobbyists and male supporters but little could be achieved without the support of N.S.W. women. Such support was vital as the schemes relied upon them. It was after all, Mrs Jefferis and not her husband who founded the Cottage Home and the first Boarding Out Society excluded men from its ranks. The correspondence received by Mary and William Windeyer makes it clear that they were both considered vital to the success of boarding out. The Misses Hill and Clark wrote equally to both Windeyers offering boarding out reports, suggesting means of implementation and problems to avoid. William Windeyer was offered "all the ammunition" on boarding out and urged its introduction in the name of intercolonial rivalry.¹ Equally, however, his wife received long letters explaining the details of the systems of boarding out and cottage homes and it was she whom Emily Clark hoped would succeed in introducing boarding out in N.S.W.²

The crucial aspect of boarding out and cottage homes was that they were justified by the woman's sphere and involved a large number of women, carefully graded according to their class and status. Institutions such as the Randwick Asylum could and did operate without women philanthropists; boarding out and cottage homes could not. The implementation of boarding out and cottage homes is examined in Chapter 4. However, the theory of the schemes as promoted in this decade, was that children were to be raised,

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1. W.Windeyer, Correspondence, esp. from E.Clark, 7 September 1874; R.Hill, 15 March 1875 and 23 August 1879 and F.Hill, 1 December 1875 and 13 April 1877. ML MSS 186/11, located between pp.301-59. The binder's title of correspondence 1895-7 is inaccurate.
 2. M.Windeyer, Correspondence, esp. from C.E.Clark, 11 and 19 July 1875, 23 August 1879 and F. (Davenport-) Hill, n.d. (1878), located between pp.161-75, 201-9, 219-25 ML MSS 186/13. C.E.Clark to M.Windeyer, 31 December 1876 and 6 July 1877, Letters re Boarding Out Society etc., ML Ac47/1-2.

preferably in the countryside, by working class families. These children, taken from their own families and "slum" environment, were to be socialised by a surrogate mother into a respectable working class lifestyle. Unpaid "lady visitors" were appointed to oversee the domestic and child-raising practices of the new mothers. These visitors were the ladies bountiful of old harnessed to organised philanthropy. In the boarding out system lady visitors were to visit the children at least every quarter and so gained regular access to working class homes to advise and criticise. This role of lady visitor could only be filled by a woman; only a woman had the necessary time and expertise and it was the home, above all, that was indisputably the woman's domain.

Opponents of boarding out and cottage homes claimed that the colony lacked women who could mother in a manner approved by their social superiors.¹ The failure of such a problem to eventuate after 1879 indicates the high degree of common ideological commitment and values between the colony's working and ruling classes. Opponents also predicted that the colony lacked "lady visitors" suitable to ensure this hegemony in child socialisation. This problem too failed to eventuate. There were ample women willing to accept the status and implied benevolence that the title "lady visitor" conferred. For other ladies it provided as "J.G.K." suggested, "a cure for the ennui which follows them like a nightmare"²; useful, socially approved work.

The Royal Commissioners of 1873-4 advocated boarding out and cottage homes but, as stressed above, did not

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1. e.g., M.Windeyer to H.Parkes, 24 April 1879, Parkes Correspondence, MLMSS CYA930 quoted Minnie Smith, an "all powerful" member of the Infants' Home, that Australians could not provide the "right sort of homes". Windeyer had more faith in the embourgeoisment of the Australian working class. See also Brown, *op.cit.*, p.143 for similar claims by boarding-out opponents in Tasmania.
 2. J.G.K., letter, D.T., 7 October 1879.

question the aims of philanthropy. The advocates of institutional and family child-care both stressed cheapness, efficiency in fitting children "for the duties of life"¹ and the prevention of pauperisation. It was on these criteria that the institutions were found wanting and innovations recommended. In particular, the over-repressed institution child was of little use in after life. Children who were "generally stunted in growth and feeble in character, unobservant, and apathetic"² did not make useful workers. Girls who would "whimper and dig their dirty knuckles in their grimy faces, ... when addressed by a visitor"³ were far from learning to be efficient servants who could keep a house clean and receive visitors. Boarding out and cottage homes were promoted as a better means of achieving accepted ends. These innovations did not aim at social mobility for the children⁴ but simply more effective "machinery for restoring the children to the ranks of honest labour, and securing their welfare in after life".⁵

Boarding out and cottage homes resulted in the most significant changes but were not the only new means of achieving these aims in this decade. The Female Protestant Training School was also established to transform "slum" girls, presumed to be future prostitutes, into a "well-trained class of female servants".⁶ The School was founded by Captain D.C.F.Scott, a magistrate of the Central Police

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1. Society for Boarding Out, op.cit., p.2.
 2. Inspector of Public Charities, A.R., N.S.W.L.A., V. & P., 1878-9, vol.11, p.948. See also Royal Commission, evidence, op.cit., pp.40-1, on the sad appearance of institutionalised children.
 3. The Freeman's Journal, 11 February 1875, describing the children at Randwick Asylum.
 4. Royal Commission, Report, op.cit., p.43 stressed that children would be placed with families "in their own rank of life". cf. the opposition of Pearce, a director of the S.R.D.C., that "pauper" children should be other than "hewers of wood and drawers of water", quoted in M.Horsburgh, "The Apprenticing of Dependent Children in New South Wales between 1850 and 1885", Journal of Australian Studies, 7, 1980, p.51.
 5. Royal Commission, Report, op.cit., p.57.
 6. The Freeman's Journal, 9 April 1870. Details of the School are given in Table 1.3, following p.2.

Court. Scott was alarmed at the number of "neglected" girls who appeared before him as magistrate. His only options were to send the girls to the then notoriously ill-run Industrial School or back to the poverty-stricken environment that produced the behaviour that led them to appear in the court in the first place. Scott became particularly concerned in early 1870 when six pregnant girls under 14 years old appeared before him. For a middle class which stressed the innocence of childhood and the irreversibility of female sexual "immorality", such girls doubly violated social mores. Scott's solution was a typical blend of Victorian moral concern and self-interest; an institution to train working class girls to become domestic servants.

In proposing this solution, Scott typified the almost obsessional concern of the middle class to increase the supply of servants. This concern was noted by social commentators throughout the decades covered in this thesis,¹ recurs in contemporary correspondence² and comment³ and was periodically aired in the letters pages of the newspapers. Correspondents viewed philanthropic schemes as alternatives to suggestions such as police supervision of servants and police harassment of unemployed servants. "Employer", for example, advocated boarding out because it would

raise servants such as Sir Walter Scott speaks about, who grow up part and parcel of a family, and take interest in the welfare of those who have been good to them. (4)

Others advocated support for the Female School of Industry and the Training School. Such support, it was claimed, would be rewarded with servants who were clean, respectful

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1. McDonald, op.cit., p.130 lists some of the more prominent commentators.
 2. e.g., E.Clark to M.Windeyer, 11 February 1875, Mary Windeyer, correspondence, op.cit.
 3. ibid., 5 April 1870.
 4. S.M.H., 17 February 1873.

to their superiors, satisfactory workers and who in time would be useful wives of working men.¹ Others stressed the dire alternatives to domestic service for destitute girls. The Training School, for these people, was an alternative to

allowing them [destitute girls] to frequent the streets of Sydney day and night in idleness, filth and ignorance, eventually to become one of that unfortunate class with whom our city unhappily abounds. (2)

The assumption that domestic service saved girls from a life of prostitution had little basis in reality, as demonstrated by the admission registers of the two Refuges for prostitutes. However, it was such a convenient myth for employers that it underlay all philanthropic care for girls and women.

For middle class women, the "servant problem" was of more direct and acute concern. Servants had to be trustworthy, especially when minding children, and able to work without supervision. Unless this was so their employers were denied leisure; an essential attribute of being a lady. It was only with the leisure made possible by such servants that middle class women could display their and their families' status by appropriate social and philanthropic activities. As importantly, efficient servants enabled their mistress' life to be more care-free. Servants thus played a key role in determining their employers' quality of life.

The inaugural meeting of the Training School was attended only by men.³ However, the training of servants and the socialisation of girls were both firmly within the women's sphere. Thus the School opened under the management of Captain and Mrs Scott, assisted by a committee predominantly of women. By 1876, however, the School was run as a

1. ibid., 24 February 1873.

2. ibid., 28 February 1873.

3. The Freeman's Journal, 9 April 1870.

personal charity and private business venture by the Scotts.¹ In the boom decades, philanthropy was viewed as part of a laissez faire economy, however imperfectly the practice lived up to the ideal. The Lucases were one example of such philanthropic entrepreneurs as were the founders of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind.² Periodically, less reputable examples came to light, such as Mr and Mrs Anderson's Artisan Cottage and Home for Fatherless Boys.³ The significance to women's philanthropy of such enterprises primarily lies in their use of women's committees and the role of the wife in husband and wife teams. No records of the School have survived to allow a further assessment although contemporary comment indicates that the venture was successful. The School claimed to have trained some 80 girls by 1878 and employed a Matron and a Governess.⁴

When Scott founded the School, he announced that it was "different from any institution now in existence in the colony".⁵ Given this statement, it is surprising how alike the Training School was to the Female School of Industry. The aims were the same. The methods, as far as can be judged, and conditions of entry, were also very similar.⁶ Both Schools enjoyed vice-regal patronage. The School of Industry was run by Anglicans whilst the Scotts were also members of the Church of England.⁷

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1. Sands' Sydney Directory, Sydney, 1871, 1873, 1875 and 1876. It was not listed after 1876. The Statistical Register of N.S.W., 1876, p.9n notes that the School's accounts were inseparable from the Scotts' personal expenditure.
 2. N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, A.R., 1911, p.19 and S.Brooks, Charity and Philanthropy, Sydney, 1878, p.34.
 3. Inspector of Public Charities, A.R., N.S.W.L.A., V. & P., 1877-8, vol.1V, pp.717-9. The School was later discredited by the S.M.H., R.B.Walker, The Newspaper Press in New South Wales, 1803-1920, Sydney, 1976, p.81.
 4. Brooks, op.cit., p.15 and Sands' Sydney Directory, op.cit., 1876, p.579.
 5. The Freeman's Journal, 9 April 1870.
 6. loc.cit. and 14 April 1870; S.M.H., 5 April 1870 and Female School of Industry, A.R., 1872-3, pp.5-8, rules.
 7. The Training School's Anglican character is also evidenced by its eventual amalgamation with the Church's Bethany Children's Home.

There were two possible differences. It is possible that despite Scott's original intention, the Training School inmates were girls who had appeared before him as magistrate. This is claimed by Gandevia but he miscalls it "Lisgard" School - it became "Lisgar" after the Scotts' home - and does not give his source.¹ More probably, the difference lay with the philanthropists themselves. Only members of the Anglican elite were invited to become members of the School of Industry. The committee members of the Training School were women of lesser status; members of the evangelical middle class.² With the exception of one member, the two committees were quite distinct. For example, as evangelicals, the Training School members were strongly anti-Catholic. Accordingly the Catholic The Freeman's Journal, which offered no criticism of the School of Industry, condemned the Training School as nothing but a slur on the character and abilities of Irish Catholic servant girls.³

The Training School Committee apparently consisted of women of similar status and religious conviction organised to lend credibility to the Scotts' enterprise. Given the women's ages and child-raising commitments, especially the 29 year old Lucy Dangar with her eleven children, it is unlikely they played an active role in management. A further aspect of the fourteen-woman committee is that at least three (Lucy and Elizabeth Dangar and Rebecca Stephen) were related by marriage. It is an important aspect of philanthropy, and argued further in Part 11 of this thesis, that the broad consensus of aims owed much to such ties. Links of kinship and friendship were maintained primarily by women as much as economic links, for example, through partnerships and finance, were maintained by men. Philanthropists of both sexes had essential roles in ensuring a high level of ruling class unity in a rapidly changing colonial society.

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1. B.Gandevia, Tears Often Shed, Sydney, 1978, p.103.
 2. Seven members are listed in Appendix A; E.Dangar, L.Dangar, Lord, Mackie, Pottie, M.Scott and R.Stephen.
 3. The Freeman's Journal, 9 and 14 May 1870.

Another important innovation of the decade was the formation of the committee to found the Sick Children's Hospital. The importance of this committee, aside from their achievement, was as a sign of the increasing faith in medicine as a means of curing disease. This faith was seen in the increase of the professional prestige of doctors¹ and the increased use of hospitals by the working class.² The special needs of sick children were recognised in 1879 by the opening of a separate children's ward at Sydney Hospital as well as the formation of the committee to plan a separate children's hospital.³ Children's hospitals in other colonial cities also provided inspiration although, typically, the success of similar English institutions was considered most important.⁴

The initiator of the project was Mrs Browne, whose husband William represented the electorate of Patrick Plains in the Hunter Valley. Her motivation is obscure but she was perhaps hoping, inter alia, to boost her husband's declining political career.⁵ She gathered eleven supporters on a committee, six of whom can be identified sufficiently to be listed in Appendix A.⁶ A significant aspect of the committee's composition was that those women of insufficient status were soon ousted, including the hapless Mary Roberts

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1. T.S.Pensabene, The rise of the medical practitioner in Victoria, Canberra, 1980, pp.4-5, claims his findings on the rise of doctors' status from the 1870s is applicable to other states as well. Other writers (all doctors) disagree with his chronology but supporting evidence that he omits to explore is the increasing influence of doctors in philanthropy.
 2. B.Dickey, "Health and State in Australia, 1788-1977", Journal of Australian Studies, 2, November 1977 and Dickey, Ph.D., op.cit., ch. 4 & 5.
 3. P.L.Hipsley, The Early History of the Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children, Sydney, 1952, p.3.
 4. Brooks, op.cit., p.46.
 5. Sands' Sydney Directory, Sydney, 1877 and 1878. He is not listed in H.Martin and P.Wardle, Members of the Legislative Assembly of N.S.W., Canberra, 1959.
 6. M.Allen, Mackie, Roberts, Watson and the Wilkinsons.

and Mrs Browne herself. By 1898 the latter was a destitute widow and the final indignity came when she was refused help by the hospital she had founded.¹ Those remaining were dominated by women of the elite families of Glebe; Lady Allen and the Wilkinsons. They ensured that the hospital was begun in their suburb. Another significant feature of the initial committee was that they were all women. Nursing children was within the woman's sphere and so the women were within their rights. Few challenged the Royal Commissioners' assertion that "women naturally belong [to] the ... supervision of the nursery and the sick room".² However, as argued in Part 11, hospital administration was claimed as a prerogative of male doctors. This overlap of spheres inevitably produced clashes.

Women's philanthropy was dominated by ladies who, in order to maintain their status, had to be isolated from much of the social realities of their time. Many subjects were taboo in a lady's presence. A "gentleman's" opportunities to understand the life and problems of the lower middle and working classes were so much greater through his contacts made through work. "Ladies" could only obtain such information at second hand from their husbands, male relatives and to a lesser extent, servants. Thus even by 1892, a lady's interest in the social purity movement was accounted for, not from her own experience, but because "As a Drs [sic] wife she must know of many sad things".³

An example of the isolation of "lady" philanthropists in the 1870s is the creche for working mothers (summarised in Table 1.3).⁴ The creche was an innovation to Sydney and

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1. Hipsley, op.cit., p.10. Nothing more is known of Mrs Browne except that she complained about the management of the evangelical Blue Ribbon Gospel Army (see Chapter 5), Blue Ribbon Gospel Army, A.R., 1883-4, p.10.
 2. Royal Commission, Report, op.cit., p.59.
 3. Rose Selwyn to her niece "Dearest Rose", 9 November 1892, Selwyn Family Papers, MLMSS 201/3.
 4. See above, following p.2.

open to all mothers who could prove they worked from necessity not choice.¹ It was founded and largely managed by Victoria Goodenough, wife of the Commodore.² After 86 days it closed, having attracted only ten children. With some asperity, Mrs Goodenough wrote to the S.M.H. that she rejoiced that Sydney women could command such high wages that they could afford to have their children minded by neighbours.³ She was outraged that working women had freedom to choose their own child-care but had no conception of the limitations of that choice. The creche charged 6d a day and was seen by Mrs Goodenough as a cheap alternative means of care. Yet it was hardly that. For the clientele the creche attempted to attract, 6d a day was approximately one third of daily wages.⁴ It was an expensive alternative to child-care by neighbours or siblings, particularly as one of the few relevant sources on working class child-care suggests that payment based on reciprocal favours was as likely as a cash exchange.⁵ Mrs Goodenough and the wealthy women who subscribed money to support her creche had no opportunities to understand the economics or internal dynamics of working class life. They perceived a desperate need but, tragically and typically, the restrictions of their class, status and sex prevented them from adequately meeting it.

A final aspect of women's philanthropy for children in this decade is that no organisation, however innovative, operated in isolation from other women's organisations.

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1. Infants' Home, Newspaper Clippings and Miscellance, p.40 MLMSS 2983/54. Many of the supporters of the creche were also supporters of the Infants' Home.
 2. See Appendix A, entry for Goodenough.
 3. S.M.H., 19 March 1875, newspaper clipping in Mrs Julia Bensusan, Papers 1862-78, MLMSS 1698.
 4. Statistical Register of N.S.W., 1874, p.3.
 5. S.McInerney (ed.), The Confessions of William Chidley, Brisbane, 1977, passim.

This is best demonstrated by the overlap of membership. As shown in Table 1.9 below, at least 23% of the women in any one organisation also belonged to another.

TABLE 1.9 SUMMARY OF OVER-LAPPING MEMBERSHIPS OF
ORGANISATIONS FOR CHILDREN, INVOLVING
WOMEN, 1870s. (1)

	Members belonging to another of the specified organisations	
	(number)	(%)
S.R.D.C., L.C.	16	23.2
Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, L.C.	13	52.0
Sydney Female School of Industry	7	33.4
Female Protestant Train- ing School	6	42.9
Hospital for Sick Child- ren	3	27.3
Boarding Out Society	2	40.0
Cottage Homes	1	100.0

L.C. - Ladies' Committee

As women such as Roberts and Browne learnt so painfully, women's philanthropy was dominated in the 1870s by a closely knit and powerful network. This network stretched over the committees dominated by elite Anglicans and those dominated by middle class evangelicals. Active committee members dominated women's philanthropy and performed the function of transferring information from one committee to another. Such strong links between committees made the aim of the Charity Organisation and Relief Society (C.O.S.), founded in Sydney in 1876, of ensuring co-operation between charities, largely irrelevant for women's organisations. The lack of success of the C.O.S. in Sydney, especially compared with

1. For further details, see Appendix B.

Melbourne,¹ indicates the probability that a similar network operated in male organisations, rendering the C.O.S. superfluous. The overlapping membership did not guarantee any general consensus on philanthropic ideology. However, the overall effect strongly pre-disposed such a consensus. In particular, the women all had an interest in ensuring their continued and extended control over philanthropy within the woman's sphere.

1. R.Kennedy, The Charity Organisation Movement in Melbourne 1887-1897, M.A., University of Melbourne, 1966.