

PART II: The 1880s

Chapter 4

WOMEN'S PHILANTHROPIC CARE OF THE YOUNG: INFLUENCE AND
EXPANSION WITHIN THE WOMAN'S SPHERE

the ladies are asked to take ... work
for which they are qualified as experts:
home life is their familiar arena - they
are best able to judge ... the home life
... place/d around the children ...
gentlemen cannot see as well as ladies if
the necessary conditions of the system
are being complied with ... (1)

(a) The Increasing Influence of Women within their Sphere

In the 1880s ladies experienced the height of recognition of their rights within the woman's sphere. They were almost universally acknowledged as having a right to influence philanthropy whenever adult women, girls, or boys and girls were the objects of concern. Their influence was justified by the concept of the woman's sphere and based on the belief that women were innately different from men and so could be understood only by their own sex. As well, it was accepted that women had natural skills in the socialisation of children; that women alone had the expertise to judge and transmit the values of the ideal home. Furthermore, it was largely assumed that women who did not transmit such values were not "real" women. Ruskin's argument, that "wherever a true wife comes, this home is always round her",² was widely accepted. It was due to the belief in the home values and natural expertise of women that they gained so much influence over philanthropic child-care in this decade.

1. S.C.R.B., A.R., 1884-5, p.22.

2. Ruskin, op.cit., p.109.

Demographic and economic trends during the 1880s served to reinforce the increasingly influential role of women in philanthropy. The numbers of adults in suburban Sydney increased dramatically, so that women in the age cohort 21 to 70 years, rose from 52,920 in 1881 to 92,637 in 1891.¹

The 1880s was also a time of general prosperity which meant that increasing numbers of middle class women had the wealth and consequently, leisure, to engage in organised philanthropy. The "long boom" first faltered during 1886-7 and the public works programme slackened in the late 1880s, but the economic downturn did not seriously affect many of the wealthy. On the other hand, the need for philanthropic help remained. An estimated minimum of 10% of the population continued to suffer the extremes of poverty,² including most women and children attempting to survive without a male wage. From about 1887 an increase in unemployment swelled the numbers in need of charity particularly as one alternative, the government's Casual Labour Board (1887-9), was so inadequate. As well the uncontrolled building boom and rapid population increase resulted in a steady decline in the quality of the physical environment.³ This decline added to the social and health problems of Sydney's working class. A major solution to these problems was philanthropy.

The single most influential role in philanthropic child-care in N.S.W. was the control of the boarding-out of destitute children. The Boarding Out Society, as shown in Table 4.1, was incorporated in 1881 into the State Children's relief Department, run by the State Children's Relief Board (S.C.R.B.).⁴ The S.C.R.B. had the power to remove children from government run or subsidised institutions in order to

1. See above, Table 1.8, p.40 and Census of N.S.W., 1891, pp. 8-9, 14-5. This age cohort, as demonstrated in Part 1, gives the broadest range of potential philanthropists.

2. Roe, op.cit., p.133.

3. M.Kelly, "Picturesque and Pestilential" in Kelly, (ed.), op.cit.

4. State Children's Relief Act of 1881, N.S.W.L.A., V. & P., 1881, vol.4.

TABLE 4.1 PHILANTHROPIC INSTITUTIONS/ORGANISATIONS FOR THE YOUNG IN SYDNEY INVOLVING WOMEN,
FOUNDED BY 1880: SUMMARY OF CHANGE

Name	Number of Child Inmates by 31-12-1889	Changes
Orphan Schools (Protestant and Catholic)	n.a.	Closed 1886
Industrial School for Girls	87	To Parramatta in 1886
Shaftesbury Reformatory	42	-
Society for Boarding Out Destitute Children	1,260 (boarded out children only)	Superceded by S.C.R.B. in 1881
Cottage Home/s for Destitute Children	16? (private)/117 state	Homes for sick children/Under S.C.R.B. control from 1886
Benevolent Asylum of N.S.W.	151	-
Female School of Industry	47	-
S.R.D.C. (Randwick Asylum)	216	Ladies' Visiting Committee disbanded 1882/Government subsidy refused from 1886
N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind	85	-
Lisgar School	?	Previously known as the Female Protestant Training School for Domestic Servants
Hospital for Sick Children	31	Patients (between 18 months -12 years) first admitted 1880
Infants' Home	118	-

place them with chosen foster families. From 1881 boarding out, which relied extensively on women and was justified by the concept of the women's sphere, became the official means of caring for destitute children. By 1889, boarding out had become the primary philanthropic means of dealing with such children and by April 1890, 2,284 children were under the Board's supervision.¹ Associated with boarding out was the cottage home system, principally maintained by Marian Jefferis and later also Constance Mullens.² They were helped by a committee to supervise the homes. This committee included boarding out founder Mary Windeyer and a co-founder's daughter, Helen Garran. They were supervised by the S.C.R.B.³ The S.C.R.B.'s own cottage homes were restricted, after a brief experiment with healthy children,⁴ to "Invalid Children", especially those whose illness made it "improper" to place them in foster homes.⁵

The S.C.R.B. was a crucially important acknowledgement of women's philanthropic skills. It gave women an ideological role of major significance by officially recommending their fitness to control, not just their own children, but those requiring philanthropic care. These children were the "hope of the nation"⁶ and their control by women through the family, the "divine order in society",⁷ was considered essential. In keeping with the woman's sphere concept, it was argued that whilst it was "dangerous" to rear boys outside the family for girls it was "fatal" and would surely lead to prostitution.⁸ The S.C.R.B. was also

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1. S.C.R.B., A.R., 1895, p.3.
 2. Cottage Home for Destitute Children, A.R., 1885 and S.C.R.B., A.R., 1886-7, p.24. Mullens married in 1886 and became Mrs Sly. See Appendix A.
 3. S.C.R.B., A.R., 1886-7, p.24. See also Table 4.1.
 4. ibid., 1887-8, p.17.
 5. ibid., 1884-5, p.9, presumably a reference to venereal disease.
 6. Cottage Home, op.cit., 1884, p.4.
 7. J.Jefferis, "Pauperism in New South Wales", The Sydney University Review, 3, July 1882, p.270.
 8. S.C.R.B., A.R., 1881-2, p.6.

presented as the solution to hereditary pauperisation and the associated Poor Law. Boarding out was cheaper than institutional care - a factor which diminished the need for a Poor Law - and was expected to turn potential paupers and criminals into productive members of the working class.¹ In essence, the influence of women, within the family and controlled by the S.C.R.B., was promoted as the answer to the main social problems that concerned the colonial middle class.

Essential to the operation of boarding out was a reliance on two other factors believed to re-inforce the effectiveness of mothers in the socialisation process. These factors were the necessity of religion to ensure morality and the desirability of country life. The 1881 Act required that boarded out children said prayers morning and night, grace before and after meals and that they attended, when practicable, Church or Sunday School once a day.² Country life was also encouraged as both "morally and physically good",³ despite the fact that all the Board members lived in Sydney. The Board accordingly strove to remove children from urban areas which were "invariably morally disturbing".⁴ The means to cheap and effective prevention of pauperisation was therefore the influence of women allied with religion and rural life.

As has been argued, however, colonial society was strictly bound by considerations of class and status. Women were all constrained by the woman's sphere but also had their duties and rights allocated in terms of hierarchical divisions. Thus boarding out and cottage homes generally acknowledged women's influence but with strictly delineated roles.

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1. e.g., Jefferis, op.cit., p.224 on the "wholesome dread" of the Poor Law; S.C.R.B., A.R., 1881-2, pp.3-6; ibid., 1885-6, p.13 and Inspector of Public Charities, A.R., 1885-6, p.4.
 2. State Children Relief Act, op.cit., p.3; this was such an extreme and impractical requirement that it must be stressed that "once a day", not week, was written into the Act.
 3. S.C.R.B., A.R., 1885-6, p.22.
 4. ibid., 1884-5, p.9.

The hierarchy essential to the cottage homes and boarding out was implicit in the story Mrs Jefferis told of the genesis of the first cottage home. The events preceding her taking the first child read like a melodrama with something of the flavour of the Victorian best-seller, East Lynne.¹ Characters include the drunken, brutal step-father, the innocent, suffering child and the victimised but guilty mother who leaves her child to the protection of a lady (Jefferis) and dies exclaiming, "God knows if I have sinned, I have suffered".² Those stock characters were incorporated into boarding out and the cottage homes: the supervising ladies, the caring (foster-) mother, the brutal or inadequate parents and the innocent child.

Holding most power within the woman's sphere and thus in boarding out and the cottage homes were the ladies, responsible for activities within the woman's sphere but acknowledging the separate expertise of "gentlemen". The composition and role of the S.C.R.B. followed this ideal. The Board was headed by Dr Arthur Renwick, an energetic politician who was also, inter alia, President of the Benevolent Society of N.S.W., the N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, and Sydney Hospital.³ The Board comprised of one-third men and the rest women but in effect it was a board of ladies headed by Renwick. The men, barring Renwick, attended only rarely and could miss all the year's meetings.⁴ The women of the Board are detailed in Table 4.2. They, like their male colleagues, were members of the upper middle class with strong political and religious affiliations. Half of the women were the wives (or in one case, either sister or daughter) of politicians and half were also

1. Mrs Henry Wood, East Lynne, London, 1861.

2. Cottage Home, op.cit., 1880, pp.4-6.

3. A.D.B., vol.6, entry for A.Renwick, summarises his remarkable range of responsibilities.

4. S.C.R.B., A.R., 1887-8, p.10. Other male members in the 1880s were also politicians: J.R.Street, J.G.Long Innes, T.M.Slattery, C.K.Mackellar and W.J.Trickett.

TABLE 4.2

WOMEN MEMBERS OF THE S.C.R.B., 1880s

Name, Membership of Philanthropic Network (N)	Name, Occupation of husband	Age in 1881 or on joining	Religion	Number of Children
Lady Marian Allen *(N)	George W., solicitor/ politician	46	Meth./ C. of E.	10
Mrs Fanny Austin (N)	Henry, woolbroker	?	Cath.	"large"
Mrs Louisa Barry (N)	Alfred, Bishop of Sydney	mid 50s?	C. of E.	3
Mrs Mary Garran *(N)	Andrew, editor <u>S.M.H.</u> / M.L.C.	52	Congreg.	7
Mrs Ann Goodlet (N)	John, merchant	61	Pres.	0
Mrs Marian Jefferis *(N)	James, clergyman	late 30s?	Congreg.	7 and 1 step
Lady Mary Jennings	Patrick, pastoralist/ Premier	about 40?	Cath.	?
Lady Eliza/beth/ Manning (N)	William M, barrister/ politician	mid 50s?	C. of E.	4 and 2 step
Miss Mary Stuart *	(either brother or father) Alexander, merchant/Premier	late 20s?/ late 50s?	C. of E.	0
Mrs Mary Windeyer *(N)	William, politician/ judge	45	C. of E.	9

* Previously member of the Boarding Out Society

the wives or daughters of clergymen. Those appointed after 1881 were chosen not only for their status and philanthropic interest but also as representatives of varying religious views including Catholic, Anglican and evangelical. The ladies of the Board reflected the nature of boarding out as it was adopted in N.S.W. Boarding out challenged the traditional, male-dominated institutional method of child care but by no means challenged the power of the ruling class or of the churches.

Ladies were as essential to cottage homes as to boarding out. No matter how admirable was the employed cottage "Mother", it was unthinkable for her to administer the home without the supervision of ladies of "leisure" and "heart".¹ The two "lady" founders also financed the homes² although the subscription lists, as shown in Table 4.3, indicate a minority financial support by women. This latter was primarily due to the precedent set by Mrs Jefferis; as her husband was also a vocal supporter of the homes the payments were made in his name. As well, prominent benefactor Thomas Walker, gave regular subscriptions of £50³ which also contributed to the male domination of subscriptions.

The ladies were surrounded by romantic expectations as to their efficacy but could be dedicated and hard working. In particular, the pioneers of boarding out were far from the stereotype of the passive and idle Victorian lady. Mary Garran's diary reveals,

a busy daily record of receiving applications for children, choosing children from the Benevolent Asylum &c., signing up the foster parents, getting the children's discharge from the institution, getting them free passes, setting them off by train, finding & appointing district visitors, Committee meetings, correspondence, etc. (4)

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1. Cottage Home, op.cit., 1880, p.11.
 2. S.C.R.B., op.cit., 1885-6, pp.38-9.
 3. e.g., Cottage Home, op.cit., 1880, p.14, 1884, p.7 and 1885, p.5.
 4. Andrew and Mary Ishane Garran, Diaries 1860-1896, MSS 2001, Series 3, National Library, Canberra. This is a library summary of the contents of Mary Garran's diary which was missing in 1979.

TABLE 4.3

FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR PHILANTHROPIC CHILD-CARE, 1880s

Name, Year	Number of sub- script- ions/don- ations	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)
Cottage 1879-80	49	24 49.0	295- 8- 6	48-19-9 16.6	- 0	25-10-0 8.0
Home/s 1884	81	50 61.7	337-18- 3	111-14-0 33.1	- 0	33- 5-0 13.4
S.R.D.C.(Rand- wick Asylum)						
1885	440	31 7.0	753-18- 3	50- 3-0 6.6	- 0	637-0-0 6.1
1889	230	16 7.0	408-16- 4	34- 8-0 8.4	- 0	533-9-5 4.0
N.S.W. Instit- ution for the Deaf & Dumb, & Blind. 1885	903 790	94 10.4 88 11.1	1507- 0- 5 2190-17- 3 ¹	117-11-0 7.8 304-16-4 13.9	- 0 - 0	944-15-0 25.5 1606- 6-3 30.8
School of In- dustry 1885-6	65	54 83.0	166-14- 0	90- 9-0 54.2	289-17-3 31.4	19-18-6 ² 2.6?
1890	72	61 84.7	149- 8- 0	126- 4-0 84.5	281-14-2 35.7	90-10-0 11.5
Hospital for Sick Children						
1881	170	48 28.2	556-12- 6	151- 9-7 27.2	- 0	162-15-6 21.1
1885	205	67 32.7	1264-10- 0	362-17-3 28.7	- 0	318-15-6 13.9
1890	325	101 31.6	1075-10-10	338-14-9 31.5	- 0	581-14-3 25.3

1. The amount given was £2509-2-6, but only £2190-17-3 was detailed in the subscription list.
2. This figure is just the schooling fees received and is probably a mistake. There was no notable disruption to the School during the year yet no income from the girls' needlework is recorded. As well, this is a suspiciously low amount for fees, which in the following year were £105-8-0.

Other ladies were also active. Eliza Pottie, for example, took the cottage home children into her home while the home Mother was on holiday.¹ The main problem was one endemic to philanthropy; the ladies' wealth insulated them from the realities of the lives with which they dealt. They had no means of understanding the plight of parents to whom children were a costly burden. Poverty was condemned as weakness and consequent inability to support children as proof of selfishness and indolence.² The dependence of women upon male breadwinners made them particularly vulnerable to poverty and hence to "pauperising" their children. Yet such was the belief that those "who will to save can save"³ that if mothers gave up their children, particularly with outward signs of only "a very slight struggle"⁴, then this was proof of their utter depravity.

Next in the hierarchy were the women appointed to supervise the boarded out children: the lady visitors. They were of lesser status than the Board members but were still middle class, conscious of working with "the lower classes".⁵ The Board reiterated that these visitors were the key to the success of boarding out as it was they, with the Boarding Out Officer, who ensured that the children were adequately treated and socialised.⁶ The lady visitors were appointed to visit the children at least quarterly and to judge the quality of their home life. Women's unique expertise, as argued in the quotation heading this chapter, was considered necessary to this judgement. For the most part they were the wives of local clergy such as Mesdames Hey Sharp (Newtown) and Boyce (Redfern) or members of the local elite such as Mesdames Heydon (Hunters Hill) and Docker

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1. Cottage Home, op.cit., 1884, p.4 and Appendix A, entry for Pottie.
 2. Cottage Home, op.cit., 1880, p.4.
 3. Jefferis, "The Enfranchisement of Labour", op.cit., p.20.
 4. Cottage Home, op.cit., 1880, p.4.
 5. S.C.R.B., op.cit., 1886-7, p.28, quoting Mrs Littlejohn, Lady Visitor at Manly.
 6. e.g., ibid., 1886-7, p.17.

(Parramatta). Most were previously involved in philanthropy, if at all, on a local level in small organisations or, as with clergyman's wives, as part of the duties expected of their position. Whilst none of the lady visitors were also S.C.R.B. members, they were similarly isolated from those they purported to help. In particular lady visitors, as women of wealth and status, infrequently lived in the same areas as the children they supervised. This problem could not be overcome as it was unthinkable that any but ladies could undertake such a responsibility: only ladies had the social and cultural attributes to judge whether the foster homes were achieving the desired philanthropic aims.

The reliance on lady visitors was particularly important as it recognised and justified a new role for the traditional "Ladies Bountiful". Both Lady Visitors and Ladies Bountiful had similar roles as inspectors of working class homes. The latter, however, continued to be criticised throughout the 1880s. James Jefferis, for example, argued that "the gifts of ladies-bountiful have helped in no small degree to produce the degrading pauperism of England".¹ With the title of "lady visitor", ladies retained with state sanction their right to admonish and supervise the poor, albeit a restricted number of them. Such sanction was gained because they now worked with government safeguards against encouraging pauperisation. A further result of the appointment of lady visitors was that a large number of influential women (e.g., 198 in 1888) were introduced to the world of bureaucracy. Just the obligation of filling out the required government form on which to make their quarterly report² and, in country areas, paying the guardians,³ gave these women new skills and abilities. Such small steps were vital, as also argued in relation to women's fund-raising, in justifying demands that women should increase their

1. Jefferis, "Pauperism in New South Wales", op.cit., p.258.

2. State Children Relief Act, op.cit., Schedule F, p.6.

3. S.C.R.B., op.cit., 1885-6, p.25.

power and broaden their sphere by, for example, participating in the government of the colony.

Lower down the woman's sphere hierarchy were the respectable women who were the guardians of the boarded out children and the cottage home mothers. Couples were mostly involved with the women having prime responsibility for the children. These women were expected to care for the children as one of the family¹ for little or no financial reward. The cottage home mothers were paid only £20 to £30 per annum (equivalent to a low salary for a servant) and were in charge of a maximum of eight children. The boarding out mothers were paid from 5/- to 7/- a week depending on the child's health, deliberately less than the cost of the child's keep.² Except for a few "educated or well-born" children who were placed with middle class families,³ the children were to be transformed by example into respectable members of the working class. Such a task required ideal mothers; those with "true womanly love", an ability to shield children from the "dangerous knowledge that there are ways of obtaining money more easily than by honest labour", housekeeping skills, tact, patience, good temper, a knowledge of nursing and experience in child management.⁴ Not surprisingly, the ideal was hard to find in any one woman.

Those with least power within the woman's sphere and the boarding out/cottage homes system were respectively, "females" and the original parents or guardians. Often these were the same, as "female" parents were particularly vulnerable in their dependence on male breadwinners or low

1. ibid., 1885-6, p.15 noted with approval and implied surprise that the children shared meals with their guardians. It is unclear whether this surprise reflected the limited degree to which they expected the child to become one of the family or middle class practice of having meals apart from children.

2. ibid., 1883-4, p.15 and ibid., 1884-5, p.10.

3. ibid., 1884-5, p.16.

4. ibid., 1885-6, pp.6, 31.

wages. Their influence on their children was dreaded for fear they might pass on their "disease" of pauperism.¹ Accordingly it was minimised by the requirement that parents could only visit a child for one hour every four months, and then not unless they were "respectable" and the visit did not interfere with the child's employment or schooling.² Given the policy of the Board to send the children to the country, it is unlikely that many could have afforded to visit at all. Further evidence of the Board's hostility are the stories in the Reports of "profligate" mothers and cruel, exploitative families and the contrast with the loving, respectable guardians.³ The Cottage Home Reports also emphasised the depravity of the inmates' parents.⁴

Despite the careful censorship of adverse comment in the S.C.R.B. Reports, it is clear that reliance on women in terms of the woman's sphere concept was an inadequate solution to the problem of child poverty and neglect. Boarding out was particularly plagued by a culture clash between the children and the foster parents. Most notable was the case of one boy, boarded out with a "respectable" family, "whose thieving propensities led him to ... picking the clergyman's pockets ... during Church service".⁵ Another major concern was the children's health. Those with scrofula, ophthalmia, "incontinence of water" and "periodically inflicted with unpleasant physical infirmities"⁶ all caused problems, especially before the Board set up its own depot for health screening. The most common cause of rejection of the children was what the guardians saw as unclean and immoral habits. In one year, for example, twenty-four girls were detected in "the most revolting sexual practices".⁷

1. e.g., as argued by Jefferis, "Pauperism ...", op.cit.

2. State Children Relief Act, op.cit., p.4.

3. e.g., S.C.R.B., op.cit., 1884-5, p.22 and 1885-6, p.14.

4. Cottage Home, op.cit., 1880, p.4.

5. S.C.R.B., op.cit., 1885-6, p.22.

6. ibid., 1884-5, p.11.

7. ibid., 1883-4, p.20. See also, e.g., ibid., 1885-6, p.46.

The children's reactions to their retraining are less documented but partially revealed by their letters to the Boarding Out Officer. Their comments include, "She is a good mother. I never had a mother before ... Daddy ... has never beat us yet"; "I have my meals regularly every day" and "I am very happy ... but I would like to see my mother. Dear sir, I hope you will give my love to my dear mother".¹ Applying the solutions of the woman's sphere to the problems of philanthropic child-care effected for some an improvement in life-style and for others, an immense tragedy.

Whilst women established themselves as indispensable to the dominant means of philanthropic child-care, the older children's institutions slowly and often reluctantly acknowledged the new influence of ladies. The changes that occurred in this decade are summarised in Table 4.1. Most of the inmates of the state institutions were considered too corrupted to be suited to boarding out.² The desirability of the influence of ladies was, however, one factor in the transfer of the Girls' Industrial School from Bileola to Parramatta. The Inspector of Public Charities, for example, deplored that at Bileola "the girls could not be frequently visited by ladies who would bring with them humanizing and improving influences".³ The Parramatta site had far easier access. Again, no matter how commendable may have been the women in charge of girl inmates it was generally considered desirable to have, not just women, but ladies influencing them.

For the Catholic Church, however, this desire was complemented by the determination to have nuns, not lay-women, in charge of destitute children. Nuns were in charge of the state-maintained Catholic Orphanage at Parramatta; an arrangement considered by the Church to be quite satisfactory. Despite a special appeal by the S.C.R.B. in 1884 for

1. *ibid.*, 1885-6, p.46 and 1883-4, p.29.

2. Only after 1884, could the S.C.R.B. take children from the Industrial Schools and then only those under eleven years old.

3. Inspector of Public Charities. *A.R.*, 1884-5, p.7.

more Catholic foster homes,¹ there was also a fear that Catholic souls could be risked by being boarded out with Protestant guardians. The closure of the Catholic Orphanage due to the depletion of numbers as the inmates were boarded out, was therefore strongly resisted.² Popular Catholic interpretation of the closure gives government "bigotry" as the explanation³ but that ignores the role of boarding out and the parallel closure of the Protestant Orphanage. Despite the Catholic resistance to the closure of the orphanage, it was not until the end of the decade that alternative institutions in charge of nuns could be opened. Ironically, this response has been postulated as a peculiarly isolated and reactionary one while a similar reaction a few years later by the Protestant churches was evidenced as "one of the fruits of quickening social concern".⁴ The whole episode is clouded by sectarian assumptions but does underline Catholic determination that nuns, not lay-women, should take philanthropic responsibility within the woman's sphere.

Another major source of resistance to the widespread adoption of boarding out came from the Randwick Asylum. Significantly, this institution became more male-dominated as the Ladies' Committee was disbanded in 1882 and the level of women's financial contributions steadied, as shown in Table 4.3, at 6-8%.⁵ The Asylum, like the Orphanages, was threatened with closure due to the depletion of inmates. After 305 children had been boarded out from the Asylum, the committee refused further subsidies so that the S.C.R.B. no longer had the right to remove children. The Asylum then was promoted as a place where those suffering from "temporary destitution" could, for a limited period, place their children.⁶ The Asylum committee correctly argued that

1. S.C.R.B., op.cit., 1884-5, p.19.

2. The episode is summarised in (anon.), Good Samaritan Annals, op.cit., pp.12-4.

3. e.g., (anon.), "Story of the Institute", op.cit., p.65.

4. Dickey, Ph.D., op.cit., pp.252-3, 255. The latter argument quotes Bollen, op.cit.

5. See above, following p.136.

6. S.R.D.C., op.cit., 1888, p.17.

boarding out was inapplicable for children in these not unusual circumstances. The response of the state authorities was to criticise the Asylum in the strongest way possible, that is, by accusing it of being too expensive, pauperising the children and being little more than a "private boarding school".¹ Despite such criticisms, however, the Asylum remained the bastion of male-dominated, institutionalised care of destitute children.

The influence of women within their sphere continued to be upheld by the management of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind. As a subsidised Institution, it was theoretically the most vulnerable to S.C.R.B. takeover. However, their inmates needed special training and care that made them unsuited to boarding out. In addition, older superstitions about physical disabilities still operated to isolate deaf and blind children. Such superstition was evident, for example, in the determination to separate the children from the adults at the Industrial Blind Institute because of what ex-Governor Hercules Robinson termed the adult blind's "peculiar proclivities".² The result was that the management of the Institution remained much the same. The small Ladies' Committee continued to do its "woman's work" of supervising the domestic arrangements of the Institution. As an Institution officially run by men, women's financial contributions accordingly continued to be small and, as shown in Table 4.3, were overshadowed by the huge increase in pupils' fees collected (30% of income by 1890). As in the previous decade, the Ladies' Committee appeared satisfied with its role and worked harmoniously with the men's committee. Each considered itself within its proper sphere but unity was also promoted by almost half the Ladies' Committee being the wives or relatives of members of the men's committee. Both committees had a stable membership: ten of the ladies listed in Table 1.7³ remained members; the Institution's

1. S.C.R.B., op.cit., 1886-7, p.3.

2. Inspector of Public Charities, op.cit., 1882-3, p.4. This opinion was possibly because blindness was one effect of syphilis, and a supposed result of masturbation.

3. See above, Chapter 1, following p.34.

founding President only retired in 1881 and his successor, Arthur Renwick, remained until 1908. New members of the Ladies' Committee continued to be recruited exclusively from the evangelical middle class, such as Clarke, Marks and Renwick.¹ They were generally middle-aged to old and predominantly the wives of merchants, politicians or clergymen. They were typical of the lay women who dominated woman's sphere philanthropy in this and the previous decade.

The oldest example of women managing and predominantly financing their own philanthropic institution in N.S.W., the Female School of Industry, also continued with little change. Minor concessions to change were to send sickly inmates to the S.C.R.B.² and to have inmates employed rather than apprenticed as servants when they left the School.³ Little else changed; the inmates were still taken from five years of age, dressed alike in grey dresses and pinafores and with short hair⁴ and remorselessly trained as servants. An accident to an unnamed girl is a reminder of the nature of the work for which the girls were trained. This work not only isolated girls from their peers, was poorly paid (the maximum wage the School allowed remained 10/- a week) and arduous but also frequently dangerous: "she met with an accident, was severely burned, ... she is [now] only fitted for light work".⁵

The School continued to be predominantly financed by women⁶ and run by elite Anglican ladies. Three quarters of those identified in Table 1.5 remained members.⁷ The ladies included the wives of the Bishop, Chief Justice and prominent business men, the latter including, for example, the wife of the chairman of C.S.R., Edward Knox. Membership was generally for life and during the 1880s four of the older members

1. See Appendix A for information on these women.

2. School of Industry, op.cit., 1887-8, p.9.

3. ibid., 1885-6, Rule 24.

4. The Dawn, 1 November 1889.

5. School of Industry, op.cit., 1880-1, p.11.

6. See above, Table 4.3, following p.136.

7. See above, Chapter 1, following p.32.

died in office and the President, Anna Allwood, only resigned after 45 years.¹ A common characteristic was their wealth - Lucy Darley's husband, for example, first refused the Chief Justiceship because at £3,500 per annum it meant a significant drop in income.² A further sign of their wealth was their frequent overseas holidays; a characteristic they shared with their peers on the S.C.R.B.³ Their wealth and status effectively isolated them from contact with the poor except as charity recipients or servants. Most importantly, as ladies they were isolated from the realities of that which they aimed to instill at the School: arduous, life-supporting industry. Such isolation accounts for much of the cruelties and seeming hypocrisy of women's philanthropy. The women themselves, however, were fully convinced that the same standards could not be applied to ladies as to females. Hence the expense of the School's prestigious annual ball which in 1885, for example, was £168-10-9, more than that expended on the School salaries for the year and nearly three-quarters of that spent on food for the inmates and staff.⁴

Another source of influence by women within philanthropy was through being a major philanthropic benefactor. In this role, however, women had only mixed success. Mary Roberts and Thomas Walker were two outstanding benefactors and both died during the 1880s leaving large legacies to philanthropic causes. Walker left £100,000 to found the Thomas Walker Convalescent Hospital⁵ and had previously established himself as benefactor with right of veto to the

1. School of Industry, A.R., 1884-5, p.11.

2. A.D.B., vol. 4, entry for F.Darley.

3. School of Industry, op.cit., 1881-6 and S.C.R.B., op.cit., 1885-8. Y.W.C.A. Committee members also shared this trait, Y.W.C.A., A.R.s, 1883-8.

4. School of Industry, op.cit., 1885-6, pp.15-6.

5. A.D.B., vol.2, entry for T.Walker. He had distributed £10,000 to charity in 1882 and gave major amounts to assist the Protestant Refuge, the Sydney Female Mission Home, St. Vincent's Hospital and Sydney University (the latter because women were admitted in 1881).

Infants' Home and Y.W.C.A.¹ In contrast, Roberts appears to have had little influence over the institutions she benefited. When she donated £1,000 to Prince Alfred Hospital, for example, only one of her three conditions was met.² It has been argued in this thesis that her illegitimacy largely accounted for her lack of recognition and status. Her anonymity - however much enforced or chosen during her lifetime - was continued after her death. Roberts left, amongst others, bequests totalling £9,250 to twelve religious and philanthropic organisations. In addition, she left the residue of her estate equally to the Sydney and Prince Alfred Hospitals, the S.R.D.C. (Randwick Asylum) and the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind.³ Each claimed over £22,400. It is another sign of the anonymity of women in Australian history that a woman with control of such wealth, and the power such wealth conferred, could be so thoroughly forgotten.⁴ Such a fate is comparable to that of Helen (Mrs John) Hunter Baillie, a major benefactor and committee member of the Children's Hospital, who was and is consistently referred to in the records and on plaques at the Hospital as "Mrs T. Hunter Baillie".⁵ Despite their anonymity and the general trend for women to have been less wealthy than men,⁶ it should not be forgotten that Roberts at least had it in her power to leave over £99,000 to philanthropic and religious causes. Other women were able to finance their own, as well as others, philanthropic activities. Margaret Clarke, for example, was probably the anonymous woman who financed Ardill's Home of Hope and Discharged Prisoners' Mission.⁷ She also helped

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1. Infants' Home, Minutes, 31 March 1874 and 7 April 1874 and Y.W.C.A., Minutes, 17 April 1884.
 2. W. Epps, The Story of an Australian Hospital 1868-1918, Sydney, 1918, pp. 43-5.
 3. Mary Roberts, Last Will and Testament, Probate no. 11861/3.
 4. cf., e.g., her half-nephew, John Lucas, listed in A.D.B., vol. 5.
 5. Sick Children's Hospital, A.R., 1880-97 and Benefactors' plaque, main entrance lobby, Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children.
 6. W.D. Rubenstein, "The Top Wealth Holders of New South Wales, 1817-1939", Australian Economic History Review, XX:2, September, 1980.
 7. S.M.H., 4 September 1884; her husband officially opened the Home of Hope.

found and finance her own Home and Training School for Nurses in the Nightingale tradition in which she herself trained. As well, like Thomas Walker, she financed a private relief committee. Hers was a Ladies' Committee instructed

to seek out and relieve, with food
and proper attendance, the sick
whose poverty would otherwise place
such relief beyond their reach. (1)

Women with the resources and interest of Roberts, Hunter Baillie and Clarke were naturally few but their influence and example to other women reinforced the rights and prestige of women philanthropists.

One institution, the Children's Hospital, requires separate attention for the light it sheds upon the strength - and limitations - of the woman's sphere ideology. Male medical workers, particularly those who had "professional" status, increasingly claimed expertise in, and rights over, the health and therefore lives of women. Such claims necessarily conflicted with the claims of women to control matters within the woman's sphere - whether by midwives or ladies. It was a conflict which involved the male workers of the church and which had a history of centuries of bitter struggle. This conflict has been the subject of extensive research² and is largely outside the concern of this thesis. However, a reflection of the larger struggle's impact upon the woman's sphere can be seen in the periodic conflicts between "lady superintendents" and honorary (male) physicians of philanthropic institutions. Such conflict also occurred at St. Vincent's Hospital and the Infants' Home and had provoked a Royal Commission at the Sydney Infirmary (renamed Sydney Hospital in 1880). The latter occurred when Lucy Osburn was Lady Superintendent. Osburn had the prestige of Nightingale's direct patronage and the friendship and

1. Quoted in A.D.B., vol. 3, entry for M. Clarke.

2. e.g. B. Ehrenreich and D. English, Witches, Midwives and Nurses, Old Westbury, New York, 1973.

support of many of Sydney's elite, including Premier Henry Parkes, the families of two Governors and the Macarthur and Windeyer families.¹ She was nevertheless constantly attacked and only vindicated by the first Report of the 1873-4 Royal Commission into Public Charities, an experience which revealed her most bitter, determined and unprincipled opponent as Dr (later Sir) Alfred Roberts.² Roberts was also for a time in the 1880s a member of the honorary medical staff and the Board of the Children's Hospital. His antagonism towards Lady Superintendents was shared by other honorary physicians at that Hospital and their hostility culminated in a parliamentary inquiry in 1887.

The context in which the clash occurred was one of increased awareness of public health and the efficacy of hospitals. Signs of this awareness included the opening of the Coast Hospital for Infectious Diseases (1881) and Prince Alfred Hospital (1882) and the latter's quick addition of a children's ward. Epidemics of measles (1880), smallpox (1881-2, 1884-5) and typhoid fever (1884) increased public concern for improved health facilities. Related concern about Sydney's highly polluted water resulted in the establishment of the N.S.W. Board of Health (1881), and the first meeting of the Board of Water Supply and Sewerage (1888). As well the doctors continued to consolidate their professional status with the recognition by the British Medical Association of the N.S.W. branch (1880) and the establishment of the Australian Medical Gazette (1881).³ Another landmark in medical history was the resignation in 1884 of Lucy Osburn who by then had established the Nightingale system of nursing, and therefore a new profession for middle class women, in the colony. One of her trainees was the

1. A.D.B., vol. 5, entry for L.Osburn.

2. MacDonnell, Miss Nightingale's ... , op.cit., ch.11.

3. Mayne, Ph.D., op.cit., appendix 11; Hospital for Sick Children, A.R.s., 1880-9; Dickey, "Health and State", op.cit.; Hipsley, op.cit., and D.Clark, "'Worse than Physic': Sydney's Water Supply 1788-1888", in M.Kelly (ed.), Nineteenth-Century Sydney, Sydney, 1978.

Children's Hospital's Lady Superintendent, Frances Gillam Holden.

The Hospital was managed by a predominantly female Board with the most powerful executive positions reserved for men. Its subscriptions reflected this fact with over two thirds, as indicated in Table 4.3, coming from male donors. The governing board was very large and included 56 women during the 1880s,¹ a sample of whom are listed in Table 4.4. As shown in Table 4.4, the women members were predominantly Protestant, comprising chiefly the wives and daughters of wealthy merchants and professional men with many family links between them. Membership of such boards was a source of prestige as it indicated a sense of social responsibility considered desirable in a public figure.² Accordingly, efforts to reduce the membership failed³ and the Hospital Board contained politicians and their families from both governing factions. Membership, however, was quite sufficient for a philanthropic reputation and it was not necessary for such people to take an active role. By 1887, for example, it was claimed that many of the Board, including the President, rarely visited the institution and that at least ten women members had not been there for years.⁴

Much of the management of philanthropic institutions naturally fell to the employees in charge. At the Children's Hospital this was the Lady Superintendent, Miss Holden. Her sacking in 1887 revealed the strength of the woman's sphere concept and also the opposition it aroused. The sacking of Holden has been represented as a reluctant decision of a hospital board forced to act against a clever but imperious

1. cf. 23 men on the committee and Board of Advice.

2. e.g., Bulletin series on public men, including 24 June 1882 and 2 October 1888.

3. Hipsley, op.cit., p.10, cf., Hospital for Sick Children, Rules, 1888, ML.

4. F.Holden, letter in reply to J.S.Mitchell, pp.1,11, Committee of Inquiry into the Children's Hospital, Glebe, 1887, Colonial Secretary In-letters, 4/880.2, State Archives. The claim was not refuted.

TABLE 4.4 SAMPLE OF WOMEN MEMBERS OF THE HOSPITAL FOR SICK CHILDREN, 1880s

Name, Membership of Philanthropic Network (N)	Name, Occupation of husband	Kin also on Board and other links between members	Age in 1880 or on joining	Religion	Number of Children
Lady Marian Allen (N)	George W, solicitor/politician	husband/brother-in-law/2 male relatives	45	Meth./C. of E.	10
Mrs Helen Hunter Baillie (N)	John, banker	sister	63	Pres.	0
Mrs Louisa Barry (N)	Alfred, Bishop	-	mid 50s?	C. of E.	3
Mrs Isabella Belisario	John, dental surgeon	daughter	early 50s?	Pres.?	2 and 3 step
Mrs Lucy Dangar	Henry, barrister/politician	sister/husband	39	C. of E.	11
Mrs Lucy Fairfax	James, proprietor S.M.H.	sisters-in-law	46	Congreg.	6
Mrs Elizabeth Frazer	John, merchant	daughter	about 50?	Pres.	7
Mrs Mary Garraan	Andrew, editor S.M.H./M.L.C.	husband worked for Fairfaxes	51	Congreg.	7
Mrs Johanna Gurney	Theodore, Professor of mathematics	-	35	C. of E.	0?
Mrs Sophie Holt	Thomas, merchant/financier	daughter?	early 50s?	Congreg.	6
Lady Emily Innes	J.George, judge/politician	-	late 30s?	C. of E.	6
Mrs Elizabeth Marks (N)	John, pastoralist/politician	-	45	Pres.	5 (step?)
Lady Isabella Martin (N)	James, Chief Justice, (separated)	-	48	C. of E.	15
Miss Alice Mort	(father) Thomas, merchant	aunt/cousin	24	C. of E.	0

TABLE 4.4 continued

Name, Membership of Philanthropic Network (N)	Name, Occupation of husband	Kin also on Board and other links between members	Age in 1880 or on joining	Religion	Number of Children
Mrs Elizabeth Renwick (N)	Arthur, physician/ politician	husband honorary doctor and member	46	Congreg.	6
Mrs Jeannie Richardson	John, Major-General	Col. C. Roberts also member	late 40s?	?	4
Mrs/Lady Sarah Samuel	Saul, merchant/ politician	husband	?	Jewish	1 and 4 step
Mrs Charlotte See	John, merchant/ politician	-	33	C. of E.	10
Mrs Caroline Stephen	M. Henry, barrister	husband, 2 brothers and sisters-in-law	47	C. of E.	4
Lady Anne Deas Thomson (N)	Edward, ex-Colonial Secretary	-	74	C. of E.	7
Miss Eadith Walker	(father) Thomas, merchant/landowner	-	late 30s?	?	0
Mrs Elizabeth Wilkinson (N)	William, judge	daughter/husband/son	about 50?	C. of E.	9

Note: The list of Board members given in Hipsley, op.cit., Appendix A, is inaccurate and incomplete.

woman who demanded more power than her due.¹ Such an interpretation is over-simplified and distorted.

Holden was a nurse in the Nightingale tradition, one which firmly appropriated nursing within the woman's sphere. It was a belief that had won widespread acceptance by the 1880s. The Alfred Hospital in Melbourne in 1880, for example, adopted the motto "Where there is not a woman, there a sick man groans" and a Sydney paper confidently described nurses in 1888 as "women who perform a woman's mission".² Holden fully shared this view, advocating women nursing their family as "an educative agency towards full womanhood".³ However, she took this view to its logical extreme and argued that therefore women should nurse the sick of their family in their own homes and not commit them to hospitals. The latter she argued was a "foolish mistake, a grave evil".⁴ It was an extraordinary position for a hospital employee to take, especially as Holden also maintained that the sick poor for whose children her Hospital was founded, hardly existed in Australia (although by the fees collected, as shown in Table 4.3, the Hospital shared her view). Furthermore, in a decade when most women still used pseudonyms when writing, Holden openly publicised her views. The article which places her firmly as an advocate of women's rights within the woman's sphere was "Petticoat Government". In this article her views were similar to that of other woman's sphere advocates such as the 1873-4 Royal Commissioners. The majority of institutions, Holden maintained, would be centres of evil unless their management was recognised as "woman's work". Her solution to the problems of institutional management was the

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1. Hipsley, op.cit., and D.Hamilton, Hand in Hand, Sydney, 1979; both authors were doctors at the Hospital and uncritically accept the submission of their predecessors to the Committee of Inquiry, op.cit.
 2. A.Mitchell, The Hospital South of the Yarra, Melbourne, 1977, p.75 and The Illustrated Sydney News, 15 March 1888.
 3. F.Holden, "A Pertinent Question", The Sydney Quarterly Magazine, 11:6, June 1885, p.176.
 4. ibid., p.175.

classic woman's sphere one:

Good women; gentlewomen - well-bred and cultivated women - in premier positions of authority and responsibility in relation to their own domain of work. (1)

Women, she argued, had not only the natural right to such work but the expertise. Holden insisted that any "true, good wife and mother" who worthily ran her household had the administrative ability to run a larger household, that is, an institution.² It was an argument that in the next decade was used by Holden and other women to justify the house-keeping talents of women being applied to the colony by the acquisition of the vote.³

Holden further showed her allegiance to the Nightingale system of nursing and the woman's sphere by establishing at the Children's Hospital two classes of nurses: the lady and the domestic nurse. Such acknowledgment of the woman's sphere hierarchy was part of the Nightingale system.⁴ Although sharing the same duties and low pay (£26 per annum at the Children's Hospital) they had their meals apart and only lady nurses were addressed as Miss or Mrs.⁵

The Hospital Board initially shared Holden's woman's sphere views. Like Trollope at the Infants' Home, she was specifically hired as a "lady" and the "wisdom" of that decision was reported as "completely justified by the result".⁶ As usual, however, a woman's status was a tragically inadequate solution to the managerial problems that confronted philanthropic institutions.

Conflict over management of the Hospital between Holden

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1. F.Holden, "Petticoat Government", The Sydney Quarterly Magazine, 1:3, April 1884, p.270.
 2. F.Holden, "Institution Reform", The Sydney Quarterly Magazine, 1:1, October 1883, p.29.
 3. Holden became a member of Louisa Lawson's Dawn Club which is discussed in Ch. 5 of this thesis, The Dawn, 1 July 1889.
 4. Mitchell, op.cit., pp.78-80, cf. the two classes of nuns.
 5. Hipsley, op.cit., pp.45-6, 42.
 6. Hospital for Sick Children, A.R., 1881, p.5.

and the doctors soon occurred. The honorary medical staff tried to increase their influence by advocating the appointment of a paid resident doctor in charge (instead of Holden) of the Hospital. The failure of this plan, along with attempts to begin an out-patients' department, resulted in their mass resignation in 1883 on the grounds that they were unable to work satisfactorily with the "ladies committee" (the Board).¹ The doctors' defeat was highlighted by Andrew Garran's recommendation that they should be paid so as to leave no doubt that they were "servants" of the Board.²

The next confrontation occurred when Holden complained of the neglect of the patients due to the physicians' irregular attendance. She complained, inter alia, of the failure of Dr Anderson Stuart to answer a call which had resulted in a child's death.³ Holden's mistake which led to her dismissal was that she also antagonised her natural supporters, the "lady" Board members whose importance she had previously upheld. She, in fact, roundly censored them for their ignorance and inefficiency in hospital administration and for being "worse than useless".⁴ Similar frustration had led her less robust colleague at the Infants' Home to despair and die, it was suggested, of grief.⁵ Holden resisted her dismissal but it was upheld by a two-man parliamentary inquiry.⁶ She was forced to leave - taking eleven of the fifteen nurses with her. Her successor was termed Matron with a salary of £90 rather than £120 per annum and subordinated to a paid medical officer.⁷

Holden's dismissal was a highly public defeat for employed ladies attempting to assume the privileges of ladies within the woman's sphere. It helped assure the ascendancy of physicians over nursing staff in a decade when nursing was

1. Hospital for Sick Children, A.R., 1883, pp.6-7.

2. ibid., 1883, p.7.

3. Committee of Inquiry, op.cit., Holden's statement. Anderson Stuart became Professor of Medicine at Sydney University.

4. ibid., statement of F.G.Holden and J.S.Mitchell.

5. e.g., Infants' Home, Ashfield, Centenary Appeal 1874-1974, Sydney, 1974, p.14.

6. Committee of Inquiry, op.cit.

7. ibid.

an increasingly popular option for young women.¹ It was another small step in assuring the right of doctors to have authority over women. Jubilation over Holden's defeat reflected the extent to which it was a woman's sphere issue. The nurses supporting her were dismissed as inexperienced women with "mobile feelings" and Holden as one whose "man's mind" could not overcome woman's weakness. Holden was also accused of a tendency to be imperious, hysterical and to give way to "wild statements and wilder tears - a woman's common refuge".²

Holden published, a month after the inquiry, a savage attack on "so-called Christianity".³ It was an extension of a previous article in which she argued that body and soul had equal importance⁴ - a concept especially antagonistic to evangelism whose adherents dominated Protestant philanthropy. She damned contemporary Christian practice as "narrowing, hardening, false ... an incurable ... canker" and the neglect of physical conditions by philanthropists as "the quintessence of folly".⁵ She further maintained that evils in life should be understood and faced, not fastidiously ignored; an opinion that violated a basic precept of ladylike behaviour. Such opinions shift the question from why she was dismissed to why she was employed by the Hospital for seven years. It appears that her employment was secure so long as she retained the support of those who shared her woman's sphere beliefs and so long as she demonstrated her personal capacity within that sphere. Holden's case was superficially a defeat for the woman's sphere concept but also demonstrates the confidence of a lady in her rights within the woman's sphere.

Philanthropic organisations for the care of children reflected a widespread acceptance of the right of women to

1. e.g., Fell, op.cit., 9 July 1886.

2. The Bulletin, 27 August 1887.

3. F.Holden, "The Gospel of Physical Salvation", The Sydney Quarterly Magazine, 1V:3, September 1887.

4. F.Holden, "Body and Soul", The Sydney Quarterly Magazine, 1:2, January 1884.

5. Holden, "The Gospel ... ", op.cit., p.207.

influence philanthropy within the woman's sphere. Whereas in the 1870s this right was widely advocated, in the 1880s women were able to exercise their right. The importance of the woman's sphere concept and the power allocated to ladies is particularly evident in the organisation of the S.C.R.B. and the case of Frances Holden. During the decade, as argued in the following section, woman's sphere philanthropy was not only influential but also it considerably broadened in scope.

(b) Broadening the Scope of Women's Philanthropy: Adolescents, Orders of Nuns and Ardill.

The woman's sphere concept justified women having a highly influential role in the care of destitute children. The confidence of, and recognition awarded to, such women encouraged imitation and more ambitious philanthropic effort. During the 1880s, women philanthropists welcomed opportunities to participate in philanthropy catering for needs not covered by existing organisations. In doing so, they broadened the scope of women's philanthropy but always remained within the permitted boundaries of the woman's sphere.

Two factors were particularly influential in encouraging women to broaden the scope of their existing philanthropy. The first was religion. All the new organisations and institutions which were founded for the young and involved women, had strong religious affiliation. The importance of religion in motivating women reflected the numerical domination by women of the main forms of religious observance. This female domination of N.S.W. religious life was noted by observers such as Inglis¹ and equally deplored by the Catholic Bishops² as by the Anglican Bishop Barry.³ Women were strongly encouraged by their religion and by church leaders to engage in philanthropy within the woman's sphere, especially when such activity was under the control of the male hierarchy of the church.

The second factor which encouraged women to broaden the scope of their philanthropy was the general increase in community concern for adolescents. This concern was particularly reflected in the debate surrounding the 1880 Education

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1. J.Inglis, Our Australian Cousins, London, 1880, p.176.
 2. O'Farrell, Catholic Church and Community, op.cit., p.258 quoting the 1885 Plenary Council of Catholic Bishops.
 3. W.Phillips, "A Response to Graeme Davison's 'First Thoughts'", Australia 1888, 6, November 1980, p.18 quoting A.Barry, A Charge Delivered at his Primary Visitation of the Diocese on July 10th, 1884.

Act for "free, secular and compulsory" education and anxiety as to the qualities of the younger generation. The latter was most explicit in the highly publicised Mount Rennie rape case of 1886 which involved twelve teenage boys and the equally publicised re-emergence of widespread "larrikinism".¹ The need to control working class male youths also led to an interest in their female counterparts. Special events for children and working class girls attracted widespread support. These included the 1882 Juvenile Exhibition² and the Working Girls' Centennial Festival, the latter which attracted an estimated 1000 girls.³

Philanthropists responded to the "youth crisis" by organising potential larrikins into disciplined bodies but with regard to the belief in the need to segregate the sexes which characterised the woman's sphere. For boys, men organised such bodies as the Young Men's Christian Association and the Newsboy Brigade (later the Boys' Brigade).⁴ For girls, women founded three main organisations: the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.), the Girls' Friendly Society (G.F.S.) and the Working and Factory Girls' Club. These organisations for girls are summarised in Table 4.5. All were of philanthropic rather than charitable intent in that they did not aim to give material aid; none qualified for a government subsidy and all were firmly within the woman's sphere.

These three organisations represented an attempt to spread the mantle of philanthropic protection over "respectable" working class and lower-middle class girls as well as destitute or disreputable children and "females". As such it was a significant broadening of women's philanthropic activities within the woman's sphere.

1. Grabosky, op.cit., pp.85-9 and e.g., The Bulletin 8 January 1881, 15 March 1884 and 23 April 1887.

2. ibid., 12 and 26 August 1882.

3. The Illustrated Sydney News, 15 March 1888.

4. M.E.Hoare, Boys, Urchins, Men. A History of The Boys' Brigade, Sydney, 1980.

TABLE 4.5 MAJOR WOMEN'S PHILANTHROPIC ORGANISATIONS FOR CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS FOUNDED
DURING THE 1880s.

Name, Year established	Location	Category of Children/ Adolescents	Number of Inmates/ members, 31-12-1889	Management (None were subsidised)
Y.W.C.A. 1880	Wynyard Square from 1882	employed girls	(During 1883 more than 100)	Ladies' Committee
G.F.S. 1880	Woolloomoo- loo from 1889	"virtuous" girls	(During 1884 for N.S.W. 1,018)	Predominantly by Women Associates
St. Joseph's Providence Home 1880	Cumberland St., city	destitute, from 1888, girls only	12	Sisters of St. Joseph of the Sacred Heart
(from 1886, Orphanage and) Industrial School 1881	Manly	destitute girls	(During 1889) 107	Sisters of the Good Samaritan
? Our Babies Home 1886?	Knox St., city	babies of Home of Hope inmates	?	Society for Provid- ing Homes for Neg- lected Children (Ardill)
Our Children's Home 1887	Liverpool	destitute and neg- lected	?	Blue Ribbon Gospel Army (Ardill)
St. Martha's Indust- rial School and Home for Girls 1888	Leichhardt	servants in training	?	Sisters of St. Joseph of the Sacred Heart
St. Anne's Orphanage 1888	Liverpool	destitute and blind girls	?	Sisters of Charity
Blind Institution 1888	Petersham	blind girls	?	Sisters of the Little Company of Mary
Working and Factory Girls' Club 1888	Bathurst St., city	employed girls	?	Church of England Temperance Society Women's Union
Children's Hospital of the Holy Child 1889	Petersham	sick	?	Sisters of the Lit- tle Company of Mary

Although the organisations were possible because of favourable colonial conditions, the initial impetus for the first two formed, the Y.W.C.A. and G.F.S., came from England. The Y.W.C.A. in England rapidly expanded after the amalgamation of two organisations for women in 1877¹ and one of the founders caused a request to be sent to Mrs (Henry) Moore² to found a Sydney branch of the Association. Eliza Pottie, inspired by the work of the Y.W.C.A. in Britain and America, had previously called a meeting to form a Y.W.C.A. branch. Some money was collected but nothing definitely achieved.³ Similarly, the comparable Catholic Young Women's Association had failed after a short period.⁴ Moore's attempt in 1880 was successful because of the concern felt by middle class women for adolescent working girls; of an Australian-wide interest in the Y.W.C.A.⁵; and because she was able to enlist the enthusiastic support of Bishop and Mrs Barker and leading evangelical women.⁶ The latter women, as has been demonstrated, were those Protestants with the most experience in philanthropic organisation.

Unlike the G.F.S. which was founded to operate strictly along the same lines as its British parent body, the Y.W.C.A. was formed in Sydney with little concrete idea as to its purpose. One suggestion was that the Y.W.C.A. should open a home for sick nurses⁷ but it was decided to open a Home for Governesses and Young Women (Loma House), incorporating a boarding house, restaurant and prayer circle. The G.F.S. had similar aims but was slower to implement them. The Society first opened a home at Picton for members needing rest

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1. (anon.), The Golden Milestone, Sydney, (1931), p.5 and W. Graham (ed.), Y.W.C.A. Sketches, 2nd ed., (London?), 1897, pp.4-9.
 2. See Appendix A, entry for Mrs Moore.
 3. E.L.Morwick, letter, 20 May 1926 in Y.W.C.A. Papers "Of Historical Interest", MLMSS 23679.
 4. Davis, op.cit., p.50.
 5. (L.Austin), Outline Sketch of the Young Women's Christian Associations in Australasia, Sydney, 1913, pp.8-9.
 6. ibid., p.8; Y.W.C.A., A.R.S., 1880-2, p.5 and Y.W.C.A., Minutes, 25 March 1880, (uncat.) MLMSS 3262.
 7. ibid., 3 June 1880. As nurses were so vulnerable to serious infection they had difficulty in obtaining lodgings. Another suggestion was to open a model lodging house along the lines of H.Burton Bradley's scheme, ibid., 2 July 1883.

and "a change of air" but the G.F.S. Lodge and Home for Governesses was not opened until 1889.¹ The Working and Factory Girls' Club was more influenced by colonial needs and was initially promoted by George Ardill,² whose work is examined below. Like the Y.W.C.A. and the G.F.S., the Club had strong religious aims and also provided recreational and residential facilities for its members.³

In one important sense, the three organisations were a radical innovation for colonial philanthropists because they acknowledged the existence of, and catered for, the needs of women employed outside a home. Previously philanthropists tended to assume that all working women should be employed within a home, generally as servants, and if not they were potential or actual prostitutes. The greater movement of middle class girls into the workforce and of working class girls into factories⁴ caused a revision of this comfortable assumption. Some such as Bishop Barry warned of the "inadvisability of a woman going beyond her home circle" but others such as James Jefferis argued that employment outside the home was a necessity for a large number of young women and so reality had to be faced.⁵ In facing that reality, however, there was no attempt to challenge the importance of the home to women but rather to impose the values of the ideal home upon girls who might otherwise escape such influence. An effort was made to broaden the activities within the woman's sphere in order to preserve, not to challenge, its values.

As organisations within the woman's sphere, it could be expected that they would be run and financed predominantly by

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1. G.F.S., A.R., 1883-4, pp.8, 15 and The Dawn, 1 June 1889.
 2. The Dawn, 15 May 1888; The Weekly Advocate, 7 April 1888 and unidentified newspaper clipping, n.d., in Ardill's Press Cuttings Book, held at the S.R.W.S.
 3. Church of England Temperance Society Women's Union (C.E.T.S.W.U.), Semi-A.R., 1887-8, p.7. The Club's constitution was reprinted in The Australian Christian Record, 18 July 1891.
 4. R.Markey, "Women and Labour, 1800-1900", Women and Labour Conference Paper, Macquarie University, May 1978, pp.9-11.
 5. S.M.H., 21 April 1888.

women, that their structures would acknowledge strict class and status divisions and that they would have conservative social aims. All three conformed to this model.

The Y.W.C.A. was run by a large committee of predominantly Anglican women, half of whom are listed in Table 4.6. Particularly after the Y.W.C.A. formally adopted the doctrinal basis of the Evangelical Alliance in 1887, all committee members were evangelicals.¹ The evangelism of the Y.W.C.A. was a commitment which they took seriously. The committee lost the Y.W.C.A. Mission School because of its insistence on bible readings (which antagonised the Catholic pupils) and refused a request from Y.W.C.A. members for a picnic because it was "unimportant".² Committee women were predominantly upper-middle class, able to afford the minimum £1 per annum subscription, with the wives of clergy, lawyers and politicians most evident. As an organisation which enforced family values it is not surprising that family ties, as shown in Table 4.6, were an important factor in the composition of the committee.

It was this committee which determined priorities, nominated the male Board of Advice,³ filled committee vacancies, had the power of veto over membership and employed staff.⁴ They were the ladies running an organisation for "young women". Collectively the ladies could marshall formidable influence, which they showed little reluctance to use. Disputes with the landlord of Loma House, for example, resulted in the ladies using first a member's husband and leading solicitor, Sir George Wigram Allen, who gave a favourable legal opinion. They later used another member's husband, Bishop Barry, to persuade the Anglican landlord not to increase the rent. The resultant saving was £100 per annum.⁵ Similarly, Lady Stuart,

1. Y.W.C.A., A.R., 1887, p.5.

2. Y.W.C.A., Minutes, 6 March 1884.

3. ibid., 26 June 1884.

4. ibid., 3 October 1883, from then the General Secretary employed Loma House servants, and Y.W.C.A., A.R., 1880-2, p.4.

5. ibid., 3 July 1884 and 15 and 25 August 1886.

TABLE 4.6

IDENTIFIED MEMBERS OF THE Y.W.C.A. GENERAL COMMITTEE, 1880s

Name, Membership of Philanthropic Network (N)	Name, Occupation of husband or, if unmarried, father	Kin also on Committee/Board of Advice and other links between members	Age in 1880 or on joining	Religion	Number of Children
Lady Marian Allen (N)	George W., barrister/politician	husband/step-mother	46	Meth./C. of E.	10
Mrs Helen Hunter Baillie (N)	John, banker	sister	63	Pres.	0
Mrs Mary Barker (N)	Frederic, Primate/Bishop	Husbands succeeding	32	C. of E.	0
Mrs Louisa Barry (N)	Alfred, Primate/Bishop	bishops, husband	early 50s?	C. of E.	3
Mrs Jane Boyce	William, clergyman	step-daughter	54	Meth.	4 step
Mrs Mary Cowper (N)	William, archdeacon	-	mid 50s?	C. of E.	5 step
Mrs Ada Docker (N)	Wilfrid, accountant	-	early 30s?	C. of E.	0
Mrs Lucy Fairfax (N)	James, proprietor S.M.H.	husband	47	Congreg.	6
Miss Sarah Fox (N)	Henry, mariner/insurance agent	-	?	C. of E.	0
Mrs Ann Goodlet (N)	John, merchant	sisters-in-	53	Pres.	0
Mrs Annie Goodlet (N)	Alexander, accountant	law, husband	?	Pres.	?
Mrs Annie Gordon (N)	Alexander, barrister	husband political alliance with A. Stuart, F. Barker	?	C. of E.	1 at least
Mrs Emily Heron (N)	Henry, solicitor	mother/sister	36	C. of E.	6
Mrs Hannah Sydney Jones (N)	Phillip, physician-surgeon	husband	50	Congreg.	7 at least
Mrs Emmeline Macarthur (N)	Arthur, Police Commissioner	-	?	C. of E.	5

TABLE 4.6 continued

Name, Membership of Philanthropic Network (N)	Name, Occupation of husband or, if unmarried, father	Kin also on Committee/Board of Advice and other links between members	Age in 1880 or on joining	Religion	Number of Children
Miss Georgina Mackie (N)	-	sister	about 60?	Pres.	0
Lady Eliza Manning (N)	William, barrister/politician	2 daughters	mid 40s?	C. of E.	4 and 3 step
Mrs Annie O'Reilly (N)	Walter, surgeon	-	?	Meth.	1 at least
Mrs Emma Palmer (N)	Benjamin, ?/politician	-	?	Congreg.	?
Mrs Eliza Pottie (N)	John, veterinary surgeon	-	44	Pres./Quaker	6
Lady Christiana Stuart (N)	Alexander, merchant/politician	see Gordon above	about 50	C. of E.	4
Mrs Margaret Courtenay Smith (N)	professional evangelist-philanthropist	-	?	C. of E.	?

wife of the Premier, was also used to promote Y.W.C.A. interests.¹ With influence, went the wealth and status of "ladies". Signs of the latter included the lack of meetings between November to March as the women retreated from the heat of Sydney to country properties and the difficulty they experienced in finding a suitable Wesleyan Methodist, a denomination of comparatively low status, to join the committee.² As high status evangelicals, the committee members were also prominent in the evangelical philanthropic network, as also shown in Table 4.6. They used their philanthropic contacts to benefit Y.W.C.A. members and they were able to exercise patronage over the use of the convalescent homes owned by the Goodlets and James Ewan.³

The G.F.S. was also run specifically by "ladies" for girls. Their governing body until 1884 was comprised of Anglican women who were Associates.⁴ They paid a minimum yearly subscription of only 2/6 but a woman could not be an Associate unless recommended by one.⁵ There is a general paucity of information about the early years of the G.F.S.;⁶ no manuscript sources have been located, the nine founding members of the G.F.S. are not identified and the one list of Associates simply provides 286 names. Even the latter information is suspect as the number of Associates given do not always tally with the subscriptions collected.⁷ Those Associates who can be identified were generally leading parishoners or clergymen's wives.⁸ The latter were particularly important as it is probable that the approval of the

1. *ibid.*, 5 November 1885 and 11 June 1885.

2. *ibid.*, 3 July 1884.

3. Y.W.C.A., *A.R.*, 1889, p.13. See Appendix A, entries for A.Goodlet and E.Frazer.

4. G.F.S., *A.R.*, 1881-2, p.4.

5. *ibid.*, 1882-3, p.8.

6. Only the *A.R.s*, 1881-4 are available for this decade; no mss have been located which provided additional information, either in the ML, Church of England archives (Canon B. R.Horsley, pers. comm. 1979) or with the G.F.S. (Miss Haines, Diocesan Secretary, pers. comm., 3 April 1981).

7. G.F.S. Associate List, 1884; G.F.S., *A.R.*, 1881-2, pp.4,8, states Associates number 119 but their subscriptions were only £10.12.6.

8. Such as Fanny Wise and the family of Dean Cowper, Associate List, *op.cit.* See also Appendix A.

clergyman had to be obtained before a G.F.S. branch could be formed in the parish.¹

From 1883-4 further tiers were added to the structure of the G.F.S., modelled on the organisation of the Church of England. The Primate and Bishops became President and vice-Presidents but the various other committees were comprised of Associates. Of the women who have been identified, the majority were clergymen's wives and, apart from the Bishops' wives,² were not of high status. No titled woman, for example, was a member. For many the G.F.S. was their initiation, in middle age, to a major philanthropic organisation. They belonged to the broad or high church faction of the Church of England. The staunchly evangelical wife of Bishop Barker, for example, did not join, preferring instead to belong to the Y.W.C.A. As usual, however, theological differences did not reflect widely different philanthropic practice.

The Working and Factory Girls' Club was also predominantly run by women as a project of the Church of England Temperance Society Women's Union. It was a reflection of the inadequate state of ladies' education that Mr Wilfred Docker, an accountant, joined the ladies on the committee as Treasurer.³ The lack of financial expertise of women was a continuing problem for women's philanthropy - some resorted to the Club's solution, others found women with natural talents in that field or younger, better educated women, while most muddled along. Of the women running the Club only the names of the seven founders have survived. These founders were middle class women of widely varying status - from the socially elite Macleay to the lower middle class

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1. S.Willis (ed.), Enquiry into the Status of Women in the Church, Sydney, 1974, p.48, this is the current situation.
 2. These were Louisa Barry (Sydney) and Ellen Pearson (Newcastle). For the former, see Appendix A, the latter, A.D.B., vol. 5, entry for J.Pearson.
 3. See Appendix A, entry for A.Docker.

Courtenay Smith.¹ The sisters, Georgina and Mary Edwards, were the driving forces behind the Club but little is known of them.

Providing much of the managerial skills of the three organisations were the employees, especially those in charge of the respective homes. Most is known about the Y.W.C.A. employees where there are indications that the usual conflict about the duties of an employee and the rights of a "lady" occurred. Loma House, for example, had a number of "Lady Superintendents" and "Housekeepers" before the compromise employment of a "Matron". A Matron had more responsibilities and status than a housekeeper but not the prestige to challenge the committee ladies' authority. As usual, this compromise proved the most workable.² A similar clash of authority occurred when the General Secretary, Miss Laura Smith, asked for the right (as did Holden and Trollope at the Children's Hospital and Infants' Home respectively) to attend meetings. She was refused and later dismissed although she had managed the Y.W.C.A. to the extent that the ladies had to recall her to explain to them about the Y.W.C.A. Mission School, about which they knew "nothing".³ The next Secretary, Miss Sarah Fox, demanded and was granted the rare concessions of being a committee member and the authority to employ the servants.⁴ Fox was thus able to manage the Y.W.C.A. efficiently whilst leaving most of the public prestige to the committee ladies.

Organisations within the woman's sphere run by women were also predominantly financed by women. As is shown in Table 4.7, the three organisations discussed here overwhelmingly shared this characteristic. Another characteristic

1. More details are given in Appendix A.

2. Y.W.C.A., Minutes, 29 September 1881, 31 August - 7 December 1882 and Y.W.C.A., A.R., 1880-2, p.5 and 1883, p.7.

3. Y.W.C.A., Minutes, 1 November 1883, the School had been started by Smith and carried on by the daughters of committee members such as Lady Allen.

4. ibid., 3 October 1883. Fox is included in Appendix A.

TABLE 4.7

FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR PHILANTHROPIC CARE OF THE YOUNG, 1880s

Organisation, Year	Number of subscript- ions/dona- tions	Subscriptions/ donations from women (Number) (%)	Amount sub- scribed/don- ated (£ .s.d)	Amount subscribed/ donated by women (£. s. d) (%)	Work value/pay- ments by inmates/ members (£. s. d) (as % of total income)
Y.W.C.A. 1882-3 ¹	84	62 73.8	190-15-3	124- 6-0 65.2	537-8-8 63.6
1885	139*	114 82.0	210-17-3	169-19-6 80.6	591-2-0 56.8
1890	173*	136 78.6	255- 6-1	176-14-0 69.3	438-4-2 47.2
G.F.S. 1880-1	?	? 100	12-10-0 ²	12-10-0 100	11-9-0** 47.7
1883-4	?	? 100?	24- 2-3 ³	? 100?	39-1-7** 57.9
Working and Fac- tory Girls' Club 1887-8 (seven months)	35	22 62.9	78-17-0	51-12-0 65.5	8-15-9 9.9

1. This period covers 18 months. Previous available data is for the period June 1880 to June 1882 and does not distinguish members' payments from subscriptions and donations.

2. Associates' subscriptions only.

3. Associates' subscriptions and "subscriptions and donations".

* Totals exclude subscriptions for special purposes, e.g. mission work, no further details of which are available.

** Members' subscriptions only.

Note that none of the organisations raised money by separate women's fund-raising events.

of woman's sphere philanthropy was the strict attention paid to the hierarchy dividing women. All three organisations were managed by committees of ladies for girls generally of lower socio-economic standing. The latter were also strictly divided in terms of their status and class.

The hierarchical structure of the Y.W.C.A. and the G.F.S. co-existed with those organisations' aims of unity among women. The Y.W.C.A. aimed to be a "bond of union" with membership open to young women of all classes,¹ or those who could afford the 5/- per annum membership fee. Within the membership, however, differences were upheld. Domestic servants, for example, could not board at Loma House.² As well, the type of woman boarding at Loma House was restricted by the 15/6 a week charge - more than a week's wage for most working women.³ With the prompting of the British parent body newly arrived immigrants were a special interest,⁴ but priority went to shop and business girls.⁵ The interest in shop girls - very much a minority amongst working women - was partly due to their high visibility to ladies and to the claim that the occupation was more ladylike than traditional women's work. It was also due to the early closing movement for shorter shopping hours. One objection to early closing was that shop girls would only misuse leisure time. The Y.W.C.A. ladies, whose sex and class allowed them the most leisure in colonial society, equally condemned self-directed working class leisure. Night-time leisure, with all its sexual connotations, was even worse and one committee member tried to ensure that no Y.W.C.A. servant had night leave.⁶ The ladies' solution was to encourage shop girls to spend their leisure time at the Y.W.C.A. An attempt was made to persuade girls to spend

1. Y.W.C.A., A.R., 1880-2, p.3.

2. Y.W.C.A., Minutes, 1 May 1884, nurses also, but this was due to fear of disease.

3. e.g., Statistical Register of N.S.W., 1885, p.13.

4. Reinforced by co-operation with the British Women's Emigration Society and Mrs Barker, then the Bishop's widow, as head of the British Division of Colonial and Missionary Work for the Y.W.C.A.

5. Y.W.C.A., A.R., 1880-2, p.6.

6. Y.W.C.A., Minutes, 4 January 1883. A drafts board was bought to help keep the Loma House boarders in at night, ibid., 27 March 1884.

their evenings at the Y.W.C.A. and their Sundays availing themselves of the Y.W.C.A.'s "comfortable home, board, and spiritual instruction".¹

The G.F.S.'s first object was "To bind together in one Society ladies as Associates, and girls and young women as Members, for mutual help and sympathy and prayer".² The object's wording was meant literally; ladies ran the Society primarily for girls of lesser status and of a lower class. Harrison has illustrated the potency of such divisions in the British G.F.S.³ and they were as strictly upheld in N.S.W. Awareness of the need to uphold differing status levels was most obvious at the G.F.S. Lodge. There the higher status governesses were charged 15/- rather than 12/- a week, even though their pay could be lower than a servant's,⁴ and were provided with a separate table in the dining room.⁵ The G.F.S. motto was "Bear ye one another's burdens", a biblical injunction which also motivated philanthropists such as Marian Jefferis and Helen Fell.⁶ However, as Harrison has pointed out, this motto also implied that given burdens are inevitable and that they become tolerable through mutual co-operation among individuals.⁷ It also had a further implication that the type of burden was divinely allocated according to class. The lady was to alleviate the young woman's burden, and vice versa,⁸ and common burdens such as bereavements and sickness were emphasised. Yet in no sense was the lady or woman expected to bear fully the burdens of those of a different class.

A further restriction on the unifying objects of the G.F.S. was the requirement that only girls of a "virtuous

1. Y.W.C.A., A.R., 1883, p.5.

2. G.F.S., A.R., 1881-2, p.2.

3. B.Harrison, "For Church, Queen and Family", Past and Present, 61, November 1973, p.120.

4. N.S.W. Statistical Register, 1888, p.172, gives £40 per annum as the maximum's servant's wage while S.M.H., 7 April 1885, correspondent comments on the advertisements for governesses with knowledge of music and French paying £30 per annum.

5. The Dawn, 1 June 1889.

6. Cottage Home, A.R., 1884, p.5 and Fell, op.cit., 26 October 1891.

7. Harrison, "For Church", op.cit., p.130.

8. ibid., argued that G.F.S. activity gave a sense of purpose and direction to ladies' lives and so lightened their burden.

character" could join and that if such a character was "lost" then membership was forfeited.¹ This rule had been hotly debated in the British G.F.S.² but there was no apparent controversy about it in N.S.W. Such an inflexible ideal of female "purity" reassured parents and employers that members would not be influenced by disreputable "females".

In England the G.F.S. was known as a servants' society³ and it is likely that servants dominated in N.S.W. The annual member's subscription of 1/-, plus the 1/- entrance fee, was within the means of servants and the Society demonstrated a particular concern for the "servant question". Neither the Y.W.C.A. nor the G.F.S. attracted factory workers as members. The former considered such girls only suitable as objects of special missions and the latter was more interested in encouraging domestic service. Accordingly the Working and Factory Girls' Club was founded specifically for them to enjoy Club facilities, including board for 10/6 a week and recreation for 3d a week.⁴ That two of the Club founders were also Y.W.C.A. committee members suggests that at least those two organisations were designed to complement each other by catering for a different membership. The extent to which these divisions were upheld by the girls is not known although no suggestion of discontent over this issue has been found. Certainly the literary evidence of Dyson's "Fact'ry 'Ands" stories set in the 1890s suggests that status divisions were as important to working girls as to "ladies".⁵

A further characteristic of woman's sphere philanthropy was its acceptance of conservative social and economic aims, and a promotion of the values of a woman-centred home. The ideology of all three organisations conformed to this model despite their innovatory concern for working girls.

1. G.F.S. Charter, 29 July 1885, Rule 3, MLMSS 2140X.

2. Harrison, "For Church", op.cit., p.118.

3. ibid., pp. 117-8.

4. The Dawn, 15 May 1889 and C.E.T.S. Woman's Union, Semi-A.R., 1887-8, p.7.

5. E.Dyson, The Golden Shanty. Short Stories, Sydney, 1963.

The Y.W.C.A. was particularly explicit in its concern to supervise girls working outside a home. This aim was to be achieved through "family life" at Loma House where "Christian influence" was to substitute for the missing "parental guidance".¹ The Y.W.C.A.'s objects were based on the same concept of innate feminine weakness so evident in the Refuges examined in Chapter 3:

a girl's natural character is to be soft
and yielding, and consequently more liable
to succumb to temptation.... (2)

As evangelical women upholding the values of the woman's sphere, the Y.W.C.A. committee equated the influence of a middle class home with that of Christian values. Consequently those girls outside such homes were considered in need of missionary contact and the Y.W.C.A. employed first a "Bible woman" and then Miss Searle, a "missionary". Searle's work included visiting the gaol, holding evangelistic meetings and meeting third class passengers from incoming ships. Principally, however, her work was to visit shop and factory workers during their lunch breaks.³ In this work the missionary was explicitly a bearer of middle class culture and "feminine influence" as well as Christianity. Searle was instructed to influence the workers morally, spiritually and intellectually, and to encourage "an interest in household duties".⁴ Y.W.C.A. members helped in distributing tracts and clothes, finding alternative work and admitting working women to asylums and hospitals.⁵ By 1887, two women missionaries were employed and through them the Y.W.C.A. claimed personal contact with over 500 female workers.⁶ This work was promoted as being specifically within the woman's sphere; "a woman's mission to women".⁷

1. Y.W.C.A., A.R., 1887, p.13 and 1883, p.5.

2. ibid., 1880-2, p.7.

3. Y.W.C.A., Minutes, 15 April 1886.

4. Y.W.C.A., A.R., 1884, p.10.

5. ibid., 1886, p.11.

6. ibid., 1887, p.14.

7. ibid., 1887, p.13.

The G.F.S. equally accepted conservative social aims and promoted the values of a woman-centred home. Strong links have been detected between the English G.F.S. and the late-Victorian conservative revival, particularly the Primrose League.¹ In N.S.W. the party system was still emerging and such links were not so clear. However, the colonial G.F.S.'s allegiance to the prevailing structure of power was quite explicit. The general acceptance of prevailing authority was emphasised in the second object of the Society:

To encourage purity of life, dutifulness
to parents, faithfulness to employers,
and thrift. (2)

Means of achieving faithfulness to employers included "Cards of Merit" given out by the Governor's wife at the annual G.F.S. festival to those girls who had had the same employment for two or more years.³

Domestic servants remained outside the burgeoning trade union movement and the G.F.S. had the potential to unite such individuals and alert them to their common needs. However, any such potential to interfere with employer-employee relations was firmly restricted in the employers' favour. This was the rule of the English parent body and further emphasised when rules for Working (ie. rather than just financial) Associates were adopted in 1883-4. Not only were Associates "not desired" to visit members who were servants, in order "to prevent misapprehension as to interference between employers and the employed on the part of the Society",⁴ but they were to do nothing without the employer's sanction.⁵ Employers as well as parents had to approve before a servant was admitted to the G.F.S. Such was the fear of unionism by employers that these rules were not always sufficient reassurance. One employer wrote complaining that the G.F.S. had approached him and his new servant and had visited the latter at

1. Harrison, "For Church", op.cit., pp.113-5, 133.

2. G.F.S., A.R., 1881-2, p.2.

3. S.M.H.,⁸ October 1886, cf. the School of Industry's "Good Conduct" money.

4. G.F.S., A.R., 1882-3, p.11.

5. ibid., 1883-4, p.6.

his home. He queried the purpose of the G.F.S. and suggested that the Society had induced her to leave for higher wages.¹ Four indignant replies were published.² These stressed that the G.F.S. encouraged girls to lead "pure and holy lives" and did not interfere in their relations with their employers. One cautioned against competition for servants which gave them "an exaggerated idea of their own importance" and asserted that servants seldom stayed long with employers who paid high wages. The firmness of the G.F.S. alliance with employers is explained by self-interest of the Associates but was also tinged with a panic reaction to rumours which reached them about Queen Victoria. The Queen, ever a barometer of middle class fears, was reported in 1884 to share the worry of colonial employers. It was only after firm assurance that any interference in the labour market in the servants' interest was in "direct opposition" to the spirit and rules of the Society that she was persuaded not to withdraw her patronage.³ Such a move could have decimated the Society, especially as all her daughters and daughters-in-law were also G.F.S. patronesses or Associates.⁴

Female factory workers in N.S.W. were a comparatively new but rapidly increasing phenomenon and were symbolic of change, modernisation and industrialisation with all their potential for social upheaval. The Working and Factory Girls' Club aimed to contain that potential. Factory work was of particular interest to women philanthropists as it was a major competitor for domestic service. With Australian girls notoriously adverse to the lack of freedom and status of domestic service, the employment opportunities of an increasing number of factories was a serious challenge. As well, factory work was otherwise outside the influence of ladies and the middle-class home and so potentially challenged the hegemony of such

1. S.M.H., 1 April 1885, letter from "A Resident", published below an article complaining of "outside agencies" interfering in the hiring of servants.

2. ibid., 2, 8 and 9 April 1885.

3. G.F.S. of N.S.W., Quarterly Edition, August 1897, p.3.

4. S.M.H., 8 April 1885.

influence. The Club was founded as one alternative means of influencing factory girls. In addition, the Woman's Union running the Club aimed to use the girls' influence to spread the temperance gospel within their own families. Mothers and sisters were particularly urged to promote temperance within the family and to keep alcohol away from children and siblings.¹

Although the three organisations were innovatory for women's philanthropy in N.S.W., they all enjoyed at least moderate success. The work of the Y.W.C.A. continually expanded and diversified. Actual membership cannot be assessed as the only figures available just state that there were "more than" one hundred members by June 1882.² Evidence of growth, however, is seen in the formation of five Y.W.C.A. branches and the Y.W.C.A. finances. As Table 4.7³ indicates, of the three organisations it was able to attract the most subscriptions and also generally obtain at least half its income from Y.W.C.A. boarders and members. Thus by 1887, it could support a boarding house as well as salaries for a General Secretary (£75 per annum) and two missionaries (£26 per annum each). The G.F.S. lacked the financial resources of the Y.W.C.A. but had a large, state-wide membership. By 1884 G.F.S. membership was claimed to be 1,018 plus 350 Associates; the following year members and Associates were more than 1,500 and in 1886 the annual festival attracted 500-600 members.⁴ The problem of such membership claims is that they are very difficult to verify; no membership records survive and as local branches also collected membership fees, money gathered by head office is of little guide. However, organisations were unlikely to risk adverse public reaction by too great an exaggeration of membership and the G.F.S. like the Y.W.C.A. shows evidence of growth and popularity. The success of the Working and Factory Girls' Club is mainly testified by its survival.

1. C.E.T.S.W.U., Semi-A.R., 1887-8, p.9.

2. Y.W.C.A., A.R., 1880-2, p.6.

3. See above, following p.162.

4. G.F.S., A.R., 1883-4, p.8 and S.M.H., 9 April 1885 and 3 October 1886.

No records of membership or use for this decade have survived although the opening ceremony attracted about 120 factory girls.¹

The organisations succeeded because the facilities they offered met real needs. The G.F.S. Immigration Department and the Y.W.C.A.'s Travellers' Aid Department (later Society) offered working girls much needed and appreciated² help at a time when transport improvements and the strength of the British Empire encouraged unprecedented travel and migration. Classes in singing, writing, arithmetic and the bible, the "Home of Rest", the Registry (employment) departments, the literature distributed, the G.F.S. Savings Funds (General and Sick), the boarding houses and probably above all, the recreational and social facilities, offered services that were welcome and otherwise scarce. In a real sense they were alternatives to trade unions. As Markey has argued, such organisations thrived because of the gap left by trade unions.³ The unions, as Louisa Lawson so bitterly experienced when setting up her all-woman paper The Dawn in 1888, predominantly viewed women as cheap competition for male labour.⁴ It cannot be argued that the philanthropists showed much more understanding of the needs of women workers. The Y.W.C.A., for example, proudly reported that a widow had been provided with a mangle in order "to maintain herself, mother and two children"⁵ and the help they offered was clearly lacking, even for the "distressed gentlewomen" they understood better.⁶ However, whilst the philanthropists did not transcend class interest they did provide needed facilities that the working women's own class organisations, the trade unions, failed to provide.

1. C.E.T.S.W.U., Semi-A.R., 1887-8, p.7.

2. e.g., Fell, op.cit., 22 April 1890.

3. Markey, op.cit., p.16. See also Summers, op.cit., p.354.

4. See also, E.Fry, The Condition of the Urban Wage Earning Class in Australia in the 1880s, Ph.D., A.N.U., 1956, esp. pp. 520-1.

5. Y.W.C.A., A.R., 1888, p.12.

6. ibid., 1883, p.6.

By 1889, the three organisations catering specifically for adolescents had established themselves as successful and important to woman's sphere philanthropy. They had proved the viability of women's organisations exercising social control and offering philanthropic facilities to young women. It was a success that women philanthropists expanded upon in the following decades.

Adolescent girls were not only new objects of women's philanthropy but they were also increasingly utilised as philanthropists. The young in general and girls in particular were recognised as a fruitful source of funds and a means of spreading philanthropic ideals. The importance of children as a source of philanthropic finance had steadily grown in London-based evangelical philanthropy during the century.¹ During the 1880s, the same trend was evident in Sydney although largely confined to girls.² The subscription lists of the Hospital for Sick Children is one demonstration of this trend. While in 1881 children only contributed through Sunday Schools, by 1890 they also held a bazaar (£64), concert (£186-17-8) and contributed through seven "Ladies' Schools".³ Girls' schools became increasingly prominent as philanthropy served a dual purpose of gaining favourable publicity and reinforcing the lessons of desirable behaviour in those who aspired to be ladies. For the latter reason the Superior Girls' School at Crown Street, one avenue of social mobility for girls, figured prominently in philanthropic subscription lists. In 1883, for example, it donated to the Infants' Home, inter alia, 84 babies dresses, 68 chemises and 44 pairs of boots.⁴

The young also came to be used to spread philanthropic

1. Prochaska, op.cit., ch.111.

2. The material in ibid., suggests that this was also so in England although Prochaska does not make the distinction.

3. Hospital for Sick Children, A.R., 1881, p.11 and 1890, pp.6-7.

4. Infants' Home, A.R., 1883, p.12.

ideals. As the development of children's opinions was part of the woman's sphere such propaganda efforts were also within the woman's sphere. The clearest attempt to utilise children in this way was by the N.S.W. Animals' Protection Society.¹ The Society was small, dominated by government and semi-government officials and chiefly concerned with the mistreatment of horses and cattle. This work was left to men but a Woman's Branch was founded to propagandise to (chiefly working class) children. Miss Frances Levvy edited a magazine "Band of Mercy"² which was distributed amongst Public School children. The problem for the male run society was that the women took their woman's sphere rights seriously. The men recognised work with children as "no doubt ... the work of the gentler sex" and praised "those benevolent ladies".³ This was not enough for the women. They were conscious of being within their sphere and wished to increase their effectiveness.⁴ Such independence was unacceptable to the Society and in the next decade the women seceded, forming their own Women's Society for the Protection of Animals. For male philanthropists, it was always a danger that once women were granted minor roles in philanthropy that their success would embolden them to demand more power and autonomy. Such conflicts were surprisingly rare and generally contained - as at the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, for example - by constituting only a small women's committee largely comprised of the men's wives and families.

A development which also broadened the scope of woman's sphere philanthropy was the explosion in the number of nuns in the colony. The 1880 Education Act withdrew government

1. Founded as the N.S.W. Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, A.R., 1873-4, and by 1882 renamed the N.S.W. Animals' Protection Society.

2. The Dawn, 1 June 1889.

3. N.S.W. Animals' Protection Society, A.R., 1889-90, p.10.

4. S.M.H., 31 July 1890, the women wished, for example, to emulate the Philadelphia Women's Branch and open a Dog's Home.

aid to denominational schools, schools considered by the Catholic church as essential in passing on their faith. Therefore an immense effort was made to ensure the continuing functioning of Catholic schools. A part of this effort was the use of unpaid labour to teach in the schools: that of nuns. One consequence for Catholic philanthropy was that seven orders of nuns founded specifically for charitable purposes were diverted into educational pursuits. A second consequence was a drive to recruit more nuns and to a lesser extent, male religious, for N.S.W. schools. This drive resulted in an enormous increase in the numbers of religious in the colony. Between 1884 and 1889 the numbers of nuns in Sydney nearly doubled to 488 (cf. 236 male religious).¹ Whilst the primary purpose of these nuns was to staff parish schools, most orders also maintained a commitment to philanthropy. Whilst orders of nuns with a traditional interest in philanthropy were diverted into teaching so too were teaching orders coming into the archdiocese and also engaging in philanthropy.

A further development in 1883 had great symbolic as well as practical effect on the Catholic community. The death of Archbishop Vaughan heralded the end of Anglo-Benedictinism dominating the Sydney see. In 1884 Moran (from 1885, Cardinal) became Archbishop and soon established close ties with the majority of his flock who, like himself, were of Irish descent. Moran also pursued a policy of vigorous expansion aimed at creating a more self-sufficient community amongst the approximately 130,000 Catholics in Sydney (by 1889).² It was a policy that was doomed without the extensive, dedicated and cheap labour of nuns.

The primary emphasis on education and the belief by leading Catholic laity that colonial poverty was minimal and well-provided for by the government³ inhibited Catholic

1. O'Farrell, Catholic Church and Community, op.cit., p.241 and The Australasian Catholic Directory, 1889, p.78.

2. loc.cit.

3. O'Farrell, Catholic Church and Community, op.cit., p.254.

philanthropy. Nevertheless, six new philanthropic institutions for children were founded during the 1880s by four orders of nuns. The institutions are summarised in Table 4.5 and reveal two dominating characteristics of Catholic philanthropy for children. It was run along traditional institutional lines and was managed by nuns, not the laity.

The Sisters of Joseph of the Sacred Heart was an Australian foundation welcomed to the Sydney archdiocese as a teaching order but which also established philanthropic institutions. The Order was a controversial one as the founders fought first to establish it and then to preserve its autonomy against the encroachments of the Bishops.¹ The Order's resources in Sydney were severely taxed; by 1889 there were 103 Sisters spread among 18 communities, an average of just under six nuns per community.² Nevertheless, the Order established first its St. Joseph's Providence Home then St. Martha's Industrial School and Home for Girls. Such dedicated efforts by nuns to meet what they saw as their philanthropic obligations accounted for much of the pride Catholics felt in their sisterhoods.³ The Sisters of St. Joseph attempted to assist as many women and children as possible; adult men were excluded as outside the woman's sphere. Accordingly their Providence Home catered for destitute children and old and infirm women.⁴ Later the boys were transferred to another orphanage the Order founded at Kincumber, near Gosford. St. Martha's was an industrial school for "Servant Girls learning trades"⁵ with needlework a speciality. It aimed to train the girls as servants or seamstresses. Such work avoided competition with the

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1. F.O'Grady, "Mary McKillop and the Teaching Order of St. Joseph", J.R.A.H.S., 61:1, 1975.
 2. Australasian Catholic Directory, 1889, p.73.
 3. e.g., J.Thomas, "An Australian Order", Victorian Review, V11:XXXIX, January 1883, p.240.
 4. Australasian Catholic Directory, 1886, p.67. Only those children old enough to work were admitted, Infants' Home, Minutes, 14 February 1881.
 5. Australasian Catholic Directory, 1889, p.10.

laundries of the other Catholic charities and allowed the nuns to tap a ready market for ecclesiastical sewing. As with other institutions examined in this thesis there was little difference in the basic aims in Catholic childrens' institutions and those run by the state or Protestants. The choice of St. Martha as patron saint and role model for the girls was particularly revealing of that institution's aims. Martha was rebuked by Jesus for her engrossment in domestic work (Luke 10:38-42) but she was venerated as a model for active (cf. contemplative) female Christianity. The girls at St. Martha's were to follow her devotion to domesticity and Christianity. Ironically, the Order's co-founder, Mother Mary McKillop, was a vigorous and capable administrator who dared ex-communication and the lasting wrath of Bishops in the running of her Order. Such actions and character were far removed from the ideal of St. Martha.

Similar institutions to St. Martha's were the Good Samaritan Sisters' Manly Orphanage and Industrial School and the Sisters of Charity's St. Anne's Orphanage. Both institutions broadened the scope of the Orders' previous work and aimed to protect the inmates from the perceived evils of state welfare. The Manly institution, like St. Martha's, was an alternative to the state Girls' Industrial School and after the closure of the Catholic Orphanage, to boarding out.¹ St. Anne's Orphanage was both founded to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Sisters of Charity's Australian foundation and a somewhat belated gesture against the closure of the Catholic Orphanage.² As alternatives to boarding out they upheld the fitness of nuns, not lay women, to bring up destitute children but what was in dispute remained confined to method not aims. The aims of the Catholic institutions and boarding-out were similar. Key-stones of the girls'

1. (anon.), "Story of the Institute...", op.cit., p.65, previously Moran had sent 26 children from Manly to the Parramatta Orphanage in an effort to prevent its closure.
2. Sisters of Charity, Annals, vol.11, p.111.

training at Manly, for example, were "tidy habits, gentleness, order and strict cleanliness" to be learnt not through a family, but by laundry work, cooking, needlework and religious duties.¹ The virtue of labour had an added incentive at Manly - the School opened with only three nuns and a debt of £3,080.² An annual ball was held to help pay off the debt, donations were solicited from the public, and fees demanded for the children but the proceeds of the inmates' work was vital to the continuation of the School.³

One of the purposes of the nuns' philanthropy was to protect the Catholic poor from the clutches not only of the state but also Protestant-dominated charities. The latter prompted the Sisters of Charity to open a home for blind girls within St. Anne's Orphanage and the Sisters of the Little Company of Mary to establish another such home within their Petersham convent.⁴ Despite the Sisters' lack of training in work with the blind, their schools ensured that no longer would blind girls have to be cared for privately or admitted to the evangelical-dominated N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind. The assumption that the sexes were best segregated and the inappropriateness of boys residing within a convent meant that blind boys were excluded from the nuns' work. There was, however, another loophole through which Catholic children could be exposed to the "horrors" of Protestantism and secularism. This was the supposed fate of sick Catholic children and again the problem was solved by the use of nuns as the Sisters of the Little Company of Mary founded the Children's Hospital of the Holy Child.⁵ The Little Company of Mary had arrived in Sydney

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1. Sisters of the Good Samaritan, Annals, op.cit., p.90.
 2. ibid., pp.89-90.
 3. (anon.), Good Samaritan Annals, op.cit., p.90 and Infants' Home, Minutes, 18 October 1887. Further details are unavailable as no mss records for St. Martha's (or St. Anne's) have been found in the appropriate Order's or the Church's archives.
 4. UBI Caritas (binder's title), All Saint's Review, Liverpool, 2:8, September 1978, p.119. Held at St. Vincent's Information Centre, Pott's Point.
 5. E.G.McMahon, "The Pioneers of Lewisham Hospital", A.C.H.S.J., 4:2, 1973 and D.Wordley, No One Dies Alone, Sydney, 1976.

in 1885 and such was the popularity of nursing that by 1888, despite losing two of the original six sisters, the Order had doubled its numbers.¹ The Children's Hospital was the Order's major work in Sydney and helped meet the increasing demand for hospital services.

Little is known about the majority of the nuns who carried the burden of Catholic philanthropy. Seven of the most prominent are identified in Table 4.8. The information presented in that table reveals that the leading nuns, like their lay counterparts, continued to come from the middle class and to have family support. In one major respect they differed from lay philanthropists: none were over fifty. Significantly, the two oldest nuns were members of the oldest Orders. Conditions for the nuns were spartan and frequently unhealthy and the nuns who emigrated to Australia to found new communities were required to be particularly hardy and young. Thus the founding sisters of the Little Company of Mary ranged in age from 20 to only 36 years.² Even so one sister died from tuberculosis - a common complaint of both nuns and servants and indicative of the living conditions of both - and another was sent home suffering from a nervous breakdown.³ In the older Orders, however, lack of adaptability to Sydney's climate seriously impaired the nuns' health. Minor concessions to the climate were made but individual nuns resisted them as encouragement of human frailty. Sister M. Gertrude Keen of the Sisters of Charity, for example, strongly disapproved of the abandonment of the rule that all convent windows be shut from 5pm. Regardless of the heat she sternly closed any windows open after that time.⁴ The rigours of the Sisters' living conditions and work coupled with such environmental rigidity did much to ensure that aged, active nuns were, as Table 4.8 indicates, a rarity.

1. Australasian Catholic Directory, 1888, p.63.

2. Wordley, op.cit., p.23.

3. ibid., p.30.

4. Sisters of Charity, Short Lives op.cit., p.72.

TABLE 4.8

ROMAN CATHOLIC NUNS PROMINENT IN PHILANTHROPY FOR CHILDREN, 1880s.

Title	Order	Religious Name	Secular Name	Family support	Age in 1880 or when position assumed	Social background
Superior-General (to 1885)	Sisters of St. Joseph	Mother Mary of the Cross	Mary Helen McKillop	Help with Order from immediate family	38	Australian lower middle class; teacher
Superior-General	Sisters of the Good Samaritan	Mother Mary Magdalen	Mary Ann Adamson	Relative of Archbishop Polding	48	English middle class
Superior of Industrial School	as above	Mother Mary Elizabeth O'Toole	Elizabeth? O'Toole	?	?	Irish?
Superior-General	Sisters of Charity	Mother Mary Francis McGuigan	Brigid McGuigan	?	(1882) 39	Australian
Rectress St. Anne's Orphanage	as above	Mother Mary Vincent	Catherine Carroll	Brother Vicar-General; niece (see below)	47	Irish
Rectress St. Anne's Orphanage	as above	Mother Mary Aquin	Maria (or Mary) Helen Bourke	Mother M. Vincent's niece	(1888) 34	Australian middle class; teacher
Superior	Sisters of the Little Company of Mary	Mother Mary Raphael Byrne Farrar	? Farrar	?	(1885) 23	?

Women's philanthropy in the 1880s branched out into new areas by working with adolescents, carrying the increasing weight of Catholic ambition and also through the complex influence of George Ardill. Ardill's active career only ceased with his death in 1945 and from the 1880s he was highly successful in mobilising women behind his philanthropic schemes. He has been characterised as a Christian philanthropist who acted "without regard to reward or consequence".¹ Such was his charisma and dedication that this interpretation is offered without reference to the basic fact that he earned his and his family's living from the proceeds of his charity. Ardill can best be understood as a successful philanthropist in the mould of the Lucases and Scotts (City Night Refuge/Bileola Schools and Lisgar School respectively) as well as the Booths of the Salvation Army. The key to his character lies in this decade in which he first emerged from obscurity. The 1880s was a time of increasing influence exerted by middle class women, of evangelical "armies" and most importantly, fervent entrepreneurial activity that characterised the "land boomers".² Ardill had the mentality of the "land boomer" and applied it to evangelical philanthropy.³

Ardill, with a typical passion for founding new enterprises, formed a number of organisations to help children during this decade. All relied on the assistance of women. The best known was the Blue Ribbon Gospel Army, modelled on

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1. Dickey, No Charity ..., op.cit., p.110. Broad agreement with this interpretation is seen in A.O'Brien, "The Lesser Charities in Sydney 1880-1918", Australian History Association's Conference on the History of Social Welfare, Flinders University, September 1978 and A.D.B., vol.3, entry for G.Ardill. I am indebted to Heather Radi for her more detailed draft of ibid.
 2. M.Cannon, The Land Boomers, Melbourne, 1966.
 3. The Rev. Mr Thornton, a successor of Ardill's at the S.R.W.S., generously shared his ideas and helped greatly in the formulating of this interpretation without wholly sharing my views.

the English organisation of the same name.¹ The Army concerned itself with philanthropy, evangelism and temperance and particularly aimed at converting women and children. It opened a number of institutions for adults, examined in the following chapter, and Our Children's Home.² Comparatively little is known about the Army in this decade and after two years, in 1885, it was still not very large.³ Ardill was in charge and the Army evangelist Mrs E.M.E. Browne was vice-President until she married and moved to Melbourne.⁴ Internal dissatisfaction with the leadership existed⁵ but still Ardill managed to attract the support of Lady Loftus, the Governor's wife, and a number of prominent evangelical women.⁶ No financial details of the Army survive although if such records did exist they would be of dubious value owing to what Dickey has described as Ardill's "exiguous accounting".⁷ All that is known is that Ardill was bold and inventive in his financial approach with innovations such as "Rescue Sunday" where collectors solicited donations from the public along major roads. He was able to raise £287.7.9 in 1887 for Our Children's Home and relied heavily on large donations from wealthy supporters such as F.K. Olliver who donated that Home's land and buildings.⁸

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1. K.Inglis, The Churches and the Working Classes, London, 1964, p.181; The Bulletin, 5 January 1884; Blue Ribbon Gospel Army, Report, April-October 1885, p.3 and Royal Commission into Public Charities, Third Report, N.S.W.L.A. V. & P., 1899 (2nd session), vol.1, evidence p.10.
 2. Blue Ribbon Gospel Army, op.cit., 1886-7, pp.2-4 and ibid., 1887, p.2. With his typical flair for publicity, Ardill announced the Home's "launching" some years before it opened.
 3. S.M.H., 11 June 1885.
 4. Blue Ribbon Gospel Army, op.cit., 1885-6, p.4. S.M.H., 4 September 1884 confused her with Mrs W.C.Browne, founder of the Hospital for Sick Children.
 5. At one stage the Army at Balmain split from Ardill's organisation, unidentified newspaper cutting, n.d., in Ardill's Newspaper Cutting Book, S.R.W.S.headquarters, Burwood.
 6. S.M.H., 4 September 1884, supporters mentioned in Appendix A include Manning, Laidley, Mort and Clarke.
 7. Dickey, Ph.D., op.cit., pp.293, 294n.
 8. S.M.H., 4 November 1885 and Blue Ribbon Gospel Army, op.cit., 1885-6, p.3 and 1887, p.2.

Our Children's Home was an alternative to boarding out but the grounds of Ardill's opposition to boarding out is not known, apart from a general dislike of any organisation he himself did not control. In part his opposition may have stemmed from his highly publicised conviction that children in government run institutions, notably the Girls' Industrial School, the Girls' Reformatory and the Vernon, were either mistreated or, in the latter case, trained to be criminals and homosexuals.¹ His female supporters were doubtlessly mollified by Ardill's assertion that his Home was not an impersonal institution but run on "family lines" and modelled, as Jefferis claimed of her Cottage Home,² on Dr Barnardo's work in London.³

Another project of Ardill and his supporters was the Society for Providing Homes for Neglected Children, founded in 1886. This Society established Our Babies' Home, which appears to have been a grandiose name for a section for infants in Ardill's home for unmarried mothers and prostitutes, the Home of Hope.

In all his ventures, Ardill retained control as "Director" whilst his supporters were in subordinate positions. One woman later vital to his enterprises was his wife Louisa.⁴ She and her family were employed by various organisations controlled by Ardill⁵ but in 1885, on marrying Ardill, she gave up her employment as a Blue Ribbon Army evangelist and was pre-occupied by her children, born in 1886 and 1889. It was only the very wealthy women, confident of their employees, who were able to devote themselves to philanthropy whilst also having responsibility for young children.

The majority of Ardill's philanthropic enterprises impinged upon the areas of concern within the woman's sphere.

1. Ardill's Newspaper Cutting Book, op.cit., pp.71-86.

2. Cottage Home, op.cit., 1880, pp.7-8.

3. Blue Ribbon Gospel Army, op.cit., 1886-7, p.2.

4. See Appendix A.

5. e.g., D.T., 5 February 1889, Mr Wales was missionary for the Aborigines' Protection Association of which Ardill was Secretary.

His success lay not only in his own dedication and charisma but also in his ability to control and direct evangelical women philanthropists. Ardill's work is further explored in Part 111; this section simply traces the beginnings of a career which made an enormous impact on philanthropy in general and women's philanthropy in particular.

A final aspect of women's philanthropy for the young relates to the membership of the lay organisations examined in this chapter. In the 1870s such organisations were dominated by a comparatively small number of predominantly evangelical women. This evangelical domination of lay organisations did not cease in the 1880s and there is evidence of the continuing importance of a network of women who dominated philanthropy through their multiple memberships. Individual women could exert a powerful and unifying influence. As summarised in Appendix A, such women included Eliza Pottie who was a member, usually on the executive, of nine organisations and an active supporter of one other; Ann Goodlet a member, and also usually on the executive, of eight organisations and Eleanor Stephen and her daughter and daughters-in-law, who were members of seven organisations, two of them having three members each of the family. Table 5.6¹ shows that the organisations for the young examined in this chapter had at least 20% of members also belonging to one of the other organisations. On average, the organisations had over one half of their members also representing another organisation. The 1880s was a period of expansion in women's philanthropy but philanthropic power within the woman's sphere was still dominated by a small network of dedicated, generally evangelical, "ladies".

The 1880s was a period of almost unalloyed success and expansion for women's philanthropic efforts for the young. Women - or more usually "ladies" - were widely acknowledged

1. See below, Chapter 5, following p.232.

as having rights and unique expertise within the woman's sphere. Women's influence in the philanthropic care of the young was most powerfully recognised with the formation of the S.C.R.B. Women's philanthropy, however, not only increased in influence but also in scope as is evidenced particularly by the organisations catering for adolescent girls and the increased activities of nuns. The strength of the woman's sphere in the 1880s is also evident in the other organisations examined in this chapter - from Holden's passionate defence of the concept at the Children's Hospital to Ardill's first mobilisation of women to build his own philanthropic "empire". The power of the woman's sphere concept and the influence it gave women philanthropists was, as argued in the following chapter, equally evident in women's philanthropic activities for adults in the 1880s.