

PART III: The 1890s

Chapter 7

PHILANTHROPIC CARE OF THE YOUNG: FROM THE LADY AND
TOWARDS THE MOTHER

Kindergarten work was ... specially needful for the poor - those children of busy mothers, who have neither ... time nor training to look after their little ones.... To prevent the first germs of vice ..., to inculcate good habits and desire for work ... and appreciation of the beautiful in nature and art,... (1)

(a) The Challenge of the 1890s

By 1890, as outlined in Chapter 4 and Table 7.1, there were a wide range of philanthropic services for the young which involved women in their management. These women were recruited from a relatively small number of families and were identified as ladies. As ladies, they were almost universally accorded recognition for their expertise in philanthropy within the woman's sphere. There seemed little reason why their influence and expertise should not continue to consolidate and expand. By 1900, however, the influence of philanthropic ladies was rarely given as the solution to social problems. The change was marked by the differences in the Royal Commissions into Public Charities of 1873-4 and 1898-9. The solution of the former, implemented in the 1880s, was non-institutional child care managed by ladies. The latter upheld the S.C.R.B. but primarily urged more government control. None of the recommendations relevant to child care referred to the role of ladies.² As a solution to social problems, ladies had become largely irrelevant, although they were still active in philanthropy and, as shown in Table 7.2, in founding new means of

1. Kindergarten Union of N.S.W., A.R., 1895-6, p.5.

2. Royal Commission on Public Charities, Fifth Report, N.S.W.L.A., V. & P., 1899 (3rd session), vol.5, summarises these recommendations.

TABLE 7.1 PRIVATE PHILANTHROPIC ORGANISATIONS/INSTITUTIONS FOR THE YOUNG IN SYDNEY INVOLVING
WOMEN, FOUNDED BY 1890: SUMMARY OF CHANGE.

Name (*Institutions which acted as alternatives to the S.C.R.B.)	Number of inmates/ members by 31-12-1899	Changes
Sydney Female School of Industry *	31	Merged 1927 with Church of England Homes/ from 1903, located at Petersham
N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind	112	-
Lisgar Training School for Domestic Servants *	24	Merged 1899 with Bethany Children's Home/ various inner-city locations
Hospital for Sick Children	49	From 1904, Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children/ from 1906, located at Camperdown
Y.W.C.A.	(Sydney members 1901, 1,061)	-
G.F.S.	(by 1911; 1,394 in NSW)	-
St. Joseph's Providence Home *	86	-
Orphanage and Industrial School *	123	From 1914, Immaculate Conception Industrial School, at Balmain
Our Babies' Home * (Ardill)	25	From 1890, Creche in city for infants of employed mothers / from 1894, again Our Babies' Home (Enmore). Subsidy during 1893-9.
Our Children's Home * (Ardill)	26	Subsidy 1893-9
St. Martha's Industrial School and Home for Girls *	54	-
St. Anne's Orphanage * and Home for the Female Blind	(31-12-1898, 78)	-
Working and Factory Girls' Club	(July 1898, maximum 350)	C.E.T.S.W.U. in charge until 1891/ then women's committee and male council, dominated by Misses Edwards. Located Redfern from 1901. Closed 1906 after unsuccessful attempt to merge with Y.W.C.A.
Children's Hospital of the Holy Child	13 (including women)	From 1892, Lewisham Hospital for Women and Children
Blind Institution	8	By 1897, St. Patrick's Industrial School for the Blind; located Lewisham; boys up to 8 years old admitted. Closed 1904.

TABLE 7.2

MAJOR PHILANTHROPIC INSTITUTIONS/ORGANISATIONS FOR THE YOUNG INVOLVING WOMEN,

FOUNDED IN THE 1890s

Name, Year founded	Location	Category of In-mates/members	Number of inmates/members 31-12-1899	Management, subsidy granted (S)
Our Boys' Farm Homes*, 1890 (one Home only) (Ardill)	Camden	destitute, neglected boys	10	S.P.C.C./advisory Ladies' Committee (S, 1893-9) ¹
Ministering Children's League/by 1896 Ministering Children's Fresh Air League/by 1900, Fresh Air League ² , 1891	city/country locations	"weak" or "delicate"	(Summer 1900-1, 110 and 119 adults)	Ladies' Committee (Rail concessions granted)
Mater Misericordiae Home for Girls (previously Catholic Female Home?), 1891	city locations	"respectable" servant girls	30	Sisters of Mercy
Infants' and Children's Guild Home/from 1893, Bethany Children's Home/ from 1899, "Lisgar" Church of England Deaconess Children's Home*, 1893	various inner city locations	poor or destitute	36 ("Bethany") 24 ("Lisgar")	Women's Industrial Guild/from 1893 Deaconess Institution
Home for Waifs and Strays/ by 1894, Dalmar Children's Home,* 1893	city/from 1899, Croydon	eligible for adoption	22	Central Methodist Mission Ladies Committee/ Sisters of the People (S, 1897-1904)
Jewish Girls' Guild, 1894	from Great Synagogue	"distressed" or sick	?	Ladies' Committee
Kindergarten Union of N.S.W., 1895	Woolloomooloo; Newtown; The Rocks	3-6 years old	(July 1899, at least 158)	Predominantly Ladies' Council (Grant 1899)
Orphanage*, 1893	Waverley/ from 1895, Chatswood	orphaned girls	?	Community of the Sisters of the Church ("Kilburn Sisters")

TABLE 7.2 continued

Name, Year founded	Location	Category of In-mates/members	Number of inmates/members 31-12-1899	Management, subsidy granted (S)
St.Aloysius Boys' Home/ from 1893 St.Vincent's Boys' Home* 1891	various inner- city locations	destitute boys	76	Society of St.Vincent de Paul/from 1896 Marist Brothers / Advisory Ladies' Committee (S)
Orphanage of Our Lady of Mercy* 1899	Ryde	destitute/ servants	39	Sisters of Mercy
Foundling Hospital 1899	Waitara	foundlings	82	Sisters of Mercy

1. Officially granted to the S.R.W.S., Royal Commission, 1898-9, Third Report, op.cit., p.viii.
 2. By 1911, a separate Ministering Children's League also operated, J.Carlile Fox, The Social Workers' Guide for Sydney & New South Wales, Sydney, 1911, pp.17,22.
- * Institutions which acted as alternatives to the S.C.R.B.

caring for the young. Belief in the validity of a separate woman's sphere remained but confidence in the powers of ladies over that sphere was largely shattered. The explanation for this change can be largely found in two related phenomena: the depression and the rise of the "new woman".

There are few reliable indicators to measure the distress of the 1890s depression but the widespread and traumatic repercussions are clear. Philanthropic organisations and government agencies were inundated with appeals - and demands - for aid as the number of the poor was swelled by the unemployed. The most powerless were the children who could understand little of the shattering changes around them: the great strikes of 1890; the massive unemployment and most abrupt of all, the bank crashes of 1893. The latter wiped out the savings of many of the "respectable" thrifty, assumed to be free from the spectre of poverty. The crashes, more than any other single event, challenged the notion that hard work and thrift would be awarded by material comfort.¹

The general stance of the colonial governments was that no interference in the economy could be allowed. However, it was obvious that existing philanthropic measures could not cope with the new, overwhelming clamour for aid at a time when less was contributed to philanthropic organisations. It was commonplace for observers to assert in 1890 that poverty was minimal and could be solved by better-funded ladies' church committees.² By the end of the decade such opinions were rarely heard from those who had witnessed the inadequacy of such committees to meet large-scale distress. In addition, Australia had a tradition of government intervention in a wide range of functions.³ The result was a reluctant and gradual increase in state intervention. Such measures were particularly aimed at restricting to manageable proportions the need for philanthropy. They

1. See, e.g., C.M.H.Clark, A History of Australia, vol.5, Melbourne, 1981, pp.90-100 and T.A.Coghlan, Labour and Industry in Australia, vol.3, [1918], Melbourne, 1969, pp.1633-80.

2. e.g., J.Haslam, A Glimpse of Australian Life, Sydney, 1890, p.121.

3. Kewley, op.cit., p.5.

included a range of health care measures¹; increased subsidisation, with subsequent inspection and control, of charities²; the Children's Protection Act of 1892 which gave magistrates the power (which many had previously exercised de facto) to commit children to charitable institutions as well as providing for the control of baby farming³; that Act's amendment in 1900 which, inter alia, further restricted the employment of children; the campaign to introduce old age and invalid pensions and a range of industrial measures to improve working conditions. Generally, these measures were supported by philanthropists as complementary efforts to fulfil the same aims. Both the state and private philanthropists continued the emphasis on anti-pauperisation; rural virtues ("toil on the soil")⁴; social stability and the desirability of working class girls becoming domestic servants. Co-operation between the state and philanthropists continued, as examined below, in the S.C.R.B. It was also evident in other specific instances. Rose Scott, the reformer who considered charity "rather unsatisfactory"⁵, has been acclaimed for her role in drafting the Early Closing Act of 1899⁶. Women committed to the charitable role, however, were equally strong supporters of that Act⁷. In addition, the Working and Factory Girls' Club committee recognised its inadequacy in face of its members' "many a ... sad and untimely death" and the "vice and misery" that produced "wild and reckless" rather than "steady and respectable girls"⁸. A Club sub-committee accordingly had their suggestions incorporated in the Factory and Shop Act of 1896. It was hoped that the Act would result in a marked improvement in the girls' home as well as working life⁹. In such ways state intervention was perceived as a necessary adjunct to the philanthropy of ladies.

1. C.Thame, Health and the State, Ph.D., A.N.U., 1974, esp.ch.1.

2. Horsburgh, Subsidy and Control, op.cit.

3. S.C.R.B., A.R., 1891-2, p.2 and Department of Charitable Institutions, A.R., 1891, p.13 and 1893, p.4.

4. This apt summary is Mackellar's, Interstate Congress of Workers, Dependent Children, Adelaide, 1909, p.139.

5. Quoted in Eldershaw, op.cit., p.93. Scott, nevertheless, was a member of the Kindergarten Union, see Appendix A.

6. e.g., ibid., p.95.

7. e.g., Y.W.C.A., Minutes, 18 June 1896, expressing support for a deputation favouring Early Closing headed by Lucy Darley.

8. Working and Factory Girls' Club, A.R., 1894-5, p.4.

9. ibid., 1896-7, p.3.

The depression also had a marked effect on the availability of women who could devote themselves to philanthropy. While it is impossible to calculate the numbers of women who were philanthropists in the 1890s, the numbers of women in Sydney in the age cohort 30-70 increased from 55,288 in 1891 to 86,092 in 1901.¹ These women were in the age group, as demonstrated by the biographical tables and Appendix A, most likely to engage in philanthropy.

However, philanthropy as traditionally practised by ladies, was essentially a luxury activity for those who had time and money left over from the care and upkeep of themselves and their family. The depression thinned the ranks of such women unevenly but considerably. The working class was the most affected by the depression and some contemporaries thought unemployment exclusively affected that class.² Yet the middle class also suffered from the depression and in ways which affected their philanthropy. For the wealthiest, the depression simply meant some reductions in a luxurious life-style. The ladies of the S.C.R.B., the School of Industry and Y.W.C.A. experienced "hardship" in the reduction of their overseas holidays and apparently had little trouble maintaining their philanthropic commitments. Of the School of Industry ladies, for example, three left for European holidays in 1893,³ the worst year of the depression for their class. At the other extreme, the savings and security of middle class women were completely destroyed. Laura Hogg, after a life's work of house to house visitation, hotel visiting (for temperance), looking up "the lost ones" and mothers', cottage and gospel meetings was forced to ask that she now be given a "small salary". It had, she told her "Beloved Sisters" of the W.C.T.U., pleased God to alter her outward circumstances so she could no longer carry on in a voluntary capacity.⁴

1. Census of N.S.W., 1891, pp.8-9 and 1901, pp.16-7.

2. e.g., S.C.R.B., A.R., 1894-5, p.4.

3. School of Industry, A.R., 1893, p.6.

4. Laura E. Hogg, letter to the W.C.T.U., 16 December 1891, loose in Minute Book, W.C.T.U., 1891.

More typical of the experience of the lady philanthropist was that of Helen Fell. None of the banks in which she had money crashed¹, yet even so her annual income declined from at least £1,000 to £600.² To maintain her own and, perhaps most importantly to her, her children's lifestyle, required a reduction in philanthropic giving. Her trustee and brother-in-law insisted that she recognise this: "You cannot afford to help others Deny yourself that luxury until better times come around".³ This attitude was quite typical of the middle class response to the depression and cannot be equated with a lack of sympathy, especially for those who previously had been well-to-do.⁴ Given that there was irrefutable and widespread poverty, two primary duties still remained: the care of one's own family and "Kindness to those who are brought into contact with you".⁵ The scarce resources available for philanthropy re-inforced anti-pauperisation theory: it was even more necessary to reject "these picturesque cases of deserved distress ... [usually of] rogues and imposters". Instead, the deserving poor should be cared for and recognition given to "the heroic struggle of decent people who hide their troubles from view".⁶ The catch being, if troubles were hidden they could rarely be aided and those who did not hide their troubles were, ipso facto, undeserving.⁷

The depression lessened the ability of ladies such as Fell to engage in philanthropy but there was also an increased desire by women to be philanthropists. For some, the overwhelming extent of the poverty resulted in a humanitarian response to alleviate suffering. Women such as Sydney City Missionary Mrs Spear, redoubled their efforts as they witnessed suffering and misery knowing, as in one case, that "OVER WORK AND UNDER FEEDING KILLED THAT WOMAN!".⁸

1. James Anderson to Helen Fell, Fell Papers, 3 July 1893.

2. ibid., 4 and 25 September 1893.

3. ibid., 7 August 1893. See also 4 September 1893.

4. cf. The compassion of the S.M.H., 14 June 1896 for the "lingering agony" of those who had previously "occupied positions of competence", quoted in B.Dickey, "Charity in N.S.W.", J.R.A.H.S., 52:1, March 1966, p.21.

5. Anderson, op.cit., 4 December 1893.

6. loc.cit.

7. cf. Kennedy, "Charity and Ideology", op.cit., p.20.

8. Sydney City Mission, A.R., 1897-8, p.15.

For others, the motivation was fear and a perception of the increased need for social control. Such feelings arose from what one observer called "the tide of democracy, which is threatening to swallow up everything respectable in the colony".¹ Ruling class fears were fuelled by such measures as the payment of parliamentarians (1889), the acceptance of the principle of one man, one vote (1893), the introduction of land and income taxes and, most frightening of all, the spectacular rise of the Australian Labor Party.

A further factor which encouraged women's philanthropy was the rise of the "new woman". The new woman, as McMillan has demonstrated, was a familiar topic in the press by 1895² and was both an object of derision and of admiration. She had vague and varying qualities, depending on the speaker or writer. She was associated with the trends towards greater freedom of, and independence for, women and by such phenomena as bicycle riding, dress reform, practical education (as opposed to ladylike accomplishments), the entry of women into professions, women graduates and, increasingly, women's suffrage. Some women were at least partially "new" from necessity: like Laura Hogg they could no longer survive as leisured ladies. More, however, were encouraged rather than compelled by financial necessity to pursue careers and a more independent life. Others were motivated by the need for socially useful and approved work at a time when the leisured lady was losing her power and repute and being transformed into the socialite. This was particularly so for the daughters of the women so determinedly active in the 1880s: such as Ardill, Fell, Garran, Pottie and Windeyer. They decisively rejected, as had their mothers, a life without philanthropic work. Their philanthropy, however, was combined with professional training and frequently a tertiary education. With such backgrounds they were more used to working with, and under, men. They spearheaded a new style of philanthropy which was, as demonstrated below, particularly evident in the kindergarten movement.

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1. H.N. MacLaurin to W. Windeyer, 31 December 1896 in Windeyer Papers, *op.cit.*, pp. 265-7, MLMSS 186/11.
 2. J. MacMillan, "The Woman Question" Images of Women in Selected Sydney Journals 1895-1905, B.A.(Hons.), Macquarie University, 1979.

They also comprised many of the 14,419 women in N.S.W. "ministering to health, charity, religion etc.," by 1901.¹

Despite her greater freedom, the new woman was under intense pressure to prove that she retained the traditional womanly virtues; that "womanly graces" were not incompatible with careers and intellectual development.² The result was that the "new woman" reaffirmed the "home values" of the woman's sphere. She was also attracted to philanthropy as a means whereby she could prove her "womanliness". Such pressure was particularly strong for the early women doctors, virtually all of whom assisted philanthropic organisations.³ Further evidence of the strength of such pressure was provided when all of MacDonald's students at the Women's College rejected her argument that women should chose their own higher sphere. They consistently argued that women's higher sphere was the home, not public work.⁴ So women increasingly moved in the professions and in the "public" world but the reaction by 1900 was the dominance of the belief that, ideally, woman's place was in the home.⁵ One result was that philanthropy by such women emphasised not just the need for professionalism but also "home" values and motherliness.

The state and the "new woman" increasingly impinged on philanthropy in the 1890s and for two major reasons the young were a major focus of their attention. The first was that the late nineteenth century saw the invention of the concept of

1. Census of N.S.W., 1901, p.650.

2. B.Guerin, "Modern Woman", The Sydney Quarterly Magazine, 1V:4, December 1887. Guerin was the first woman to graduate from an Australian University (in 1883). The Catholic Press and The Bulletin were particularly hostile towards the "new woman".

3. See, e.g., A.R.s of Our Babies' Home, Y.W.C.A., Working and Factory Girls' Club, Central Methodist Mission and the Kindergarten Union.

4. MacDonald, op.cit., 19 May 1894. See also ibid., 4 November 1893 and Rose Scott, Correspondence, ML A2274, paper of Sydney University Women's Association, 1897, that this view was "more pleasing than any other".

5. e.g., The Young Women's Gazette, 4 April 1910 and S.M.H., 8 November 1911. MacMillan, op.cit., gives numerous examples of such sentiments, the majority post-1900.

adolescence¹ and increasing importance placed on the methods of child-raising. The conviction of the boarding out pioneers that social harmony could be achieved through correct socialisation of the young was now widely shared. The second reason was the birth-rate scare. The impact of the declining birth-rate was not fully felt until the beginning of the twentieth century. Even so, by the late 1890s philanthropists were making determined efforts to ensure the health and usefulness of existing children and also to lower infant mortality. State action against baby farming was one means towards achieving the latter; the re-emergence of the Foundling Hospital - Ardill's Babies' Home and the Waitara Hospital - was another.

In the above, the major upheavals and changes which affected women's philanthropy in the 1890s have been outlined. However, philanthropic organisations could be stubbornly resistant to change. As Swain also found for Melbourne organisations², those established by 1890 were the most resistant to change. They served primarily the needs of the philanthropists and those needs remained discouraging "pauperism", social stability with working class humility and the production of efficient domestic servants and artisans. As these needs were intensified by the upheavals of the early 1890s, there was little reason for change.

1. J.Kociumbas, "As the Twig is Bent", A.H.A. Conference, August 1982, University of N.S.W. Her paper was based on her forthcoming Ph.D. thesis, Sydney University, which further explores these issues. I would like to thank Jan Kociumbus for her permission to quote from this paper.

2. Swain, op.cit., p.306.

(b) Destitute Children

The responses to the changes of the 1890s and the resistance to change are particularly evident in the case of destitute children. Such children came primarily under the auspices of the S.C.R.B. and were boarded out. Others were placed in the increasing numbers of small-scale children's institutions, usually run by women on behalf of a religious organisation. Each institution responded to changes in the woman's sphere. The concept of the lady with independent powers over matters within the woman's sphere slowly gave way to a belief in "family" life which entailed children's subordination to women as mothers and women's subordination to men.

The dominant institution in the care of destitute children was the S.C.R.B. The importance and ever enlarging role of the S.C.R.B. is conveyed in the following table:

TABLE 7.3 CHILDREN UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE S.C.R.B.¹

Year	Number of Children	N.S.W. Population	Proportion of State Children to N.S.W. Population, (per 1,000)
1881	59	747,950	.07
1885	1,026	904,980	1.13
1890	2,284	1,081,820	2.11
1895	3,174	1,239,250	2.56
1900	3,844	1,344,080	2.85

These children were under the control of Arthur Renwick (President of the S.C.R.B.), nine women and two men. The work of the Board was still considered within the woman's sphere and the province of influential ladies. Thus only the ladies of the Board were considered to have the expertise necessary to inspect the Cottage Homes.² Nevertheless, the Board gradually became less of a woman's concern. The

1. S.C.R.B., A.R., 1901-2, p.6. The peak year was 1897 with 3,671 children under control (2.87 per 1,000).

2. ibid., 1899-1900, p.23.

dedication of the founding women on the S.C.R.B., only one of whom (Garraan) served throughout the period, was not maintained. The new women appointees (Barton, Grimshaw, McMillan, Renwick, Slattery and A.Stephen)¹ were mostly politicians' wives and in two cases (Renwick and Slattery) their husbands were also Board members. The suspicion must be that they were chosen for political considerations rather than a commitment to boarding out. The men (all politicians) on the Board, excluding Renwick, were clearly chosen for reasons other than such commitment. In 1890-2 a trough was reached when Renwick was the only man to attend S.C.R.B. meetings.²

The lady visitors were still considered "among the prime factors" in boarding out's success and they continued to be selected because of their "good social standing".³ Every year the S.C.R.B. Report stressed the value of their work and anxiously charted variations in the number of their inspections. This reliance on lady visitors, however, was not entirely practical. Not all the ladies had sufficient leisure, nor inclination, for their duties. These duties were not always light; just one woman, for example, was expected to check on the 99 state children in Balmain.⁴ As a result of such problems, employed male inspectors gradually assumed a more significant role than the lady visitors. The inspectors' visits outnumbered that of the ladies by at least 3:1 and by 1901, 13 were employed.⁵

Whereas the lady visitors gradually became redundant, the foster-mothers retained their importance to boarding out. The children were considered to be boarded out to, or adopted by, women not couples.⁶ The foster father's role was that his steady work would instil similar habits in the children - the

1. See Appendix A for Barton, McMillan, Renwick and Stephen.

2. S.C.R.B., 1889-90, p.7, 1890-1, p.10 and 1891-2, p.6.

3. ibid., 1889-90, p.8 and 1904-5, p.6.

4. ibid., 1889-90, pp.9,20 cf. ibid., 1910-1, p.53, two lady visitors were to inspect 103 children in Balmain.

5. e.g., ibid., 1893-4, p.6, 1895-6, p.7 and 1900-1, p.7.

6. e.g., ibid., 1892-3, p.21 and 1899-1900, p.6.

girls all as domestic servants.¹ At first the emphasis continued to be on separating children from idle, dissolute parents², as it had been since 1881. Their foster parents, even in the worst of the depression, were all chosen as being "above" poverty.³

The most significant change occurred in 1896 with the addition of Section X allowing the children to be boarded out with their own mothers.⁴ Section X has been cited as a key example of the experience of the depression resulting in more humane policies although it is admitted that such motivation was not mentioned in the parliamentary debates.⁵ If, however, the depression had resulted in the demand for more humane treatment of those so "savagely treated" by the economy then it is difficult to understand why such motivation was not mentioned. One explanation must be that the amendment was only marginally caused by such a consideration. Renwick certainly referred to the need of the amendment as evidenced by the "great privations" of "deserving" mothers, but he was justifying Section X by the flood of applications received after it was passed.⁶ In addition, he had advocated the change long before the depression.⁷ The claim of his successor (Charles Mackellar) that it was introduced on "sentimental grounds" was made to support tightening - if not abolishing - the provisions of (the then) Section 16.⁸ The chief motivation for Section X appears rather to be the same as that for boarding out itself: it was a cheaper and more effective means of child

1. ibid., 1893-4, p.4, 1894-5, p.10 and 1895-6, p.8

2. e.g., ibid., 1890-1, p.5 cf. Randwick Asylum's continuing stress on dissolute and abandoned parents, Carlile Fox, op.cit., p.205.

3. S.C.R.B., A.R., 1892-3, p.7.

4. ibid., 1896-7, pp.1,12-3. With further amendments in 1901, this became Section 16.

5. Dickey, Ph.D., op.cit., p.301. See also N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, (1st Series), vol.LXXXIV, Session 1896, 18 August 1896.

6. S.C.R.B., A.R., 1896-7, p.12.

7. Benevolent Society of N.S.W., A.R., 1885, pp.13-4.

8. S.C.R.B., A.R., 1903-4, p.16 and 1906-7, p.17. From 1905 a Court Order was required before children could be boarded out to their mothers.

socialisation. Its cheapness arose from the biological mothers being paid less than half that paid to foster mothers, that is, only 1/3 to 5/- weekly.¹

Another factor in the 1896 amendment was the growing faith in the mothering abilities of poor women allied perhaps, with a depression-related difficulty in finding suitable foster-parents. Boarding out had proved that well-to-do working class families could foster children to the satisfaction of their "betters". Now that faith was extended to all "respectable" mothers.² One lady visitor typified this new faith, with all its limitations. Her comment was that although children boarded with their own parents "may not fare so well" materially, it was a good thing to strengthen rather than destroy family relations and to develop the mothers' sense of responsibility.³ However, only mothers were believed to be able to socialise children so fathers could not have their children boarded out to them. Only "deserving" mothers could socialise children to the Board's satisfaction so mothers had to be widowed or deserted with a warrant out for their husband's arrest.⁴ In addition, the mother's application had to be signed by a clergyman and one other approved person and she had to reveal "Every detail which may lead to a knowledge of her circumstances", including that of her relatives' finances.⁵ She also had to win the unanimous approval of the S.C.R.B., including members such as Windeyer and Garran who opposed the concept⁶, and to submit to the Board's "cautious administration and keen oversight".⁷ The extent of poverty among widows and

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1. ibid., 1896-7, p.13. The regulations were then revised so that more than 3/- was rarely paid, ibid., 1897-8, p.15.
 2. The logical extension of this development was achieved in 1912 with the introduction of maternity allowances.
 3. S.C.R.B., A.R., 1899-1900, p.31.
 4. ibid., 1899-1900, p.7.
 5. ibid., 1896-7, p.13.
 6. M.Windeyer, holograph letter to Editor S.M.H., 5 May 1896, ML Aw77/15; Garran, op.cit., p.11 and The Sun, 22 October 1918 and M.Windeyer, Papers, op.cit., letter from Lucy Darley, n.d., item 9, ML MSS 187/15.
 7. S.C.R.B., A.R., 1897-8, p.14.

deserted wives may be gauged from the average of 475 women who were successful each year during 1896-1900.¹

The operations of the S.C.R.B. ensured that "mothers" were the dominant means of care for destitute children. Destitute and foster mothers, however, were only allowed the means to raise children under the supervision of ladies and paternalistic officials. Thus the state and the ladies shared control within the woman's sphere but the hope lay not so much with ladies but with "good" mothers under the control of the state.

The emphasis on mothering also came from the medical profession and the experience of implementing the 1892 Children's Protection Act.² The conclusion - supported by the Matron of the Benevolent Asylum, the Mother Superior of the Foundling Hospital and the ladies of the Infants' Home - was that babies should not be reared apart from their mothers.³ Medical and philanthropic opinion agreed on the inadequacy of even the S.C.R.B.'s scheme whereby foundlings (previously kept at the Benevolent Asylum) were wet-nursed and raised by "really good, clean, healthy, wholesome and experienced women".⁴ Infants needed their biological mothers, even those who were "ignorant, careless, stupid and even dirty".⁵ Such opinions were in keeping with concern over the declining birthrate as infants apart from their mothers had a much higher mortality rate.⁶ They were a far cry from the dominant assumption of the 1870s that all children were best separated from impoverished parents.

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1. ibid., 1906-7, p.17. An average of 182 a year were unsuccessful during the same period. See also O'Brien, "Deserted Wives", op.cit.
 2. Kociumbas, op.cit., esp. p.16 further explores the connection between childhood ideology, the state and the medical profession, noting particularly that the S.C.R.B. Presidents, Renwick and Mackellar, were doctors as well as politicians.
 3. e.g., S.C.R.B., A.R., 1901-2, pp.23-4.
 4. ibid., 1894-5, p.9.
 5. ibid., 1901-2, p.24.
 6. e.g., the foundlings at Waitara had a 83% mortality rate, C. Mackellar, The Child, Law and State, Sydney, 1907, p.8.

The same phenomenon of state-supervised mothering was also evident in the government's children's institutions. In these as well, the emphasis on the supervisory influence of ladies had nearly gone by the mid 1890s. The Cottage Homes gave primacy to "family" life under the "gentle care and motherly attention"¹ of the women in charge. This came to be the general formula for all state-run institutions for children. Even the Girls' Industrial School claimed that the girls felt and acted as part of a family, despite revelations of harsh discipline and cheerless routines.² Gradually the influence of mothering came to be seen as vital for young boys as well as young girls. By 1909 the S.C.R.B.'s Boarding Out Officer claimed that boys were not sent to places "where there was no woman. There was no home ... for Government boys unless there was a matron in charge".³ Similarly the Royal Commissioners believed that boys less than 12 years old "are better cared for by women".⁴ For girls, their need for the influence of "motherly" women in a family atmosphere was believed to be even more crucial. The belief in radical differences between the sexes was retained so that girls were considered to be basically "emotional" (boys were "mental") and more dependent on religion for their moral development.⁵ The methods by which girls at the Industrial School were "made to be moral" reflected these beliefs and for the period 1898-1923 have been detailed by Willis.⁶ The same methods - and same abuses - were evident at the Girls' Reformatory⁷ and for both the absence of ladies was unremarked by contemporaries.

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1. S.C.R.B., A.R., 1894-5, p.11.
 2. Industrial School for Girls, A.R., 1899, p.2 cf. S.Willis, "Made to be Moral" in Roe, Twentieth Century Sydney, op.cit.
 3. Interstate Congress of Workers, Dependent Children, Adelaide, 1909, p.69.
 4. Royal Commission on Public Charities, Third Report, N.S.W.L.A., V & P., 1899 (2nd Session), vol.1, p.xxxii.
 5. Interstate Congress, op.cit., quoting H.G.Maxted, p.103 and S.C.R.B., A.R., 1905-6, p.15 "Reformation of girls can be accomplished only by ... religion" (cf. however, the complaint that girls' conversion could be just a brief emotional experience, Industrial School for Girls, A.R., 1910, p.4.
 6. Willis, "Made to be Moral", op.cit.
 7. cf. Willis' op.cit., outline of the Industrial School for Girls, Parramatta, N.S.W. Public Service Board Enquiry, 1898 with the Report of the Select Committee on the dismissal of Mrs Abraham from Shaftesbury Asylum, N.S.W.L.A., V. & P., 1900, vol.6.

The emphasis on the reformation of children (and through them, society) by motherly women implementing the values of the woman's sphere was taken up by private organisations as well. The key difference was that these organisations sought to replace the government in the supervisory role and to utilise women who could act both as "good mothers" and ladies. The organisations possessed of such ambition, and ability to implement it, were under the control of the Catholic Church or evangelical bodies.¹ The latter were run by the Anglican and Methodist churches and George Ardill.

The Catholic Church remained determined to save children of their faith from the clutches of the state. This stance, as outlined in Chapter 5 (b), was evident in the 1880s and belief in the "rough and calculating benevolence" of the secular-Protestant world compared with nuns' "tender and selfless charity"² became a key-stone in Catholic thought. In Sydney in the 1890s, the Church established four children's institutions, in addition to the six operating by 1890. One, the St. Vincent's Boys' Home was run by men. Even there, however, the growing belief that young boys as well as girls could benefit from women's ministrations led to the formation of a Ladies' Committee. That the boys called the President "Aunt Ella" is another indication of the new "motherly" role of philanthropic ladies.³ The other three new institutions were run by the Sisters of Mercy. In addition, orphanages were founded in nearly all the dioceses of N.S.W.

Such foundations were far from "easy ... a simple matter"⁴; it is likely that they put severe strain upon the Orders' resources. The nuns carried the main burden of Catholic education, had their own strict devotional routines and now were also expected to maintain children's institutions. The five Orders involved were comprised of only 710 Sisters

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1. These institutions are marked in Tables 7.1 and 7.2, cf. a similar reaction in America, R. Bremmer (ed.), Children and Youth in America, vol.11, Cambridge, 1971, p.247.
 2. e.g., Petra, 1:9, 2 September 1923.
 3. St. Vincent's Boys' Home, A.R., 1945-6, p.6. The President and only recorded member in the 1890s was Countess Freehill, see Appendix A.
 4. Dickey, Care for Destitute Children, op.cit., p.47.

even by 1900¹ and frequently could not spare enough Sisters to adequately manage the institutions.² They also caused severe financial strains. The Manly Industrial School, for example, was £5,300 in debt in 1895 and re-building at St. Anne's Orphanage cost £1,700.³ The result was innumerable resorts to fund-raising: balls and fetes organised by elite women, including Protestants and Jews⁴; "Pleasant Sunday Afternoons" patronised by Moran⁵; appeals for donations and the sale of special prayers and masses.⁶ The most important source of funds, however, was the labour of the inmates, in sewing, lace-making and laundry work. As the children's institutions found to their cost during the depression, child labour was not as lucrative as that of adults. The financial accounts have apparently not survived so the extent to which the institutions succeeded in their aim to be self-supporting cannot be ascertained. For at least one child, however, the result was a memory of constant work for both nuns and children: "stitch, stitch, stitch, till our fingers and eyes ached".⁷

The harsh reality of the strained finances of these institutions can also be seen in a glowing report of the success of the Manly School by "Una"; Laura Bogue Luffman.⁸ The motto

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1. Australasian Catholic Directory, 1900, pp.14-8.
 2. e.g., Four nuns cared for the 90 children at the Manly Industrial School, D.T., 16 January 1904 and Statistical Register of N.S.W., 1904, p.466.
 3. Statistical Register of N.S.W., 1895, p.859 and "The Cardinal's Pleasant Sunday Afternoons at The Liverpool Orphanage", 1898, t/s held at St. Vincent's Information Centre, Potts Point, Sydney.
 4. e.g., the 1896 Ball Committees for St. Martha's Home included the Ladies Darley and Salamons, The Catholic Press, 25 April 1896, and for the Manly School, the Governor's wife, ibid., 4 April 1896. These three women were among the five considered to be social leaders, F.Dolman, Ladies of Sydney, (Sydney?), n.d., p.437.
 5. "The Cardinal's Pleasant Sunday ... ", op.cit.
 6. The Catholic Press, 9 November 1895.
 7. The Watchman, n.d., (1903), newspaper clipping held at St. Scholastica's, Glebe.
 8. D.T., 16 January 1904.

of the School was "Where there is industry there is no sin" which both instilled the principle of the industrial work ethic and enabled the School to benefit from the proceeds of the girls' needlework. The nuns reported the protests of some mothers at the amount of work done as simply a misunderstanding of the purpose of the School. Perhaps the mothers objected to the arduous making of a trousseau, "a miracle of cobwebby lace and fine tucking and embroidery" or the lace bed-spread worth £100, nearly three times as much as the girls could, at best, expect as a yearly wage as servants.¹

The motivation of Catholic philanthropy had the potential for resulting in more humane policies. The Catholic institutions also stressed their homely character and the nuns' "motherly care".² In addition, the stress, by the 1890s and compared with secular-Protestant philanthropy, was decreasingly on the need for social control and anti-pauperisation (hence "Lady Bountiful" could still be used by Catholics as a term of approval³). Rather, the doctrine of poenitentia was stressed: that philanthropy was not performed "primarily for the relieving of the poor, [but] ... for the benefits [to the philanthropists' souls]".⁴ It has been argued that without such an attitude, "love and kindness die" and philanthropy assumes "the terrible and cruel mask of power".⁵ Perhaps; but it is clear that even with such a humble basis and using such dedicated women, Catholic philanthropy often remained, "penny pinching, regimented, soul destroying".⁶ For just one example, the traumatic result of such an experience led to accusations taken up by sectarian forces and a parliamentary

1. loc.cit. and Statistical Register of N.S.W., 1899, p.1012.

2. e.g., Freeman's Journal, 21 October 1898 and 2 August 1890.

3. St. Vincent's Boys' Home, A.R., 1945-6, pp.11,21 and The Freeman's Journal, 2 August 1890.

4. L.Heydon, "The Society of St. Vincent de Paul in Australia", Australasian Catholic Record, 13, 1907, p.62.

5. F.Stark, Dust in the Lion's Paw, London, 1961, p.234.

6. Dickey, Care for Destitute Children, op.cit., p.47.

inquiry.¹ The experiences of others are simply forgotten and lost.

Despite the limitations of the quality of care offered the children, the extension of the work of the Catholic Church through the use of nuns was at first envied, then emulated, by the Protestant Churches. The Anglican Church had their own nuns in Sydney from 1893. They ran an orphanage but remained a small, controversial enclave in a hostile evangelical diocese.² More successful were the Anglican deaconesses - an experiment later also copied by the smaller Presbyterian Church - and the fore-runner of such bands of Protestant women; the Methodist Sisters of the People.

During the 1890s, the Protestant churches reappraised their position on the causes of poverty and the need for intervention to improve the material lot of the working class.³ It was a response deliberately designed "to gain the confidence of the toiling masses"⁴, a class largely alienated from the churches. The use of women in meeting the challenge of working class poverty and alienation was also a deliberate effort to meet the needs of church women who wanted and needed regular employment. Women were the majority of church congregations and it was considered safer to give employment to "godly women within its [the church's] own borders" rather than risk losing them.⁵

The result was the formation of two bodies of women employed by their church: the Evangelical Protestant Sisterhood

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1. Newspaper Clippings held at St. Scholastica's including The Watchman, 20 and 27 June, 4 and 11 November 1903 and Freeman's Journal, 29 October 1903. The story is tragic - of a petted, "delicate" child rendered destitute by her father's death then unwelcome by her mother's re-marriage and unable to adjust to the work and communal living at Manly. Six years after she left, and 2 marriages later, she was then used as a sectarian weapon.
 2. The Church of England Intelligencer, 31 October 1895; W.Upton, History of St. Gabriel's School, (Sydney? 1968?), t/s, pp.1-3 and Infants' Home, Minutes, 12 May 1896.
 3. Bollen, op.cit., and Phillips, Ph.D., op.cit.
 4. The Deaconess, 30 September 1895.
 5. The Weekly Advocate, 19 December 1891. See also ibid., 9 August 1890.

(Sisters of the People) and the Deaconesses. The genesis of the Sisterhood lay in pleading letters to Taylor, the Central Methodist Mission's Superintendent, from Laura Francis.¹ She asked for regular work, presumably like the Methodist Sisterhood in London.² Taylor championed her need and gained the financial backing of the Mission's Ladies' Committee. Consequently the Sisters' Home was opened in August 1890 with Francis and two other probationer Sisters in residence.³

The Anglican synod in 1885 supported the introduction of Deaconesses into parishes, working under the clergy, while rejecting the High church nuns who formed an autonomous body within the church.⁴ The Deaconess Institution ("Bethany"), however, was only founded in 1891, by the polemical Rev. Mervyn Archdall. His inspiration, as outlined in Appendix A, came directly from Kaiserwerth, the first modern deaconess institution.⁵ Archdall was also the Director and major financier of "Bethany".

Both the Sisters and the Deaconesses were expected to engage in general "christian charity relief work"⁶. The woman's sphere belief that women had special expertise in the care of other women and children remained in that their duties emphasised this aspect. Hence both groups soon opened their own Children's Home; the deaconesses being offered the Women's Industrial Guild's Home by Mrs Leila Darley.⁷

Both organisations allowed women purposeful Christian employment whilst denying them autonomy. The women were expected to combine professional competence, a mothering role and

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1. Central Methodist Mission, A.R., 1914, p.16 and Taylor, op.cit., p.208.
 2. Inglis, The Churches ..., op.cit., p.162.
 3. Central Methodist Mission, A.R., 1904-5, pp.8-9.
 4. Proceedings of the Sydney Synod, 1885, pp.58-62.
 5. Entry for Archdall, Appendix A and Heasman, op.cit., pp.233-4.
 6. The Deaconess, 31 August 1896 and 6 June 1894 and The Weekly Advocate, 9 August 1890. The former is quoted in M. Rodgers, Deaconesses in the Church of England in the Nineteenth Century, B.Divinity (Hons.), Sydney University, 1977, p.120.
 7. The Deaconess, 6 June 1894 and Rodgers, op.cit., p.95. See also Appendix A, entry for Darley.

ladyhood.¹ Few could achieve the ideal. They were to be pious, dedicated and to adhere to the strict rules and routine of their Homes, as drawn up by Taylor and Archdall.² They were paid only a small allowance, wore uniforms, were expected to resign if engaged to marry and the Sisters were particularly (and seemingly unnecessarily) urged "to avoid frivolity and waste of time".³ Their Children's Homes were run principally by one Sister or Deaconesses assisted by a probationer. The insistence on women's right and duty to engage in public work was combined with a belief in women's subordination to men. The Sisters belonged to a church whose London Conference in 1895 would not allow women delegates and whose paper argued that "Christianity enjoins the duty of submission ... [by] women; but ... not ... inferiority".⁴ The Methodist did accept the advent of the "new woman" and urged that they be utilised for the church. However, "Home must still be the woman's world" and Sisters were pressured to uphold that priority.⁵ A similar attitude was evident towards the Deaconesses.

The office of admission of a Deaconess emphasised her restricted public role and submission to the clergy.⁶ The Bishop's sermon at the first service of admission referred to women's suitability to "the gentle work of sympathy and kindness", insisting they leave the "harder and heavier work of active [church] administration ... to the stronger sex".⁷ Similarly the Dean, at Bethany's second annual meeting, stressed

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1. The Deaconess, 6 June 1894, 31 May 1895 and 30 September 1896; The Australian Record, 18 August 1891 and The Weekly Advocate, 28 June 1890.
 2. ibid., 9 August 1890 and Church of England Deaconess Institution, A.R., 1891-2, p.1.
 3. The Weekly Advocate, 9 August 1890; Central Methodist Mission, Rules of the Sisters' Home, Sydney, 1894 and The Australian Record, 23 September 1896.
 4. The Methodist, 26 September 1891. In practice, this distinction was less obvious.
 5. ibid., 23 and 30 March, 1 June and 19 October 1895.
 6. The Deaconess, 6 June 1894.
 7. Quoted in Rodgers, op.cit., p.97 and reported in The Australian Record, 23 September 1893. I would like to thank Rodgers both for making her thesis available to me and for her helpful discussion of this issue.

the dichotomy between male "head" and female "heart".¹ The most outspoken in his expectation that women should combine a public role with submission to male control was Mervyn Archdall. He saw his role as Director - on the Kaiserwerth model - as a paternal one.² He quoted Jameson's concept of the separate spheres: "The man governs, sustains and defends ... woman cherishes, regulates and purifies".³ Archdall believed that women should be educated to go into the world, even though the home was their "most natural sphere". Their purpose in so doing should be to bring "home influences" to the "outcasts of society". So far from being in control of their sphere, ladies should remember:

Woman's work is helping work ... [biblical]
principle of the subordination of woman as
a helper of man In everything the man
has to do, the woman should be his helper. (4)

One result of the insistence on women's submission was that both Archdall and Taylor were disappointed in the numbers and status of women wishing to become Deaconesses or Sisters. By 1905, 45 women had entered the Sisters' Home but generally only eight Sisters were practising at any one time.⁵ Equally, there is no indication that any of the Sisters came from the upper-middle class. Archdall was also disappointed in the status of his Deaconesses and had such a high drop out rate that no Deaconesses were ordained during 1894-9.⁶ The strict discipline and the work loads of both groups also contributed to their small size.⁷ The problem was slightly alleviated for the Deaconesses by the adoption of the G.F.S. concept of Associates. By becoming Associates, young ladies such as the

1. The Deaconess, 6 June 1894.

2. H.K. Archdall, Mervyn Archdall, Sydney, 1922, esp. p. 11 on the family character of the Deaconess Institution.

3. The Deaconess, 31 July 1896 cf. Jameson, op.cit., p. 26.

4. The Deaconess, 31 July 1896, (original emphasis).

5. e.g., Central Methodist Mission, A.R., 1904-5, p. 9 and Wilson, The Central Methodist Mission, op.cit., p. 26.

6. Rodgers, op.cit., p. 107.

7. ibid., p. 112 and The Deaconess, 19 January 1895. The overworking of deaconesses continued so that in one year, one had to decrease her work on medical advice and another had a nervous breakdown, Deaconess Institution, A.R., 1908-9, p. 5.

Bishop's daughter and Dean's step-daughter were able to assist in the work of the Deaconesses without their commitment or workload.¹ This strategy was more successful: by 1900 there were 30 Associates to 10 Deaconesses.² The insistence on male control over the deaconesses also led, as shown in Table 7.4, to women being less than 40% of the financial supporters.³

Both groups of women were used and praised by their church but in contrast to Catholic nuns, were considered to have failed in their higher role: marriage. They were essentially seen as "surplus" women who should be found occupations within the woman's sphere.⁴ When one Sister did marry a clergyman she was praised as going "to the yet higher dignity of a parsonage helpmate".⁵

For the Sisters and Deaconesses, there were compensations: their work could result in a challenging life filled with purpose and, for young women as opposed to young ladies, no loss of status. Men might recommend for women "A quiet economical rational life ... [rather than] everlasting self-sacrifice"⁶ but for some, the latter was preferable to the ennui of the former. For others, the "sacrifice" led to a rewarding life: Sister Francis went from Grafton to be trained in Sydney; was Matron of a New Zealand Girls' Home; worked in a New York Mission before coming back to Sydney to be the Mission's travelling evangelist.⁷ Others like Sister Bibby could express a forceful character so that she became "a law unto herself".⁸

In working within the woman's sphere, the Sisters and

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1. Rodgers, op.cit., pp.97 and The Deaconess, 31 August 1896.
 2. The Sydney Diocesan Directory, 1900, pp.99, 342-3.
 3. Financial details of only one year has been found; given the consistant impact of male control on women's subscriptions, however, it is unlikely that this proportion changed markedly.
 4. e.g., The Methodist, 1 June 1895 and 26 September 1891.
 5. Central Methodist Mission, A.R., 1906-7, p.11.
 6. J.Anderson to H.Fell, 8 July 1894, op.cit.
 7. Central Methodist Mission, A.R., 1914, p.16 and Taylor, op.cit., p.210.
 8. Central Methodist Mission, op.cit., 1906-7, p.11.

TABLE 7.4

FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR PHILANTHROPIC CARE OF THE YOUNG, 1890s

Organisation, Year	Number of sub- script- ions/ dona- tions	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 by or on behalf of inmates (£. s. d.) (as % of total income)
Deaconesses' In- stitution 1891-2	118	47 39.8	217- 0- 8	78- 0-6 35.9	0 -	n.a. -
S.P.H.N.C. 1890	111	14 12.6	384-10- 6	39- 1-0 10.1	0 -	0 -
Female School 1895	46	38 82.6	124-19- 0	96- 8-0 77.2	226-1- 3 17.4	86-3-0 6.6
of Industry 1900	57	45 78.9	137- 5- 0	111- 4-0 81.0	297-15-10 ¹ 44.2	8-3-0 1.2
N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind						
1895*	610	80 13.1	724-13- 6	115- 6-0 15.9	- 0	1201-0-1**31.0
1900*	637	95 14.9	701- 4- 7	100-14-0 14.4	- 0	1630-6-7**37.0
Hospital for Sick Children 1895	300	116 38.7	1606-14-11	738-11-9 46.0	(counted as subscriptions)	469-14-8 13.3
1900 ²	598	148 24.7	11640-19- 9	3387- 8-1 29.1	2221-13-1 15.0	575- 1-5 3.9
Fresh Air League						
1896-7	89	83 93.3	97- 6- 6	91-12-6 94.1	373-7-8 79.3	n.a. -
1900-1	90	89 ³ 98.9	167- 7- 0	163- 3-0 97.5	215-5-9 56.2	n.a. -
Working and Factory Girls' Club 1895-6	45	26 57.8	85- 8- 6 ⁴	45- 2-6 52.8	249-14-6 60.7	68-15-10 16.7
1900-1 ⁵	47	24 51.1	84-19-10	54- 8-4 64.1	- 0	130- 1- 7 27.1

TABLE 7.4

continued

Organisation, Year	Number of sub- script- ions/ dona- tions	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 by or on behalf of inmates (£. s. d.) (as % of total income)
Y.W.C.A. 1895-6 ⁶	113	94 83.1	142- 5-0	106-5-0 74.7	- 0	328- 7- 3 42.9
1899- 1900 ⁷	231	185 80.1	532- 7-0	327-9-9 61.5	- 0	381-19-10 35.9
Kindergarten Union 1895-6	?	?	165-15-6	?	20- 0-0 10.8	n.a. -
1900-1	163	107 65.6	232-15-0	154-0-6 66.2	228-19-0 29.6	n.a. -

1. Including £50 interest-free loan from Susan Macleay.
2. Inclusive of Building Fund.
3. Donated, subscribed or collected by women.
4. This is another example where the balance sheet totals are irreconciliable with the amounts listed. The total of the latter (subscriptions and "Fair and General donations") has been chosen as the more accurate.
5. Included in A.R. for 1901-2.
6. General subscriptions only.
7. Excluding "Our Own Missionary Fund" with subscriptions from branches throughout N.S.W.

* City subscription list only.

** Including Government payments.

Deaconesses were given charge of Children's Homes. They were to supplant the role of the state and provide "warm, motherly"¹ care for children in a "family" atmosphere. The Deaconesses were assisted by a Ladies' Committee while "a noble band of Christian ladies" had charge of the Sisters' Home, reporting to the all-male Central Methodist Mission executive only twice a year. The greater influence of the Methodist ladies was due to their role in initiating the Children's Home. It was the result of efforts by Sara Nolan² and the Women's Auxiliary of the William Street Church to provide for local "waifs".³ These committees allowed further ladies a role in the church's philanthropy. Those involved, however, have become historically anonymous except for five women. The Methodist Committee included Maria Cowlshaw, wife of Thomas, a prominent architect, and Emma Rainsford Bavin, wife of the Central Methodist Mission's Superintendent (1893-6).⁴ The wives of two prominent businessmen were on the Anglican Committee; W.E.Shaw, a tobacco manufacturer, and J.M.Sandy, a retailer. The only other woman on the committee who can be further identified is Miss Nellie Herring, a Working Associate and later proprietor of a Kindergarten School.⁵

The Methodist Home's aim for the children was "always and in every case to get them completely away from their previous surroundings"⁶, whether they were considered "destitute or in moral peril".⁷ The aim was the traditional child-saving one but the insistence on the value of family life that had marked the boarding out campaign, had had its effect. The Home was claimed to be run along the lines of a Bardardo Home and the

1. The Methodist, 6 August 1898.

2. See Appendix A, entry for Nolan.

3. The same women founded a laundry to provide work for local women, The Weekly Advocate, 3 October 1891.

4. A.D.B., vol.3, entry for J.Cowlshaw and vol.7, entry for T. Rainsford Bavin. See also, Central Methodist Mission, A.R., 1904-5, p.6.

5. E.S.Murray-Prior, pers. comm., August 1982.

6. The Methodist, 14 October 1893.

7. ibid., 6 June 1896.

children were not admitted unless they were eligible for adoption.¹ In the latter role, as the Royal Commissioners recognised, the Home acted as a direct competitor of the S.C.R.B.² The aim for the children by the Methodist Church was much the same as the S.C.R.B. Children should live in country areas with hard-working, religious couples who would ensure their charge's entry into the ranks of the "respectable" working class.³ However, the option of supporting a government agency was completely closed. The Children's Home was presented as the only means whereby the "waifs" uncovered by the Mission could be cared for.⁴

The option of co-operating with other Protestant churches was also rejected. This rejection was particularly explicit with the foundation of the Alexandra Home in 1902. That Home was a duplication of secular, Catholic and Protestant institutions to "rescue" girls from depravity. The justification was that the managing ladies and Sisters ran it on the "open door" principle, with the girls living as "an ordinary family" and having music and fun when the work was over. The latter was in marked contrast to traditional Methodism's "disdain of the lighter side of life".⁵ It was also claimed that it was in contrast to the alternative Homes' depressing, cheerless, work-filled, prison-like regimes.⁶

The Bethany Children's Home had many similarities with the Methodist Home but was less directly competitive with the S.C.R.B. as its children were not all eligible for adoption.

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1. ibid., 14 October 1893; Statistical Register, 1897, p.753 and Central Methodist Mission, A.R., 1904-5, p.17.
 2. Royal Commission into Public Charities, Third Report, 1898-9, op.cit., p.xxxi. The Home was accordingly stripped of its subsidy.
 3. The Methodist, 4 November 1893, 1 June 1895 and 8 December 1894.
 4. ibid., 4 November 1893.
 5. Whitby and Clancy, op.cit., p.20.
 6. Central Methodist Mission, A.R., 1907-8, p.36 and Taylor, op.cit., pp.213-4.

In Bethany Children's Home the ideal was also to create "a very happy family".¹ That the Superintendent was also a kindergarten teacher and at least allowed time for play helped to approach this ideal. In addition, the Bethany Home was not so determined to irrevocably separate children from their parents; the latter were encouraged to visit and siblings were kept together.² As with the Methodist Home, there is no indication of co-operation with other Homes. Even the amalgamation of the Bethany and Lisgar Homes was a response to the death of the latter's owner, not a desire for co-operation.

The Deaconesses, the Sisters and their Children's Homes upheld the woman's sphere ideals of the separate nature of the sexes and the appropriateness of women caring for destitute children. They were a means whereby the Anglican and Methodist churches could implement their new concern for social welfare whilst maintaining control with the male hierarchy. They utilised both ladies in the traditional role of members of a ladies' committee and the trained "motherliness" of the "new" woman. A similar attitude was evident in the activities of George Ardill during this decade.

Ardill's philanthropy in the 1890s was controversial and complicated; his thinly-stretched financial resources, style of management and lack of financial accountability attracted the ire of the Royal Commissioners and helped in the withdrawal of subsidy.³ Ardill's main work with children in the 1890s was through the three institutions listed under his control in Tables 7.1 and 7.2. To run these Ardill founded the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (S.P.C.C.)⁴, the Special Mission to Waifs and Strays⁵, the Sydney Rescue Work

1. The Deaconess, 30 September 1896.

2. ibid., 30 September 1896. Sympathy for the parents was also displayed, e.g., in the description of one mother who, over two years, had nine different child-minders for her young boy - the last of whom nearly killed him, The Deaconess, 30 November 1894.

3. Royal Commission, Third Report, 1898-9, op.cit., pp.x-xi and evidence, pp.24-5, 28.

4. The S.P.C.C. was virtually a sub-committee of the S.R.W.S.

5. Probably founded in an attempt to win Anglican support: the equivalent Society in England was Anglican.

Society (S.R.W.S.) which took over from the Blue Ribbon Gospel Army in 1891 and he continued the Society for Providing Homes for Neglected Children (S.P.H.N.C.). Ardill also ran the Children's League of Pity, an organisation through which children helped finance these ventures without "sullyng" their innocence¹, and the Pinafore Society, through which women sewed for the children in the Homes.²

By 1891, Ardill worked primarily within the woman's sphere; assisting women and children. His success, as in the 1880s, was partly due to the support he received from the wealthy and influential. His S.P.C.C., for example, included on its executive Ebenezer Vickery, Arthur Renwick and George Reid and the founding President of the S.R.W.S. was Sir Frederick Darley.³ Ardill's success also came from his continued utilisation of women's expertise within their sphere.

Throughout the 1890s Ardill was severely criticised, both personally and professionally.⁴ Nevertheless, he continued to be supported by prominent evangelical ladies. Ladies' Committees were in charge of the domestic arrangements for all his homes and that for his creche included Lucy Darley.⁵ The Babies' Home Ladies Committee also attracted prominent ladies. They included three members of the philanthropic network: Caroline Stephen; Elizabeth Wilkinson and Elizabeth Scott. Prominent ladies new to philanthropy were also recruited: Jane, wife of physician Thomas Storie Dixson and Alice, wife of Colonel Charles Roberts.⁶ Both the "openings" of Our Babies' Home were attended by a "fashionable" audience and "many

1. e.g., The Rescue, 30 May 1896.

2. e.g., ibid., 9 June 1894.

3. ibid., 5 December 1894, S.R.W.S., Deed of Trust, 1891, held at the S.R.W.S., Burwood. See also Appendix A, entry for Darley.

4. e.g., Royal Commission, Third Report, 1898-9, op.cit., esp.p. xxii; The Australian Workman, 28 February 1891 and The Sunday Times, 27 July 1890.

5. untitled newspaper clipping, n.d., (about first meeting of creche), Newspaper Cuttings Book, S.R.W.S., Burwood.

6. The Rescue, 25 September 1896. Stephen, Wilkinson, Scott and Dixson are listed in Appendix A.

influential ladies".¹ In addition, Ardill increasingly utilised his wife Louisa. It was Louisa, with another S.R.W.S. worker Miss Muscatt, who was sent on a fund-raising trip to England in 1897.²

Ardill also attracted humbler women to his cause. Mrs (David) Walker, for example, worked through Ardill's organisations for 25 years, seeking the "street-girl's reformation" at "all hours of the night" and visiting prisoners.³ The financial support of women was also important particularly as Ardill's plans habitually out-matched his financial resources. As indicated in Table 7.4,⁴ the proportional importance of women's contributions can only be discovered for one (the S.P.H.N.C.) all-male, organisation of Ardill's. Other sources, however, indicate that women and their youth organisations played an important, although still minority role, in financing Ardill's schemes.⁵

Like Taylor and Archdall, Ardill utilised women's labour in the name of religion and the family whilst denying them autonomy over their work. The committee of the Babies' Home was appointed by the S.R.W.S. to regularly visit the Home and, unlike the earlier creche committee, had no separate powers. By 1898-9, there were no formal avenues for them even to convey their opinions.⁶ Similarly the matrons of his children's institutions bore much of the brunt of Ardill's ambition to provide "Family Life in Cottage Homes".⁷ The children, from the

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1. The Rescue, 5 December 1894 and 7 November 1896 and Woman's Voice, 15 December 1894.
 2. The Rescue, 22 September 1897 and 1 June 1898 cf. the chronic bankrupt, Henry Parkes, whose "mad dream" was always the "bringing off a coup in England", Martin, (Henry Parkes), op.cit., p.337.
 3. Sydney City Mission Herald, 1 April 1909 and The Rescue, 24 February 1909.
 4. Following p.275.
 5. e.g., The Rescue, 30 May, 25 September and 7 November 1896.
 6. Royal Commission, Third Report, 1898-9, op.cit., p.xix.
 7. The Rescue, 30 May 1895. At least one Matron was called "Mother" as in Jefferis' Cottage Homes, ibid., 7 November 1896.

evidence of the Royal Commission, were poorly housed in inadequate, dilapidated buildings.¹ The Matrons in charge were expected to cope under such conditions from a sense of mission and on occasions to forego their small salaries.²

Ardill's attitude towards the women he helped was similarly restrictive. The women who left their babies at the Creche, then the Babies' Home, were expected to become domestic servants.³ The failure of the former was blamed on the demand for live-in rather than day servants.⁴ The Babies' Home catered for this demand by taking the children whose mothers could then gain live-in employment.⁵ Ardill believed that domestic work was the only suitable occupation for working class women. An alternative occupation, factory work, was rejected even though it would allow women to keep their children. Ardill knew factories were prolific sources of immorality although he admitted that he had not visited any and that the majority of "fallen" women in his Homes were ex-servants.⁶ He also believed that maternal love was "God-given" and could only be quenched - not by separation due to work demands - but by "bad habits".⁷

In contrast, Ardill championed the quest of the middle class "new woman" for professions. He supported women doctors, significantly a group who preached the ideology of domesticity and were accustomed to male control of their work. Dr Dagmar Berne practiced at Our Babies' Home⁸ and later his daughter Kate also became a medical practitioner and worked at the S.R.W.S.'s Hospital.⁹

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1. Royal Commission, evidence (Third Report), 1898-9, op.cit., p.24.
 2. ibid., evidence, p.12. Ardill never changed this policy, H. Dart, Happenings Historic, Sydney, 1981, p.135.
 3. The Rescue, e.g., 8 February 1896.
 4. The Salvation Army also hoped to open a creche - Ardill's failure may have caused the cancellation of such plans, Salvation Army, A.R., 1896, p.4.
 5. Royal Commission, evidence, (Third Report), 1898-9, op.cit., p.16, and Report, p.xviii.
 6. ibid., evidence (Third Report), p.32.
 7. The Rescue, 15 August 1894.
 8. Royal Commission, evidence (Third Report), 1898-9, op.cit., p.17. Berne was the first woman to study medicine in Australia.
 9. A.D.B., vol.3, entry for Ardill.

Ardill demanded discipleship from those around him and his relationship with women, whether servants, ladies or professionals, reflected this attitude. It was this attitude which also caused him to reject as inadequate other alternatives in philanthropic child-care. Thus he damned the S.C.R.B.'s boarding-out because of its reliance on untrained mothers yet ran his own adoption agency.¹ He condemned the S.C.R.B.'s cottage homes as "institutions" while announcing that his foundations, with their stress on discipline with "motherly sympathy", were true "homes".² There is no evidence that he ever co-operated with other private bodies catering for destitute children. Ardill recognised and attempted to meet the great need for philanthropic child-care. His solution entailed the use of "suitable motherly" women³ but only under his control; not the government's nor any other body's control and certainly not working independently.⁴ It is a monument to his drive that he convinced so many to share this view.

The emphasis of this chapter is on the changes of the 1890s but the stagnation possible also needs to be acknowledged. Some philanthropic organisations caring for destitute children ignored or resisted change until they became anachronistic and were closed. A leading example of determined resistance to the new family-centred, woman-orientated means of care was the Randwick Asylum.⁵ The hostility which it had earned from the working class and reform-orientated philanthropists (especially women) was rewarded when the Labor Government closed it in 1915.⁶

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1. The Rescue, 25 September 1896 and Royal Commission evidence, (Third Report), op.cit., p.19.
 2. ibid., p.19 and S.P.H.N.C., A.R., 1889-91, p.3 and 1892-3, p.1.
 3. The Rescue, 30 April 1907. In this issue Ardill suggested private child minding similar to the present Family Day Care Scheme. I wish to thank the Rev. Mr Thornton for this reference.
 4. An exception was his support of the work of the Ragged Schools, despite supporters' suggestions that only Ardill's Homes were truly Ragged Schools, Murray, op.cit., pp.108n, 109.
 5. M.Horsburgh, "The Randwick Asylum", Australian Social Work, 30:1, March 1977, outlines this resistance.
 6. S.R.D.C., A.R., 1915, passim; Randwick Asylum (1915-7), ML Doc. 2195 and S.R.D.C., Randwick Asylum for Children, 12 August 1915, ML pamphlet.

The same resistance to change was evident in the oldest example of organised women's philanthropy: the School of Industry. The School continued to be an enclave of ladies from a small number of elite Anglican families. As demonstrated in Table 7.5, (cf.1.5)¹ family considerations remained the primary cause of recruitment rather than factors such as age or freedom from child-care responsibilities. The aim remained that of its founders; to ensure a supply of well-trained girls who would become respectable members of the working class, preferably as servants. This aim reflected the needs of the committee ladies; as their needs remained relatively constant so too did the rules of the School. The School also retained its image of being within the woman's sphere in that it was, as shown in Table 7.4,² overwhelmingly financed by women.

Another cause of stagnation was the extent to which personnel could remain constant. At the School the same matron was employed from 1879-1919 and she was replaced by her sub-Matron of 20 years service. Even the cook was an ex-inmate and stayed 45 years.³ The committee ladies matched these periods of service as membership stayed with the same families and was usually ended only by death. Thus the ladies of the Stephen family were founding members and in the 1890s comprised nearly one-sixth of the membership. The deaths of Presidents Allwood and Hay ended nearly 45 and 40 years of membership respectively and Macleay's, 21 years.⁴ The signs of change in the committee were mostly also signs of decline. In this decade neither the wife of the Chief Justice nor the Bishop were members. Although the wives of Edward Knox and C.L.Garland were members, the new industrial power was also largely unrepresented.

1. Following p.32.

2. Following p.275.

3. School of Industry, A.R., 1919, p.5 and S.M.H., 7 November 1921.

4. ibid., 1889-90, pp.8-9; 1892, p.5; 1903, p.5. Macleay's mother had previously been a member and her niece continued the family's work for the School, ibid., 1899, p.6.

TABLE 7.5 IDENTIFIED MEMBERS OF THE SYDNEY FEMALE SCHOOL OF INDUSTRY, 1890s

Name, Membership of Philanthropic Network (N)	Occupation of husband or, if unmarried, father	Kin also on committee and other links between mem- bers	Age in 1890 or on join- ing	Number of Children
Miss ? Allwood	?Robert, canon	previously mother or sister-in-law	?	0
Mrs Ethel Cruickshank (N)	George, pastoralist/ M.L.A.	-	?	0?
Mrs ? Dickson	David, merchant	Miss Dickson	?	?
Mrs Jeannette Gould	Albert, solicitor/ politician	-	about 50?	4
Mrs ? Griffiths (N)	G.Neville, stock and station agent/polit- ician	husband School trustee	mid 40s?	8
Lady Mary Hay (N)	John, pastoralist/ M.L.C.	-	mid 70s?	0
Mrs ? Knox	Edward W., director C.S.R.	father-in-law business partner with M.C.Stephen/ Miss Knox	late 40s	?
Mrs Maria Lee Lord (N)	George, barrister	(previously mother)	36	?
Lady Susan Macleay (N)	William, pastoralist/ scientist/politician	replaced mother	51	0
Lady Eliza Manning (N)	William M., barrister/ politician	son and daughter married	mid 60s?	4 and 3 step
Lady Isabella Martin (N)	James (separated), ex- Premier/ex-Chief Justice		58	15
Miss Florence Mitchell	James, physician/ industrialist	replaced sister/family business connection with husband of member Mrs Hemsley	?	0
Mrs ? Ross	E.Fairfax, doctor	(previously) sister-in- law/father-in-law manager C.S.R. under Knox	?	?

TABLE 7.5 continued

Name, Membership of Philanthropic Network (N)	Occupation of husband or, if unmarried, father	Kin also on committee and other links between mem- bers	Age in 1890 or on join- ing	Number of Children
Miss Alice Stephen (N)	Alfred, ex-Chief Justice	same family/ relative Miss Bedford a member/brothers School trustees	46	0
Mrs Alice Stephen (N)	Cecil, barrister/ School's legal adviser		early 50s?	10
Miss Cecilia Stephen	Cecil, barrister		20	0
Mrs Lucy Stephen (N)	Septimus, solicitor		45	7
Mrs Anna Street	John, company manager	niece	?	7 step
Miss Deas Thomson	Edward, late Colonial Secretary	previously mother, sister and sister-in-law	?	0

What is lacking in the School's records is any indication that the ladies were touched by the misery of the depression or subscribed to the new emphasis on mothering and family life. Their reaction to the financial problems of the depression was to place an increasing burden on the inmates and their families. Most children now had to be paid for and ex-inmates had to repay the cost of their outfits given to them on leaving.¹ The children's parents were still seen as encumbrances to be replaced and the S.C.R.B. was rejected in favour of their own procedures. Thus one father's sorrowful letter:

I cannot stand in Mercia's way any longer
& will sign [the adoption papers] Nodoubt
she has forgotten me ere this. Give her one
found embrace for me. [sic]

Mercia was adopted by a retired spinster, a constant Christian, "not strong" and presumably in need of a servant.² As the ladies maintained their own leisured life-style they displayed little sympathy for tragedies such as that of Mercia and her father. Neither did they offer any maternal warmth to the other inmates of the School: such as the children whose mother had become insane after her husband had died or the child whose elderly, sick grandmother had resisted for three years the urging of friends that she be admitted.³ The experience of children under the S.C.R.B. was not always happy and some were "regarded as beasts of burden to be exploited".⁴ However, the value placed on maternal affection did encourage the attitude that the children were more than, as at the School of Industry, sources of service.⁵

Ladies, after their triumphs of the 1880s, slowly lost their importance in the care of destitute children. The

1. ibid., 1889-90, p.11.

2. A. Minmir(?) to Miss Miles (Matron), 10 September 1900, and letters about and by Miss Derrick, School of Industry, Miscellaneous Records, held at Church of England Homes, Carlingford.

3. Miscellaneous Records, ibid., letters of C.B. Stephen to Fire Brigade Board and Master-in-Lunacy, 1896 and F.A. Traill to Matron, 12 and 24 March 1908.

4. S.C.R.B., A.R., 1902-3, p.33. See also claims in S.R.D.C., Randwick Asylum for Children, 12 August 1915, pp.1-7.

5. e.g., letter from a foster mother to M. Windeyer, Windeyer Papers, MLMSS 186/13, item 445-9.

S.C.R.B.'s zealous founding ladies were gradually replaced and male functionaries of the state supplanted the lady visitors. Belief in the importance of biological mothers also detracted from the role of the lady. The alternatives to the S.C.R.B. also witnessed the decline of the lady. The two extremes in their use of women - the Randwick Asylum and School of Industry - became increasingly irrelevant to contemporary social policy. The nuns struggled to provide care for Catholic children but suffered from severe inadequacies in terms of labour and finances. The evangelical organisations, as in previous decades, extensively utilised women but circumscribed their autonomy. The lady, as an acknowledged source of expertise and influence within the woman's sphere, had fallen far short of the hopes expressed in the 1873-4 Royal Commission.

(c) The "Respectable" Young

By 1890, woman's sphere philanthropy for the young also encompassed the care and control of youth who were neither destitute nor disreputable. By 1900, ladies were involved in the philanthropic provision of services for handicapped, sick and pre-school children as well as for working girls. In the former two areas the same trend of the declining influence of the lady, as noted in the previous section, is again evident. With the latter two groups, ladies were more successful in maintaining their influence. Significantly, their success was in areas where concessions had to be made to the demands of the recipients of philanthropy. The gradual rise of the stress on women as mothers is also evident in these areas.

Underlying these developments was the increasing importance placed on the young as future adults and as an age group with special needs of their own. The increased emphasis on the young in a society which was so "deeply and dangerously divided" during 1890-3¹ led to renewed efforts to dampen and contain class conflict through the young. As a result, the young increasingly became philanthropists themselves and were increasingly objects of philanthropy.

The organisation of children as philanthropists was widespread. The Salvation Army had its Cadet Brigade from 1898² and the Protestant churches and other evangelical bodies formed numerous children's philanthropic organisations during the decade. The girls of St. Mary's Cathedral School were urged to assist annually those of St. Anne's Orphanage as it would "serve as a lesson in practical charity to the little ladies bountiful".³ The R.S.P.C.A. Women's Branch was able to enrol over 14,000 children by 1895.⁴

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1. Dickey, "'Colonial Bourgeois'", op.cit., p.33. This analysis refers to the challenge to, rather than a supposed imminent overthrow of, the dominant ideology.
 2. Tarling, op.cit., p.46.
 3. Freeman's Journal, 20 August 1890.
 4. Statistical Register of N.S.W., 1895, p.865.

The use of the young as philanthropists demonstrated the expected relationships that comprised the class system. Such a demonstration was particularly necessary for girls. The role of women was undergoing a rapid change and even ladies themselves could wonder about the definition of that title.¹ Thus at a School of Industry bazaar, future roles were imitated. The bazaar was organised by the daughters of ladies; opened by the Governor's daughter and the purpose was to raise money to care for the children of the poor.²

A further cause of the interest in children as philanthropists was that they had proved their worth as fund-raisers.³ Their money raising ability was particularly valued during the depression years. The Children's Hospital's subscription lists demonstrate the children's abilities, through ladies' and Sunday Schools, Fort Street (Girls) School and as individuals. In 1895, for example, children gave over £184 and in 1905 the Governor presented one boy with a gold medal for collecting more than £400 over 3 years.⁴ Children also displayed their ability for other organisations - Bethany Children's Home gained £26 from a Children's Sale of Gifts and the Paddington Children's Relief and Benevolent Society obtained its funds from Sales of Work by girls.⁵

There were also organisations in which ladies organised girls to enact a wider philanthropic role than just as fund-raisers. One such was the Jewish Girls' Guild. The Guild was founded by Mrs J.H.Landau, wife of the assistant minister of the Great Synagogue. It was a small but prosperous organisation which attracted girls from the small number of wealthy Jewish families. Whilst the two Jewish women's organisations were for married women only, the Guild, under the presidency

1. Fell, op.cit., 21 April 1893.

2. School of Industry, A.R., 1892, p.7. See also ibid., 1891, p.6 and 1899, p.6.

3. See above, p.171.

4. Hospital for Sick Children, A.R., 1895, pp.19-22 and 1905, p.3.

5. The Deaconess, 24 September 1894 and Statistical Register of N.S.W., 1895, p.855.

of a prestigious married woman, was restricted to unmarried girls. These girls visited the poor and sick; provided monetary aid and clothes which they had sewn and helped adult Jewish philanthropic organisations.¹ Little change in their methods of initiating girls into philanthropy had occurred by 1914.²

Another such organisation which also upheld the ideal of woman's sphere philanthropy for the young was the Ministering Children's League. The League originated as a Protestant, British-based organisation.³ It taught children to help the poor and the suffering; girls through needlework and "sweet womanly" means and boys through carpentering, gardening and "knightly service".⁴

Ladies also were involved in an increasing variety of organisations in which the young were the recipients of philanthropy. The larger of such organisations are listed in Tables 7.1 and 7.2.⁵ As can be seen from those Tables, an important facet of the woman's sphere in philanthropy was the care of sick and handicapped children. Such care was undertaken by Catholic nuns, evangelical women and an "unsectarian" committee. Catholic nuns ran two Homes for the Blind and a Children's Hospital during the 1890s. Few details have survived of the management of St. Anne's Home.⁶ More is known of the Little Company of Mary's Institution and Hospital. The latter was the Order's chief work and expanded throughout the decade

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1. The Dawn, 1 June 1894 and 1 June 1897; Illustrated Sydney News, 21 June 1890 and H.Marks, "The Jewish Girls' Guild", A.J.H.S.J., 11:111, 1945.
 2. loc.cit.; Jewish Girls' Guild, A.R., 1912-4 and Carlile Fox, op.cit., pp.106-7. From 1902, the National Council of Women ran a similar, non-Jewish organisation, The Girls' Realm Guild, which had 1,500 members in N.S.W. by 1911, ibid., p.81.
 3. Ministering Children's Fresh Air League, A.R., 1896-7, p.2 (unpag.). By 1900, it had become two organisations, Carlile Fox; op.cit., pp.78-9, 122.
 4. The Illustrated Sydney News, 21 June 1890.
 5. See above, following p.254.
 6. Neither ML nor the Sisters of Charity archives hold such records relevant to the 1890s.

so that it was a 100-bed General Hospital by 1900.¹ As at St. Vincent's Hospital, the Mother Superior combined public effacement with a determination to maintain the Order's complete control over the Hospital. The Order in the 1890s was under the successive control of two of the pioneering nuns (Mothers Raphael and Rose) and then, Mother Mary Xavier.² It was Xavier, appointed and sent by Rome with minimum consultation³, who proved the most formidable administrator. Xavier saw the Hospital's work as firmly within her and her Order's sphere and allowed no diminution of her powers. Her reputation for being immaculately robed, imposing and gracious establishes her as a lady. Her reputation as an autocrat within her sphere is equally clear: "Every member of the staff, including the doctors, were her subjects"; "basically" benevolent and kind, she exacted absolute obedience.⁴ Her rule was not without opposition and shortly after her appointment all the medical staff resigned in protest over an administrative decision. There is no indication, however, that this crisis lessened Xavier's powers as a nun and a lady within her sphere.⁵

At the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, little was experienced in terms of crisis or change. While not widely popular, neither was it subjected to sustained criticism.⁶ Its work was seen as largely outside the woman's sphere, so that less than 16% of its finance came from women.⁷ The Ladies' Committee continued its advisory work within the woman's sphere, overseeing the domestic arrangements and initiating girls' cookery classes.⁸ Its members were predominantly middle-aged to elderly, members of other evangelical

1. MacMahon, op.cit., p.6.

2. loc.cit. See also Appendix A, entry for Xavier.

3. MacMahon, op.cit., p.6, the Australian Order was not notified until she had nearly arrived.

4. ibid., pp.8-10 and Wordley, op.cit., p.57.

5. MacMahon, op.cit., p.10.

6. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, A.R., 1898, p. 10 and Royal Commission on Public Charities, First Report, Legislative Council, Journal, 1898 (second session), vol. LV111 and A Report from the ... Institution of the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, N.S.W.L.A., V. & P., 1898, vol.3, p.545ff.

7. See Table 7.4, following p.275.

8. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, A.R., 1891, p.13.

philanthropic organisations with family members also involved in the Institution. They included family groups such as Hunter Baillie, her sister Mackie and niece Mackenzie; founding members H.Baillie, Goodlet, King, Robinson and Thompson and such evangelical stalwarts as Cowlshaw, Hay, Marks and Renwick.¹ The composition of the Institution's Committees and the long service of its staff², helped maintain harmony but also conservatism bordering on stagnation. The children were still helped in order to prevent them becoming a "burden on" or "menace to" society.³ The Institution conducted no campaign against the poor quality of Sydney's milk (or water) supply even after it was recognised as a source of infection for meningitis, the cause of many of the children's affliction.⁴

The Hospital for Sick Children was less immune to the changes of the 1890s as it adjusted to the financial crisis of the depression and the victory of the physicians over Holden in 1887. The Hospital entered the decade in a strong financial position, but by 1892 the "hard times" had reversed that position.⁵ The response placed women into an increasingly auxiliary role. Women were organised by the Hospital's (paid) male secretary to raise money: they formed a ball committee in 1896 to hold an annual fund-raising ball. This committee became in 1905 the Ladies' Auxiliary.⁶ Its role was solely to raise money and, as shown in Table 7.4, by 1900 the ladies raised over £2,200 (15% of income). However, the auxiliary had no say over the money's distribution. The ladies' separate sphere was acknowledged whilst they were excluded from power.

1. See also Appendix A.

2. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, A.R., 1911, p. 30 cf. School of Industry's similar policy, p.283 above.

3. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, Souvenir of the Fortieth Anniversary, Sydney, 1901, pp.21,17.

4. M.Lewis, "Milk, mothers and infant welfare", in Roe, Twentieth Century Sydney, op.cit., and The Lone Hand, 1 February 1911.

5. Hospital for Sick Children, A.R., 1890, p.6 and 1892, pp. 10-1.

6. ibid., 1896, pp.5-6 and Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children, A.R., 1905, pp.2,9.

The Hospital's services became increasingly used and appreciated during the decade, particularly after 1894 when the anti-toxine against diphtheria, the scourge of working class children, was introduced.¹ By 1900 it was a large institution with an income of over £14,000 a year. For most women who had received a lady's education and socialisation, its administration was outside their competence. Formal recognition of this was achieved without conflict in 1896 as the Board's executive became overwhelmingly male. However, complaints as to the House Committee ladies' "want of business capacity" were still noted in 1899.²

The declining power of the Board women did not mean that they lacked philanthropic influence or social status. On the contrary, members included (invariably with other family members) such notables as Marian Allen, Mary Garran, Isabella Martin, Caroline Stephen, Eglantine Campbell, Helen Hunter Baillie and Elizabeth Marks.³ In effect, the Hospital was under the control of two neighbouring Glebe families; the Allens and the Stephens. These families provided the Presidents of the Board from 1880 to 1902.⁴ Given that the women of those families accepted their relegation to a less powerful role within the woman's sphere, there was little avenue of protest for the other women.

What was rejected was not the woman's sphere itself but the concept of ladies with power over hospital administration. Thus ladies continued to play a role in the Hospital but in a "domestic", powerless capacity. They raised money and also were "lady visitors", distributing flowers, teaching the patients sewing and inspecting the domestic arrangements.⁵ This concept of the woman's sphere was also reflected in the medical

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1. Hospital for Sick Children, A.R., 1894, p.7 and 1895, pp.6,18.
 2. ibid., 1896, p.6 and Royal Commission, 1898-9, Fourth Report, op.cit., p.lxxvii. The Hospital Board Minutes records no conflict over the change in 1896. The Minute Books are held at the Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children, Camperdown.
 3. See Appendix A for further details of these members.
 4. Including J.S.Mitchell whose wife was Marion Allen (see Appendix A).
 5. Hospital for Sick Children, A.R., 1890, pp.8-9, 1896, p.10, 1898, p.10 and 1900, p.14.

arrangements. Nursing was firmly within the woman's sphere but the Matron was now subordinate to the doctors and was paid less than half the male Medical Superintendent's wage.¹ The women chosen for this position were far from the Holden mould and tended to resign because of competing family duties.² The male dominance was illustrated in the reaction to women doctors. Two were appointed as House Surgeons in 1898 but they were then effectively barred.³ The ban was not broken until 1910 with the appointment of Dr Margaret Harper.⁴

In the provision of care for sick and handicapped children, ladies were recognised as working within their sphere but their role was limited. Those with the most power in this field were the Superiors of the Orders running the Catholic institutions. In Protestant-secular institutions the role of the lady tended to be merely supportive of male management.

Ladies also offered philanthropic help to adolescent working girls through three main organisations, Y.W.C.A., G.F.S. and Working and Factory Girls' Club. As argued in Chapter 4 (b) these organisations all enabled ladies to promote the structures which enabled their own leisured life-style whilst attempting to alleviate the worst effects of the girls' working conditions. The concept of the woman's sphere presided over by ladies and the morality it upheld - "social purity" - was also reinforced through these organisations.

The ladies who have been identified as members of these organisations all derived from the same class as the major employers of labour. The social characteristics of the identified (over a half) Club members, listed in Table 7.6, were also

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1. Hospital for Sick Children, Board Minutes, 9 January 1892 and Hamilton, op.cit., p.42.
 2. loc.cit., and Hospital for Sick Children, A.R., 1890, p.9 cf. V.Brittain, Testament of Youth, (1933), London, 1980, account of her difficulty in pursuing nursing due to competing family demands.
 3. Hipsley, op.cit., p.93.
 4. Gandevia, op.cit., p.125; Hamilton, op.cit., pp.134-6 and L. Cohen, Dr Margaret Harper, Sydney, 1971. Harper, inter alia, was a founder of the Tresillian Mothercraft Training Homes.

TABLE 7.6 IDENTIFIED WOMEN MEMBERS OF THE WORKING AND FACTORY GIRLS' CLUB, 1890s¹

Name, Membership of Phil-anthropic Network (N)	Name, Occupation of husband or, if un-married, father	Kin also on commit-tee and other links between members	Age in 1890 or on join-ing	Religion	Number of Children
Hon. Miss ? Brand/Hon. Mrs ? Ferguson	Viscount Hampden, Governor/?, Army Captain	-	?	C. of E.	0
Mrs ? Broomfield (N)	John, company director	husband director Mort's Dock and M.M. ² Mort and see Marks & King	?	C. of E.	?
Mrs Ethel Cruickshank (N)	George, pastoral-ist/M.L.A.	-	?	C. of E.	0?
Lady Lucy Darley (N)	Frederick, Chief Justice	Miss Darley/hus-band	early 50s?	C. of E.	8
Miss ? Duff	Robert, Governor	-	?	C. of E.	0
Miss Georgina Edwards (N)	(self) "independ-ent means"	sister (Mary Ed-wards)	?	C. of E.	0
Mrs ? King	G.E.Kelso, Secret-ary M.M.	see Broomfield & Marks	late 30s?	C. of E.	2(died infancy)
Mrs Jane Laidley (N)	William, business-man/M.L.C.	Mort	late 50s?	C. of E.	9
Miss Louisa MacDonald	(self) Principal Women's College, Sydney University	-	?	C. of E.	0
Lady Susan Macleay (N)	William, pastoral-ist/politician	-	51	C. of E.	0
Mrs Elizabeth Marks (N)	John, agricultur-alist/politician	son later director M.M.	54	Pres.	5
Mrs Mary Mort (N)	J.Laidley, busin-essman	Laidley	?	Cath.(hus-band C.of E./from 1895 Cath.)	9
Mrs Frances Russell	Henry, bank man-ager	(Miss Ethel Russ-ell, B.A., taught at Club)	?	C. of E.	6

TABLE 7.6 Continued

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Name, Membership of Philanthropic Network (N)	Name, Occupation of husband or, if unmarried, father	Kin also on committee and other links between members	Age in 1890 or on joining	Religion	Number of Children
Mrs Charlotte See (N)	John, merchant/politician	-	36	C. of E.	10
Mrs Martha Simpson	George, puisne judge/politician	husband	about 40?	C. of E.	2
Mrs Caroline Stephen (N)	M. Henry, puisne judge	4 family members and husband's legal partner	57	C. of E.	4 (3 died infancy)
Mrs Kate Stephen	A. Consett, ?	niece of above	26	C. of E.	5
Mrs Caroline Villeneuve Smith	Francis, ? (his father Chief Justice, Tasmania)	daughter of C. Stephen	28	C. of E.	?

1. Also members were Lady Scott, wife of the Admiral; Margaret Harris, a wealthy philanthropic benefactor, Mrs (Samuel) Lees, Mayoress of Sydney and Mrs Hutton, wife of the Commander of the N.S.W. armed forces.
2. M.M. - Mercantile Mutual Fire Insurance Company.

typical of the members of the G.F.S. and Y.W.C.A., except that the former was all-Anglican and did not attract "network" women.¹ Like many men of their class, these ladies sought to replace the influence of socialism and unionism with their own brand of class reconciliation.² Operating with the assumptions of the woman's sphere, they confined their efforts to working girls and women. They remained clear about their allegiance to the interests of employers. This allegiance was particularly firm in the Y.W.C.A. The Y.W.C.A. missionary was prevented from even informally testifying before the Royal Commission on Charities because of the fear that the Y.W.C.A. would lose access to factories: "the desirability of care respecting employers' methods of conducting business" was paramount.³ Similarly, the Y.W.C.A. held a Demonstration of Working Girls to celebrate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee as an "example" to their "working sister"; had a daughter of Lady Manning lecture girls on "How to live on 7½d a day" and "earnest, consecrated young ladies" of the Y.W.C.A. Factory Mission and Choir attempted to lead factory girls to "a purer nobler womanhood" and, if possible, domestic service.⁴ The vast problem of "sweating" was reduced to an individual case and "solved" by publicity, a £3 Christmas donation and the assurance that the Y.W.C.A. was on guard against deception (by workers).⁵ In many ways, one committee lady (of the G.F.S.), Annie Duncan, epitomised their attitudes. Duncan was the first "lady" factory inspector in N.S.W., specifically concerned with women workers as was sanctioned by the woman's sphere concept. She had been a member of the English Primrose League and worked in the Disraeli tradition of reforming the excesses in order to preserve capitalism. Whilst deploring the worst

1. See Appendix A for further details of these members.

2. R.Connell and T.Irving, Class Structure in Australian History, Melbourne, 1980, esp.p.211, on this "strategy of containment" of working class mobilisation.

3. Y.W.C.A., Minutes, 2 June 1898.

4. Y.W.C.A., A.R., 1896-7, pp.11,22, 1898-9, p.17, 1890,pp.13, 15 and 1891, p.12.

5. Y.W.C.A., A.R., 1898-9, p.24.

abuses, her sympathies were with the employers.¹ Her attitude towards the most exploited girls was similar to that of another "new woman", Louisa MacDonald. MacDonald, (a member of the Working and Factory Girls' Club), was appalled to discover factory girls "stunted and sickly as any London girl, just from lack of proper care & nourishment and overwork".² Nevertheless, the only accepted answer to such problems was limited state intervention supplementing ameliorative efforts by lady philanthropists.

The Working and Factory Girls' Club policies varied under its different managements (as shown in Table 7.1)³ but it too stressed employers' interests as paramount. The girls were expected to repay the Club with "better" demeanour and by being "good and useful".⁴ By 1903 the Club's identification with employers' interests was more complete and resulted in a new motto: "Work is Worship".⁵ The argument that the Club was simply "making up for some [employing] scoundrel's deficiency"⁶ was rejected. Even under the more concerned Misses Edwards, the ladies were convinced that they were rectifying problems primarily arising from the girls' mistaken choice of factory rather than domestic work.

One response of the ladies was to place the blame for the horrors they exposed on to the girls' own "delicacy".⁷ Healthy girls, it was assumed, could stand up to the poor working conditions. Representatives of the "new woman", women doctors, supported this argument by their belief in scientific laws of health. Dr Dagmar Berne, for example, told the girls that

1. Duncan, op.cit., vol.2, esp. pp.158-9, 245, 253-6. See also Appendix A.

2. MacDonald, op.cit., 2 August 1896.

3. A lack of account of these changes mars Markey's "Women and Labour", op.cit., pp.16-7 analysis of the Club. He is also incorrect in his assumption that the Club's name was changed in 1897 to the Women's Employment Agency.

4. The Dawn, 1 November 1892 and Working and Factory Girls' Club, A.R., 1893-4, p.6.

5. cf. previous motto, "Insomuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these ... ye have done it unto Me", ibid., 1893-4, p.1.

6. The Worker, 30 May 1896.

7. Y.W.C.A., A.R., 1900-1, p.22.

their health problems were due, not to their working conditions but "entirely to ignorance" of these laws.¹

Given such beliefs, the ladies set out to ameliorate girls' conditions by ensuring them short holidays. The girls were then expected to have "renewed health and energy for work".² From 1896 the Y.W.C.A. ran its own Home of Rest for working girls but most of this type of work was carried on by the Fresh Air League.

The Fresh Air League was first centred at Bong-Bong and "boarded-out" delicate but not diseased children (later also adults) in local homes. The ladies of the League saw themselves as true philanthropists, helping the helpless, comforting and strengthening the weak, bringing hope and health to despairing homes.³ Their motto was "No day without a deed to crown it"⁴ and their work was seen as within the woman's sphere especially as up to 99% of its subscribers and donors were women.⁵ Their conflict of interest was, however, quite evident. Most were members of other philanthropic organisations and a major source of philanthropic finance was from inmates' laundry work. Such work had a reputation for being "amongst the most unhealthy of occupations".⁶ Included on the committee was Emma Dixon whose father and husband were leading tobacco manufacturers.⁷ The Working and Factory Girls' Club co-operated with the League particularly on behalf of girls in tobacco factories who "suffer much from the fumes".⁸

Even The Worker conceded that the League "graciously"

1. Working and Factory Girls' Club, A.R., 1897-8, p.6.

2. Y.W.C.A., A.R., 1896-7, p.14.

3. Fresh Air League, A.R., 1903-4, p.5.

4. ibid., 1896-7, p.4.

5. Table 7.4, following p.275.

6. Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Hours and Conditions of Employment of Female and Juvenile Labour, N.S.W. Parliamentary Papers, 1911-2, vol.2, p.xviii. See also Duncan, op.cit., vol.2, p.255.

7. See Appendix A for Dixon and other identified members.

8. Working and Factory Girls' Club, A.R., 1893-4, p.5.

tendered its assistance¹ and the Reports provide some evidence that individual needs were appreciated; they were not just "cases" or potential "paupers".² Some of the applicants' stories also gave the ladies "food for thought".³ The end result, however, was thankful acceptance that their lives were so different from those of working girls and women. They continued for decades to play the role advocated by Ruskin: ameliorating within their sphere the suffering, injustice and misery caused by men.⁴

The second response of philanthropic ladies to the harsh conditions of girls in shops and factories was to advocate domestic service as an alternative. The proportion of the female workforce who were servants continued to decline and the work was as unpopular as ever but it remained the option most favoured by philanthropists. This attitude was equally shared by ladies directly employing servants, by all the government schemes for the care of girls and by the Catholic Church. The latter, as shown in Table 7.2⁵, ensured the foundation of the Mater Misericordiae Home specifically for servants.

The G.F.S., with its reputation as a "servants' society" naturally promoted that occupation. However, the ladies displayed such a lack of sympathy for servants that the organisation failed to attract a large membership.⁶ The G.F.S. became a vehicle whereby employing ladies could advise members that the "servant problem" could be solved simply by "common sense and common courtesy to mistresses".⁷ The former contrasts with other contemporary assertions that the shortage of

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1. The Worker, 30 May 1896 cf. The Dawn, 1 November 1892, Lawson's praise of the Working and Factory Girls' Club ladies' "unwearied ... watchful kindness and sympathy".
 2. e.g., Ministering Children's Fresh Air League, A.R., 1897-8, p.4.
 3. Fresh Air League, A.R., 1909-10, p.5.
 4. Ruskin, op.cit., esp. pp.89, 108, 130-6.
 5. See above, following p.254.
 6. R.Selwyn, "Address", G.F.S., N.S.W., August 1897, p.3, the G.F.S. was an "apparent failure". By 1910 N.S.W. membership was only 320 girls, G.F.S., A.R., 1910, p.13.
 7. Selwyn, Address, op.cit., p.3.

servants was caused by employing ladies' "shameless selfishness" and the long hours of hard work.¹

Even the Working and Factory Girls' Club was deeply involved in the promotion of domestic service. The Matron was charged with the re-training of factory girls and in just two years it was claimed over 200 were found work as servants.² It was the Y.W.C.A., which also generally excluded servants from its membership, which revealed the harshness of the expectations of the leisured ladies in rescuing girls from lives of "almost ceaseless toil" in factories.³ The Y.W.C.A. opened a Domestic Training School to supply skilled "domestic workers" to employing ladies. Girls at the School had just 2¾ hours free after 12 hours of work, 1¼ hours for meals and 8 hours sleep.⁴ The School's failure due to lack of pupils was, to the ladies, another unaccountable demonstration of the colonial dislike of domestic service.

The ladies saw themselves as powers over the woman's sphere presiding over a humane but hierarchical ordering of women, as it sought to cater to an increasingly broad spectrum of women. The Y.W.C.A. was particularly explicit in promoting this ideal. Matters dealing with women remained within the woman's sphere to the extent that they threatened to withdraw from one deputation if men were included.⁵ Predictably the Y.W.C.A.'s finances, as with those of the Club, also reflected the belief that it was doing "women's work" - up to 83% of its subscribers and donors were women.⁶ The ladies continued to see their own role as defenders and protectors of lesser status

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1. F. Adams, The Australians, London, 1893, p.216 and M. Evans, Domestic Servants in Australia, Sydney, 1893, esp. p.47.
 2. Working and Factory Girls' Club, A.R., 1893-4, p.4, 1896-7, p.4 and 1897-8, p.4.
 3. Working and Factory Girls' Club, A.R., 1894-5, p.7.
 4. "A Guide for Domestic Workers" 1 May 1907 in Y.W.C.A., "Of Historical Interest", MLMSS 23679.
 5. Y.W.C.A., Minutes, 5 March 1896. The deputation was to request that the age of consent be raised from 14 to 18, ibid., 13 February 1896.
 6. Table 7.4, following p.275.

girls, especially from "an easier life of sin".¹ Shop girls were warned of the efforts of procurers for brothels² and married women, with their dangerous knowledge, were barred from boarding at the Y.W.C.A.'s Loma House.³ The Y.W.C.A. concern to extend the values of the woman's sphere led to attempts to control female sexuality becoming a major concern in the later 1890s. Only working class women, however, were judged to need the controlling influence of ladies: Y.W.C.A. missionaries held services in the Y.W.C.A. Servants' Registry but not the Governesses' Registry. Similarly, approved behaviour by factory girls was judged as the result of "consecrated" Y.W.C.A. visitors.⁴

In the early twentieth century, the Y.W.C.A. fought a determined campaign against the breakdown of traditional relationships within the woman's sphere. The Association was increasingly fragmented with separate groups of "street" girls; leisured girls⁵ and business girls and teachers.⁶ The "new woman" was catered for by the last and by a Training School for Y.W.C.A. (paid) secretaries.⁷ The woman's sphere restrictions of the previous decade were, however, enforced on all. Ruskin's views were quoted and the desire of women to go outside their homes justified only as a response to an imperfect world: women were needed as a "power for righteousness".⁸ In debate, the Y.W.C.A. narrowly supported women speaking in public and having the vote but only in 1896 and 1910 respectively.⁹

1. Y.W.C.A., Minutes, 31 March 1898.

2. ibid., 3 February 1898 and Handbill loose in ibid., entitled "A WARNING".

3. ibid., 3 October 1895.

4. Y.W.C.A., A.R., 1895-6, p.14.

5. cf. Young Women's Gazette, 1 June 1913, "it is the lack of leaders which allows of the masses running riot".

6. Lottie Austin, Outline Sketch of the Young Women's Christian Associations, Sydney, 1913, pp.16-7.

7. Y.W.C.A., A.R., 1908-9, p.9 and The Training School of the National Young Women's Christian Association for Australasia, Sydney, 1912-3.

8. S.M.H., 8 November 1911.

9. Y.W.C.A., Minutes, 2 July 1896 and Australian Christian World, 12 May 1911.

The Y.W.C.A. also protested strongly about the one incident whereby the class barriers around working girls were disregarded. The Working and Factory Girls' Club held an annual ball, as was usual for charities. One ball, however, was attended by shop girls and tickets were 5/- each. The Y.W.C.A. protested about the danger to girls returning home unescorted and of the "evil of introducing these young women to those above them in position".¹ There is no indication that the experiment was repeated.

By the 1900s the Y.W.C.A. was seen as "worthy" but with a "narrow ... funny" and a "severely pious" management.² Nevertheless, over 1,000 girls in Sydney alone belonged.³ Under the control of the Misses Edwards, the Working and Factory Girls' Club also achieved a modest popularity. The reason for the success of the two organisations is that they offered services which were valued by girls whilst being acceptable to the ladies.⁴ Working girls used the proffered services selectively and with as much heed to their own interests as shown by the ladies. The members of the Club ensured that its cheap board (12/- to 5/- a week)⁵ was fully utilised. The Club's Maternity and Sick Fund attracted 95 women and its "wholesome" entertainments, large crowds.⁶ The Employment Agency and lessons in practical subjects were also popular, as they were at the Y.W.C.A. The ladies aimed to teach "self-help, and thrift" through sewing lessons⁷; the girls gained material on credit and a more extensive wardrobe. Free teas and cooking classes were motivated from concern that a hungry girl might turn to prostitution⁸; the girls gained new skills and free food. The social purity motivation behind the Y.W.C.A.'s Travellers' Aid Department could also be irrelevant to the

1. Y.W.C.A., Minutes, 3 May 1898.

2. S.M.H., 8 November 1911 and Evening News, 27 March 1896.

3. Austin, op.cit., p.11.

4. Daniels and Murnane, op.cit., p.63.

5. Working and Factory Girls' Club, A.R., 1893-4, pp.3-4 and 1901-2, pp.5-6.

6. ibid., 1897-8, p.6 and e.g., pp.7-8.

7. ibid., 1897-8, p.4.

8. ibid., 1893-4, p.5.

appreciative users. The religious activities at the Y.W.C.A. were, compared with practical classes and help offered, less popular. The Club's Bible classes from at least 1893-7, however, were held by the Governors' daughters at Government House.¹ At a time when access to Government House was an indicator of status such a location was a powerful attraction. Similarly, bourgeois ideological hegemony ensured that value was placed on outings at the Women's College and those arranged by the Navy Commander. Perhaps even the latter's attempt to impose his ideal of womanhood through his "Special Prize for the gentlest girl in the Club" also attracted support.²

The philanthropic organisation of working girls was an experiment which in the 1890s proved to be successful, so long as the girls' real needs were at least partially met. Along with the Fresh Air League and Servants' Homes, they were the means whereby ladies sought to influence the labour market and bring a larger number of girls under their control. It was work that was considered philanthropic, missionary and in the interests of "social purity". Above all, it was work through which ladies led a counter-attack against the erosion of their role and threats to woman's sphere values.

There was one other facet of the woman's sphere in the philanthropic care of the young: education.³ This role had been undertaken for decades by the teachers of the Ragged Schools. Various orders of nuns also ran Poor Schools in this and following decades. These Schools also gave religious and basic education to children of the poor. When necessary, girls minded younger siblings there and the children were fed.⁴ The Poor Clares and the Sisters of St. Joseph also provided education to the very poor.

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1. ibid., 1893-4, p.5 and 1896-7, p.4. As shown in Table 7.6, these were the daughters of Duff and Hampden, Governors from 1893-9.
 2. ibid., 1893-4, pp.3, 6.
 3. See e.g., S.M.H., 23 April 1888, Jefferis' argument that teaching was within the woman's sphere.
 4. Poor Schools file, St. Mary's Cathedral Archives, Sydney. See esp. Poor Schools Report, 24 May 1909, pp.1-2 and St. John's School, A.R., 1906-7, p.1.

In 1896, an organisation was founded which encapsulated the changes of the woman's sphere in the philanthropic care of children. This organisation was the Kindergarten Union of N.S.W. Its solution to social problems, as argued by Spearritt¹, was for trained women to provide an alternative socialisation for working class, pre-school children. It was also a significant expansion of the woman's sphere in philanthropy as it sought to influence children who had been outside the ambit of philanthropy and also of other middle class agencies.

Various efforts to establish kindergarten teaching in Sydney had occurred since 1856 and increased interest was evident in the 1880s.² However, it was not until the foundation of the Kindergarten Union that kindergartens were run specifically as philanthropic institutions.³ The Union began Sydney's first free kindergarten in 1896 and by 1900 ran three. All, as indicated in Table 7.2, were in "slum" areas. The influence of kindergarten ideals quickly spread from the Union to most Homes for young children. The free kindergarten first operated from Ardill's Open All Night Refuge and kindergarten lessons were also given at Our Babies', Infants', Dalmar and Bethany Homes as well as the Waitara Foundling Hospital and Paddington Methodist Mission.⁴

It has been argued throughout this thesis that women's philanthropy was an aspect of the relationships which comprised

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1. P.Spearritt, "The Kindergarten movement: tradition and change" in D.Edgar (ed.), Social Change in Australia, Melbourne, 1974.
 2. M.Walker, The Development of Kindergartens in Australia, M.Ed.(Hons.), Sydney University, 1964, pp.119-32; Kindergarten Union, What is Kindergarten?, Sydney, n.d., p.2; and M. Munro, Shirley. The Story of a School in Sydney, Sydney, 1967, pp.3-5.
 3. American influence was crucial to this development in Kindergarten thought, Walker, op.cit., pp.176-89; Sydney University Review, 2, April 1882 and Kindergarten Union, A.R., 1895-6, p.6.
 4. M.(Mrs Francis) Anderson, The Free Kindergartens in Sydney, Sydney, 1914, pp.3-4; The Story of Kindergarten, op.cit., p.20; The Rescue, 5 December 1894; Walker, op.cit., p.260; The Methodist, 6 August 1898; The Deaconess, 24 September 1894 and 19 January 1895; Carlile Fox, op.cit., pp.119-20 and Infants' Home, Minutes, 17 August 1897.

the class system. The Kindergarten Union conformed to this model. The Executive Council of the Union was comprised of members of the upper middle class. More than two thirds were women and, as shown in Table 7.4¹, the Union was financed by women in about the same proportion. As demonstrated in Table 7.7, the women council members, whilst all ladies, were from a wide range of backgrounds. Women connected with education were particularly prominent.² Further ladies were recruited into committees to run and finance each kindergarten. The aim was to draw the rich and the poor into a direct philanthropic relationship, so ladies from a "rich" suburb were organised to maintain a kindergarten in a "poor" suburb.³ Other groups of ladies were also formed to enact a similar role, including the "Helping Hand Society" and the "Helpers' Fund".⁴

The kindergarten teachers were "new women", with their (albeit lowly paid) career and professional training. They were specifically recruited from the "cultured classes"⁵ and their role was to be "missionaries" of middle class culture and to be "stepping stones" for their fellow professionals to increase their influence over the working class.⁶ Like the deaconesses, Sisters and Y.W.C.A. Secretaries, they were expected to promote a woman's sphere significantly different from the prevailing concept of the 1870s. They were more used to working with and under men and did not demand autonomy over their sphere. They were to be ladies but also to epitomise "good mothers", substituting for "bad" or "inadequate" mothers. In the post-1900 years, as the stress on the value of

1. See above, following p.275.

2. See also Appendix A.

3. Kindergarten Union, A.R., 1906-7, p.3.

4. ibid., 1898-9, pp.24-5 and Walker, op.cit., p.206.

5. Kindergarten Union, A.R., 1898-9, p.18.

6. Kindergarten Union, Formation Not Re-formation, Sydney, n.d. p.2, Kindergarten Union, A.R., 1904-5, p.13 and At Home, 10 July, 1905.

TABLE 7.7

SAMPLE RANGE OF MEMBERSHIP OF THE KINDERGARTEN UNION OF N.S.W., 1890s

Name, Membership of Philanthropic Network (N)	Name, occupation of self or, if indicated, husband	Age in 1896 or on joining	Number of Children
(a) <u>C. of E.</u> Mrs Charlotte See (N)	John, merchant/politician	54	7
(b) <u>Presbyterian</u> Mrs Helen Fell (N)	James, businessman	50	3
(c) <u>Jewish</u> Mrs ? Landau (N)	J.H., Assistant minister, Great Synagogue	?	?
(d) <u>Catholic</u> Mrs Annie Toohey (N)	John, brewer	?	5 step
(e) <u>Methodist</u> Mrs Matilda Curnow Lady Helen MacMillan (N)	William, editor <u>S.M.H.</u> William, merchant/politician	71 ?	6 4 step
(f) <u>"New Women" teachers</u> Miss W.M.Liggins Miss Louisa MacDonald (N) Miss Harriett Newcomb Mrs Maybanke Wolstenholme (N)	Co-proprietor/teacher Girls' School Principal Women's College Kindergarten lecturer proprietor-editor <u>Woman's Voice</u> ; Proprietor-teacher Girls' School	? ? ? 51	0 0 0 6
(g) <u>Wives of Educationalists</u> Mrs Dorette MacCallum Mrs ? Scot-Skirving (N) Mrs Ada Weigall (N, 1880s)	Mungo, Professor Modern Literature Robert, Professor Medicine Albert, headmaster Sydney Grammar	mid 30s? ? late 50s?	3 ? 8
(h) <u>Elite</u> Lady Lucy Darley (N) Lady Susan Hampden (N)	Frederick, Chief Justice Henry, Governor	late 50s? ?	8 9
(i) <u>Reformer</u> Miss Rose Scott	Private means	53	0
(j) <u>Employer Interests</u> Mrs Alice Meeks Mrs Flora Fetherstonhaugh	Alfred, Company director/M.L.C./ President Sydney Chamber of Commerce Cuthbert, pastoralist, a founder Pastoralists' Union	late 40s? mid 40s?	? 3 at least

mothering increased so too did the Kindergarten Training College emphasise that their graduates would be "good mothers", for their own as well as others' children.¹

The Kindergarten's motto "As the twig is bent, the tree's inclined" summarised the belief in the importance of early childhood in the development of personality. Given the associated belief in working class incompetence (poverty was still a sign of almost-criminal inadequacy) it was necessary for such children to be exposed to middle class values. Institutionalisation was clearly no answer: not all working class children could be so dealt with. Increased government surveillance through the S.C.R.B. and "child protection" acts was also limited in scope. The kindergarten was a means whereby the philanthropic influence over children and their mothers², could be extended in co-operation with other measures. In particular, the teachers were to be "Angels of the State"³; not competitors with the S.C.R.B.

The rise of the kindergarten provides little evidence of a new, more humane understanding of the causes of poverty as taught by the widespread misery of the depression. The Kindergarten Union, as indicated in the quotation heading this chapter, assumed that poverty equated vice and inadequacy. The attributes of the new ideal of the lady - leisure, training, "good" habits, desire for work (suitable to one's class) and the love of beauty were seen as means of overcoming the problems of poverty. All that was needed was middle class guidance to inculcate such qualities in the young; factors such as exploitative landlords and employers, unemployment and inadequate sewerage and drainage were made irrelevant. Children and their families could be given practical aid⁴ but this

1. Kindergarten Union, Prospectus for Kindergarten College and Froebel House, Sydney, 1903-13 and e.g., Kindergarten Union, A.R., 1903-4, pp.7-8.

2. Mothers' Meetings were encouraged as part of the kindergarten ideal, e.g., Kindergarten Union, A.R., 1895-6, p.6 and 1898-9, p.33.

3. ibid., 1904-5, p.7.

4. e.g., ibid., 1898-9, p.10.

was incidental to kindergarten work and not seen as alleviating the main causes of poverty. For the most vulnerable, talks to the kindergarteners' mothers by Dr Dagmar Berne on the need for neat and attractive homes¹ was unwitting but nevertheless, cruel mockery. The assumptions of the Kindergarten Union were no less oppressive than those previously held by philanthropists.

The aim of the Kindergarten Union was to spread middle class values ("far reaching elevating influences") and by so doing reducing the need for gaols, reformatories and state assistance to paupers.² The belief in anti-pauperisation was as strong as ever: "no philanthropy [was] worth while which pauperises the individual by an emotional and over-zealous generosity".³ The second motto of the Union stressed free kindergartens as being in the interests of the middle class as "political economy ... a safe investment". To overcome what was perceived as lack of ambition in their parents, the children were taught to aspire to be skilled workers and so taught about various trades. The domestic ideology of the ladies, however, restricted lessons in female trades to that of a seamstress.⁴ In addition, children were taught the lesson that the depression had shattered for so many: "that good honest work is necessary to success and happiness".⁵

Kindergarten children were also taught order, cleanliness, punctuality, emotional restraint and loyalty to the established order. All these qualities were valued in themselves and as producing ideal workers. They were assumed to be lacking in the children and their class.⁶ The methods by which the children

1. *ibid.*, 1897-8, p.11.

2. *ibid.*, 1898-9, pp.10,17.

3. *ibid.*, 1904-5, p.7. See also, *ibid.*, 1895-6, p.6.

4. *ibid.*, 1897-8, p.12.

5. *ibid.*, 1897-8, p.12.

6. *ibid.*, 1895-6, p.5 and *The Weekly Advocate*, 26 June 1890, praising Ragged School children who "have much of their own way at home" yet were "orderly and respectful". cf. the more relaxed attitude of MacDonald, "[k]indergarten gutter babies ... so delightfully, adorably funny ... quite as happy [as] well brought up babies", *op.cit.*, 25 July 1896.

were taught those values were stern, at least until 1913 when the introduction of Montessori methods gave greater freedom to the child.¹ Until then, children were checked in their enthusiasm by such means as enforced marching; late-comers were refused admittance with no excuses allowed and baths were incorporated into the kindergarten routine until the parents responded to the hint.² The dictum "Cleanliness is next to godliness" was taken to its logical extreme: the children and their mothers were taught "that unduly soiled face and hands kept them out of their heaven until they were clean".³

The reaction of children and parents to free kindergartens enabled them to be a success and expand further in the twentieth century. The enjoyment of the children and its role as a partial solution (kindergarten was only open in the mornings) to child-care helped in this success.⁴ For some parents, the kindergarten also enabled access to the hegemonic culture and thus upward social mobility. It was with approval that one mother reported that her child had become the family's "authority ... they are continually being corrected and shown the better way to speak or act".⁵ One father had similar sentiments: his child taught "us all how to behave at table, and that's a good thing, if you did nothing else".⁶

The success of the (by 1911, eight) free kindergartens⁷ confirmed, to the Union, their analysis of social problems. The Reports reflect this confidence with stories of larrikins won over and property values rising in the Kindergarten's

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1. Kindergarten Union, A.R., 1913-4, p.13. See also, H.McGrath, "The Montessori Methods of Education", Australian Journal of Early Childhood, 5:4, December 1980, esp. p.20.
 2. Kindergarten Union, A.R., 1895-6, pp.5-6, 1897-8, p.7 and 1903-4, pp.8-9.
 3. ibid., 1903-4, p.8.
 4. The Australian Kindergarten Magazine, November 1910, the siting of the first free kindergarten was influenced by a laundress' problems of child-care.
 5. Kindergarten Union, A.R., 1898-9, p.23.
 6. ibid., 1903-4, p.16.
 7. Carlile Fox, op.cit., p.107.

neighbourhood.¹ This confidence reached its height with the report that the Japanese victory over Russia was due to the former's adoption of kindergarten training.² The success of kindergartens also encouraged a range of associated demands.

One demand was for supervised, public playgrounds for the poor. Kindergarten advocates comprised the majority of the Playgrounds Association of N.S.W.,³ which led this demand. The kindergarten ideal also reinforced the ideal of the "reform park" - parks which relieved working class living conditions without disrupting industrial conditions.⁴

Individual members of the Kindergarten Union's Executive Council were also encouraged in their initiatives. Ethel Davenport led a group of ladies who recognised the need to provide all-day child-care for working mothers. The result in 1905 was the Sydney Day Nursery Association. Its success was limited, partly due to its charge of 3d. a day - a high proportion of women's earnings.⁵ Nevertheless, it proved to be a lasting extension of philanthropic child-care provision. Another member was Dr Alan Carroll who attempted to develop more efficient child-raising practices. His ideas attracted support from a diverse range of influential people - from leading doctors and their wives to conservative and Labor politicians. He founded (the second) Child Study Association in 1904 to provide free advice to poor mothers on child-raising.⁶

1. Kindergarten Union, op.cit., 1900-1, p.19 and 1904-5, p.6.

2. ibid., 1905-6, p.8.

3. Most notable was Maybanke Anderson, see Appendix A for Wolstenholme, Playgrounds Association of N.S.W., A.R.s., 1913-7, M.Anderson, Play and Playgrounds, Sydney, 1914 and Walker, op.cit., p.266.

4. C.Cranz, "Women in Urban Parks", Signs, 5:3, Spring 1980, esp. pp.85-90. The American periodisation largely coincides with the experience in N.S.W. cf. C.Cunneen, "Hands off the Parks!" in Roe, Twentieth Century Sydney, op.cit., which ignores the role of women in the demand for public parks.

5. Australian Kindergarten Magazine, January 1911; Walker, op.cit., p.286. The charge was, however, probably the cheapest possible. Ardill charged 4d a day at his creche and advocated the same charge in 1907, The Rescue, 5 August 1893 and 30 April 1907. See also Sydney Day Nursery Association, A.R.s., 1910-4.

6. Kindergarten Union, A.R., 1898-9, p.27; D. Izett, Health & Longevity, Sydney, 1915, esp. pp.4-9 and C. Bacchi, "The Nature-Nurture debate in Australia", Historical Studies, 19: 75, October 1980, p. 206-7.

The 1890s was a decade of profound changes, of intimations of social upheaval and challenges to previously-held certainties. Women philanthropists concerned for the young shared fully in these developments. As ladies, they had proved to be inadequate to meet the challenges of the depression, as had all philanthropists. The new stress on professionalism in women's philanthropy also undermined confidence that ladylike influence could alone solve social problems. In the care of destitute children ladies' influence accordingly declined. Instead of being acknowledged powers within their sphere, they tended more and more to be subordinate to male control. This trend was also evident in the care of sick and handicapped children, although at least one nun defied the trend through the power of her own personality and the Rules of her Order. Ladies were more successful in the supervision of working girls and pre-school children as those two groups' greater freedom to reject the proffered philanthropy led the ladies to be more responsive to the recipients' real needs. In these activities ladies, respectively, defended their right to power within the woman's sphere and used the talents of the "new woman" to incorporate another area of philanthropic endeavour within their sphere.

In all the areas of women's philanthropic care of the young, however, there was increasing importance placed on motherhood. This trend was a general one, affecting not only philanthropy. It was symbolised by the formation in 1896 of the Sydney Mothers' Union, an organisation which specifically and aggressively promoted marriage and "the glory of Motherhood".¹ In this sense, Davin's analysis of the formation of the ideology of motherhood in the first decades of the twentieth century starts where this thesis ends.² The change from

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1. Mothers' Union for the Diocese of Sydney, A.R.s, 1901-3, 1909-14, esp. A.R., 1909-10, pp.6-8, Archbishop's address. See also S.Willis, "Homes are Divine Workshops" in Windschuttle, op.cit.
 2. A.Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood", History Workshop, 5, Spring 1978.

the stress on the lady to that on the mother can be summarised by contrasting two assertions. One was Ruskin's in 1871 that ladies were responsible for all wars and injustices in that such misery could be prevented by their actions as "Sisters of Charity".¹ The second was constantly repeated by, inter alia, the Kindergarten Union in the early twentieth century: "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world".² Whether as lady or mother, women shouldered responsibility for social ills. Real power over their allotted sphere, despite the promise of the 1880s, proved more elusive.

1. Ruskin, op.cit., esp. pp. xxv-xxviii, 136.

2. e.g., Kindergarten Union, A.R., 1903-4, p.7.