

Chapter 8

PHILANTHROPY FOR ADULTS: THE DECLINING ROLE OF THE LADY
WITHIN THE WOMAN'S SPHERE.

battle with evil, or effect some
good ... 'tis easily far better to
have done something, even blunderingly,
than to have only dreamt of doing it
... if any do thus find fault ... it
is a sign that you are becoming a
power ... that is worth a great deal. (1)

(a) Mass Poverty and the Response of the Lady

Ladies, by the end of the 1880s, were both active and confident in their philanthropic role within the woman's sphere. This confidence, like the confidence in private philanthropy generally, was undermined by the social misery generated by the depression of the 1890s. As argued in the previous chapter, the depression exposed the inadequacies of philanthropic organisations. Demand for their services multiplied far beyond their resources, both in terms of providing help and of investigating each applicant's "deserving" character. As a result, the concept of the woman's sphere underwent rapid change. Just as women were increasingly utilised to assist organisations which catered just for boys, so too were women increasingly mobilised to assist destitute males as well as females. In addition, the power and prestige of the lady in the philanthropic care of adults declined as it had in the philanthropic care of the young.

The "flurry of social and political reform"² by the state in the 1890s had the function of, inter alia, making philanthropic organisations more effective. Initiatives included broadening the criteria for the granting of subsidies.

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1. [E.Manning], President's Address, 3 May 1899, loose ms, University Women's Settlement, Box S32, Sydney University Archives.
 2. B.K.de Garis, "1890-1900" in F.Crowley (ed.), A New History of Australia, Melbourne, 1974, p.217.

Subsidies were, for the first time, granted to small, local societies as well as "sectarian" ones.¹ Another means of compensating for the limitations of philanthropy was the introduction of old age pensions.

The movement for old age pensions, especially through the Old Age Pensions League, grew in popularity from 1896 to the achievement of its object in 1900.² Whilst in practice pensions had largely the same function as philanthropy,³ they were also a means of by-passing the philanthropic network both within and without the woman's sphere. In addition, the old-age pensions campaign tended to discredit existing, and discourage new, philanthropic institutions for the aged. The two government institutions housing old women - Newington Asylum and the (by 1900, 21) Cottage Homes for Aged Couples both attracted controversy. The reluctance of old women to enter Newington again aroused doubts as to its management⁴ and the Matron of the Cottage Homes was charged with being "constantly drunk" and using "the foulest language". An investigation upheld her administration but judged her as "hysterical, excitable, impulsive ... difficult to deal with".⁵ The Catholic old people's homes (St. Joseph's Providence Home and the Home for the Aged Poor) continued to operate without controversy. By 1900, however, the former housed mainly children and there were only 18 adult inmates in both.⁶ Similarly the Sir Moses Montefiore Jewish Home catered for only

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1. This issue is analysed in Horsburgh, Government Subsidy of Voluntary Social Welfare Organisations, op.cit. For a summary of the increase, see ibid., Appendix V11.
 2. Kewley, Social Security in Australia, op.cit., chs. 2 and 3 and Dickey, Ph.D., op.cit., pp.331-41.
 3. J.Roe, "Old Age, Young Country: The First Old Age Pension and Pensioners in New South Wales", Teaching History, July 1981.
 4. Benevolent Society of N.S.W., A.R., 1892, p.17.
 5. Report of the Board of Inquiry into Mrs Janet Gilmore, Matron Superintendent of the Cottage Homes, 1895, in N.S.W.L.A., V. & P., 1895, vol.4, p.3.
 6. Statistical Register of N.S.W., 1899, p.808.

a small number of old people.¹ The process begun in 1862 of state replacing private philanthropy meant that by 1902 the care of the aged was only a minor concern of the woman's sphere. Concomitantly, the role of ladies and employed Matrons had also declined to relative insignificance.

The need for increasing state intervention demonstrated not just the inadequacy of philanthropy but also the inadequacy of "ladies" undertaking to ensure stability within the woman's sphere. One important response of the "ladies" was to attempt to perform their philanthropic functions within their sphere using the resources of the state, that is, by voting. Like the temperance and social purity movements, the campaign for women's suffrage attempted to defend the values and the concept of the woman's sphere whilst diminishing the need for philanthropy within it. The importance of the aims and assumptions of woman's sphere philanthropy to the suffrage campaign is further analysed in the following chapter.

Another major philanthropic response to the increased level of poverty resulted in a broadening of the woman's sphere. Ladies extensively mobilised in an attempt to meet the basic needs of the poor of both sexes. Those involved, however, generally failed to retain control over their activities.

Thirteen organisations which involved women in the rush to relieve the mass destitution are listed in Table 8.1. The primary responsibility for "outdoor" relief lay with the N.S.W. Benevolent Society which resultantly assisted an average of 4,485 "cases" each year of the decade.² As the premier charity in the colony, the Society's attitude towards

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1. Carlile Fox, op.cit., pp.200-1, by 1911 it had 17 beds. It was run by the (male) Hebrew Philanthropic and Orphan Society but apparently took in both sexes, By-Laws and Orders of the Sir Moses Montefiore Jewish Home, Sydney, n.d.(1887?).
 2. Dickey, Ph.D., op.cit., p.478. The problems inherent in dealing with philanthropic statistics is demonstrated by the inability to determine the number of individuals or families assisted. Those assisted were predominantly women and children, Colonial Secretary In-letters, 91/1151, from Hon. Secretary of Benevolent Society, 19 January 1891.

TABLE 8.1.

ORGANISATIONS INVOLVING WOMEN FOR THE RELIEF OF ADULT DESTITUTION, 1890s¹

Name	Persons assisted during year (1899 or 1898-9)	Changes/Comments
Benevolent Society of N.S.W.	854 (weekly average of cases)	Pitt St. site resumed 1901, to Thomas & Quay Streets, city.
Sydney Rescue Work Society	19,409 ² "cases"	Superceded Blue Ribbon Gospel Army 1891/subsidy 1893-9/affiliated Woman's Crusade re-formed 1892
Salvation Army Women's Social Department	239 inmates of homes	1896 founded Women's Shelter and Food Depot/1897, League of Mercy/various inner-city locations.
St. Joseph's Providence Home	150 "cases", 16 admitted, 2,540 meals	-
Hebrew Ladies' Dorcas and Benevolent Institution*	?	Merged 1912 as Sydney Hebrew Ladies' Maternity and Benevolent Society
Sydney Ladies' Aid Society* (founded 1894)	?	
Sydney City Mission	(Winter Help) 2,855	Subsidy 1897
Our Lady Help of Christians Night Refuge and Soup Kitchen (founded 1894)	(daily average of 19)	Established by Nursing Sisters of the Little Company of Mary as shelter, employment agency for destitute women
Help-in-Need Society* (founded 1895)	?	Provided loans, visited prisons/asylums
St. Vincent's de Paul Ladies' Work Society**	?	Sewed clothes for distribution by St. Vincent de Paul Society
Lady Almoners of the Sacred Heart**	?	Assisted Sisters of the Sacred Heart
St. Vincent's Society**	?	Assisted Sisters of Charity
Ladies' Association of Charity** (founded 1886)	?	Assisted Little Sisters of the Poor/donations to Catholic charities

1. Excluding local benevolent societies, for which see Table 8.2.

2. As usual, statistics supplied by Ardill need to be treated with special caution.

* Run by Jewish women.

** Run by Catholic lay women.

women philanthropists and the poor themselves was of crucial importance.

During the 1890s, the major acknowledgement of the woman's sphere by the Benevolent Society was their Ladies' Committee. The Committee, as in the 1880s, was regularly praised by the Society but fast became anachronistic. The Committee's function of interrogating pregnant applicants came to be seen as cruel and could be farcical. The Royal Commissioners of 1898-9 criticised the interview as a "painful ordeal" for applicants and also exposed the problems of ladies attempting to preserve genteel remoteness whilst eliciting information. Thus one question designed to discover the applicants' occupations ("What were you doing at the time of the seduction?") had to be re-phrased because of "lewd" answers.¹

The By-Laws of 1896 allowed for a minimum of seven members of the Ladies' Committee and the women appointed were mostly the elderly wives of wealthy professional men.² They included key members of the evangelical network: Ann Goodlet, Marian Allen, Sarah Wilshire, Eleanor Riley and Mary Hay. Even Jane Allen, 83 years old in 1890, continued her membership.³ Despite their eminence in philanthropy and continued support for the concept of ladies supervising domestic arrangements,⁴ the Committee's role gradually became irrelevant. The ladies were refused joint meetings with the Society Board and forbidden even to hold fund-raising activities without permission.⁵ Eventually, and despite the ladies' protests, the Committee was disbanded.⁶

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1. Royal Commission 1898-9, Second Report and evidence, op.cit., pp.xxvii, 57, cf., e.g., Benevolent Society of N.S.W., A.R., 1900, p.26.
 2. ibid., 1896, p.21 and Benevolent Society of N.S.W., By-Laws, 14 April 1896, p.13.
 3. See Appendix A for further information on these women.
 4. Benevolent Society of N.S.W., By-Laws, Sydney, 1903, p.15.
 5. Benevolent Society of N.S.W., Minutes, 10 August 1911 and 10 October 1912.
 6. ibid., 10 April - 1 September 1913 and Benevolent Society of N.S.W., A.R., 1913, p.5.

The role of women in the Benevolent Society ceased to be that of ladies formally operating within a separate woman's sphere. Instead women increasingly worked with men but in a subordinate position. From 1903, three of the twenty-one executive positions were preserved for women.¹ The only challenge to the Board was when the N.S.W. Labor government insisted on selecting their own women appointees.² First Kate Dwyer, an A.L.P. executive member, and later the wives of Premiers McGowen and Holman were appointed. None, however, attempted to alter the Society's basic philanthropic policy. Ada Holman in particular has left a monument to the extent to which she espoused bourgeois ideas and priorities.³

Other roles for women philanthropists within the N.S.W. Benevolent Society included that of voluntary, and powerless, visitors distributing comforts and religion to the inmates.⁴ Women were also employed - as nurses, Matron and after 1893, doctors. All were subordinate to the Board but the doctors were in a particularly invidious position. Women doctors were employed only after the medical staff resigned in protest at the Society's "callous indifference" to the inmates' health.⁵ As the Asylum was one of their few avenues for essential hospital experience, women doctors were unlikely to protest in such a way.⁶

The N.S.W. Benevolent Society, as the major philanthropic organisation, reflected the decline in the concept of ladies

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1. With the disbandment of the Ladies' Committee, women were given an extra seat on the Board, ibid., 1913, p.5.
 2. Benevolent Society of N.S.W., Minutes, 6 April - 8 June 1911.
 3. A.Holman, Memoirs of a Premier's Wife, Sydney, 1914. Her acceptance of the mystique of the vice-regal families is particularly evident.
 4. e.g., Benevolent Society of N.S.W., A.R., 1890, p.16 and 1900, p.26.
 5. ibid., 1893, pp.12-4 and Benevolent Society of N.S.W., Minutes, 27 November 1893.
 6. For the struggle of women to become resident doctors in Sydney's major hospitals see M.Hutton Neve, 'This Mad Folly!', The History of Australia's Pioneer Women Doctors, Sydney, 1980, esp.pp.59-60, 75-100. While not generally reliable Neve is accurate in this respect.

having independent rights over the woman's sphere. In a decade when it was thought one in six married men had deserted their wives¹, "ladies" were clearly inadequate solutions to social problems. New methods were advocated instead, particularly old age pensions and the 1896 S.C.R.B. amendment.² Reference was first made in 1895 to women's "scanty earnings",³ and there was a carefully worded argument that, contrary to popular opinion, there was a connection between individual poverty and the economy. The latter, however, was only argued on the basis of a decline in applications for assistance coinciding with a general increase in prosperity.⁴ Generally, the aims and attitudes of philanthropists changed little. The predominant belief of the management of the Benevolent Society in the fin de siecle decades was that generally prevalent amongst philanthropists: pauperism was a great danger; relief recipients should show shame and that the cause of "most" need for charity was "without doubt, intemperance, idleness, thriftlessness, wastefulness, and extravagance".⁵ It is argued in this chapter that ladies attempted to alleviate the mass misery without substantially altering their basic conception of the cause of poverty. The N.S.W. Benevolent Society provides evidence that the ladies' views were within the mainstream of philanthropic thought. Ladies in the 1890s, as in previous decades, were no harder - nor softer - than their male counterparts nor less immune to upholding their class interests.

A major means of alleviating the effects of the depression was through a myriad of benevolent societies focused on churches and localities. The Statistical Register provides one indication of the explosion in this kind of activity.

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1. Benevolent Society of N.S.W., Minutes, 9 March 1892.
 2. e.g., Benevolent Society of N.S.W., A.R., 1895, pp.15-6 and 1900, pp.18, 20.
 3. ibid., 1895, p.15.
 4. ibid., 1899, p.15.
 5. ibid., 1896, pp.14-5; Royal Commission 1898-9, Second Report, op.cit., pp.xiv, xvi and Charities Gazette (the Society's official journal), 25 June 1897.

Only 3 suburban and 12 country societies were listed in 1890 whilst nine years later there were 22 suburban and 46 country benevolent societies. In addition, 6 societies provided assistance to specific nationalities.¹ Given that the Register only listed the most prominent societies, the estimate of 150 benevolent societies in Sydney in 1898 was unlikely to have been greatly exaggerated.² Even small social organisations, such as the Stanmore and Enmore Married Ladies' Winter Club provided help to the needy.³ Churches were also active and relied on women to provide such help. Thus the Quakers, with only 158 members in Sydney in 1891, found women to organise a Relief Committee⁴ and the Church of England nuns fed "poor and hungry men".⁵ Similarly the Congregationalists with 16,203 Sydney members in 1891 provided help through its Woolloomooloo Mission Settlement with "Sisters" under the direction of a Ladies' Committee.⁶

Sydney's Jewish community (4,425 in 1891) also continued to look after its poorer members. Through the three organisations specified in Table 8.1, elite Jewish women assisted "deserving" poor women and visited asylums and the jail.⁷ Male equivalents of these organisations were run by men for men.⁸ This pattern was in keeping with both the woman's sphere concept and the traditional Jewish segregation of the sexes.

One of the major responses to the depression was the

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1. Statistical Register of N.S.W., 1890, p.407 and 1899, pp. 814-5.
 2. Benevolent Society of N.S.W., A.R., 1898, p.22.
 3. The Dawn, 1 June 1894.
 4. C.Stevenson, With Unhurried Pace. A Brief History of Quakers in Australia, Melbourne, 1973, p.33. One of the two organisers, Pottie, is listed in Appendix A.
 5. Upton, op.cit., p.11.
 6. Infants' Home, Minutes, 19 January 1897 and 11 September 1900 and The Watchman, 30 October - 11 December 1897.
 7. Sydney Hebrew Ladies' Maternity and Benevolent Society, A.R.s, 1912-5; Porush, op.cit.; I.Harris (ed.), The Jewish Year Book, London, 1900-1, p.130; Carlile Fox, op.cit., pp.92,223 and Help-in-Need Society, A.R.s, 1912-5.
 8. The Sydney Jewish Aid Society, N.S.W. Hebrew Benevolent Society and Hebrew Relief Society.

formation of societies to assist the poor in specific localities. Those operating in the 1890s are listed in Table 8.2. As shown in that Table, there are few indications of the numbers assisted during the 1890s; most were subsidised and nearly one third were specifically "Ladies'" societies.

Little detailed information can be discovered about these societies' operations in the 1890s. The earliest Reports date from 1911 and scattered newspaper references provide little detail.¹ However, Sir John See assumed that twenty of the main societies were all, as they were in Melbourne, "Ladies' Benevolent Societies".² To overcome the "pauperisation" tendencies of such Lady Bountiful activity, the Benevolent Societies allocated ladies to districts to investigate the lives of the applicants.³ The police assisted some local societies in their investigations, as they did the N.S.W. Benevolent Society.⁴ Consequently, such lady inspectors were unpopular with the poor as illustrated, for example, in Rodd's reminiscences.⁵

The local benevolent societies extensively mobilised women into philanthropy but did little to further the power or reputation of ladies working within the philanthropic woman's sphere. Once the worst of the depression years were over, their impact was slight. The most detailed account of a local benevolent society can be obtained for Waterloo. While Waterloo was one of the poorest suburbs there is no reason to suggest that the Waterloo Benevolent Society operated

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1. e.g., The Dawn, 1 October 1893, 1 April - 1 August 1894 and Woman's Voice, 9 August 1894.
 2. S.C.M.H., 15 August 1900 and Charity Organisation Society of Melbourne, A Guide to Charity and to the Philanthropic Work of Victoria, Melbourne, 1912, esp. p.61.
 3. E.Morris, Inaugural Address, Australasian Conference on Charity, Melbourne, 1890, pp.6-7 and, e.g., Manly Benevolent Society, A.R., 1912-3, p.2.
 4. e.g., Willoughby Benevolent Society, A.R., 1911-2, p.2.
 5. L.C.Rodd, A Gentle Shipwreck, Melbourne, 1975, p.28. Rodd powerfully described the hostility "charitable" ladies could evoke. However, his implication that a Benevolent Society brought unsolicited food to his family is highly unlikely.

TABLE 8.2 LOCAL BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES, SYDNEY, 1890s¹

Name, Government Subsidy (S)	Numbers assisted during year (where known)
Annandale Ladies' (S)	
Ashfield* (S)	1894-5, 34 families ²
Balmain** (S)	1895, about 1,233 people
Botany (S)	
Enfield District (by 1912, Ladies')* (S)	
Erskineville	
Glebe** (disbanded 1911)	
Hunters Hill Relief	
Leichhardt Ladies'* ** (S)	
Newtown Ladies' (S)	
North Sydney* (S) (amalgamated 1895 with St. Peter's Relief Society) ^{3**}	
Paddington Ladies' (1898 only)	
Petersham*, Marrickville and District (S) (two societies from 1899)**	(December 1895 - 94 families)
Randwick and Coogee Sick and Poor Relief* (S)**	
Rockdale* (S)	
St. George Ladies' (Kogarah)*(S)	1895, average 40 families a fortnight
St. Leonards	
St. Peters Ladies' (S)	
Waterloo Ladies' (reconstituted 1903) (S)	
Waverley* ** (S)	
Willoughby*	
Woollahra (S)	

1. From Statistical Register of N.S.W., 1890-1900, Charitable Returns.
 2. Woman's Voice, 24 August 1895.
 3. Fell, op.cit., 14 July 1895, this was the local church society, cf. the Society listed below based on the suburb of St. Peters.
- * A.R.s in ML for all or part of 1911-4. Twenty such societies are also listed in Carlile Fox, op.cit., passim.
- ** S.M.H., 21 July 1909, referred to as "Ladies' Benevolent Societies", managed by committees of ladies who collected money and investigated cases.

in a markedly different manner from other local Societies. The Waterloo Society was firmly tied to local government, in need of subsidisation to operate and reliant on the dedication of local ladies. It provided desperately needed assistance yet the overall impression is of "pleasant evenings", fund-raising social occasions and the exchanging of gifts of appreciation.¹

Women also responded to the high level of poverty in the 1890s through organisations under Catholic and evangelical auspices. As with the local benevolent societies, however, whilst it was deemed appropriate for women to engage in such organised "Lady Bountiful" activity, they were generally denied autonomy over their actions.

The major effort by the Catholic Church to relieve the destitute was through the all-male St. Vincent's de Paul Society. An average of 1,483 families were assisted each year through the 1890s.² To a large extent the Society replaced the older role of convents dispensing charity to suppliants. Lay women were organised to help the poor through the four organisations noted in Table 8.1.³ Numerous parochial "ladies" societies also provided money and clothes for the religious to distribute to the poor.⁴ The ideal laywoman, however, worked "unostentatiously"⁵ and no details of the membership or operations of their organisations have been found. The Catholic

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1. Waterloo Benevolent Society, Minutes, 1903-8 in Records of South Sydney Municipal Council, (uncat.) ML MSS 260 Box K47473 and M.E.Hyslop, letter to W.Allen, 15 December 1913, loose in *ibid*.
 2. Dickey, Ph.D., *op.cit.*, p.479. No figure is estimated for 1892, which is therefore excluded from my average.
 3. Following p.311. See also The Catholic Press, e.g., 4 January, 22 February, 16 May, 11 November and 12 December 1896 and The Freeman's Journal, 2 August 1890 and P.Boyle, "The Society of St.Vincent de Paul", Australian Catholic Record, IX, 1903, p.44.
 4. e.g., The Catholic Press, 19 September (Surry Hills), 7 November (Ashfield) and 26 September 1896 and W.Delaney and J. Dawes, They Passed This Way, Sydney, [1970?], p.80 (Concord).
 5. The Catholic Press, 28 November 1895 (Mrs John Meagher).

hierarchy remained firm in the belief that lay women should remain in seclusion as "Queen of the Home". Even after women's suffrage had been achieved, and the Church argued that Catholic women should vote to protect Catholic interests, it was maintained that their "delicate modesty" would result in an "innate repugnance" at such a public act.¹

As for the previous decades, however, it must be stressed that a lack of a public role cannot be equated with general insignificance. The fund-raising abilities of Catholic women were particularly formidable. In 1896, for example, the Ladies' Executive Committee of St. Mary's (Cathedral) held a fund-raising Fair. Despite the women's lack of control of its organisation, planning meetings attracted up to 500 women. A similar Fair in 1904 made over £13,000 profit.²

In 1911, it was considered newsworthy that nuns were to participate in the Australian Catholic Congress.³ As individuals, nuns were obscure; as institutions within the Catholic community, their Orders were highly visible and respected. Historians have given Moran the credit for the achievements of the nuns during his archbishopric.⁴ Moran was more generous, if rarely specific.⁵ Nuns were praised for their dedication, for their sheer numbers (there were 894 nuns to 333 priests and brothers in Sydney in 1900) and for Protestant envy of their achievements.⁶ Such was the extent to which Catholic

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1. T.Fitzgerald, "Women's Suffrage from a Catholic Standpoint", Australasian Catholic Record, IX, 1903, esp.pp.381,390. See also The Catholic Press, 22 December 1896 (Cardinal Carroll) and P. and D.O'Farrell, "The Status of Women", Bulletin of Christian Affairs, 57, October 1975 and 58, November 1975.
 2. The Catholic Press, 5 September - 21 November 1896 and Australasian Catholic Record, X, 1904, p.428.
 3. S.M.H., 5 January 1911.
 4. e.g., P.O'Farrell, St.Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, 1971, p.224 and E.O'Brien, "Cardinal Moran's Part in Public Affairs", J.R.A.H.S., 28, 1942, p.15.
 5. e.g., Moran, op.cit., p.957, nuns were the Church's "brightest Ornament".
 6. e.g., Poor School's Report, St.Mary's Cathedral, 1909, p.2 and Australasian Catholic Directory, 1900, p.162 and 1892, p.34.

resources were stretched, however, that only one new institution was opened by nuns to cope with the new level of poverty.¹ As shown in Table 8.1, this was a Refuge and Soup Kitchen. It was run along conventional lines and sited next to the Catholic Bible Hall. It was supported by prominent ladies, Protestant (for example, Lady Macleay) and Catholic (such as Lady (W.P.) Manning and Mrs Slattery).² The nuns, however, could do little more than provide temporary food and shelter. Their inadequacy in face of the enormous social problem is evident from the pride with which it was reported that in the first year, three girls had been found permanent employment.³

Evangelical women also responded to the tragedy of the 1890s. Like their Catholic counterparts they received fulsome praise for their work within the woman's sphere but failed to increase their autonomy over their work. Evangelical women worked to assist the destitute mainly through three organisations listed in Table 8.1: the Sydney City Mission; Sydney Rescue Work Society (S.R.W.S.) and Salvation Army.

All three of these organisations attempted to relieve material needs whilst maintaining the primacy of spiritual needs. The City Mission's response was particularly grudging and delayed so that it was not until 1894 that all the money donated specifically each year for poor relief was spent.⁴ Most satisfaction was gained if the poor themselves undertook such help: a special society "The Labour of Love" was established to promote such activity.⁵ The irony, as in previous decades, was that evangelicals were so active yet could be so unresponsive to the needs expressed by the poor

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1. Another, Mont St.Margaret's Home for Mental Invalids (opened 1894 at Ryde by the Nursing Sisters of the Little Company of Mary) was intended as a charity but the depression meant that only paying patients were admitted, Wordley, et.al., op.cit., pp.39-44.
 2. Wordley et.al., op.cit., pp.214-7 reproduces the first A.R. of the Refuge.
 3. op.cit., p.215.
 4. e.g., Sydney City Mission, A.R., 1899-90, p.36 and 1893-4, p.63.
 5. S.C.M.H., 15 December 1899 and 15 June 1903.

themselves. The rejection of the material needs of those they helped could be complete. Thus the Mission encouraged a widow with dependent children in her sabbatarianism which led to "peace of mind" but the failure of her business, and Ardill totally rejected any need for fire-fighting facilities at his, generally delapidated, Homes because "by trusting in the God of Salvation, we secure deliverance".¹ The evangelical priority was summed up in the breath-takingly callous argument that "It is ... more satisfactory to convert a man when he has been fed When he is hungry he is weak and apt to be merely emotional."²

Evangelicals also continued to offer philanthropy whilst ignoring the demand for work and justice. This was a particular problem with the Salvation Army, and the Working Men's Executive Committee for the Unemployed rejected Ardill's schemes on the same basis whilst the City Night Refuge was picketed during 1890 for providing "scab" labour.³ Ardill was also criticised for the "near starvation" wages the inmates of his institutions had to accept in the jobs he found for them.⁴ In addition, the alliance between philanthropy and social control remained firm. Thus the City Mission argued that

wealthy mercantile firms ... [should give to the Mission] to ensure the peace and safety of the city ... and the stability of the wealth which is drawn from the city. (5)

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1. Sydney City Mission, A.R., 1899-1900, p.28 and Royal Commission, 1898-9, Third Report, op.cit., p.xvii.
 2. S.M.H., 5 October 1903.
 3. P.O'Farrell, "The History of the New South Wales Labour Movement, 1880-1910. A Religious Interpretation", Journal of Religious History, 2:2, December 1962, pp.139-43; Ardill's Newspaper Clipping Book, S.R.W.S., pp.57-8 and (anon.), Fifty Years of the City Night Refuge and Soup Kitchen, Sydney, 1917, p.13.
 4. Ardill denied this charge but a committee member gave evidence that they "liked" wages to be at least 3/6 per week, Royal Commission 1898-9, Third Report and evidence, op.cit., pp.xv, 14, 28.
 5. Sydney City Mission, A.R., 1896-7, p.11. See also, ibid., 1897-8, p.7 and S.C.M.H., 1 October 1908.

Ardill in turn justified his requirement that inmates of his "free" Refuge do day labour and return their earnings to him because there "is too much mere charity which only pauperises those whom it is sought to benefit".¹

As "the poor" were the raison d'être of such organisations so they were seen as desirable necessities rightfully under philanthropists' authority. Thus the biblical assurance that the poor "you shall always have with you" was constantly reiterated and the City Missionaries' reports frequently mention entering homes despite the occupants' wishes.² In the 1880s, however, a more humane influence was exerted by those in closest contact with the poor. There is evidence that the City Missionaries and two Biblewomen (Craven and Spear)³ continued to perform this role in the 1890s. It was these workers who exposed cases of sweating, protested about inadequate wages and urged old age pensions.⁴ Spear and her husband also operated a soup kitchen for children from their home and missionaries attempted to leave their food depots open longer than the Mission wished.⁵ As employees, however, they had little power over policy.

A similar influence could be expected to be exerted by the women who voluntarily assisted evangelical organisations and

1. S.R.W.S., A.R., 1892-3, p.3.

2. e.g., S.C.M.H. editorials, 15 September 1897, 15 June 1898, 15 March 1900 and 1 November 1907 and H.Bowmaker, "Leaves from my Journal", ibid., e.g., 15 September 1897 and Sister Moore, "An Account of One Day's Work", ibid., 1 September 1913.

3. See Appendix A, entry for Craven. Less is known of Spear who was a Biblewoman from 1891-1900.

4. e.g., Sydney City Mission, A.R., 1897-8, pp.15-6 and 1894-5, pp.9-11. For conflicting opinions between the missionaries and mission supporters about pensions, see ibid., 1897-8, p.18 cf. response to Hampden's speech at annual meeting, Sydney City Mission, Minutes, 10 March 1898; about the birth rate scare, S.C.M.H., editorial, 15 April 1904 and Sydney City Mission, A.R., 1903-4, p.23.

5. S.C.M.H., 15 May 1900 and Sydney City Mission, Minutes, 13 September 1894.

worked amongst the poor. Mission Ladies' Committee member, Elizabeth Ward, for example, understood that "very little was known of the struggles of the poor by those who lived in comfortable homes".¹ Such women, however, were constrained by an emphasis, not on their ladyhood and accompanying rights but, as argued in Chapter 7, on their motherliness and "home" virtues. Women were to work within their sphere as they did in their homes: devotedly and under the ultimate control of men. Philanthropy was simply what a "good" woman sought "as naturally as the bird its nest".² A woman instinctively went from her home where "she is sovereign" to help the poor, criminal and sick and a check to her work was a blow to her "motherhood".³ Women philanthropists were to be man's "complement and helper" and even the Salvation Army rejected the aggressive zeal of its earlier women officers for "true women ... quietly [standing] on the nobleness of their God-given nature, respecting themselves because they are women and proudly doing women's work".⁴ Women working for Ardill were also praised for their devotion but expected to be subordinate within the woman's sphere. They had to be their "sisters' keepers", embodying "the blessedness of purity and home" and the "pure sensibilities of virtuous women" in contrast to the "tainted, loathsome mass" of sinners.⁵ Only two possibilities were seen for women: a wild life of self-indulgent freedom and excitement or the quiet path of obedience, labour and self-restraint.⁶

1. Ward, op.cit., p.38.

2. S.C.M.H., (editorial), 15 October 1897. See also Matthew's fascinating exploration of the meaning of a "good woman", J. Matthews, Good and Mad Women: a Study of the Gender-Order in South Australia 1820-1970, Ph.D., Adelaide, 1978.

3. S.C.M.H., 15 January 1904, 15 October 1897 (editorials) and 15 November 1898 (about Mrs Robjohns).

4. S.C.M.H., (editorial), 15 October 1897 and Bolton, op.cit., p.153 quoting the War Cry (1895).

5. S.R.W.S., A.R., 1891-2, pp.18-21, articles by Ellice Hopkins and Mrs (Major) Poole.

6. S.R.W.S., A.R., 1894-5, p.8.

Such beliefs confined and restricted evangelical women even when they worked through their own organisations or when male organisations were dependent on the women for their survival. Women supporters of Ardill, for example, formed the separate but affiliated Woman's Crusade.¹ Gertrude Williams, Ardill's niece who lived with the family, was the organiser.² The members performed traditional woman's sphere work: "rescuing" prostitutes; sewing clothes for the poor; collecting money and holding prayer meetings.³ At least one woman resigned because of the Crusade's refusal to be involved in a less traditional area - public agitation for police matrons.⁴ Material help was given only if "absolutely necessary".⁵ A member of the Sydney Ladies' Evangelical Union, Mrs Pettit, financed a Mission Home which was run by the Crusade as a "settlement". The "settlement" operated on the principle that middle class women could, by living in the midst of "slums", spread their values to their neighbours. It was popularised first by the Barnetts in London, then Jane Addams in Chicago.⁶ In Sydney, "settlements" were begun by the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches⁷ and, as discussed below, Sydney University. A series of young women lived in the Crusade's settlement, holding meetings, assisting Dr Richard Arthur in the associated Medical Mission and visiting the institutionalised, the poor and the sick.⁸ The women saw

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1. This was also the name of the American organisation from which the W.C.T.U. evolved, W.C.T.U. of N.S.W., Convention A.R., 1899, p.33.
 2. The Crusade was operative in 1884 but re-formed in 1891 by Williams. Her closeness to Ardill led to the accusation that they were lovers, The Australian Workman, 28 February 1891.
 3. Woman's Crusade, A.R., 1892-3, passim.
 4. Frances Levy to Rose Scott, Prison Reform Correspondence 1896-1924 (binders title), MLMSS A2279, item 33.
 5. Woman's Crusade, A.R., 1892-3, p.7.
 6. Mrs S.A. Barnett, "The Beginning of Toynbee Hall - A Reminiscence", The Nineteenth Century, L111, January-June 1903 and A. Davis, American Heroine, The Life and Legend of Jane Addams, Oxford, 1973. See also, R. Walton, Women in Social Work, London, 1975, pp.50-6.
 7. See above p.315, and the Presbyterian Settlement, D.T., 12 April 1916 and Ministering Women, 43, January 1908.
 8. S.R.W.S., A.R., 1892-3, p.5 and 1895-7, p.10; The Rescue, 11 February 1895; Woman's Crusade, A.R., 1892-3, pp.4-8 and Royal Commission 1898-9, Third Report and evidence, op.cit., pp.17,31. Arthur was Minister for Public Health 1929-30, A.D.B., vol. 7, entry for Arthur.

themselves as God's co-workers and aimed to convert every "fallen" woman in Sydney.¹ Ardill, however, saw the women's work differently. The Crusade was to raise money for his S.R.W.S. and secure admissions for women in his institutions.²

Salvation Army women were similarly restricted in their work within the woman's sphere. The segregation of the sexes to their separate spheres was Army policy - women had a separate Department running the Rescued Sisters' Home, Women's Shelter and Food Depot, Maternity Home and an organisation similar to the Woman's Crusade, the League of Mercy. All were run along conventional lines and considered to be within the "woman's realm".³ Whereas previously the Army had been criticised for "the licence allowed between the sexes in the ranks"⁴, the Army's Melbourne Training College went to the lengths of making male and female cadets use their separate sections of the library on alternate days.⁵ The Army too, however, increasingly denied women power over their sphere. Women officers who were married were under the direction of their husbands who were in turn subject to the autocratic control of London-based William and Bramwell Booth.⁶ The days of "Hot Milner" Sutherland dragging reluctant converts to the penitent form were over; instead Florence, Bramwell's wife, founded in 1907 the Woman's Home League. The earlier aggression and zeal gave way to the League's emphasis on women as housewives and mothers.⁷

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1. Woman's Crusade, A.R., 1892-3, pp.3,8.
 2. S.R.W.S., A.R., 1891-2, p.9 and Royal Commission 1898-9, Third Report and evidence, op.cit., p.9. In 1906, it merged with the Open-all-night Refuge and became the Dawn of Hope Mission.
 3. Salvation Army, A.R., 1892-3, p.46, 1896, p.7 and 1906, p.18, and Carlile Fox, op.cit., pp.198-9.
 4. e.g., J.Thomas, "The Salvation Army in South Australia", The Victorian Review, V11:xxxviii, 1 December 1882, p.123.
 5. Bolton, op.cit., p.50.
 6. This feature led to the resignation of Herbert and Cornalie Booth, in charge of Australian operations 1896-1901, R. Howe, "Five Conquering Years", Journal of Religious History, 6:2, December 1970.
 7. Bolton, op.cit., p.155. Bramwell was then Territorial Commander.

The extent to which women could be restricted in their activities within the woman's sphere despite male dependence on these same activities is seen in the Sydney City Mission. The Mission attracted 56 to its Ladies' Committee in the 1890s, including key members of the evangelical philanthropic network; Boyce, Crane, Dixon, Docker, Manning, Marks, Mullens, Pemell, Pottie, Renwick, Threlkeld and Ward.¹ Even such numbers of influential ladies failed to further the power or effectiveness of their committee.

The Mission's Ladies' Auxiliary, as shown in Table 8.3 (Amount of Women's Separate Fund-raising), continued to raise from 9 to 11% of the Mission's income. This was achieved mainly through the unpopular task of regular door-to-door collections.² Despite such efforts, the Mission was unable to pay its missionaries in 1896. The result was the Ladies' Committee's City Mission Fair. Like St. Mary's Fair, ladies worked under male direction and were spectacularly successful. The Mission Fair raised over £1,200 - 29% of the Mission's income in 1897. The second Fair, held in 1900, exceeded this achievement.³ By 1905, women were "a solid and certain source of income" and the Mission Treasurer could be confident that "the ladies would ... get them out of the money difficulty".⁴ The ladies did so, but gained no right over the expenditure of the money they raised.

The vital role of women in the Mission but their subordination within the woman's sphere was also evident in the policy towards Biblewomen and the missionaries' wives. They worked primarily with women and children and were expected to be "ministering angels", "discreet and loving ... patient, self denying".⁵ The Biblewomen, unlike their male counter-

1. See Appendix A.

2. e.g., S.C.M.H., 1 July 1907 and Sydney City Mission, A.R., 1889-90, p.8 and 1898-9, p.10.

3. ibid., 1896-7, pp.7-8 and 1900-1, p.11 and Sydney City Mission, Minutes, May 1896 passim.

4. S.C.M.H., 16 October 1905.

5. Mrs (H.C.) Russell, pamphlet, 11 October 1892, p.3, attached to Sydney City Mission, General Rules, Constitution, etc., Sydney, 1875. See also Sydney City Mission, A.R., 1891-2, p.10.

TABLE 8.3

FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR PHILANTHROPIC ORGANISATIONS FOR ADULTS, 1890s

Organisation Year	Number of sub- script- ions/don- ations	Subscript- ions/dona- tions by women (No.) (%)	Amount Sub- scribed/don- ated (£. s. d.)	Amount subscrib- ed/donated by women (£. s. d.) (%)	Amount of wom- en's separate fund-raising (£. s. d.)(as % of total income)	Work value/ payments by inmates (£. s. d.) (as % of total income)
Benevolent Soc- iety of 1895, N.S.W. 1900 ¹	635 621	81 12.8 92 14.8	823-16-9 1232-18-1	110-11-6 13.4 109- 4-5 8.9	2539-13-0 25.2 - 0	207-7-0 2.1 246-15-6 2.1
Sydney City 1894-5 Mission 1899-1900	569 501	161 28.3 219 43.7	1144-14-4 ² 1312- 2-8	249-18-2½ 21.8 234-12-3 17.9	463-2-7 11.5 392-14-3 9.5	n.a. - n.a. -
Woman's Crusade 1892-3	20	11 55.0	41- 8-6	34- 4-0 82.6	- 0	9-4-0 13.1
Women's Industri- al Guild 1893	83	81 97.6	61- 4-0	53-17-0 87.9	- 0	- 0
Queen's Fund 1890	26	18 69.2	467-17-6	165-2- 0 35.3	686- 9-9 73.5	n.a. -
1895	3	2 66.7	17- 0-0	12-0-0 70.6	- 0	n.a. -
1900	4	2 50.0	108- 1-0	102-0-0 94.4	- 0	n.a. -
St.Vincent's 1895 Hospital	305	24 7.9	3549-13-3 ³	63-15-6 ⁴ ?	- 0	not listed separately
1900	303	25 8.3	282-14-8	66-8-0 23.5	224-5-7 3.10	4085-5-2 56.6
Hospice for the Dying 1890	72	25 34.7	626- 6-0	351-1-0 ⁵ 56.0	47-11-0 3.8	?
Women's 1895-6 Hospital 1900	28 168	23* 82.1 67* 39.9	116- 9-6* 325-13-9	106-11-4* 91.5 162-14-6* 50.0	- 0 - 0	- 0 - 0
St.Magdalen's Re- treat 1895	?	?	72-14-0	?	262-0-0 7.5	2834-13-11 80.9
1900	?	?	89- 2-0	?	308-12-0 8.8	3108-13-4 88.2
Sydney Female Re- fuge Society 1897	73	19 26.0	118-14-0	27-1-0 22.7	- 0	458-19-2 64.0
Sydney Female Mission Home 1897	86	77 89.5	97-16-6	80-10-6 82.3	- 0	38-19-11 14.7

TABLE 8.3 continued

Organisation	Year	Number of sub- script- ions/don- ations	Subscript- ions/dona- tions by women (No.) (%)	Amount Sub- scribed/don- ated (£. s. d.)	Amount subscrib- ed/donated by women (£. s. d.) (%)	Amount of wom- en's separate fund-raising (£. s. d.)(as % of total income)	Work value/ payments by inmates (£. s. d.)(as % of total income)
Infants'	1895	252	121 48.0	428-1-4	237-13-10 55.5	- 0	218-11-4 21.6
Home	1900	192	82 42.7	1195-6-3	640-19- 8 53.6	- 0	42-12-6 2.3
Church Rescue							
Home	1899	?	?	?	?	?	703-13-9 77.3 ⁶
Industrial Blind							
Institution	1890	201	21 10.4	872-17-7	357-11-0 ⁷ 41.0	110-0-0 6.7	- 0

1. City subscriptions/donations only.

2. Including subscriptions for "Mission Support".

3. Including fees.

4. Excluding fees: the A.R. is not clear as to which were current subscriptions and which were large sums previously donated.

5. Including £300 from the widowed Mrs (John) Hughes.

6. Excluding payments by "boarders", C.R.H., Executive Committee Minutes, 5 August 1902.

7. Including two legacies of £100 each.

* Included collected by women.

parts, never requested a rise in their low salaries and Spear's request to be titled a "missionary" was refused.¹ More significantly, it became Mission policy to only use women as "assistant" missionaries whose salaries were paid by outside bodies.²

Most exploited were the Missionaries' wives who were expected to labour for the Mission without neglecting their "home duties". Two incidents demonstrate the extent of such expectations. One was the Missionaries' (unsuccessful) attempt to be paid extra for their wives' "Biblewoman's work".³ The other was the Mission's jubilant attitude towards Missionary Seddon's choice of a Y.W.C.A. hostel matron as his second wife. So much was she seen simply as "likely to add so much to her husband's efficiency" that at her wedding, a clergyman friend protested. He was firmly rebuked; all missionaries' wives were the most zealous workers.⁴

The Mission remained a staunch defender of the woman's sphere.⁵ However, Mission women working within their sphere were to have no "Boisterous rudeness ... but ... a way of modesty"⁶ which ensured that they did not demand autonomy over their actions. The ideal woman remained one who was "humble ... unobtrusive but not retiring ... quiet, but active in every good work".⁷

Women responded to the widespread poverty of the 1890s by

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1. Sydney City Mission, Minutes, 9 April 1894. ibid., 14 June 1900, a Biblewoman's maximum salary was £65 p.a., cf. ibid., 12 July 1900, missionary's maximum of £156 p.a.
 2. ibid., 10 May 1900, 11 October 1906, 11 April 1907 and 15 February 1912.
 3. ibid., 16 August 1900.
 4. S.C.M.H., 15 January 1906 (Seddon's first wife had died after 24 years working "side by side with her husband"), Sydney City Mission, A.R., 1904-5, p.12).
 5. e.g., Mrs E. Moore, "Woman's Place in City Mission Work", S.C.M.H., 1 March 1910.
 6. ibid., 1 November 1911.
 7. ibid., 27 July 1910. See also ibid., 2 January 1911 (both obituaries of the above Mrs Moore).

extensively mobilising to assist poor women and, to a lesser extent, poor men. However, the majority of the organisations with the resources to meet such unprecedented distress were male dominated; notably local governments, churches and evangelical organisations. Women's energies and fund-raising were essential to the depression response but male control of such activities was maintained. Male control was further heightened by emphasis on the duties of women, at the expense of the rights that ladies had so largely assumed in the 1880s.

(b) Challenges within the Woman's Sphere

The rise of the "new woman", the crisis in women's employment and the demand for improved medical services for poor women all challenged the effectiveness of philanthropic ladies within the woman's sphere. In addition, there was the continuing problem of institutions designed to control the related problems of women's poverty, prostitution and addiction. During the 1890s the inadequacies in the response to these challenges did much to undermine the image of the lady as an effective philanthropic power within her sphere.

The rise of the "new woman", as argued in the previous chapter, resulted in their re-affirmation of the "home values" of the woman's sphere. The pressure on the "new woman" resulted in such defensive reactions as Rose Scott heading the list of her "recreations" with 'Her home - "dearest place on earth"'.¹ The "new woman" was under intense pressure to prove her "womanliness" and one means of proof was participation in woman's sphere philanthropy. Such women brought their own skills and priorities to women's philanthropy despite the influence of the older-style philanthropic "lady".

The women students of Sydney University were one group vulnerable to the pressures on the "new woman". They were small in numbers, highly visible and the focus of much concern, both on the grounds of "masculine" tendencies and the effect on their health of prolonged study. In 1891, they founded two organisations. The first, the University Women's Society, had a broad philanthropic aim "to help anyone requiring and deserving help, as far as lies in the power of the Society".² It still, however, left its members

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1. F. John, John's Notable Australians, Sydney, 1906, entry for Scott. Other recreations listed were ladylike hobbies then, lastly, "social questions".
 2. The Sydney University Calendar, 1891, p. 390, cf. the Sydney University Women's Association, a recreational club.

"literally begging to be given something to do".¹ The second organisation, the Sydney University Settlement, was the result. It appears to have operated as a sub-committee of the first and was founded on the vice-regal urging of Lady Jersey.

All women members of the University were eligible to join the University Women's Society and non-University women could become honorary members. At least 74 women were members during the 1890s. Most were students with a small number of "network" ladies on the executive. Lady Manning as President urged the Christian, activist message of the evangelical network as quoted at the head of this chapter. Other network ladies similarly urged the students into philanthropy. Such executive members included David, Fairfax, MacCallum, MacDonald, Renwick, Windeyer and Wolstenholme. These eight ladies were active members of eighteen other philanthropic organisations during the 1890s.² They were ladies who welcomed the advent of the new women (for some, including their own daughters) and the opportunity to initiate the **younger generation** into "lady-like" philanthropy.

Less is known about the student members but some demonstrated in later life their acceptance of the concept that their education was a privilege that involved them in special social responsibilities.³ They included prominent women doctors (Mary Booth, Kate Hogg and Agnes Bennett); women's tutor and missionary, Helen Phillips; Sister Elizabeth of the Good Samaritan Order (Sarah Brennan, M.A. 1891) and women's tutor, Jane Russell (M.A. 1889, from 1899, Barff).⁴ Other members were Ruth Bowmaker, the daughter of a Sydney City Missionary and Catherine Fell, a daughter of Helen, the

1. Australasian Conference on Charity, Proceedings, Melbourne, 1891, p.136, quoting Mrs David.

2. See also Appendix A.

3. This was a motivating idea behind the Society's foundation, S.M.H., 14 May 1921 (cutting in Scrapbook, Sydney University Women's Settlement, Box S32, Sydney University Archives).

4. A.D.B., vol.7, entries for Booth and Bennett; H.Phillips, From Sydney to Dehli, Ceylon, 1914; Good Samaritan Annals, op.cit., p.75 and A.D.B., vol.7, entry for Barff.

subject of Chapter 6.¹

The members of the Sydney University Women's Society and Settlement visited Prince Alfred and Lewisham Hospitals and Newington Asylum. They also taught at a Working Lads' Institute and opened a Night School for Girls.² Their aim was always to found a residential settlement along the lines of Canon Barnett's Toynbee Hall in London (founded 1884), despite the failure of a similar attempt by male students.³ This foundation was finally proposed by Louisa MacDonald and Helen Fell in 1906 and opened in 1909.⁴ The assumption was that much social unrest was due simply to "misunderstanding and ignorance". The woman's role, given the woman's sphere concept, was to promote "understanding and sympathy between the girls and women who would otherwise live in mutual ignorance and mistrust".⁵ In practice, the residential settlement operated similarly to the Working and Factory Girls' Club and was also seen as an extension of kindergarten work.⁶

The University Women's Society and Settlement was one indication of the desire of "new women" to engage in philanthropy. In the 1890s, they worked within the broadened woman's sphere in that they sought to comfort and influence men and boys as well as women and girls. By 1900, however, their philanthropic efforts were still minor and largely involved "new women" in the relatively powerless role of "lady visitor".

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1. Catherine Fell was later prominent in the student missionary movement. See, for example, Australasian Missionary Society for University Women, Women Students of the East, Melbourne, 1913, preface.
 2. Sydney University Women's Society, Report of the Annual Meeting, 12 May 1898.
 3. ibid., p.4; F.A.Bland, "A Fine Enterprise" (unidentified newspaper cutting in Sydney University Women's Settlement, MS Box S32, op.cit.) and MacDonald, op.cit., 11 July 1897.
 4. Sydney University Women's Settlement, Minutes, [March?] 1906, Box S32, Sydney University Archives and Sydney University Women's Settlement, A.R., 1909, p.1.
 5. Sydney University Women's Settlement, A.R., 1907, pp.1-2.
 6. ibid., 1909, passim and Kindergarten Union of N.S.W., A.R., 1904-5, pp.12-3 and 1909-10, p.6.

One of the characteristics of the "new woman" was the desire for paid employment. This desire was, as argued in Chapter 7, partly from choice and partly a depression-related need. It was a phenomenon which attracted considerable interest from women philanthropists. Nicol has outlined the general disinterest of the labour movement in bettering the conditions of women workers during 1880-1900. The exception, it was argued, occurred from 1888-93 when "frantic" efforts were made to unionise women workers.¹ The interest of women philanthropists in women's work was largely a result of the numbers of ladies (by definition, now "gentlewomen" or if more independent, "new women") forced on to the labour market by the depression. The interest by trade unions in women workers was an added incentive, as was the general neglect of the problem of unemployment for women. Labour colonies and Labour Homes, solutions to the new levels of unemployment endorsed by both the government and male philanthropists, were only for men.² Women's unemployment was a philanthropic woman's sphere issue.

Table 8.4 lists nine philanthropic organisations through which women aimed to promote women's work.³ Most listed have left few records of their work so that exact names and, as indicated, the extent to which some listed were separate organisations, is not always clear. Most were designed to enable once-leisured ladies to survive with a minimum loss of status. Most also acted as employment agencies, as did, for example, the Salvation Army, Deaconesses' Institution, Ardill's Jubilee Home, Y.W.C.A., G.F.S. and Working and Factory Girls' Club. Few appear to have acted as directly as a

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1. W.Nicol, "Women and the Trade Union Movement in New South Wales 1890-1900", Labour History, 36, May 1979.
 2. e.g., Government Labour Bureau, A.R., 1897-8, esp. p.5 in N.S.W.L.A., V. & P., 1898 (2nd session), vol. 3 and Dickey, Ph.D., op.cit., pp.322-30.
 3. Numerous Exhibitions also served the same purpose. See Women's Work Exhibition Committee, Minutes, 1892, held in St. Mary Cathedral Archives, Sydney and R. and I. Holden, "Women's Arts and Craft Exhibitions in 19thC Australia", Hecate, VI:2, 1980.

**TABLE 8.4 PHILANTHROPIC ORGANISATIONS PROMOTING WOMEN'S
EMPLOYMENT, 1890s**

Name/s, Date founded	Purpose
Women's Handicrafts Association/ Sydney Club and Depot of Arts and Domestic Economy, ?	organise sale of, and gen- erally promote, women's handicrafts
Guild of Honour for the Employ- ment of Needlewomen, 1894	Association of women pledg- ed to pay "fair" price to needleworkers
The Queen's Jubilee Fund, 1887	to assist women to earn a living
Women's Industrial League/Guild 1891 closed 1894 ¹	work sold and found for dis- tressed gentlewomen/to pro- mote philanthropy/1892-3 Guild Home (for working women) ²
Women's Industrial Association,* (closed 1900) ³	?
Women's Seri-Culture Association/ Women's Co-operative Silk-Growing Association of N.S.W., Ltd., 1893 or 1894	mixed farming co-operative
Institute for Ladies' Needlework/ Ladies' Dressmaking Association/ Ladies' Needlework Institute, 1884, closed 1893 ⁴	sale of women's needlework
The Ladies' Self-Help Institute, by 1890	"to help ladies' help them- selves" ⁵ /work sold and found
The Woman's Mutual Help Society,* 1895	to help near-destitute women ⁶

1. MacDonald, op.cit., 24 November 1894.
2. From 1893 run by various ladies, in 1894 taken over by Dea-
coness Institution as St. Bernard's (Home for Working Gentle-
women), The Deaconess, 6 June 1894.
3. Margaret Windeyer, Correspondence, op.cit., 26 February
1900.
4. Women's Industrial Guild, A.R., 1893, p.6.
5. The Dawn, 1 December 1890.
6. Woman's Voice, 21 December 1895.

* The similarity in title suggests these organisations may
have been reconstituted versions of those listed immediately
above.

substitute for trade union membership as did the Handicrafts' Association¹. Rather, they were an alternative to unionism in that they attempted to uphold women's pay and status without collective bargaining. The Needlewoman's Guild of Honour epitomised this reliance on employers' goodwill.²

None of the organisations listed in Table 8.4 could be considered a success in significantly promoting women's work. The Queen's Fund was the most prestigious and the organisation which, as outlined in Chapter 5, was explicitly operated by ladies on behalf of the respectable poor. The committee members listed in Table 5.3³ were all members during at least part of the 1890s. In addition, successive Governors' wives continued to hold the position of President. New members, as indicated in Appendix A, were wealthy middle class women such as Hall, Knox, Marks, Stephen and Walker. They prided themselves on their ladylike behaviour, "doing good work in a quiet, unobtrusive, and economical manner".⁴ The ladies also admitted, however, that they could effect little real help for women in face of the "unprecedented distress".⁵ The Fund distributed the interest on the money collected in 1888-9 and, as indicated in Table 8.3⁶, money donated each year. Despite the Diamond Jubilee which added nearly £1,700 to the Fund, the Fund's financial resources were generally inadequate to provide the necessary capital to enable the applicants to earn their own living. This was despite a two months freeze on applications⁷ and an application rejection

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1. Women's Handicraft Association, Objects, Rules and Regulations, Sydney, n.d. It is uncertain when this Association was founded. The Lady Hay who was member was probably the Lady Hay who was President of the North Sydney Benevolent Society from 1912 (A.R.s., 1912-9), not the Lady Hay in Appendix A who died in 1892.
 2. Woman's Voice, 22 September - 17 November 1894.
 3. See above, following p.192.
 4. Queen's Jubilee Fund, A.R., 1892, p.8.
 5. ibid., 1893, p.9 and 1891, p.8.
 6. See above, following p.325.
 7. Queen's Jubilee Fund, A.R., 1895, p.5.

rate of approximately one quarter.¹ A further economy was achieved when it was decided that all equipment bought with Fund money (generally sewing machines and mangles) should be returned if the women died, became incapacitated or ineligible for assistance.²

The Queen's Fund generally failed in its aim to help women earn their living. A measure of the Fund's failure is the appeal for donations which in 1894 resulted in just £7.³ Equally telling is that it probably achieved most success in the employment field not by giving applicants a few pounds each but in its employment, from 1893 of a Secretary and from 1897, of a Woman Inspector.⁴ The Fund continued its operations with little change⁵ but did little to enhance the prestige of the lady within the philanthropic woman's sphere.

The Women's Industrial Guild demonstrates the flaw in many of the schemes listed in Table 8.4. They largely relied on the sale of women's work but needlework and women's handicrafts were too lowly paid to provide women with incomes. Ironically, one of the causes of the low remuneration was the competition from the innumerable church and charity bazaars. It was for this reason that such bazaars were so vigorously but unsuccessfully attacked during the 1890s. They were condemned by Governor Hampden, and Wolstenholme described them as, inter alia, "a traffic that competes with the destitute" and "robbery from the shopkeeper and the defenceless worker".⁶ As this thesis demonstrates, however, the bazaar continued to be an important source of charitable finance.

The Women's Industrial Guild's failure also revealed another flaw in ladies' philanthropic schemes for women's

1. ibid., e.g., 1890, p.4 (24.8%) and 1900 p.5 (25.9%).

2. ibid., 1900, p.6.

3. ibid., 1894, p.5. None of the Committee donated.

4. ibid., 1893, p.8 and 1897, p.7.

5. Carlile Fox, op.cit., pp.146-7.

6. S.C.M.H., 15 September 1897 and Woman's Voice, 20 October 1894, 15 June 1893, 10 August and 7 December 1895.

employment. The typical education and socialisation of ladies simply left too many incapable of businesslike practices. Thus the experience of Evelyn Dickinson (very much the competent "new woman" herself¹) as Guild Treasurer:

successive managers, ... indigent gentlewomen, whose duties were ... simple enough ... but ... [they kept] no accounts; they pay ... Evelyn money as it occurs to them; they pay the workers out of any money they have ... when things go wrong ... wring their hands feebly, & declare "they quite forgot!" Evelyn comes back to me raving, and in despair (2)

One organisation in particular, the Silk Growing Co-operative, attempted to overcome the limitations of ladies engaging in traditional women's work. The solution proposed was a co-operative farm run and owned by women on the N.S.W. central coast. Mixed farming was to support the women until silk could be produced. The scheme was typical of woman's sphere philanthropy: it was restricted to women; justified by overseas precedents; reflected the belief in rural superiority and urged a consensus solution to class and sex conflict.³ It professed to be a solution applicable to all women, from the "refined gentlewoman" to "the factory girl or motherless waif". With shares costing £1 each and the policy that profits must be earned before money would be paid to the workers, it was unlikely that the latter could participate.⁴ It is indicative of the pressures on women that what was essentially a business had to be presented as a philanthropic venture. In this, the experience of the recreational Woman's Club, is comparable: they had great difficulty in persuading "the world" that women could club together just for

1. See Appendix A, entry for MacDonald.

2. MacDonald, op.cit., 24 November 1894.

3. Women's Co-operative Silk-Growing and Industrial Association of N.S.W. Ltd., Objects and Plans, Sydney, 1894, pp.5, 19-22, i.e., no excessive profits, no strikes and no competition with male labour.

4. ibid., pp.21-2. Later the idea of shares was abandoned for small self-supporting farms, Scott, op.cit., t/s paper by K.M.E. Woodward, "Women's Silk Growing and Industrial Association Ltd."

their own needs and not for a philanthropic purpose.¹ Unlike the Women's Club, however, the Co-operative did not prove financially viable.

The women behind the ventures listed in Table 8.4, excluding those of the Queen's Fund, are largely historically anonymous. Those who can be identified, however, were either "network" ladies or "new women". Table 8.5, showing membership in the 1890s, gives an indication of the degree to which two of the organisations succeeded in utilising "network" ladies, "new women", young and old, in a common philanthropic object. Control, however, appears to have remained with the philanthropic network. Of the combined membership of the two organisations, eleven women (exactly one third) belonged to the kinship network detailed in Appendix E and the (as shown in Appendix A) possibly related Deas Thomson family.

Markey argued that the Silk-Growing Co-operative and Women's Guild were important in "the bourgeois effort to strengthen the work ethic among women".² This aim was more explicit in the Sydney Needlework Guild, founded in 1897 by Lady Hampden.³ The Guild was modelled on a London organisation and distributed clothing made by members to a large number of philanthropic organisations.⁴ By 1911 its aim was described as "the encouragement of useful [unpaid] work" and members agreed to make two "useful ... not much trimmed" garments per year.⁵ For the 1890s, only seven executive members

1. F. Hooper, The Story of the Women's Club, Sydney, 1964, pp. 13,9. The Club was founded in 1901.

2. Markey, op.cit., p.16. Note, however, that there appears no grounds for his belief that the Guild was "Methodist-inspired", nor "essentially auxiliary to the male clergy", presumably its Board of Advice.

3. S.C.M.H., 15 July 1898.

4. S.C.M.H., 15 February 1898; and, e.g., Prisoners' Aid Association, A.R., 1905-6, p.15; Kindergarten Union, A.R., 1897-8, p.14; S.C.M.H., 15 July 1898; Fresh Air League, A.R., 1898-9, p.4 and C.R.H., House Committee Minutes, 24 May 1898.

5. Carlile Fox, op.cit., p.234.

TABLE 8.5

IDENTIFIED MEMBERS IN THE 1890s OF THE (a) SILK GROWING CO-OPERATIVE

Name, Membership of Philanthropic Network (N)	Name, own occupation or, if indicated, of husband	Kin also on committee and other links between members	Age (in 1893)	Religion	Number of Children
Miss Mary Sanger Evans	journalist?	?	?	?	0
Miss ? Ottman	governess (to vice-regal children) [†]	?	?	?	0
Mrs Dora Armitage	Secretary Shorthand Writers & Typists Association	?	?	?	?
Miss Edith Fry (N)	independent means	?	?	?	0
Lady Lucy Darley (N)	Frederick, Chief Justice	distant kin	mid 50s?	C. of E.	8
Mrs Rebecca Stephen (N)	Alfred, Canon		66	C. of E.	6 (3 died infancy)
Mrs Maybanke Wolstenholme (N)	Proprietor <u>Woman's Voice</u> & girls' school	-	48	Congreg.	6

1. MacDonald, op.cit., 7 October 1894.

TABLE 8.5 continued IDENTIFIED MEMBERS IN THE 1890s OF THE (b) WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL GUILD

Name, Membership of Phil-anthropic Network (N)	Name, own occupation or, if indicated, of husband	Kin also on committee and other links between members	Age (in 1894)	Religion	Number of Children
Miss Evelyn Dickinson	academic/late physician	-	?	?	0
Mrs ? Fischer (N)	journalist	-	?	Jewish?	?
Mrs Alice Stephen (N)	Cecil, barrister	sisters- Miss	mid 40s?	C. of E.	10
Mrs Lucy Stephen (N)	Septimus, ?	in- Ethel law Stephen	49	C. of E.	7
Mrs Frances Cox (N)	Archibald, pastoralist	Miss Cox	59	C. of E.	4
Mrs Eglantine Campbell	William, pastoralist /merchant/M.L.A.	Miss Deas Thomson	?	C. of E.	3
Mrs Leila Darley	Cecil, engineer	(nee Campbell)?	?	?	?
Mrs Maria Lee Lord (N)	George, barrister	Stephens, distant kin	40	C. of E.	?
Mrs ? Hordern	?, retailer?	-	?	?	?
Mrs Maria? Cowlshaw	?Thomas, architect	-	?	Meth.?	?
Miss ? Mort	(?father, Thomas, merchant)	?	?	?	0

have been identified, all elite or "network" ladies. Apart from Hampden and her daughter, they were Ladies de Miklouko Macleay, Abbott and Darley, and Mesdames Fairfax and Bowes.¹ Later, vice-regal patronage was enthusiastically undertaken by Lady Mary Lygon.² The organisation of ladies' unpaid work proved much more successful than the, demonstratively inadequate, philanthropic solutions to women's unemployment.

The philanthropic woman's sphere included, as argued in previous chapters, the provision of health care for women and children. In addition, the Sisters of Charity had an established role in providing general hospital facilities through St. Vincent's Hospital. The slowly increasing "respectability" of hospitals continued during the 1890s as hospital care moved towards being a universal entitlement rather than charity for the desperate.³ Women continued to play an important role in this trend, within the woman's sphere. By 1900, however, the ideal of ladies controlling health services for the poor within their sphere had almost disappeared. Rather, advances in medical technology and the small numbers of women doctors along with the increasing financial complexity of expanding hospitals meant that the new ideal was mixed-sex boards. In these boards, as at the Children's Hospital⁴, the ladies were either in the minority or the sexes were deliberately balanced.

Thirteen major institutions and organisations providing philanthropic health care for women in the 1890s are listed in Table 8.6. In addition, women were increasingly included on the boards of local hospitals⁵ and performed traditional

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1. See also Appendix A (excepting Abbott, wife of Joseph, solicitor, politician).
 2. The Ladies' Own Paper, 1 November 1904.
 3. Dickey, "Health and State", op.cit., and Lewis, op.cit., outline this trend.
 4. See above, Ch.7, pp.290-2.
 5. e.g., Balmain Hospital, Womanhood Suffrage League, A.R., 1899, p.12.

"lady visitor" and "flower mission" work.

In general, the women involved in the management of the hospitals listed in Table 8.6 were successful in the provision of medical care for the poor. The prestige of St. Vincent's Hospital was confirmed in 1891 when it became a teaching hospital for Sydney University.¹ However, as evident in previous decades, its reputation was that of an institution run by the Catholic Church rather than by women. This reputation remained despite occasional reminders that the hospital was "ruled by women"² and the retention until 1923 of the Sisters' right to choose their own medical staff.³ It also continued to be reflected in the Hospital's finances. As indicated in Table 8.3⁴, fees by 1900 accounted for over half of the income and women's subscriptions and fund raising were relatively minor. Even the prestigious ball, regularly organised by elite Protestant as well as Catholic women⁵ did not raise large amounts. Women, however, did remain an important source of finance in times of special need. They furnished the Hospice as they had the Hospital and later "the ladies" were expected, at least by the Governor, to pay the Hospital's "small" debt of £1,500 by holding a bazaar.⁶

St. Vincent's reputation was also enhanced by its adjoining Hospice for the Dying. Incurable patients were not generally eligible as hospital patients and so the Hospice provided a much needed service.⁷ However, adherence to religious rules could result in painful deaths. That of St. Vincent's Hospital Rectress, Cunningham, for example, was

1. Miller, op.cit., p.24.

2. St. Vincent's Hospital, A.R., 1907, p.11.

3. Miller, op.cit., p.38.

4. See above, following p.325

5. St. Vincent's Hospital, A.R., 1893, p.8 and 1897, p.8. They included Admiral Bowden-Smith's wife and two women listed in Appendix A, Toohey and Darley.

6. The Sacred Heart Hospice for the Dying, A.R., 1890, p.7; Moran, op.cit., p.965 and ibid., 1907, p.15.

7. Only later was it supplemented by the Commonwealth Home for Destitute Invalids (1900) and the Deaconesses' Home of Peace for the Dying (1907).

TABLE 8.6 HEALTH SERVICES INVOLVING WOMEN PHILANTHROPISTS,
1890-1900

Name	Women Inmates at 31-12-1899 and outdoor patients dur- ing year	Changes
Benevolent Asy- lum Lying-In Department	63 (& 111 in- fants) 26	From 1897 also Outdoor Matern- ity branch/site resumed 1901, temporary hospital/Royal Hosp- ital for Women, Paddington, op- ened 1905
St.Vincent's Hospital	111 8,762	From 1890 adjoining Sacred Heart Hospice for the Dying/ Government Grant 1900
St.Joseph's Hospital	16 500	-
Lewisham Hospit- al for Women and Children	13 2,973 attend- ances	Until 1892, Children's Hospit- al only
Thirlmere Hosp- ital for Consum- ptives	14 (& 25 men) -	Owned, run Goodlets 1878-93/to 1897, run by Ladies' Committee /became Queen Victoria Homes for Consumptives under Queen's Jubilee Fund for T.B.sufferers /Government Grant 1898
Salvation Army Maternity Home	33 -	Founded 1893 at Burwood/ from 1911 "Bethesda"
Women's Hospital, (outdoor patients only to 1896)	22 2,343 (during 18 months)	Founded 1893/from 1897 at Crown St., city/briefly amal- gamated N.S.W. Benevolent Society 1903
St.Margaret's Maternity Home	19 (& 9 in- fants) 70	Founded 1894 at Elizabeth St., city by Gertrude Abbott
Home Training School and Lying- in Hospital/Out- door midwifery department	(30 beds in 1899) ¹	Founded 1894 by S.R.W.S. as part of Home of Hope/from 1911, South Sydney Women's Hospital
Ladies' Sanitary Association	n.a.	From 1896, "Sydney" added to title/in 1909, merged into Health Society of N.S.W.
Church of England District Nursing Association	437 visits	Founded 1899/from 1901 Dist- rict Nursing Association
Sydney Medical Mission	(1900-1, one year) 2,047	Founded 1900 by Emma Dixon/ closed 1917
Hospital Satur- day Fund	n.a.	Founded 1894, united collect- ion of money for hospitals

1. Royal Commission 1898-9, Fourth Report, op.cit., p.xxxii.

remembered for her torturing thirst - which could not be relieved before Mass was celebrated.¹ Lewisham Hospital, whilst not achieving the prestige of St. Vincent's, also added proof of women's capabilities in hospital management. Allegations such as that of one ex-patient that she had not been given a bath or change of clothes during her six-week stay did not become a public issue.²

Details of only the most prominent nuns behind the achievements of the Catholic Hospitals in the 1890s have survived. As listed in Appendix A, they are Bruton, Cunningham, McGuigan and Xavier. These women represented, and continued to promote, the ideal of the lady, hence Sister of Charity M. Gertrude Davis' continual worry to suppress her "larrikin spirit". In the Sisters of Charity the importance of kinship also remained evident. Bruton, for example, had two sisters and four nieces also in the Order and one niece replaced her as Hospice Rectress in 1920.³

Four of the hospitals listed in Table 8.6 were primarily for women expecting their first illegitimate child and, usually as outpatients, destitute married women.⁴ They offered facilities for the desperate and, so far as can be postulated from the scant available evidence for the 1890s, did not enjoy a high medical reputation. Puerperal fever caused deaths at the Lying-in department and Lying-in Hospital, whilst the Women's Hospital owed its foundation to the former's deficiencies.⁵ The Lying-in Hospital, as usual for Ardill's ventures, was criticised for its confused finances and "lack of proper management and care".⁶ In contrast, the Salvation

1. Davis, op.cit., p.43 and Appendix A.

2. Infants' Home, Minutes, 29 July 1890. See also above, Ch.7, p.289.

3. Davis, op.cit., pp.11,95.

4. St. Margaret's and those run by the Benevolent Society, S.R.W.S. and Salvation Army.

5. Lewis, op.cit., pp.200, 201; Royal Commission, 1898-9, op.cit., evidence for Second Report, p.88 and Third Report, pp.xvi, xxxviii.

6. ibid., pp.xvii.

Army's Maternity Home was praised although not so much for its health care as for its appointments, cleanliness and order.¹ As argued above, however, the Benevolent Society, Ardill and increasingly, the Army held the ideal of women working devotedly within their sphere but under the ultimate control of men. The success of these Hospitals did little to further the role of the lady as one in charge of health provisions within the woman's sphere.

The operations of the fourth Hospital, St. Margaret's, in this decade are obscure. Its reputation was initially intertwined with that of the founder Gertrude Abbott, an ex-nun whose history is summarised in Appendix A. The Hospital provided a livelihood and purpose for the religious community Abbott formed around her. As she gradually out-lived the scandal of her past, her Hospital too increased in prestige.² Abbott's ambition to found a religious order was not realised but St. Margaret's reputation was always that of a Catholic institution³ and she willed it to her old Order, the Sisters of St. Joseph, on her death. For this reason, Abbott's achievement primarily served to enhance the role of the Catholic Church, rather than that of women, in the provision of health care within the philanthropic woman's sphere.

Recognition of hospital facilities for women as a woman's sphere issue was evident in the foundation of the Women's Hospital. Four men founded and, until 1895, controlled the Hospital. When it became a public organisation, however, it was presented as a woman's sphere concern with Lady Windeyer as

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1. ibid., pp.xxv-xxvi. At least one mother took her baby from the Home claiming that it was "insufficiently nourished", Infants' Home, Minutes, 24 January 1893.
 2. St. Margaret's Hospital, A.R.s, 1909, 1911-4; Margaret Press, Julian Tenison Woods, Sydney, 1980 and (anon.), The Romance of St. Margaret's Hospital, Sydney, 1925, provides few details for the 1890s. See also Infants' Home, Minutes, esp. 5 January 1897 and 4 January 1898.
 3. e.g., N.S.W. Statistical Register, 1899, p.808.

President of the Board.¹ As the Hospital expanded, drawing more extensively on advanced medical and accountancy skills, it became less within the woman's sphere. The Board was predominantly female but the key positions of Secretary, Treasurer and, after 1897, President, were filled by men. The ten ladies who were Board members during the 1890s were influential, wealthy and of high status. Members included in Appendix A are Barton, Cruickshank, MacMillan, Mitchell and Windeyer. Fell, the subject of Chapter 6, was also on the Board. None of these, however, had the skills or training needed to run a large, prestigious hospital.² Their resultant decline in influence was reflected in the Hospital's finances. As shown in Table 8.3³, in 1895-6 over 80% of its subscriptions and donations came from women; by 1900 both sexes supported it in roughly equal proportions. The ladies remained important and Lewis ascribes the failure of the Hospital's amalgamation with the Benevolent Society to their resentment at "what they saw as their exclusion from any say" in the proposed new Hospital.⁴ However, by then the Hospital was not, in fact or in the public mind, predominantly a concern of the philanthropic woman's sphere.

A role which became accepted as appropriate for women in hospitals was that of supervising domestic arrangements. This was reflected in the administration of the Benevolent Society's new Royal Hospital for Women. Subscribers elected a Ladies' Committee of Management which controlled the "domestic" arrangements: the Benevolent Society Board was in charge of other arrangements.⁵ A second role considered

1. Windeyer also presided over the first public meeting, Royal Commission 1898-9, evidence for Second Report, op.cit., p.88.

2. The medical standard of the Hospital appears to have been always high. There were no puerperal fever deaths during 1893-1903, Lewis, op.cit., p.203 and it was praised by individuals, Infants' Home, Minutes, 29 July 1890 and the Royal Commission 1898-9, Third Report, op.cit., p.xlii.

3. Following p.325.

4. Lewis, op.cit., p.202.

5. Charities Gazette, 3 November 1910 and Benevolent Society of N.S.W., A.R., 1903, p.6 and 1904, p.13.

appropriate for women was that of money raising. Women's abilities to raise large sums of money in times of special need was repeatedly demonstrated. Women furnished the Royal Hospital for Women; in 1893 they organised a self-denial week which raised nearly £4,000 for Prince Alfred Hospital and individual women such as Jessie Cargill gave large donations to Sydney Hospital.¹ As argued in relation to other philanthropic institutions, however, such fund-raising ability did little to further women's influence within the organisations which benefited. This situation did not change with the formation of the Hospital Saturday Fund. This Fund arranged for, primarily women and girls, to raise money by a once-yearly street collection. The money (generally over £3,000 per year) was then pooled and distributed to public hospitals.² Only ten ladies were included on the 38-member Board of the Fund³ and although a threat was made that women should veto such collections whilst leading Hospitals refused to employ women doctors, such united action was never a serious possibility.⁴

The subordination of women in hospitals was also reflected in their role as employees. Women doctors generally received scant support in their employment search from "Women's Hospitals" until Drs. Lucy Gullet (previously honorary Resident Medical Officer at the Women's Hospital⁵) and Harriett Biffin founded a new Hospital specifically for that purpose.⁶ Nowhere was the subordinate role of women in medicine more evident than in the nursing profession. Nurses were expected

1. loc.cit.; Epps, op.cit., p.66 and Watson, op.cit., p.204.

2. The Hospital Saturday Fund of N.S.W., Memorandum and Articles of Association, Sydney, 1894; Report on proposed "Hospital Saturday", Sydney, [1892?], bound as Medical Bill, Sydney Hospital, ML MS A622; Hospital Saturday Fund, A.R.s., 1899-1903 and The Evening News, 30 April 1894.

3. Hospital Saturday Fund, A.R., 1900, p.1.

4. D.T., 11 January 1905, quoted in Hutton Neve, op.cit., p.81, cf. Womanhood Suffrage League, A.R., 1899, p.12 call for women to influence the spending as well as collection of hospital money.

5. Women's Hospital, A.R., 1901, p.9.

6. L.Cohen, The Rachel Forster Hospital, Sydney. 1972, esp. pp.3,7.

not just to be competent employees but to bring all the philanthropic ideals of the woman's sphere to their work. Nursing was accepted "essentially as woman's work" and as "woman's legitimate sphere ... her prerogative" throughout British societies by the 1890s.¹ Nurses were continually urged to be "ministering angels" and to eschew "low and selfish aims" (such as a living wage).² Nursing was the occupation that "brings out all that is womanly in woman", and which exemplified the "beautiful instincts" of the "gentler sex".³ As Kingston has argued, nurses retained the behavioural restrictions of ladies whilst having little of the lady's rights and privileges.⁴ In this sense, the fate of the nurse mirrored that of the decline of the concept of the lady.

The ideal of mixed sex boards, each with their own areas of competence, and the philanthropic nurse was also expressed in the Church of England District Nursing Association. This Association employed (at first one) nurses to tend the sick poor in their own homes under the supervision of "medical men".⁵ The Association was a direct expression of the philanthropic component of nursing.

The two other organisations listed in Table 8.6 also had a mixed-sex board of management. The bank crash forced the Goodlets to relinquish control of their Thirlmere Hospital for Consumptives. The Goodlets offered it to a general committee to manage and finance.⁶ The result was that women flocked to

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1. Mrs Boyd Carpenter, "Women's Work in Connection with the Church of England" in Burdett-Coutts, op.cit., p.119 and R. Norman, "Hospitals and their Administration" and Discussion, Australasian Charity Conference, Proceedings, Melbourne, 1890, esp. pp.74,78.
 2. e.g., Women's Hospital, A.R., 1905, p.22 and St.Vincent's Hospital, A.R., 1910, p.17 and 1911, pp.19-24.
 3. Women's Hospital, A.R., 1896-7, p.8 and St. Vincent's Hospital, A.R., 1913, p.35.
 4. Kingston, My Wife ..., op.cit., pp.81-91.
 5. Church of England District Nursing Association, First Report, 1900-1, p.5 and At Home, 10 July 1905.
 6. Ann Goodlet to Mary Windeyer, 11 September 1894 in Mary Windeyer Papers, op.cit., pp.255-7 ML MSS 186/14 and Charities Gazette, 25 June 1897 (Thirlmere Home, A.R., 1896-7).

join: 76 women were members of the General Committee in 1895-6. However, the executive and Board of Management were equally divided between 5 women and 5 men.¹ This balance acknowledged the claim of both sexes to expertise in the care of the sick. A balance between the sexes was also evident in the management after the hospital, despite its number of committee women, transferred its control to the executive of the Queen Victoria Home for Consumptives, due to lack of support. The controlling House Committee comprised 14 women and 26 men predominantly, it seems, local to the Thirlmere area.²

The deliberate balancing of the sexes was also evident in the Sydney Medical Mission. The ratio (and of doctors - non doctors) on the Executive was roughly half although the founding Advisory Committee was predominantly male. The founder, Emma Dixon, was, however, a lady in evangelical activist tradition. She ensured that it was "not simply an institution to provide medical treatment for the poor ... [but] a MISSION"³ and that constitutionally, women had preference for the work of Medical Superintendent.⁴ The ideal that it was women's work even resulted in the only available woman, a Jew, being appointed Junior Medical Officer.⁵ That the Mission was chiefly designed to provide medical help for women whose family commitments did not allow them time to be admitted to hospital also served to ensure that it was woman's work.⁶ Despite being so obviously geared to the woman's sphere, the Mission was dependent on medical skill and knowledge as possessed by evangelical Protestants. Although, with some

1. Thirlmere Home for Consumptives, A.R., 1894-5, p.1.

2. Royal Commission 1898-9, Fourth Report, op.cit., p.xxxiv.

3. Sydney Medical Mission, 1901-2, p.1 (unpag.), cf. the Australian Seventh Day Adventist Medical Mission, founded (circa 1892) by Ellen White on the principle that "nothing converted' the people like the medical missionary work", R. Numbers, Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen White, New York, 1976, p.184.

4. Sydney Medical Mission, Constitution, "Appointment of Staff" in Minutes, 3 September 1906.

5. ibid., 5 June 1911.

6. Sydney Medical Mission, A.R., 1901-2, p.1 (unpag.).

difficulty,¹ the Mission was able to find like-minded doctors to superintend the Mission, there were not enough such women to provide needed managerial advice. Even a staunch woman's sphere advocate like Dixon had to relinquish some degree of control, so that male doctors such as her son could confer their medical prestige and skill on the venture.

The Ladies' Sanitary Association was also an evangelical organisation concentrating on the issues of women's health.² The Association continued to have an all woman committee comprised of staunch evangelical families. They included Pottie, her niece and two sisters-in-law; Sly and her sister; Renwick and Jefferis' daughter (or step-daughter).³ Despite such active and committed ladies, the Association was not successful. The balance sheet for 1898-1900 indicates a membership (at a 5/- yearly subscription) of only 28.⁴ From 1889, meetings were only held quarterly and so little interest was shown in their lectures - given by doctors and "lady members" to "working women" - that it was proposed to wind up the Society.⁵ Similar talks were held by the Sydney City Mission and it is apparent why they were unpopular. The condescending tone in which Margaret Courtenay-Smith's (who lectured for both organisations) talks were reported ("brimful of useful hints ... which these poor women ... find so helpful") pales in comparison with the ignorance implicit in asking a nurse to warn "poor mothers" against the excessive use of

1. e.g., Sydney Medical Mission, Minutes, 24 July 1905 and 7 September 1908.

2. See above, ch. 5, pp.219-21.

3. See Appendix A.

4. Sydney Ladies' Sanitary Association, A.R., 1898-1899-1900, (unpag.) in Ladies' Sanitary Association, Minutes 1887-1903, ML MSS B445-8.

5. ibid., 29 February and 31 July 1892 and At Home, 10 July 1905.

meat".¹ The decline of the lady acting independently within her sphere to further woman's health was also reflected by the fate of the Ladies' Sanitary Association - after years of obscurity, it was absorbed into its male counterpart, the Health Society of N.S.W.²

By 1900, the provision of women's health care was still considered at least partially within the philanthropic woman's sphere. However, lay women had generally failed to maintain control over those organisations which provided effective and prestigious health services to women. Whilst religious women and the neo-religious Abbott were more successful in operating reputable, autonomous institutions their example could not be emulated by their lay sisters.

A major focus of woman's sphere philanthropy remained that of institutionalising other women. Such women were generally destitute, perceived as potential if not actual prostitutes, frequently facing the task of supporting and rearing an illegitimate child and/or coping with addiction, particularly to alcohol. The philanthropists' solutions to these problems remained largely static, seemingly oblivious to the profound challenges to contemporary social policy. By 1900, the lack of adaptability of the ladies running such institutions did much to undermine faith in their ability to exercise control over the woman's sphere.

Nine institutions for women who were destitute and "fallen" are listed in Table 8.7. The role of women in the management of these Homes varied but all reflected an acceptance of the concept of the woman's sphere in philanthropy and

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1. S.C.M.H., 15 October and 15 September 1897 cf. M.L.Davies (ed.), Life As We Have Known It, by Co-operative Working Women, London, 1977, p.40 "Mothers' Meetings, where ladies came and lectured on the domestic affairs in the workers' home that it was impossible for them to understand. I have boiled over many times at ... things I have been obliged to listen to, without the chance of asking a question."
 2. Carlile Fox, op.cit., p.89.

TABLE 8.7 **INSTITUTIONS FOR DESTITUTE, "FALLEN" WOMEN,**
1890-1900

Name	Inmates 31-12-1899	Changes
House of the Good Shepherd (Pitt St. Penitentiary/Catholic Refuge)	52	Closed 1901/Replaced 1904 by Mt. Magdala Retreat Home for Penitent Women, Redfern
St. Magdalen's ¹ Retreat (Catholic Refuge)	98	In 1894, accommodation expanded from room for 60 to 200
Sydney Female Refuge Society (Protestant Refuge)	30	From 1901 located Glebe/1926 merged with C. of E. Homes
Sydney Female Mission Home	5 (& 2 children)	By 1897, located Glebe/Grants 1896-1901
The Church Home	34	From 1893, located Paddington/1896 name changed to Church Rescue Home/1899 located Glebe/Government Grants 1900-3/1909, three Homes became C. of E. Homes
Home of Hope	50 (& 28 infants)	From 1891 under control S.R.W.S./subsidy 1893-9
Salvation Army Rescued Sisters Home	19	-
Infants' Home	33 (& 6 infants)	1893, first Annual General Meeting held after Inquiry into Home
Home for Women	?	Operative 1891 at Paddington, run by Mr and Mrs Murdoch

1. Also referred to as St. Magdalene's Retreat, e.g., Good Samaritan Annals, op.cit., p.115 cf. p.120.

the ideal of social purity. This ideal, as summarised by the W.C.T.U., was that "If the woman sins, she must suffer. If the man sins, he ought to suffer also".¹ Only the first was in the woman's sphere and it was the task of the institutions to inculcate a sense of sin and to make bearable the suffering of the inmates. As argued in Chapter 3, the harshness of the regimes within institutions accordingly depended on the degree to which the inmates were perceived to have "fallen". Even the Salvation Army's "open door" policy did not distract from the "discipline, and careful control" exercised over the inmates.² The one exception, perhaps because it was run just by one couple, was Murdoch's Home. Accordingly, the Good Samaritan Superior deplored that inmates of that Home could do things without the Murdochs' knowledge and the Church Home Matron advocated its closure.³

The most repressive regimes existed at the Protestant and two Catholic Refuges for prostitutes. Perhaps the greatest imperviousness to change was at the Protestant Sydney Female Refuge. It was rebuilt in 1903 on the same prison-like lines adhered to in 1848 and inmates were still addressed by number, not name.⁴ The ladies' concept of the woman's sphere hierarchy similarly remained static. Thus, as members of the "Ladies Committee", they rejected a request from the Workers' Union that "Women" should replace "Female" in the Refuge's title. For the ladies, it was essential that the inmates be aware of their degraded status.⁵ The result was all the petty quarrels and frustrations of a difficult, enclosed environment. Hence comments like the Matron's: "Nothing but mischief making all through the day".⁶ The solution was to

1. W.C.T.U., Annual Convention Report, 1899, p.36.

2. Royal Commission 1898-9, Third Report, op.cit., p.xxv.

3. Chinese Gambling Commission, evidence, 1891, pp.450,441, in N.S.W.L.A., V. & P., 1891-2, vol.8. No other reference has been found to the Home, which was supported by the inmates' laundry work.

4. Sydney Female Refuge Society, L.C., Minutes, 1870, unidentified newspaper cutting 21 July 1903 inside front cover and A.R., 1899, p.7 (Rules).

5. Sydney Female Refuge Society L.C., Minutes, 4 April 1911.

6. Sydney Female Refuge Society, Matron's Journal, 26 September 1892.

ensure the inmates were always occupied with laundry or needlework. Work, it was argued at the Catholic Refuge, was an ideal occupation for unquiet minds.¹ Even at the Church Rescue Home, where women could spend the first week in bed, the relentless hard work is demonstrated by the constant problem of finding a Laundry Matron who was both competent and strong enough.² At the Protestant Refuge the Matron complained of the two-day break over Christmas: "Too much holiday causes laziness [sic] consequently this a very hard day".³

Behind the relentless work in the Refuges was the need of the inmates' earnings. As shown in Table 8.3, St. Magdalen's, with its modern steam laundry and expanded accommodation, continued to be supported almost entirely by the inmates' earnings.⁴ Such was the emphasis on this aspect, that it had to be denied that earning money to pay Tempe's debt (£8,000 in 1894) was the Retreat's real object, "as one might suppose".⁵ Accordingly, attempts during 1909-19 to have the Tempe and Home of Hope inmates covered by the laundry trade award were strenuously, and successfully, resisted.⁶ The small Mission Home, in contrast, could earn little in this way. All the institutions, however, felt the impact of the depression and most were sometimes in debt, so that inmates were pressured to work harder, economy stressed even more and the Matrons, when paid at all, suffered wage cuts. The nuns running the Catholic Refuges were not paid but were forced to spend all day canvassing for laundry work in surrounding suburbs despite not

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1. Unidentified newspaper clipping, 28 October 1910, in Sister M. Gregory's file, Good Samaritan Training College, Arncliffe.
 2. Chinese Gambling Commission, op.cit., p.442 and e.g., C.R.H., Visiting Committee, Minutes, 20 December 1899.
 3. Sydney Female Refuge Society, Matron's Journal, 27 December 1895.
 4. Table 8.3, following p.325 and Good Samaritan Annals, op.cit., pp.120-2.
 5. ibid., p.123, quoting The Catholic Press, 18 September 1900 and St. Magdalen's Retreat, Report, 1894, (unpag.).
 6. See, e.g., S.M.H., 12 October 1909 in envelope "History. Tempe Laundry. Clippings" in Sr. M. Gregory's file, op.cit., and The Freeman's Journal, 16 October 1919.

being allowed, under their Rules, to take refreshment outside the convent.¹ The Home of Hope's Matron's salary was not always paid and the Mission Home Matron continued her gratuitous services.² Similarly, the Infants' Home Matron was not paid for at least six months after the Home's bank crashed and the Church Home's missionary's salary was in arrears by 1891.³ The latter's salary was only £20 per annum whilst the deaconesses in charge were paid only £40 and £30 per annum, respectively.⁴

Exacerbating the tragedy of these Homes was that their regimes remained static whilst the numbers of young girls admitted increased. At St. Magdalen's, the average age of inmates declined from 30 in 1890 to 27.5 in 1900, with nearly half in 1900 being under 21 years old. The age range was wide as inmates were encouraged to stay permanently but 12 and 13 year olds were regularly admitted.⁵ A similar age composition was evident at the Protestant Refuge so that in 1897, 20 of the 44 inmates admitted were under 20 years old.⁶ With inmates including many "little girls", one woman asked to leave because there were "so many young children".⁷ At the Church Home, so many girls were admitted that in 1899 a second Home was bought specifically to house them.

The reasons for the girls being admitted to the Homes varied - some were pregnant and/or homeless, others in police

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1. Nellie Murphy, Notes on St. Magdalene's Retreat, n.d., p.2 (unpag.), t/s, held at Good Samaritan Training College. Murphy was an inmate of the Retreat.
 2. Royal Commission 1898-9, evidence of Third Report, *op.cit.*, pp.12,24 and Sydney Female Mission Home, *A.R.*, 1897, p.4.
 3. Infants' Home, Minutes, 21 March 1893 and Church Home, Executive Committee Minutes, 18 February 1891.
 4. *ibid.*, (C.R.H.), 30 January 1900.
 5. St. Magdalen's Retreat, Admission Book, 1890 and 1900, held at the Good Samaritan Training College, Arncliffe.
 6. Sydney Female Refuge Society, *A.R.*, 1897, p.11.
 7. Sydney Female Refuge Society, Matron's Journal, 11 December 1892, 1 August 1893, 15 May 1894 and 22 March 1898. Even a nine year old was brought to the Refuge, *ibid.*, L.C.Minutes, 5 April 1909.

custody. Increasingly, however, family members asked for girls to be shut "out of harm's way" during "the dangerous age" of puberty.¹ The upsurge of family concern to control young girls' sexuality suggests that the financial - let alone emotional - disaster of an unwanted pregnancy or illegal abortion was an increasing fear for working class families.² In addition, the scarcity of employment for girls would also increase the fear - and reality - of them turning to prostitution to earn a living. For these reasons, bourgeois notions of respectability, especially virginity for young girls, were adopted by large sections of the working class. Girls rejecting such ideals jeopardised their families' precarious financial position and claim to respectability. For many families, a girl's discreet incarceration into a harsh, repressive Home was preferable.

Little changed in the methods used to reform "females" within institutions because the ladies in control did not substantially alter their views, either on the causes of women's "fall" or poverty. The initial response to the depression of the Mission Home ladies was typical. The increased poverty was welcomed as a time with more scope for the carrying out of the Home's aims and objects.³ It was only after the Homes and the ladies themselves were affected, that the seriousness of the depression was appreciated. The contradiction of the ladies' attitude towards poverty was most explicit in the W.C.T.U. Individual members such as Ward (also a member of the Church Rescue Home), and Pottie (also a member of the Mission Home), made strenuous personal efforts to assist the poor.⁴ As an organisation, the W.C.T.U. also responded providing, for example, cheap meals for up to 400 people each

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1. e.g., ibid., 1 July and 27 August 1892, 27 October and 21 November 1897. Salvation Army, A.R., 1906, p.25, uses the latter term.
 2. Golder and Allen, op.cit., p.23, for example, suggest that an abortion cost between £1-5 in 1890.
 3. Sydney Female Mission Home, A.R., 1892, p.2.
 4. See Appendix A.

week during the winters.¹ Yet a compassionate understanding of the reality of poverty was so often missing. Thus Nolan as W.C.T.U. President urged the exploitation of poverty: tracts were left in poor homes, "an inducement ... being ... the very substantial material relief afforded by our Sisters".² The struggle of many poor women to pay their membership dues was brushed aside with the admonition:

If you can get their independence
aroused ... by a little management
and economy they can do it
Many a really poor woman wastes
many pennies The habit of
putting by a penny every week ...
would be an education (3)

Similarly, the ladies running the institutions continued to see the inmates simply as victims of their own "folly and sin" or of "perfidious [male] villians".⁴ The Mission Home did admit to cases which were "perplexing"⁵ but none of the institutions' committees significantly altered their views on poverty or women's "fall".

The Infants' Home also continued to be run by "ladies" with little alteration in methods or aims. The Home, particularly under Lady Superintendant Louise Taplin, continued to resist having their children boarded out by the S.C.R.B. (a condition of their government subsidy). They therefore attempted to keep the children at the Home and to encourage private adoption. The Home's effort to keep the children in separate cottages failed and there was little attempt to take Maxted's advice of 1888 to adopt more rigorous procedure before allowing couples to adopt children from the Home. Thus a letter from one man asking to return his adopted child

1. W.C.T.U., Annual Convention Report, 1890, p.8.

2. ibid., 1893, p.32, cf. protests by Moran about a similar policy by the Sydney City Mission, The Catholic Press, 28 November 1907 and D.T., 18 November 1907, that bribing hungry people with food was the most detestable abomination. His remarks prompted replies in both ibid. and S.M.H., 19 and 20 November 1907.

3. W.C.T.U., Annual Convention Report, 1895, p.43. See also ibid., 1896, p.40.

4. Sydney Female Mission Home, A.R., 1892, pp.2-3.

5. ibid., 1892, p.2.

because his wife was "not fond of children".¹ It is clear, however, that much of the conservatism of the Infants' Home still resulted from the anxiety of women to prove that they were no longer running a Foundling Hospital. Hence the lengthy public explanations that they were not "encouraging vice" but rather promoting the "natural ties" between mother and child in order to (morally) redeem the mother.²

The inmates' lives stood in stark contrast to the easy judgements of the ladies. As in previous decades, as repressive, truly "work-houses" as these institutions were, they did serve as a refuge. Women continued to react with desperation if they were refused admittance.³ Women fresh from prison, for example, frequently had nowhere but the Salvation Army Home in which to find shelter.⁴ Minute books continue to reveal women whose whole lives testify to a dependence on institutional philanthropy. Most desperate of all were the inmates hopelessly addicted to alcohol, snuff or opium. Although there were addicted inmates in all the Homes, the fullest picture of their tragedy comes from the Church Rescue Home.

Like the Infants' Home, the Church Rescue Home was run on far less punitive lines than was usual.⁵ Perhaps that both catered also for middle class women (the latter took in, generally alcoholic, "boarders") accounted for this characteristic. Although Archdeacon Gunther described the Church Rescue

1. Infants' Home, Minutes, 7 January 1902.

2. Infants' Home, A.R., e.g., 1893, p.3, 1899, p.4, 1903, p.5, 1905, p.5 and 1908, pp.5-7.

3. e.g., Sydney Female Refuge Society, Matron's Journal, 5 January 1895, 27 May 1896 and 21 December 1897.

4. Royal Commission, 1898-9, Third Report, op.cit., p.xxv. Other Homes refused to admit them although from 1911, those under 30 years old could go to the Protestant Refuge, Sydney Female Refuge Society L.C., Minutes, 3 October 1911. The Prisoners' Aid Association did not provide shelter although it increased its assistance to women ex-prisoners after the formation of a L.C. in 1903, see Prisoners' Aid Association of N.S.W., A.R.s., 1901/2-1914/5.

5. e.g., C.R.H., Matron's Journal, 28 December 1898, describes the (successful) efforts to ensure the inmates spent Christmas Day happily.

Home at one annual meeting as simply an attempt "to solve the labour problem"¹, the ladies were more compassionate and the Matrons could win the inmates' loyalty and affection.² The Reports accordingly stressed the inmates' comfort and happiness.³ The new premises in 1893 were also seen as allowing a more "homely" atmosphere where self-restraint rather than coercion ruled.⁴ However, no amount of individual compassion could disguise the nightmare of the inmates' lives. As at the Infants' Home and Protestant Refuge, tragedy after tragedy was recorded. One woman begged to be allowed to stay a year while her husband was in jail as "she wishes to keep from drink, & is afraid her trouble will drive her to it".⁵ After set periods inmates were allowed day leave and they frequently had to be tracked down (for example, "All Sunday afternoon we hunted for her")⁶ and, mostly, bailed out of prison. There was little victory for the women in these rebellions: typical comments were "The poor woman was fairly broken hearted about herself"; "She is in despair of ever keeping from drinking & threatens to take her life" and, she returned "very broken hearted & ill".⁷ Suicide and attempted suicide, generally by using wax matches to die of phosphorus poisoning, was not uncommon; neither was the agony of women in delirium tremens.⁸ The women had other problems which the ladies and employees (Matron, sub-Matron and missionary) tried to solve, such as that of one woman who had left her children with a "baby-farmer" who had subsequently disappeared.⁹ Perhaps the

1. D.T., 31 August 1897 (Report of Annual Meeting).

2. e.g., inmates protested when one Matron resigned because she "had been very kind & good to them", C.R.H., Visiting Committee, 10 May 1895 and Matron's Journal, 25 April 1899, reaction of one inmate to death of ex-Matron, Mrs Cowper.

3. e.g., C.R.H., A.R., 1901-2, p.4.

4. Church Home Executive Committee, Minute Book 1893-5, inside front cover, unidentified newspaper clipping.

5. C.R.H., Matron's Journal, 29 November 1898.

6. ibid., 28 December 1898.

7. ibid., 23 and 2 May 1899 and C.R.H., House Committee Minutes, 5 July 1898.

8. e.g., C.R.H., Executive Committee, Minutes, 30 March 1901 and Matron's Journal, 2 May 1899 and 8 and 29 November 1898.

9. ibid., 17 January 1899.

greatest tragedy of these women is revealed by the fact that so many returned to the Home - and other institutions of which they had been inmates - between employment. This habit, contrary to Ardill's claim, was not so much evidence that the institution had become a second home, but simply because they had nowhere else to go.¹ For some, the help proffered resulted in "respectability" and happiness;² for most the help was both oppressive in its judgements and hopelessly inadequate. The help could also be oppressive for the women in other ways. At least one inmate of the Home of Hope, for example, entrusted her jewellery, whilst drunk, to Ardill who subsequently refused to return it without payment.³ The inadequacy of the help is best illustrated by the Refuge ladies' determination to stop the inmates' alcoholic cravings - by the distribution of peppermints.⁴ What must be remembered, however, was that for many of the women, no help of any other kind was provided.

The individual philanthropists involved in running the institutions for destitute, "fallen" women varied considerably in their motivation, priorities and the degree of power which they could exercise. Mrs Murdoch, at one extreme, was simply running a charitable laundry with her husband. The Salvation Army women ran their Home with evangelical aims and under the strict discipline of, ultimately, William and Bramwell Booth. At the Home of Hope, Louisa Ardill assisted in the management and ladies visited, but they were "without control".⁵ Of the Good Samaritan nuns only Mother M. Aquinas

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1. e.g., Royal Commission 1898-9, Third Report, op.cit., p. xxxiii and Church Home Visiting Committee Minutes, 9 January 1894.
 2. e.g., ibid., 12 February 1895 and C.R.H., Matron's Journal, 8 November 1898.
 3. Sydney Female Refuge Society L.C., Minutes, 6 August - 4 November 1896. A similar incident was one of the accusations against Ardill in The Australian Workman, 28 February 1891.
 4. Sydney Female Refuge Society, L.C., Minutes, 4 June 1907. The Sydney City Mission L.C. also distributed peppermints to the Newington Asylum inmates, perhaps due to the same belief, S.C.M.H., 15 March 1899.
 5. Royal Commission 1898-9, evidence for Third Report, op.cit., pp. 12, 24.

(Corcoran) and the Superior-Generals Adamson, Byrne and McLaughlin can be identified in any detail.¹ However the Order, despite being under the direct control of the Archbishop, provided another demonstration that women who were autocrats in their own sphere were unlikely to respond passively even to acknowledged superiors. This occurred when Moran suggested that the Good Shepherd Order take over the Good Samaritans' work with prostitutes. The Good Samaritan Superior (Mother M.Berchmans McLaughlin) effectively stymied Moran's plans. She claimed her nuns would abandon their work at Moran's "command" but would see that act as evidence of his great dissatisfaction with their work. Such diplomatic intransigence was successful; the Good Samaritan nuns continued to manage the Refuges.²

The other four Homes for destitute, "fallen" women were run by Protestant, predominantly evangelical, women.³ From 40% (Church Rescue Home) to 66.6% (Sydney Female Mission Home) of the committee women were also members of the philanthropic network.⁴ Over half the members of the latter Home are shown in Table 8.8. They were typical of the women who controlled the evangelical philanthropic network, in the 1890s as much as the 1870s: generally middle-aged to old ladies; Protestant; with a varying maternal experience and married to wealthy professional men.⁵ The Mesdames Jones are also an indication of the extent to which members of one family could influence an organisation. The conservatism of these ladies arose from their class and status but also from the length of their

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1. See Appendix A. Only names and generalised eulogies survive for the other nuns as in, e.g., Good Samaritan Annals, op.cit., p.141; Catholic Press, 23 November 1895 (poem comparing the "pure" nuns with the evil penitents) and Murphy, op.cit., passim.
 2. Monseigneur O'Haran to Cardinal Moran, 14 August 1911, handwritten ms, held at St. Scholastica's, Glebe.
 3. The Infants' Home, however, included one Catholic (Mrs Hughes) on its committee, Infants' Home, Minutes, 17 December 1907.
 4. See below, Table 8.9, following p.365.
 5. See entries for Appendix A for profiles of other members of these Homes.

TABLE 8.8

IDENTIFIED MEMBERS OF THE SYDNEY FEMALE MISSION HOME, 1890s

Name, Membership of Phil-anthropic Network (N)	Name, occupation of husband	Kin also on committee and other links between members	Age in 1890 or on joining	Religion	Number of Children
Mrs Jane Allen (N)	George, solicitor/ M.L.C.	-	83	Meth.	14 (10 survived)
Mrs Emma Dawson	John, lawyer	-	?	Meth./ Quaker?	?
Mrs Ann Goodlet (N)	John, merchant	-	69	Pres.	0
Mrs Mary Inglis (N)	James, merchant/ M.L.A./ author	-	mid 30s?	Pres.	0
Mrs Annie Mander Jones (N)	David, pastoralist	sisters-	mid 50s?	Congreg.	4
Mrs Hannah Sydney Jones (N)	Phillip, physician/ surgeon	in- law	51	Congreg.	7
Mrs Helen Lloyd Jones (N)	Edward, retailer	Mrs L.T.Lloyd	?	Congreg.	5
Mrs Helen Kent (N)	John, ?	-	?	C. of E.	1 at least
Mrs Annie Moore (N)	Charles, merchant/ auctioneer/ alder- man	-	?	C. of E.	0
Mrs Moira Mullens (N)	Josiah, stockbroker	-	?	Congreg.	1 at least
Mrs ? Nott (N)	Randolph, merchant/ politician	Mrs A.Ross Nott	?	Congreg.	?
Mrs Annie O'Reilly (N)	Walter, surgeon	-	?	Meth.	1 at least
Mrs Eliza Pottie (N)	John, veterinary surgeon	-	54	Quaker/ Pres.	6
Mrs Charlotte See (N)	John, merchant/ politician	-	45	C. of E.	10 (3 died infancy)
Mrs Eleanor Thompson (N)	Joseph, ?	(Previously daught- er & sister-in-law)	?	Congreg.	3

membership. The two wives of J.H.Goodlet, President of the men's committee of the Protestant Refuge, for example, had a joint membership on the Ladies' Committee stretching from 1856 to its closure in 1924.¹ Lengthy periods of service could also be achieved by employees. The Protestant Refuge had the same Matron from 1870 to 1901. She was then replaced by her sub-Matron who worked for 43 years at the Refuge. Similarly, at the Church Home, the Matron remained for 34 years.² Whilst not preventing change, such lengthy periods of service predisposed towards conservatism and the retention of methods and priorities established some decades before.

A major motivation of these evangelical women remained that of social purity. It was through these organisations, and the W.C.T.U., that ladies aimed to reform "fallen" women, protect their own sex from male "predators" and propagate the ideal of a single sexual standard.³ It was their engrossment in these activities - as well as the distraction of the suffrage campaign which sought to further social purity aims⁴ - that kept women from extensive involvement in separate Social Purity organisations. Little support was forthcoming for Rose Selwyn's proposed "Woman's League for Purity and Morality" or the Women's White Cross Moral Reform Crusade.⁵ The latter especially couched their appeal in terms of the woman's sphere ideology: "SISTERS! This is essentially WOMEN'S WORK".⁶ However, the Homes for "fallen" women with their established committees also appealed to women to work within their sphere for social purity. The ladies of the Mission Home particularly promoted the evangelical, activist message: "It is useless

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1. There was a break between 1902 when the first died and 1908 when the second Mrs Goodlet became President.
 2. Sydney Female Refuge Society, A.R., 1914 p.11 and L.C., Minutes, 2 July 1901 and C. of E. Homes, A.R., 1930, p.5.
 3. Including a W.C.T.U. campaign in 1894 to raise the age of consent to 19 years, Williams and Holliday, op.cit., p.73.
 4. See following chapter.
 5. R.Selwyn to "Dearest Rose" (her niece) 9 November 1892, Selwyn Papers, op.cit.
 6. V.Cooper Mathieson, Knights of the White Cross Crusade, Series 1-6, (Sydney?), 1904, first booklet, back cover (unpag.).

to lament and bemoan this sad state of things without practical efforts to remedy it" and "None are without blame who ... sigh and say it cannot be helped".¹

The evangelical network women with their burning sense of ever-present sin and depravity were in marked contrast to the "new women" and the social reformers with their faith in education, improved health facilities and social (rather than individual) reform. This contrast was particularly demonstrated by the members of the Women's Club Civic League (founded 1907). Such liberal reformers as Rose Scott, Laura Bogue Luffman and the Misses Newcomb and Hodge were members.² They too interested themselves in social purity issues but their problem was to find evidence of immorality. Whereas to the evangelical, the innate depravity of man was an article of faith, the Civic League women believed that "Working people generally had neither time nor taste for vice". In one instance, two members reported that a suspect entertainment was "so moral they had left early".³ Such a problem was never that of the evangelical network ladies, constantly striving to "snatch ... [souls] from the pit of destruction".⁴

The women in charge of the Homes continued to operate with a firm conviction that they were working within the woman's sphere. At the Protestant Refuge the male committee remained publicly dominant but their major role was still to oversee the accounts.⁵ The Infants' and Mission Home ladies also continued to run their own institutions with minimal male, or any other, interference. The Infants' Home did not hold annual meetings nor allow any power to subscribers until, as

1. S.F.M.H., A.R., 1892, p.2 and 1890, p.2.

2. For Scott, see Appendix A; Bogue Luffman was a journalist, prominent in the Women's Liberal League, and Newcomb and Hodge, principals of a progressive girls' school, Shirley.

3. Civic League, Minutes, 15 July 1907 (Eight General Conference).

4. Sydney Female Refuge Society, A.R., 1897, p.13.

5. e.g., Sydney Female Refuge Society L.C., Minutes, 4 September 1899.

related below, they were forced into it. The Mission Home ladies, untouched by scandal, continued to nominate new members themselves, allowing no outside interference.¹

The position of the Church Home ladies was more complicated. They were at first silent at annual meetings, perhaps because of the belief that there "was unquestionably something distasteful in the work".² Certainly their Mission Home colleagues refused to hold public meetings on the grounds that their work should only be spoken of "privately with bated breath".³ The Church Home remained, despite the breakaway of the Working and Factory Girls' Club,⁴ under the control of the (all male) Church of England Temperance Society. In addition, usually a man chaired the Home's meetings and a quarter of the committee were men. However, there are indications that women would not accept a nominal role. Apart from the lesson of the Club breakaway, the Temperance Society men saw their Woman's (auxiliary) Union become defunct at a time when the W.C.T.U., completely controlled by similar ladies, was a power in the land.⁵ The men nevertheless attempted to increase their control over the Home through the drafting of a new constitution. These measures were rejected by the Home's Committee⁶ and although a new constitution was finally approved, when a new one was introduced in 1916 knowledge of a pre-existing constitution had been lost.⁷ No details are available of the financial support by the public to determine the extent to which women saw the Church Home as within the woman's sphere. However, by

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1. Royal Commission, 1898-9, Third Report, op.cit., p.xxxiii and e.g., Sydney Female Mission Home, A.R., 1891, p.3 and 1893, p.3.
 2. S.M.H., 18 March 1891 and Church of England Record, 21 March 1891 (Report of Annual Meeting).
 3. Sydney Female Mission Home, A.R., 1891, p.3.
 4. C. of E. Temperance Society, Minutes, esp. 8 April 1891.
 5. The difference was that the Temperance Union members advocated both "temperance" and "abstinence" in the use of alcohol. The W.C.T.U. in N.S.W. during 1899 had 1,354 women, 221 girls and 112 male honorary members, W.C.T.U., Annual Convention Report, 1899, p.47.
 6. C. of E. Temperance Society, Minutes, 18 February to 23 July 1891.
 7. Church of England Homes, A.R., 1916, p.5.

1897 the annual meeting was reported as a woman's affair: presided over by a woman, with "a large gathering of ladies" and just twenty men. The meeting of the Temperance Society which followed was, in contrast, a man's affair.¹ In addition, it was always the ladies who supervised the Home and who knew "everything ... that goes on".²

As was evident in previous decades, there was no clear difference in the methods espoused by, respectively, Protestants and Catholics. Agreement on philanthropic priorities over-rode sectarian differences. Sectarianism remained a problem for the Good Samaritan nuns but they also benefited from the support of leading Protestants. Thus the leading anti-Catholic, the Rev. Dill-Macky, claimed that one ex-inmate of St. Magdalen's had been imprisoned and forced to work 16 hours a day. When the woman's story was discredited, at least one paper claimed she had been acting on orders "from Rome" to discredit trusting Orangemen.³ On the other hand, the Retreat's Commonwealth Fair made a profit of over £3,300 with the help of the patronage of the Governor, Chief Justice, Admiral, Premier, Mayor and Major-General; all with their wives.⁴

Despite the immense effort the Homes listed in Table 8.7 represented, the managing ladies achieved little more than control over institutions whose static policies rendered them increasingly irrelevant to the needs and ideology of the new century. The ladies showed little to no awareness of the impact of the depression on their inmates' lives and were unable to increase their power within their sphere. One institution, the Infants' Home, was by 1890 in a particularly strong position to promote an increased role for ladies, but in fact did

1. S.M.H. and D.T., 31 August 1897 clippings in C. of E. Temperance Society Minute Book, 1895-8.

2. Chinese Gambling Commission, evidence, op.cit., p.442.

3. The Evening News, 4 August 1906, clipping in Sister M. Gregory's File, op.cit.

4. Good Samaritan Annals, op.cit., p.150 and The Catholic Press, 12 August 1899 - 17 March 1900.

much to discredit their ability to effectively control matters within the woman's sphere.

The affair which discredited the Infants' Home ladies reveals the bitterness of conflict possible within philanthropic circles and the inarticulated but very real boundaries of acceptable behaviour. The scandal began with a dispute between the two doctors, Collingwood and Thring, practising at the Home.¹ This quarrel was complicated by one being married to the other's cousin, who was also a member of the Home's committee. The latter (Mrs Thring) was also a friend and supporter of Miss Taplin, the Home's Lady Superintendent, and an opponent of senior committee member Ada Docker. It was Docker who demonstrated the ideal of expressing ladylike hostility. She thanked the Committee for the kind and courteous behaviour she had received from "nearly all" members.² Largely due to one member's "impudence"³, an independent inquiry was held which, however, came up with the unacceptable solution that all should resign.⁴ Instead it was decided that Taplin should work "faithfully and subordiantly" with the doctors and that Docker, despite her seniority, should not be President.⁵ Then came the episode which over-stepped the bounds of acceptable behaviour; that was "too mean and unfair" and resulted in Maxted stopping any further subsidy until the "internal dissensions ... terminated".⁶ With Docker's collusion Dr Collingwood hired a

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1. Infants' Home, Minutes, 15 July 1890. Dr Collingwood had caused the dismissal of a previous Lady Superintendent, Miss Stevens, Infants' Home, Minutes, 23 November 1886.
 2. ibid., 19 May 1891, (my emphasis).
 3. Mrs David had previously been "irregularly" elected to the Committee and refused to resign until Rules were drawn up, Letterbook, op.cit., 25 January 1892 and Minutes, 1 December 1891, 15 December 1891 and 2 February 1892. See also Appendix A, entry for Taplin.
 4. Infants' Home, Letterbook, op.cit., 11 November 1892 - 12 December 1892 and Minutes, 6 December 1892.
 5. ibid., 5 April, 2 August, 27 September and 9 December 1892 and 18 April 1893, and Letterbook, 2 April 1893.
 6. Infants' Home, Minutes, 11 October 1892 and 8 November 1892.

detective to investigate Taplin's relationship with Dr. Thring. When Maxted wrote that such an action was "dishonourable in the extreme" his letter was lithographed and, it was claimed, 1,000 copies distributed around Sydney's medical and philanthropic circles.¹ After that Rules were adopted for the Home - deleting the clause exempting middle class women from its restrictions - and annual public meetings held.² At these, the ladies adopted a low profile until 1906 when for the first time, a woman presided and other women moved the major motions.³

Another institution, the N.S.W. Industrial Home for Blind Women (from 1892 "and Retreat for the Aged Blind"), also contributed to the decline in the prestige of ladies exercising autonomy over their sphere. Up to 1895, the Ladies' Committee, as in the 1880s, had an active role. The ladies involved were largely the same including the Misses Fletcher, Pemell and Woolley.⁴ By 1898, however, the institution was a public scandal and a Royal Commission condemned its "defective" management, neglect of the inmates and recommended a police investigation into the "immoral" conduct of teacher H.S.Prescott, whose wife had been on the Ladies' Committee.⁵ It was an ignominious end for an Institution which had been confidently run by ladies as a woman's sphere concern. It

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1. loc.cit. and 11 November 1892. Maxted's letter was to Mrs David.
 2. Infants' Home Letterbook op.cit., 24 February 1893. Infants' Home, Minutes, 17 April 1894 have a copy of the Rules attached. However, the babies of middle class women were still admitted without their mothers, Minutes, e.g., 14 March 1899.
 3. Infants' Home, A.R., 1906, pp.4-5.
 4. See Appendix A.
 5. Royal Commission into the Home Teaching Society for the Blind, and Industrial Home for Blind Women and Retreat for the Aged Female Blind, Report, in N.S.W. L.A., V. & P., 1898, (1st session), vol.3 cf. another Home for the Blind which was a family effort to exploit the blind, Department of Charitable Institutions, A.R., 1890, pp.50-1.

was taken over by the prestigious Industrial Blind Institution. This change symbolised the decline of the lady's power. At the Blind Institution, the care of the female blind and domestic arrangements were recognised as woman's sphere concerns and from 1890, controlled by a Ladies' Committee. The ladies were all drawn from the wealthy, pious middle class, headed by the 73 year old Hunter Baillie.¹ They also raised money for the Institution (as shown in Table 8.3) with the help of wealthy individuals such as Lady Hay and Eadith Walker.² Nevertheless, the ladies were appointed by the male committee and had no significant power over the management.³ The Industrial Blind Institution was also typical in providing philanthropic help to those to whom they denied any self-determination. Whilst in Victoria, the blind Tilly Ashton was able to achieve significant reform for the blind, similar actions were delayed in N.S.W.⁴ Significantly, neither of the most prominent blind women philanthropists in N.S.W. dedicated their efforts to their fellow blind.⁵

It was in their management of institutions caring for destitute women, that philanthropic women most displayed their awareness of their rights and duties within the woman's sphere. They also, however, remained unresponsive to the great changes around them and, in essential ways, to the needs of those they helped. The depression, the advent of the "new woman", the increased measures of state intervention and the political organisation of labour resulted in little apparent change in thought or management. Above all, these institutions failed to arrest the decline of the power and prestige of the lady acting within an autonomous, philanthropic, woman's sphere.

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1. Other members included in Appendix A are Burdekin, Hall and Stephen.
 2. Industrial Blind Institution, Minutes, 15 June 1896. See also Appendix A.
 3. Industrial Blind Institution, Minutes, e.g., 13 October and 13 July 1890.
 4. T. Ashton, Memoirs of Tilly Ashton, Australia's Blind Poet, Author and Philanthropist, Melbourne, 1946.
 5. These were Schardt and Paterson, for whom, see Appendix A.

(c) The Philanthropic Network

The quotation that heads this chapter is an expression of the determination of one evangelical lady (Eliza Manning) to persuade ladies of the next generation of their duty within the woman's sphere. To some extent, Manning's ideal was achieved: ladies did "do something". Manning, however, also wanted the ladies of the philanthropic network to be "a power". It was this hope that was boosted in the 1880s but which largely failed to come to fruition. By 1900, the influence of "ladies" was rarely seen as an answer to social problems within the woman's sphere. As a result, the restrictions of the philanthropic woman's sphere remained while the ideological justification of confident, independent action within that sphere diminished. Nevertheless, philanthropy was still seen as a useful and congenial occupation for middle class women. In the 1890s, despite all the restrictions upon women's philanthropy, it absorbed the energies of a greater number of women than ever before and the ladies' philanthropic network was essentially intact.

The number of women involved in philanthropic organisations in the 1890s cannot, with any accuracy, be estimated. However, of the organisations examined in this and the previous chapter, over 650 women were involved as committee members. Many more were ordinary members of organisations such as the Y.W.C.A., Ladies' Sanitary Association and the W.C.T.U. Other organisations had small executive committees whilst large numbers of women sat on the General Committees. Thus the Thirlmere Home for Consumptives had a General Committee in 1895-6 of 78 women (and 16 men) while in 1896-7, that of the Fresh Air League involved 61 women.¹ In addition, there were organisations which combined to involve large numbers of women

1. Thirlmere Home for Consumptives, A.R., 1894-5, p.4 and Fresh Air League, A.R., 1896-7, p.7. The members of the larger committees have not been included in my membership lists.

but just how many and their personal details, including names, have not survived. In particular, little is known of the Catholic nuns or Salvation Army officers who were involved in philanthropic work. The mushrooming of local benevolent societies has been a theme of this chapter but there too, details of the personnel involved has largely been lost. The extent to which women supported the extensive work of George Ardill also cannot now be enumerated.

Despite the lack of information, and the vastly extended philanthropic activities of women, the details of philanthropic membership and finance which have survived attest to the continuing importance both of the woman's sphere concept and the ladies' network.

One indication of the continuing importance of the concept of the philanthropic woman's sphere was in the pattern of subscriptions. In the organisations assisting adults, as shown in Table 8.3, women's organisations such as the Woman's Crusade, Mission Home, Industrial Guild and the early Women's Hospital had from 82-91% of its subscriptions and donations coming from women.¹ At the other extreme, male dominated organisations such as the N.S.W. Benevolent Society had only 8-13% of its subscriptions and donations coming from women. Whilst the financial statistics supplied by St. Vincent's Hospital are perhaps the most obscure of all, the low public profile of the nuns also appears to have resulted in minimal women's subscriptions/donations. In between there were a number of organisations where it was seen as appropriate for both sexes to support. The Women's Hospital by 1900 and the Infants' Home were both in this category.

Table 8.3 also reveals the extent to which these trends

1. As shown in Table 8.3 (following p.325) the Queen's Fund had in 1900 over 94% of its subscriptions/donations coming from women. The small numbers involved, however, make such percentages unreliable. A similar problem is evident for the Blind Institution and the Hospice for the Dying.

could be reversed if a public appeal was specifically directed at women. The N.S.W. Benevolent Society raised over £2,500 from women in 1895. They did this by appointing a ladies' committee to organise a "Special Appeal" to induce 1,000 women to each contribute 1/- per month for "1,000 Little Children in Need of Food".¹ As an appeal specifically utilising the woman's sphere concept, it spectacularly demonstrated that concept's continuing viability.

What is not revealed in such tables of the pattern of financial support is the extent to which the philanthropic network dominated financially. Such a detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis. It should be noted, however, that it was claimed in 1898 that such an investigation revealed that the major charities in Sydney relied on just 400 regular subscribers.² In addition, a select number of very wealthy women exercised a disproportionate influence. Three of the most notable benefactors in this decade were Eadith Walker, Emma Dixson and Eliza Hall. Walker continued her father's high level of regular donations to a large number of organisations and, for example, came to the rescue of the Women's Industrial Guild during the 1893 bank failures. Dixson financed the Sydney Medical Mission and her lavish donations, with her husband, included £20,000 to the Royal Ryde Homes, £10,000 to the Baptist Union and £5,000 to the Y.W.C.A. Hall also gave large donations to a variety of organisations and finally, in 1912, established the Walter and Eliza Hall Trust with £1 million. A third of the Trust's work was specifically allocated to work within the older concept of the woman's sphere; to benefit women and children.³

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1. Benevolent Society of N.S.W., A.R., 1895, pp.18-9. A further £1,361-3-8 was raised in 1896, ibid., 1896, p.36.
 2. S.C.M.H., 15 April 1898. Professor Anderson Stuart claimed this at a meeting of the Sydney Blind Institution - the investigators were the management of the Children's Hospital.
 3. See Appendix A for further details and sources for these women's work.

There is also considerable evidence that the philanthropic network, linked by a complex mixture of economic, social and kinship ties, continued to dominate key organisations. It was the existence of the network which ensured that a Charity Organisation Society was still largely seen as unnecessary; the network acted as an informal organisation preventing individuals receiving aid from more than one society.¹ Individual women provide evidence of such a network by their multiple memberships of philanthropic organisations. In particular, in the 1890s twenty six women dominated the philanthropic network by their (generally active) membership of from four to ten philanthropic committees each.² Ladies Darley and Manning belonged to the most organisations, ten and eight respectively. Other women who dominated women's philanthropy by their multiple membership and who are listed in Appendix A, are Goodlet, Marks and Renwick (seven each), Pottie, Windeyer and Wilkinson (six each), Hunter Baillie, F.Harris, A. and C. Stephen (five each), Wolstenholme, M. Harris, See, Ward, M.Allen, Bowes, Crane, Cruickshank and Hampden (belonging to four organisations each). They were all Protestants, most were the wives and daughters of wealthy professional men and their known ages in 1890 ranged from 74 to 45 years.³ The type of woman who dominated philanthropy changed little between 1870-1900.

Many more women, however, were members of just one or two other organisations so that the major organisations had members who were also committee members of a large number of other organisations. A sample of this multiple representation by committee members is summarised in Table 8.9. The organisations listed are those which had twenty or more identified committee members. The members of each committee listed were also members of an average of 18.5 other

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1. Report on the Administration of the Metropolitan Charities Association, 30 August 1900, N.S.W.L.A., V. & P., 1900, vol.6, cf. Kennedy, M.A., op.cit. See also Charity Organisation Society, A.R.s., 1887-8, 1910-1, 1913-4.
 2. Including the Womanhood Suffrage League.
 3. cf., Catherine Spence, Australasian Conference on Charity, op.cit., p.136 that "charitable work was left ... [to the] middle-aged and elderly".

**TABLE 8.9 WOMEN'S MULTI-MEMBERSHIPS OF PHILANTHROPIC
COMMITTEES, 1890s (1)**

Name of Organisation	Total Members	Network Members	Number of other organisations to which members belonged
Church Rescue Home	37	15	14
Female School of Industry	29	16	16
Fresh Air League, Executive Committee	28	19	24
Hospital for Sick Children	34	25	19
Infants' Home	48	23	23
Kindergarten Union of N.S.W. (Office-bearers)	46	20	21
Ladies' Sanitary Association	42	19	18
N.S.W. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind	24	14	19
Queen's Fund	44	31	27
Sydney City Mission (Ladies' Committee)	56	28	25
Sydney Female Mission Home	30	19	16
Sydney Female Refuge Society	29	18	14
S.R.W.S., Committees	24	11	22
Sydney University Women's Society ² (and Settlement Committee)	74	12	17
W.C.T.U. ³	59	15	18
Working & Factory Girls' Club	43	20	20
Y.W.C.A. (General Committee)	38	21	20

1. For further details, see Appendix F. Organisations which were not in themselves philanthropic, namely the Womanhood Suffrage League and the National Council of Women, have been excluded.
2. General and Executive members.
3. Executive members residing in Sydney of the Sydney and N.S.W. W.C.T.U.

organisations. The philanthropic network was challenged by the proliferation of organisations in the 1890s but there is little reason to suppose that its control of the major philanthropic organisations involving women was significantly lessened.

In addition to the continuing existence of the philanthropic network, there were continuing efforts to ensure that like-minded women were organised for mutual support. Evangelical women primarily gained such organisational support from their membership of the Sydney Women's Prayer Union (with 16 suburban branches by 1893)¹, the Sydney Ladies' United Evangelistic Association and the W.C.T.U. These organisations all promoted a spiritual sisterhood between their members. They all also assumed that prayer was needed to enable women to accept the burdens in their lives. Thus Ward, a member of all three, referred to "the weary mother ... strengthened for the daily routine by waiting on God", and also the "Sweet hour of prayer, sweet hour of prayer,/ That calls me from a world of care".²

Similar organisations promoting unity for non-evangelical women did not exist until Margaret Windeyer, inspired by American women, founded the National Council of Women in 1896.³ The Council was a forum whereby women from the major philanthropic organisations could maintain their sense of solidarity within the woman's sphere. All women's organisations were eligible to have representatives on the Council, so that "sympathy and support" would be forthcoming from those with different methods but the same aims.⁴ The Council also itself took up woman's sphere issues such as the need for House-keeping Schools, women's suffrage, economic independence for

1. The Dawn, 1 October 1893.

2. E.Ward, op.cit., p.21.

3. National Council of Women of N.S.W., Report, accounts of inaugural meeting, Sydney 1896, ML An30 and Margaret Windeyer, Papers 1885-1939, MLMSS 186/17-8. The International Council of Women had been founded in 1888. See also Appendix A, entry for Windeyer.

4. National Council of Women, pamphlet, National Library.

married women and the problems of state children. Later, concern about the "White Slave Traffic" was a major issue.¹ The Council also initiated philanthropic action through its Alice Rawson School for Mothers, Citizens' Association and the Girls' Realm Guild.²

The existence of the philanthropic network, kinship and other links between members and the organisations promoting unity did not eliminate suspicion, conflict and lack of co-operation between women philanthropists. Hence comments like that in the minutes of the Y.W.C.A., that the work of the W.C.T.U., Australian Governesses' Association and the Working and Factory Girls' Club "pointed ... to the need for much prayer & great watchfulness lest the work properly belonging to the Y.W.C.A. fall into other hands."³ For many women, their organisation's distinct methods as well as their own sense of purpose and power had to be preserved as a primary aim. However, as stressed by the National Council of Women, there was broad agreement as to the aims of women's philanthropic associations. This agreement, as argued in previous chapters, arose from three factors. These were the existence of a "network" of ladies which dominated the organisations, their common class interests and the hegemony of the concept of the woman's sphere. Neither factor was static and all exerted as profound an effect on philanthropy in the 1890s as in the 1870s.

The comparatively high level of poverty and the related challenges to, and changes in, N.S.W. society in the 1890s, profoundly affected philanthropy within the woman's sphere. Women extensively organised to alleviate the problem of mass poverty, to control women's sexuality and addictions, and to provide desperately needed health and vocational services.

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1. National Council of Women, Jubilee Report, 1896-1944, p.5.
 2. loc.cit.; National Council of Women, Biennial Report, 1913-4; The Woman's Voice, 1:1, May 1905 and Girls' Realm Guild, (uncat.) MLMSS 3125.
 3. Y.W.C.A., Minutes, 26 March 1897.

In the meeting of these challenges, the woman's sphere expanded so that women offered help to destitute men as well as women. However, the philanthropic lady was clearly inadequate to meet the new level and range of demands. For the poor who relied on the philanthropic help of ladies and who had few other avenues of aid, such inadequacy was a tragedy. The organisation of philanthropic ladies became increasingly marginal to the new solutions to social problems - solutions which in their level of state intervention foreshadowed the welfare state. The fate of the organised philanthropic lady paralleled that of "Ladies' Bountiful" in the nineteenth century. Whilst the concept of the woman's sphere continued to be influential within philanthropy, the power and prestige of philanthropic ladies within that sphere was largely eroded.

CONCLUSION

They talk about a woman's sphere as though it had a limit;
... [nothing] has a feather's weight or worth,
Without a woman's in it. (1)

"The proper sphere for all human beings is the largest and highest that they are able to attain to." (2)

I am a human being, and I believe nothing human is outside my sphere. - Terence. (3)

It is argued in this thesis that the concept of the woman's sphere was a hegemonic construct which was ideologically central to the control of women in the late nineteenth century. The woman's sphere concept determined the nature and parameters of women's philanthropy, as it did other key areas of women's experience. Whilst restricting women's activities and functions, the woman's sphere concept also enabled women to assert their right to at least substantial influence, if not control, over selected areas of philanthropy.

Women's philanthropy by 1870 was largely confined to individualistic "Lady Bountiful" activity and a small number of organisations concerned with the care and control of children, "females" and the sick. These organisations were dominated by two opposite groups of women: Catholic nuns and evangelical ladies. Despite their bitter theological differences, the two groups nevertheless ascribed to a consensus on philanthropic aims and on the nature and ideal conduct of women. As demonstrated on an institutional level in Chapter 3, women philanthropists were as strictly controlled as, in a different and materially harsher way, were the ex-prostitutes under their charge within the Refuges.

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1. W.C.T.U., Annual Convention Report, 1894, p.30.
 2. The Woman's Voice, 1:1, May 1905.
 3. The Australian Woman's Sphere, 1:2, October 1900.

During the 1870s, the concept of the woman's sphere became increasingly influential in the organisation of philanthropy. In particular, the Royal Commissioners of 1873-4 argued strongly that where the care of destitute girls was involved, so "ladies" were the appropriate source of influence and control. The concept of the woman's sphere in the philanthropic care of adults lacked such influential advocates yet was equally applied to philanthropic practice. St. Vincent's Hospital was one of the most successful institutions run by women confident of their rights and duties within their sphere. Public effacement by women, as the nuns of St. Vincent's Hospital demonstrated, did not equate with private effacement or subordination in practice. Throughout the 1870s, women's philanthropy was dominated by a network of women with multiple memberships of the most influential organisations. These "network" women gained the most expertise and prestige from their practice of philanthropy yet, as the committee members of the Foundling Hospital so harshly discovered, they continued to be restricted to implementing the repressive values of the woman's sphere.

The height of recognition of the concept that certain areas of philanthropy were best controlled by women, that is, of a philanthropic woman's sphere, was reached in the 1880s. The basis of this belief was that men and women were fundamentally different and that only limited understanding of one sex by the other was possible. Whereas in the 1870s the rights of women within their philanthropic sphere were largely advocated, in the 1880s women increasingly came to exercise what they saw as their rights. The extent to which the woman's sphere was a hegemonic concept by the 1880s was demonstrated by its impact on the range of women's philanthropic organisations and also by the variety of individual advocates it attracted.

The impact of the woman's sphere in the 1880s was also felt in the dramatic increase in organised women's philanthropy which occurred from 1879. During the 1880s, new women's philanthropic institutions and organisations, lay and secular, multiplied. Many of these became permanent and influential in

providing philanthropic services in Sydney. In addition, the influence of women within their philanthropic sphere was increasingly recognised by the formation of ladies' committees and auxiliaries. Governmental recognition of the philanthropic woman's sphere included the appointment of the S.C.R.B. and the Newington Asylum Ladies' Board of Inquiry.

Whilst this thesis primarily investigates organised philanthropy, Chapter 6 serves as a reminder of the impact of the woman's sphere on the level of the individual philanthropist. Helen Fell's life during 1882-92 demonstrates an acceptance of the woman's sphere concept with all its restrictions on activities, behaviour and values. However, her diaries also reveal the extent to which life within those restrictions could be happy, active and purposeful. Fell's diaries further chart the change from the older concept of the woman's sphere as being highly "private" to one which gave women the right and duty to engage in, albeit limited, public activity. The extent to which this process could involve a long and sometimes painful transition was particularly evident in Fell's extended fear of addressing her Literary Society meetings. Whilst necessarily a subordinate theme in this thesis, the impact of the change in the woman's sphere concept on the lives of individuals during the period researched can hardly be underestimated. It can be seen on many levels, from Fell's diaries, to Salmon's recollection of the dearth of organisational skills in women in the nineteenth century¹, to the improvement in the standard of the minutes and financial records kept by women secretaries and treasurers from 1870 to 1900.

In the course of the research for this thesis, it was the second Mrs Goodlet's awareness of the woman's sphere which provided one of the first and clearest indications of its changing nature. Elizabeth Goodlet appears from the records as a truly indomitable figure, deeply committed to the mission cause, a competent public speaker untiring in her travels to inaugurate

1. Mary Salmon, letter to S.M.H., 30 April 1913 in Windeyer Papers, op.cit., (ML*D159), p.245.

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1. Mary Salmon, letter to S.M.H., 30 April 1913 in Windeyer Papers, op.cit., (ML*D159), p.245.

branches of the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Association and as the first woman to address, in 1898, the Presbyterian General Assembly.¹ Yet when this confident and capable woman was asked to be a delegate to the Jubilee Celebrations of the Queensland Presbyterian Church in 1900 she reacted with a self-conscious awareness of the boundaries of the woman's sphere: "I wonder what our grandmothers would have said to a Woman Delegate at a Presbyterian Church meeting! Even to my mind the idea seemed rather an innovation".² The concept of the woman's sphere cannot be equated with a consistently subordinate or non-public role. Rather, women who were confident and able within their sphere acted as subordinated, highly "private" individuals when conscious of being outside the woman's sphere.

While the boundaries of the woman's sphere were always subtly altering and widening, reflecting the changing needs of a capitalist society, the most dramatic change in the woman's sphere came with the upheaval and challenges of the early 1890s. The depression of the 1890s served as a catalyst which led to the decline in the power and prestige of ladies working within the woman's sphere. While many of the restrictions of the woman's sphere remained, women decreasingly assumed responsibility for autonomous areas of expertise and action. From the 1890s, the stress was less on the right and duty of ladies' control over the woman's sphere. Rather the concept of the woman's sphere came to stress the role of the mother and that of ladies and "new women" working in a subordinate role with the state and with male professionals. However, despite the failure of the lady to obtain real power over the woman's sphere and the vast increase in the extent of women's philanthropy, the women's philanthropic network remained intact. A select group, bound by ties of class interest, friendship and kinship, continued to dominate women's philanthropy.

1. Presbyterian Women's Missionary Association, A.R.s, e.g., 1897, p.6, 1900, p.6 and Ministering Women, July 1898. See also Appendix A, entry for Goodlet.
2. Ministering Women, July 1900.

The responses to the changes in the woman's sphere concept from the 1890s are illustrated in the quotations heading this chapter. In the 1890s, a militant concept of the woman's sphere was increasingly articulated, as reflected in the first quotation. The zealous evangelical ladies who dominated women's philanthropy to such a large extent during 1870-1900 attempted to transform the woman's sphere into the dominant culture. The woman's sphere was still to apply but without "limit". Such women attempted to take the values of the woman's sphere and extend them to the rest of the society. For many, a vital step towards achieving this aim was women's suffrage, seen as a source of symbolic and actual power for women over the institution which was increasingly impinging upon their lives; the state. The other main response to the change in the woman's sphere concept is reflected in the second and third quotations heading this chapter. This response was that people should be defined on the basis of their common humanity and not by sex. The concept of the woman's sphere was rejected in favour of an insistence on rights for women on the grounds of their human status. Such an insistence was also reflected in the women's suffrage campaign.¹ It was an embryonic concept in N.S.W. in the early 1900s, only later becoming a dominant strain in feminist thought.

An understanding of the changing concept of the woman's sphere has a contribution to make to the historiography of both welfare history and the position of women in colonial Australia. It is the impact of the woman's sphere which accounts for the contradictions implied in the research findings of, inter alia, Windschuttle and Dickey.²

In terms of the contradictions implied by the findings of Windschuttle and Dickey, research into women's philanthropy underlines the importance of selectivity and perspective.

1. e.g., Petition for Women's Suffrage, N.S.W.L.A., V. & P., 1895, vol.1, p.527, asking for women's suffrage because the vote is "vested in the people (and women are people)".
2. See above, Introduction, pp.xiv-xv.

Dickey, logically for a pioneering survey, concentrated on charity rather than the broader and more religious and woman-influenced philanthropy. He concentrated on secular, subsidised charities which left records in the public libraries and in parliamentary papers. His achievement was an accurate survey of the trends in male-dominated, generally unsectarian charities. His limitation was that he almost totally excluded women's charities operating separately within the woman's sphere. He therefore not only underestimated the influence of women on philanthropy but also of denominational institutions. The tradition of extensive women's philanthropic activity during 1800-1850 that Windschuttle outlined was continued into the latter half of the century. Within the changing confines of the woman's sphere, justified by religion and sanctioned by vice-regal example, women engaged in philanthropy throughout the nineteenth century with complete confidence that they were acting in the interests of their class and sex. This distinctive role of women needs to be acknowledged before any general conclusions are reached about the history of social welfare in N.S.W.

Research into women's philanthropy and the impact of the woman's sphere also contributes to the debate on the status of women in Australian history.¹ Women philanthropists were examples of women with the high status and obvious importance described by Grimshaw. However, while Grimshaw emphasised the importance of the family in maintaining women's status, it was Kingston and Summers who demonstrated the situation of women outside their family unit; the poor Mary Anns and damned whores. It was these women, the despised "females" outside an economically viable family unit, who were most in need of philanthropic help. The lives of these women reveal the powerlessness and vulnerability that Dixon claimed to be a general characteristic of women in Australia. Women's philanthropy, in contrast, indicates the surprising amount of power and purpose women assumed once they were conscious of operating within

1. See above, Introduction, pp.xv-xvi.

their sphere. However, despite such purposeful activity and confidence, the woman's sphere was still a concept which limited activities, including those of the most powerful ladies in the colony. Ladies, women and females were all restricted in their relationships within the woman's sphere.

An aim of this thesis is to provide a basis for further research and debate. Philanthropy is one area which demonstrates the major impact of the woman's sphere concept in late nineteenth century Australia. In the course of the research for this thesis, it became clear that there were a number of other areas, either aspects of philanthropy or inextricably linked with women's philanthropy, which were also profoundly affected by the woman's sphere concept. Some suggestions follow as to the impact of the woman's sphere on some of these areas.

The concept of the woman's sphere on the development of feminist thought is one such area of research. As Simms has argued, feminism is not inherently radical and for this reason its development was as much influenced by conservative as by radical women's organisations.¹ Organisations examined in this thesis which were justified by the woman's sphere concept provided a vehicle for expanding women's awareness of the needs of women, an avenue for new opportunities, organisational skills and careers, and generally contributed towards the development of organised feminism. Women involved in philanthropy, like those in church groups, gained in self-confidence and were able to become more involved in public movements for reform.² Yet such self-confidence and ability were encouraged only within the woman's sphere and in this way, the emancipation of women was effectively limited and contained.³ The

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1. M. Simms, "Conservative Feminism in Australia", Women and Labour Conference Paper, Macquarie University, 1978. See also Harrison, *The G.F.S.*, *op.cit.*, p.121.
 2. *cf.* B. Welter, "The Feminization of American Religion, 1800-1860" in Hartman and Banner, *op.cit.* See also L. Stevenson, "Women Anti-Suffragists in the 1915 Massachusetts Campaign", *The New England Quarterly*, March 1979, pp.90-1 of the strong correlation of pro-suffrage and participation in public affairs.
 3. *cf.* D. Garrison, "The Tender Technicians: The Feminization of Public Librarianship, 1876-1905" in Hartman and Banner, *op.cit.*, and Cott, *op.cit.*, Conclusion.

contradictions within the woman's sphere concept was illustrated by the W.C.T.U.'s stress that "women can work, and plan, and organise, and yet be attractive, sweet and womanly".¹ The W.C.T.U., like other philanthropic and evangelical organisations examined in this thesis, did consciously help women in their desire to work, plan and organise. However, the priority remained that of "womanly" methods, of "sweet" influence rather than direct power.

The impact of the woman's sphere concept on the movement for women's suffrage was equally complex and also highly significant. Firstly, the suffrage campaign occurred at a period when the need for increasing state intervention demonstrated the inadequacy of relying upon ladies to ensure social stability within the woman's sphere. The response of the ladies, it is argued in Part III of this thesis, was to attempt to perform the same functions within their sphere but in co-operation with - and generally under the control of - the various arms of the state. In addition, ladies attempted to utilise the resources of the state, by voting, to achieve their aims within their sphere. Secondly, there is a sense in which the suffrage movement was in itself woman's sphere philanthropy. The suffrage campaign involved a complexity of issues, not the least being political expediency.² Especially in the latter years, its aims have been considered as "directed very much towards social reform".³ Yet it was not general social reform so much as reform of conditions within the woman's sphere: for "the sake of our poor sisters"; to aid working women and deserted wives and to enable women to uproot "wrongs which positively belong to their sphere, and their sphere alone".⁴ That so many of the leading philanthropists were also suffragists (as shown in Appendix A) is another

1. W.C.T.U., Annual Convention Report, 1895, p.39.

2. D.Scott, "Woman Suffrage: The Movement in Australia", J.R.A.H.S., 53:4, December 1967.

3. ibid., pp.304, 319.

4. Womanhood Suffrage League, A.R., 1899, p.9; "A Citizen", Who Has No Vote [M.Wolstenholme], Women Suffrage. A Refutation and An Appeal, Sydney n.d. [1896?], p.4 and The Dawn, 1 July 1893.

indication of the relationship between woman's sphere philanthropy and the suffrage movement.

The extent to which the woman's sphere was a hegemonic concept was also reflected in the women's suffrage campaign. There were only two major incidents which challenged the concept of the woman's sphere during the campaign. One incident was the "atrocious" public advocacy by Eliza Ashton of "tentative marriages, renewable at will".¹ Women suffragists quickly repudiated the suggestion that all suffragists advocated the "complete disruption of the marriage tie".² The second incident was the short-lived production of The Australian Woman by four "Yankee"-influenced women who demanded rather than gently insisted on their rights. Such conduct was contrary to the values of the woman's sphere and was seen as counter-productive to the suffrage campaign. They were consequently disowned by the Womanhood Suffrage League.³ Generally, both suffragists and anti-suffragists upheld the concept of the woman's sphere. The anti-suffragist view was represented by the argument that the woman's sphere could not incorporate women voting and that it was "better to suffer ... than to go outside one's proper sphere to remove [social evils]".⁴ The suffragists believed that women needed to enlarge their sphere in order to ensure its continued viability. This view was summarised in the popular cartoon of a woman chained by the restrictions of the woman's sphere and so unable to defend her children from snakes (vices) threatening them because the

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1. The Methodist, 16 April 1892; M.Windeyer, Correspondence, op.cit., (MLMSS 186/13), letters from M.Jersey, 15 and 17 November 1891 and R.Scott, Correspondence, Women's Work and Women's Movements (binder's title), vol.2, p.214, MLMSS A2277. See also A.D.B., vol.7, entry for J.Ashton.
 2. "A Citizen", [F.E.Bevitt?], The Female Suffrage Movement, Sydney, 1896, p.15. Note his use of "female" to denigrate the suffragists.
 3. S.Bellamy, "Our Feminist Past - Intrigues and Censures", Mejane, 6, February 1892; The Truth, 8 April 1894; Woman's Voice, 9 August 1894 and Womanhood Suffrage League, A.R., 1894, p.6.
 4. MacDonald, op.cit., 11 July 1897. See also E.Ward, op.cit., p.51 and cf. Harrison, Separate Spheres, op.cit.

cudgel (vote) was outside her sphere.¹ In addition, suffragists consistently advocated the vote in order for women "to guard their homes and children".² Such emphasis on the interests of women as mothers, along with the rights of all women and not just ladies, contributed towards the rise of the maternal ideology and the decline of the lady. It also created in suffragists the same defensive reaction evident in the "new women". Thus it was stressed that "Women suffragists, of all people in the world, must not neglect home duties" and "ladies" such as Rose Scott and Mary Windeyer had their appearance and demeanour compared with the "excited, aggressive female defender of the rights of women".³

Like the suffrage campaign, a number of activities were aspects of Victorian philanthropy, yet also separate fields of endeavour needing specialised research. These aspects, like the philanthropy examined in this thesis, appear profoundly influenced by the woman's sphere concept. In the process of research, two such philanthropic activities stood out as the most intriguing, not the least because so little has been written about women's role in them. One such area is animal welfare. Organisations for animal welfare appear predominantly divided into those run by women and those run by men, a sign of the impact of the woman's sphere.⁴ In addition, animal welfare was identified as a woman's issue; it attracted more children than perhaps any other cause and critics were quick to equate its appeal with "emotional old ladies".⁵ Current research can be expected to clarify women's role in animal welfare.⁶

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1. T.Higginson, A Few Short Answers to Common Objections Against Woman's Suffrage, Sydney, n.d., pp.2-3, reproduced in Mackinolty and Radi, op.cit., p.106.
 2. e.g., Report of the Womanhood Suffrage Meeting, D.T., 13 June 1891.
 3. Womanhood Suffrage League, A.R., 1892, p.8 and, e.g., The Australian Christian World, 9 November 1894, clipping in Windeyer Papers, op.cit., p.215 (ML *D159).
 4. Carlile Fox, op.cit., pp.75, 109, 202, 204, 247 and 251-2.
 5. See above p.286 and, e.g., The Church of England Intelligencer, 31 March 1897, criticism of the Anglican Sisters' Dogs' Home in Melbourne.
 6. Jennifer McCullough, University of N.S.W., Ph.D. in process.

Missionary activity also appears to have been profoundly influenced by the woman's sphere concept. Women were both encouraged and restricted in their missionary, as in philanthropic, work. By 1913, the consensus was that the main supporters of missions were women and children.¹ In many mission fields, the concept of the woman's sphere had added applicability given an even stricter segregation of the sexes. This was one reason for the great popularity of the "Zenana" missions to high-caste Indian women.² Women missionaries were encouraged in order to convert the women and children and because missionary work was seen as appropriate to the emotional needs of spinsters.³ In keeping with the woman's sphere, however, they were also restricted in their work. Women missionaries and missionaries' wives were frequently limited to routine work with women and children and refused opportunities for travel. Significantly, these restrictions were particularly severe in the self-consciously "manly" Melanesian Mission of the Church of England.⁴ Generally, however, missionary work provided women with a socially and religiously sanctioned activity which offered a life of purpose and excitement. Whereas the women philanthropists examined in this thesis predominantly appear as quietly contented, many women missionaries are striking for their insistence, for example, "that missionary work is the happiest, and most interesting and worth-doing work in all the world".⁵

The work of women for missions - both as supporters and missionaries - is also deserving of note in this thesis as it

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1. The Home Base of Missions, United Conference on Missionary Organisations, Sydney, 1913, pp.32-3.
 2. See, e.g., N.S.W. Auxiliary to the London Missionary Society, A.R., 1888, pp.5-7, explanation as to why "FEMALE AGENCY is a growing power" (bound with miscellaneous reports, ML P560).
 3. e.g., F.Meyer, The Vestible of Girl-Life. A Letter to Young Girls, (Sydney), Australasian White Cross League, n.d., p.12, advises missionary work to enable spinsters to express their "powers of motherhood".
 4. See D.Hilliard, God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission, St. Lucia, 1978; The Southern Cross Log, esp. May 1895, pp.6-12 and A.Townrow, New Hebrides Centenary, Christchurch, 1949.
 5. F.Coombe, School Days in Norfolk Island, London, 1909, p.10. See also, e.g., Quarterly News of Woman's Work, n.d., p18, (bound with miscellaneous reports, ML P560).

appears so inextricably linked with philanthropic activity. Harrison accordingly argued that missions should be considered as part of Victorian philanthropy.¹ Harrison's very broad definition of philanthropy, for reasons argued in the Introduction, is rejected for this thesis. Nevertheless, the connection between philanthropy and missionary work needs acknowledgement. On the home mission front, philanthropic organisations frequently employed "missionaries" and women such as Fell, Goodlet and Renwick equally supported philanthropy and the missions. Philanthropists also described their work as, for example, "Mission Work in its fullest and highest sense".² In addition, children influenced by philanthropy were regarded as "home missionaries" breaking down working class culture.³ Foreign mission work tended to be seen as a higher and more lasting form of philanthropy.⁴ In this view, as with some forms of evangelical philanthropy, material needs were irrelevant except in their exploitation to spread the Christian message. Hence the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Association's consolation that an epidemic in the New Hebrides made the surviving natives "more amenable" and the concern of one of their missionaries during the Madras famine to "'run, speak' to the perishing ones, concerning the Bread of Life, ere they die of starvation".⁵

The complexity of the missionary-philanthropy link is particularly demonstrated in the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Association's work. It represented the major Presbyterian women's organisation and it was inaugurated in 1892 to assist women's work in foreign and north Queensland missions.⁶ Like

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1. Harrison, *Philanthropy and the Victorians*, op.cit., pp.356,371.
 2. Working and Factory Girls' Club, *A.R.*, 1896-7, p.6.
 3. e.g., Fresh Air League, *Methods and Objects*, Sydney, 1893 and Kindergarten Union, *Formation, not Re-formation*, op.cit., p.2.
 4. e.g., *Annual Report of the Mission Vessel "Dayspring"*, 1871, p.9, "mere philanthropists, and whose labours have for their object only the life that now is".
 5. Presbyterian Women's Missionary Association, *A.R.*, 1892-3, pp.7-8 and 1900, p.11.
 6. Fell, *Jottings from the Reports of the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Association*, op.cit., Part 1, p.3.

a number of other women's missionary societies¹, it was founded during one of the worst years of the depression and reflected no awareness of the unprecedented distress in the colony. As such it was a distraction from home conditions and, in its fascination with India, offered a seemingly romantic, exotic alternative to such concerns.² Yet some of the Association's branches saw aid to the local poor as equally valid missionary activity. The Woollahra branch, for example, supported the work of Miss Isabella Coleman as a missionary of the China Inland Mission and also provided aid to the local poor.³ The work of the Y.W.C.A. similarly reveals the ease with which women moved from philanthropy to foreign mission work. It not only engaged in the philanthropic work described in Chapters 4 (b) and 7 (c) but also had a Foreign Mission Department; a branch (Ashfield) almost completely devoted to foreign missions; paid Miss Mary Booth as its own missionary in China, and encouraged women missionaries to join as honoured members.⁴ No tension was evident between local philanthropic work and the foreign missions; they were clearly seen as different forms of basically the same religiously-inspired impulse.

The historiography of women's missionary work, like women's philanthropy, reveals the ease with which researchers can ignore work within the woman's sphere. Women missionaries were feted whenever on furlough, their diaries and letters were published and read to women's groups, their welfare was a constant source of prayer and their lives commemorated in numerous books.⁵ Despite such high visibility and importance, they

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1. e.g., Ladies' Auxiliary of the Australian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and the Ladies' Committee of the Church Missionary Society.
 2. The Association had its own mission station at Sholinghur, about 70 miles from Madras.
 3. e.g., Presbyterian Women's Missionary Association, A.R., 1892-3, p.5.
 4. Y.W.C.A., A.R., 1890, p.15, 1895-6, p.40 and, e.g., 1900-1, p.5, list of 17 "missionary members".
 5. e.g., ibid., 1897-8, p.13; Presbyterian Women's Missionary Association, A.R., 1898, p.17, 1894, pp.7-9 and E.Dawson, Heroines of Missionary Adventure, London, 1917.

have generally been ignored in histories about women¹ and, except in their role as wives, in histories of missions.² The inter-connected world of Victorian philanthropy and other organised impulses to "do good" remains complex and in need of further research. The woman's sphere is one key to its further understanding.

The impact of the woman's sphere on philanthropy and related activities was highly significant during 1870-1900. The woman's sphere concept restricted women's philanthropy yet also encouraged women's dominance in particular areas. Women conscious of being within their sphere were confident and able, managing and financing their own philanthropic activities. For the historian of these decades, the message of the woman's sphere is simple. Look within its - always changing - boundaries and women will appear as respected, active and fulfilling personal and community needs. Look outside the woman's sphere and women will appear passive and subordinate, with little historical relevance. This thesis is an examination of just one area within the woman's sphere.

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1. One exception is R.Teale, "Matron, Maid and Missionary: The Work of Anglican Women in Australia" in Willis (ed.), op.cit.
 2. e.g., S.Neill, Christian Missions, Harmondsworth, 1964. An exception is P.Barr, To China with Love: The Lives and Times of Protestant Missionaries in China 1860-1900, London, 1972, esp. ch.11.