

# John and Ann Goodlet

*a study in Colonial Christian Philanthropy*

*Mrs Goodlet and her husband might have taken any position they wished in the social life of Australia, but they unitedly, definitely, and whole-heartedly decided long years ago not to live for themselves; not for the honours they could get, but for the good that they could do.*

John Walker

*The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW), January 16, 1903*

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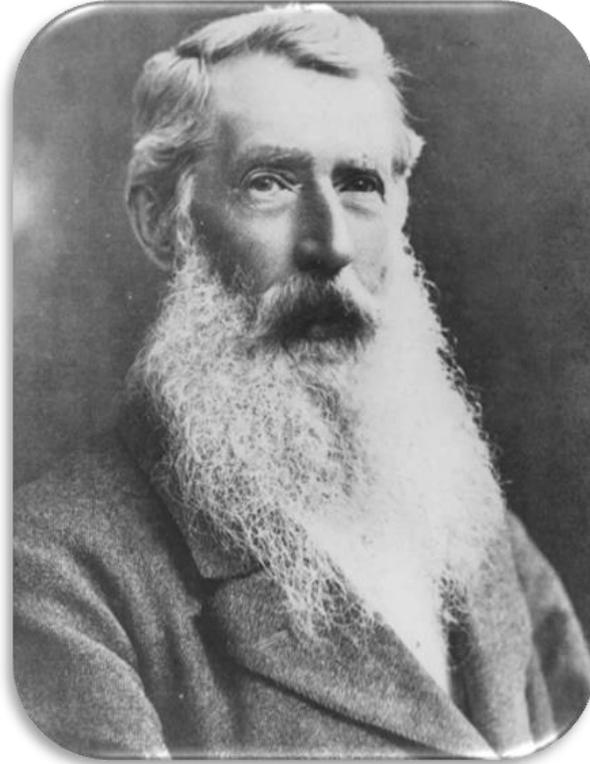
This thesis is presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2013



Stephen Cooper

In memory of Luci and Tink, 2011 and 2013



**John Hay Goodlet (1835-1914)**



**Ann Alison Goodlet (1822-1903)**



CANTERBURY HOUSE,

ASHFIELD.

<b>Table of Contents</b>		
<b>Title Page</b>		<b>i</b>
<b>John Hay Goodlet and Ann Alison Goodlet</b>		<b>iii</b>
<b>Table of Contents</b>		<b>iv</b>
<b>Synoptic Table of Contents</b>		<b>v</b>
<b>Abstract</b>		<b>vii</b>
<b>Statement by the Candidate</b>		<b>viii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>		<b>ix</b>
<b>Photo Pages Credits and Information</b>		<b>x</b>
<b>List of Figures</b>		<b>xvi</b>
<b>Abbreviations used in the Thesis</b>		<b>xvii</b>
<b>Chapter 1</b> Introduction		<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter 2</b> The Goodlet Human Capital		<b>19</b>
<b>Chapter 3</b> The Goodlet Economic Capital		<b>33</b>
<b>Chapter 4</b> The Philanthropic Spectrum and The Philanthropic Spectrum: <i>Relief</i>		<b>91</b>
<b>Chapter 5</b> The Philanthropic Spectrum: <i>Improvement</i>		<b>109</b>
<b>Chapter 6</b> The Philanthropic Spectrum: <i>Civic Engagement</i>		<b>165</b>
<b>Chapter 7</b> The Philanthropic Spectrum: <i>Reform</i>		<b>189</b>
<b>Chapter 8</b> The Philanthropic Spectrum: <i>Spiritual Engagement</i>		<b>221</b>
<b>Chapter 9</b> The Goodlet Philanthropic Emphasis		<b>261</b>
<b>Chapter 10</b> Comparative Philanthropic Profiles		<b>275</b>
<b>Chapter 11</b> The Goodlet Social and Religious Capital		<b>293</b>
<b>Chapter 12</b> The Goodlet Motivation in Philanthropy		<b>315</b>
<b>Chapter 13</b> Conclusion		<b>343</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>		<b>349</b>
<b>Appendix</b>		<b>367</b>
<b>1</b> Deaths at the Consumptive Homes: an analysis		<b>369</b>
<b>2</b> Importation of goods by <i>Goodlet and Smith</i>		<b>383</b>
<b>3</b> Sydney Female Refuge Society members serving more than 10 years		<b>391</b>
<b>4</b> John Goodlet's meeting attendance record		<b>393</b>
<b>5</b> Elizabeth Mary Goodlet		<b>479</b>
<b>6</b> John Goodlet's membership of Committees of the Presbyterian Church		<b>487</b>
<b>7</b> Panton, Goodlet and Copeland Families		<b>491</b>

<b>Synoptic Table of Contents</b>		
<b>Chapter 1</b> Introduction	Introduces the Goodlets and lays out the approach this thesis will take to examine their philanthropy.	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter 2</b> The Goodlet Human Capital	Outlines the background, family, education and experience of the Goodlets that was their human capital which they utilized and developed in their philanthropic endeavours in the colony of NSW.	<b>19</b>
<b>Chapter 3</b> The Goodlet Economic Capital	Traces the development of the wealth of John Goodlet through the growth of <i>Goodlet and Smith</i> . The progress of this company will demonstrate certain characteristics of its founder and managing director and provide a window into the person of John Goodlet.	<b>33</b>
<b>Chapter 4</b> The Philanthropic Spectrum and The Philanthropic Spectrum: <i>Relief</i>	Introduces the concept of a philanthropic spectrum which is then utilized to organise and understand the great range of philanthropic activity of the Goodlets. The chapter also examines those activities which can be characterised as 'Philanthropy as Relief'.	<b>91</b>
<b>Chapter 5</b> The Philanthropic Spectrum: <i>Improvement</i>	Examines a most significant contribution to the Goodlets' philanthropy and indicates that 'Philanthropy as Improvement' was a major emphasis for them.	<b>109</b>
<b>Chapter 6</b> The Philanthropic Spectrum: <i>Civic Engagement</i>	Gives a picture of the civic activity of the Goodlets as they sought to build community structures for the colony of New South Wales.	<b>165</b>
<b>Chapter 7</b> The Philanthropic Spectrum: <i>Reform</i>	An area of the Goodlet philanthropy which engaged the Goodlets in the questions of Free Trade and control of alcohol consumption through the temperance movement and the Local Option.	<b>189</b>
<b>Chapter 8</b> The Philanthropic Spectrum: <i>Spiritual Engagement</i>	Reveals the heart of the Goodlet philanthropy as they sought to support various groups as well as the Presbyterian Church to bring the message of the gospel to the colony of NSW and beyond.	<b>221</b>
<b>Chapter 9</b> The Goodlet Philanthropic Emphasis	Explores those enterprises which captured the best portion of the Goodlets' attention from all the charitable work in which they engaged and which they supported. The emphasis of John and that of Ann is discussed.	<b>261</b>

<b>Chapter 10</b> Comparative Philanthropic Profiles	Develops the profiles of two other contemporary Scottish immigrant philanthropists, Thomas Walker and Andrew Carnegie, and compares and contrasts their philanthropic approach to that of John Goodlet.	<b>275</b>
<b>Chapter 11</b> The Goodlet Social and Religious Capital	Examines the relationships that the Goodlets had within the Presbyterian Church and within other charitable organisations using the Sydney Female Refuge Society as a case study. Such an examination reveals the nature of the Goodlet Social and Religious Capital which allowed them to be successful as philanthropists.	<b>293</b>
<b>Chapter 12</b> The Goodlet Motivation in Philanthropy	Investigates the issue of the Goodlet motivation using the philanthropic profile developed within this thesis. Attention is given to the attitudes of Goodlet contemporaries about the Goodlet philanthropy. The motivation of Goodlet philanthropy is explained not as self-aggrandizement, but as an outworking of their Christian faith.	<b>315</b>
<b>Chapter 13</b> Conclusion	Draws together the findings of the thesis and concludes that their philanthropy was motivated by their Christian faith.	<b>343</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>		<b>349</b>
<b>Appendix</b>		<b>367</b>
<b>1</b>	Deaths at the Consumptive Homes: an analysis	<b>369</b>
<b>2</b>	Importation of goods by <i>Goodlet and Smith</i>	<b>383</b>
<b>3</b>	Sydney Female Refuge Society members serving more than 10 years	<b>391</b>
<b>4</b>	John Goodlet's meeting attendance record	<b>393</b>
<b>5</b>	Elizabeth Mary Goodlet (nee Forbes)	<b>479</b>
<b>6</b>	John Goodlet's membership of Committees of the Presbyterian Church	<b>487</b>
<b>7</b>	Panton, Goodlet and Copeland Family Trees	<b>491</b>

## **Abstract**

**John and Ann Goodlet** were Scots who came separately to the colony of NSW in 1855, married in 1860, and lived philanthropic lives to an extraordinary degree. The wealth generated by the entrepreneurial activities of John in developing the building supply and manufacturing company *Goodlet and Smith* not only advanced the economic development of the colony, but provided the financial resources for the Goodlets to be philanthropists. Not waiting until they had amassed a fortune they gave donations to a wide range of charitable causes during their lifetime. More significantly, Ann and John gave not just their wealth, but their personal involvement in governance roles to many charities. Their support, to which they did not draw attention, was loyal and often extended over several decades. Their philanthropic interests were broad-ranging including philanthropy as Relief, which sought to relieve immediate needs; as Improvement, which sought to equip people for the future; as Civic Engagement, which sought to build community structures; as Reform, which sought to address social problems through legislation for the betterment of society, and as Spiritual Engagement, which sought to bring people to a knowledge of the Christian faith. They each had particular interests; John in philanthropy as Improvement and Ann in philanthropy as Relief. Both shared a strong and overarching interest in philanthropy as Spiritual Engagement, and they were particularly supportive of the work of the Christian church in general and the Presbyterian Church in particular. The most remarkable philanthropic endeavour of the Goodlets was to found, administer and completely fund for 17 years, a home for the consumptive poor. While John received considerable acknowledgement for this work, Ann appears to have been the driving force behind it. The primary motivation for all their philanthropic endeavours was not self-aggrandisement, but an outworking of their Christian faith.

## **Statement by the Candidate**

I certify that the work in this thesis entitled *John and Ann Goodlet - a study in Colonial Christian Philanthropy* has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself have been appropriately acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Paul Francis Cooper (42498325)

6 May 2013

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## Photo Pages Credits and Information

Photo Page Title	Credits & Notes
<b>John and Ann Goodlet</b> <span style="float: right;">Page iii</span>	
John Hay Goodlet 1835-1914	Ferguson Library
Ann Alison Goodlet 1822-1903	D. Clark, Moss Vale
Crest	<p>Canterbury House Note paper, Ferguson Library</p> <p>This crest was first seen on the ceiling of a room in St Andrews College in 1878. The decorations were the crests of all the Councillors of 1877 and were created by Lyon and Cottier. <i>SMH</i>, June 25, 1878.</p> <p>The motto 'vive ut vivas' can be translated <i>Live that you may live</i>, which may mean live to the fullest in the sense of make the most of life.</p>
<b>John Hay and Ann Alison Goodlet throughout the years</b> <span style="float: right;">Page 30</span>	
In his mid-thirties (c1869)	A. & S. Nairne-Clark, Scotland
In her mid-forties (c1868)	A. & S. Nairne-Clark, Scotland
In his mid-forties (c1880)	A. & S. Nairne-Clark, Scotland
In her mid-fifties (c1879)	A. & S. Nairne-Clark, Scotland
In his seventies (c1905)	<i>Agnes Copeland Album</i> , D. Clark, Moss Vale
In her mid-sixties (c1889)	A. & S. Nairne-Clark, Scotland
<b>Some of John Goodlet's Family in Scotland and England</b> <span style="float: right;">Page 31</span>	
Mother: Mary Goodlet	D. Clark, Moss Vale
Uncle: James Hay	D. Clark, Moss Vale
Sister: Annie Henderson Clark (nee Goodlet)	A. & S. Nairne-Clark, Scotland
Sister: Jane Hay Goodlet	D. Clark, Moss Vale
<b>Ann Alison Goodlet's Family in Scotland and in Australia</b> <span style="float: right;">Page 32</span>	
The Panton sisters and children	<i>Macfarlan Album</i> , B. Smith
Ann Goodlet with her 'adopted' family of Copelands	<i>Agnes Copeland Album</i> , D. Clark, Moss Vale

<b>James Smith (1829-1887)</b>		Page 36
Line Drawing with signature	<i>Digby, Men of Mark, 344</i>	
Railway accident Newtown	<i>Illustrated Sydney News, Jan 16, 1868</i>	
<b>Goodlet and Smith Wharves</b>		Page 46
Wharf and Timber Mill at Murray Street, Darling Harbour, 1874-1883	A.W. Smith, Coogee	
Wharf and Timber Mill, Pyrmont, 1884 - 1927	<i>Goodlet and Smith</i> facsimile poster	
<b>Goodlet and Smith Manufactured Products (1)</b>		Page 49
Prefabricated shopfronts	<i>Goodlet and Smith</i> facsimile poster	
Various doors and door frames	<i>Goodlet and Smith</i> facsimile poster	
<b>Goodlet and Smith Locations</b>		Page 51
<i>Goodlet and Smith</i> premises, George Street Sydney	A.S. Copeland, Cooma	
<i>Goodlet and Smith</i> premises, Harris Street Sydney	A.S. Copeland, Cooma	
Victoria Steam Saw Mills, Pyrmont	A.S. Copeland, Cooma	
<b>Goodlet and Smith Timber Mills</b>		Page 53
Red Head Timber Mill, South Coast, NSW	Alex McAndrew, <i>Congenial Conjola</i> , 90	
Colongolook rear wheel punt at Colongolook Timber Mill, North Coast, NSW	Great Lakes Historical Society, Tuncurry	
<b>Goodlet and Smith Shipping Fleet</b>		Page 55
<i>The Nineveh</i>	State Library of Victoria	
<i>The Shannon</i>	Robert Morse Withycombe, 1868-1936 National Library of Australia	
<i>The Willinga</i>	Great Lakes Historical Society, Tuncurry	
<b>Goodlet and Smith Manufactured Products (2)</b>		Page 58
Designs for pipes, chimney, brick and other clay products	<i>Goodlet and Smith</i> facsimile poster	
Designs for balusters and turned wood products	<i>Goodlet and Smith</i> facsimile poster	

<b>Goodlet and Smith Works Producing Clay Products</b>		Page 59
Pottery and Pipe Works Riley Street, Sydney	A.S. Copeland, Cooma	
Brick Works, Waterloo	A.S. Copeland, Cooma	
Brick, Tile and Cement Manufacturing Works, Granville	A.S. Copeland, Cooma	
<b>Canterbury House the home of John and Ann Goodlet</b>		Page 67
Front view of the house	<i>Agnes Copeland Album</i> , D. Clark, Moss Vale	
The Fernery	<i>Agnes Copeland Album</i> , D. Clark, Moss Vale	
An interior view of the house	<i>Agnes Copeland Album</i> , D. Clark, Moss Vale	
<b>The Goodlet Family Circle at Canterbury House</b>		Page 70
Isabella, Josephine, Agnes and Alexander Copeland	A. & S. Nairne-Clark, Scotland	
Gordon Clark son of Annie Henderson Clark (nee Goodlet)	D. Clark, Moss Vale	
James Hay Clark and John Walker	A. & S. Nairne-Clark, Scotland	
Josephine (nee Copeland) and David Barclay Mellis Clark	D. Clark, Moss Vale	
A family grouping probably taken at Canterbury House (c1895-1908)	<i>Agnes Copeland Album</i> , D. Clark, Moss Vale	
<b>Goodlet and Smith Family Employees</b>		Page 72
James Hay Clark, nephew and Director of <i>Goodlet and Smith</i> (1890-1897)	A. & S. Nairne-Clark, Scotland	
Alexander Goodlet, brother and Director of <i>Goodlet and Smith</i> (1890-1907)	A.S. Copeland, Cooma	
Alexander Copeland, 'adopted' son and Director (1897-1935), Managing Director (1914-1935) of <i>Goodlet and Smith</i>	A.S. Copeland, Cooma	

<b>Goodlet and Smith Family and other Employees</b>		Page 77
Alfred Ingram Macfarlan, nephew of Ann and John Goodlet	B. Smith	
Charles William Macfarlan, nephew of Ann and John Goodlet	<i>Macfarlan Album</i> , B. Smith	
James Reid, <i>Goodlet and Smith</i> Company Secretary	A.S. Copeland, Cooma	
John Oliver Smith, <i>Goodlet and Smith</i> Accountant	A.S. Copeland, Cooma	
<b>Consumptive Home Thirlmere</b>		Page 96
Front of the Home	<i>Agnes Copeland Album</i> , D. Clark, Moss Vale	
Entrance to the Home	<i>Agnes Copeland Album</i> , D. Clark, Moss Vale	
'Harmony' The Goodlet country residence adjacent to the Consumptive Home	<i>Agnes Copeland Album</i> , D. Clark, Moss Vale	
<b>Organisations supported by Ann Goodlet</b>		Page 107
Benevolent Asylum c1885	<i>Rathborne, A Very Present Help</i> , 93	
Royal Hospital for Women Paddington Gynaecological Wing 1905	<i>Rathborne, A Very Present Help</i> , 125	
<b>AMP Advertising</b>		Page 114
AMP Advertising in the time of Goodlet's chairmanship	Blainey, <i>A History of the AMP</i> , iv	
<b>The Goodlets supported these organisations</b>		Page 143
Ragged School, Harrington Street, Sydney	NSW State Library	
Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, City Road, Sydney	NSW State Records	
<b>Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution</b>		Page 150
Samuel Watson, Superintendent 1879-1911	Renwick Library, Royal Deaf & Blind Society	
Harold Earlam, Superintendent 1911-1947	Renwick Library, Royal Deaf & Blind Society	
Sir Arthur Renwick, President 1881-1908	Renwick Library, Royal Deaf & Blind Society	
<b>Organisations supported by John Goodlet</b>		Page 158
Presbyterian Ladies College, Sydney	J. McFarlane, <i>The Golden Hope</i> , 35	
St Andrews College, Sydney	NSW State Library	
<b>John Hay Goodlet Colonel of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Volunteer Infantry Regiment</b>		Page 176
Front Page Memento Book	<i>Goodlet Papers</i> , PLC Sydney, Archive	
VIR (Volunteer Infantry Regiment)	D. Clark, Moss Vale	
NSWRA Company Challenge Bugle	D. Clark, Moss Vale	

<b>Examples of organisation's buildings whose construction was supported by Goodlet funds</b>		Page 224
Young Men's Christian Association building 1907, Pitt Street, Sydney	NSW State Library	
Ashfield Presbyterian Church c1900, Liverpool Road, Ashfield	Powerhouse Museum	
<b>Sunday School</b>		Page 236
Illuminated Address	Ferguson Library	
The Goodlet Sunday School and Institute Ashfield	<i>White, Challenge of the Years</i>	
<b>Goodlet Mission Interest</b>		Page 243
Elizabeth Mary Goodlet	Ferguson Library	
Mary McLean	<i>McGowan Album</i> , Ferguson Library	
The grave of Elizabeth Copeland	D. Clark, Moss Vale	
Dayspring II	Presbyterian Church of NZ Archive	
Dayspring III	Presbyterian Church of NZ Archive	
<b>McGowan's visit to Sholinghur India, 1912</b>		Page 244
The existing Hospital at Sholinghur	<i>McGowan Album</i> , Ferguson Library	
The new hospital for women	<i>McGowan Album</i> , Ferguson Library	
Robert McGowan	<i>McGowan Album</i> , Ferguson Library	
Dr Flora Innes	<i>McGowan Album</i> , Ferguson Library	
<b>The resignation of Goodlet from Church Committees</b>		Page 254
Goodlet's letter of resignation	Ferguson Library	
Rev John Miller Ross	<i>Cameron, Centenary History of Presbyterian Church in NSW</i>	
<b>Some contemporaries of Goodlet in the Presbyterian Church</b>		Page 258
John Auld	<i>1888 Assembly of PCNSW</i> , Ferguson Library	
Adam Thomson	G. Hardy, <i>Living Stones</i> , 39	
John Hay Goodlet	<i>1888 Assembly of PCNSW</i> , Ferguson Library	
Robert McGowan	<i>McGowan Album</i> , Ferguson Library	
Joseph Copeland	A.S. Copeland, Cooma	

<b>Prominent churchmen with whom Goodlet worked</b>		Page 259
John Marden	PLC Sydney, Archive	
John Kinross	Ferguson Library	
James Cosh	Ferguson Library	
James Cameron	<i>Cameron, Centenary History of Presbyterian Church in NSW</i>	
<b>Philanthropists who were contemporaries of John Hay Goodlet</b>		Page 283
Thomas Walker	State Library of Victoria	
Andrew Carnegie	Library of Congress, United States of America	
<b>Ann Goodlet's associates in the Sydney Female Refuge Society</b>		Page 304
Mary Mansfield	G. McDougall Capalaba QLD Ancestry.com.au [Accessed May 19, 2012]	
Marian Allen	NSW State Library	
Jane Allen	<i>Colwell, The Illustrated History of Methodism</i> , 100	
Eleanor Wingate	NSW Historic Houses Trust	
Narcissa O'Reilly	S. Wood, Ancestry.com.au [Accessed May 19, 2012]	
Mary Breilliat	B. Robertson, Sydney	
<b>APPENDIX</b>		Page 367
Engraving of John Hay Goodlet in his late fifties	<i>The Christian World</i> , August 24, 1893	
<b>John Hay Goodlet late in life</b>		Page 368
John Hay Goodlet late in life	D. Clark, Moss Vale	
<b>Goodlet and Smith Stained Glass</b>		Page 389
Designs for the Centenary and Captain Cook windows, Sydney Town Hall	<i>Goodlet and Smith</i> facsimile poster	
Domestic stained glass window designs	<i>Goodlet and Smith</i> facsimile poster	

<b>List of Figures</b>		
<b>Figure 1</b>	Brick Sales by <i>Goodlet and Smith</i> , 1899-1914	<b>61</b>
<b>Figure 2</b>	Cement Production and Sales by <i>Goodlet and Smith</i> , 1899-1914	<b>62</b>
<b>Figure 3</b>	Tile Sales by <i>Goodlet and Smith</i> , 1899-1914	<b>64</b>
<b>Figure 4</b>	Loss in Pounds (£) by <i>Goodlet and Smith</i> , 1892-1897	<b>69</b>
<b>Figure 5</b>	Investment (£) by <i>Goodlet and Smith</i> , Granville, 1890-1897	<b>73</b>
<b>Figure 6</b>	SFRS Outcomes, 1849-1912	<b>125</b>
<b>Figure 7</b>	Session Meetings Attended, 1868-1877	<b>228</b>
<b>Figure 8</b>	Session Meetings Attended, 1878-1913, Ashfield Presbyterian Church	<b>233</b>
<b>Figure 9</b>	Presbyterian Church Giving	<b>255</b>
<b>Figure 10</b>	Known Donations ranked by total sum in Pounds (£) (excluding Presbyterian Church)	<b>263</b>
<b>Figure 11</b>	Known Meeting Attendance of John Goodlet	<b>264</b>
<b>Figure 12</b>	Thomas Walker Donations of £500 or more	<b>281</b>
<b>Figure 13</b>	Years of Service to SFRS, 1860-1900	<b>305</b>
<b>Figure 14</b>	The Goodlets' Shared Relationships with Members of the SFRS	<b>306</b>
<b>Figure 15</b>	Some Family Networks among SFRS Members	<b>307</b>
<b>Figure 16</b>	Membership SFRS by Denomination	<b>309</b>
<b>Figure 17</b>	SFRS Member's Denomination by Percentage, 1860-1900	<b>310</b>
<b>Figure 18</b>	Comparison of Reported Deaths from Newspapers and Death Certificates	<b>370</b>
<b>Figure 19</b>	Deaths by Gender and Location	<b>371</b>
<b>Figure 20</b>	Deaths by Age, Gender and Location	<b>372</b>
<b>Figure 21</b>	Deaths by Profession	<b>373</b>
<b>Figure 22</b>	Deaths by Country of Origin	<b>375</b>
<b>Figure 23</b>	Timber Imports by <i>Goodlet and Smith</i> , 1892-1912	<b>384</b>
<b>Figure 24</b>	Timber Imports by Country by <i>Goodlet and Smith</i> , 1892-1912	<b>384</b>
<b>Figure 25</b>	Glass Imports by <i>Goodlet and Smith</i> , 1892-1912	<b>385</b>
<b>Figure 26</b>	Glass Imports by Country by <i>Goodlet and Smith</i> , 1892-1912	<b>385</b>
<b>Figure 27</b>	<i>Goodlet and Smith</i> (G&S) Importation Ranking in top 15 Companies by Volume	<b>386</b>
<b>Figure 28</b>	Top 15 Companies by volume of imported timber	<b>386</b>
<b>Figure 29</b>	Top 15 Companies by volume of imported glass	<b>386</b>

## Abbreviations used in the Thesis

<b>AMP</b>	Australian Mutual Provident Society
<b>ASA</b>	Ashfield School of Arts
<b>BB</b>	Blue Book Minutes of the General Assembly of Presbyterian Church in NSW
<b>BMS</b>	NSW Bush Missionary Society
<b>BMU</b>	Brick Makers Union
<b>BS</b>	Benevolent Society of NSW
<b>C of E</b>	Church of England
<b>DDBI</b>	NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution
<b>DS</b>	Dorcas Society
<b>FMC</b>	Foreign Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of NSW
<b>GANSW</b>	General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of NSW
<b>GPSPB</b>	Glebe and Parramatta Street Penny Bank
<b>GSH</b>	Governesses and Servants Home
<b>LVC</b>	Ladies Visiting Committee of The NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution
<b>NSW</b>	New South Wales
<b>NSWLOL</b>	The NSW Local Option League
<b>NZ</b>	New Zealand
<b>PCEA</b>	Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia
<b>PCNSW</b>	Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of NSW
<b>PLC</b>	The Presbyterian Ladies' College, Sydney (Croydon)
<b>PSL</b>	Public Schools League
<b>PWMU</b>	Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union
<b>QVH</b>	Queen Victoria Homes
<b>RS</b>	Ragged Schools
<b>RSPCA</b>	Royal Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
<b>SCRB</b>	State Children's Relief Board
<b>SFMH</b>	The Sydney Female Mission Home
<b>SFRS</b>	The Sydney Female Refuge Society
<b>SMH</b>	The Sydney Morning Herald (Sydney, NSW)
<b>SSSTA</b>	Sydney and Suburban Sabbath-School Teacher's Association
<b>StAC</b>	St Andrews College, Sydney University
<b>TLC</b>	Trades Labour Council
<b>UPC</b>	United Presbyterian Church
<b>WCTU</b>	Women's Christian Temperance Union
<b>WMA</b>	Women's Missionary Association
<b>WRSPCA</b>	Women's Branch of the Royal Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
<b>YMCA</b>	The Young Men's Christian Association
<b>YWCA</b>	The Young Women's Christian Association



## CHAPTER 1 Introduction

John Hay Goodlet was a remarkable philanthropist whose contribution to the Colony of New South Wales (NSW) has been all but forgotten and ignored. This thesis was originally intended to be about him, but what came to light during the research was that there was in his philanthropy another equally remarkable person. This person was Ann Alison Goodlet, John's first wife, whose story has been even more neglected but whose contribution was of equal importance and significance. Ann Alison Goodlet was not just a passive partner in John's philanthropic endeavours, but was instrumental in their direction and nature. This thesis became what I had not expected it to be, the story of John Hay and Ann Alison Goodlet's philanthropic partnership and impact.

JT Walker approvingly endorsed the widely held view that John Hay Goodlet was Sydney's greatest Christian Philanthropist.<sup>1</sup> Such approval was the more remarkable as Walker was the cousin of the philanthropist Thomas Walker<sup>2</sup> and chairman of the hospital built and maintained with the £100,000 bequest left by his cousin for that purpose. How was it that a 17 year old Scottish immigrant with little financial capital, arriving at the time of Victorian gold rushes, should attract such a designation at the end of his life? What journey had he taken in this life and what did he achieve to cause such an accolade to be given to him? Another but unrelated Walker, the Rt Rev John Walker, Moderator General of the newly formed Presbyterian Church of Australia, called Ann Goodlet his 'Australian Mother' and said that 'she was the friend of the poor, the fallen, the crippled and the broken.'<sup>3</sup> At her death a poem was published celebrating her life:

*We mourn the loss of one to-day,  
To many hearts most justly dear;  
Full many a heart with grief is filled,  
From many an eye falls sorrow's tear.*

*She needs no monumental stone  
Her many virtues to record;  
Humbly she passed her life's long day,*

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<sup>1</sup> Presbyterian Church in the State of NSW, *Proceedings of the NSW General Assembly*, 1914, Min 45(2), 33.

<sup>2</sup> *The Maitland Mercury & Hunter River General Advertiser* (Maitland, NSW), September 18, 1886.

<sup>3</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW* (Sydney, NSW), January 16, 1903.

*Following the footsteps of her Lord.*

*The poor, the suffering, and the sad,  
Were objects of her tender care;  
And many an erring soul she won  
From paths of death and Satan's snare.*

*A loving, true, and faithful friend,  
She ever was to all she knew;  
No selfish thought ere stayed her hand  
If she a kindly act could do.*

*And now her works of love are done,  
And she has gone to her reward,  
Why mourn we? For her angel said,  
'Come in, thou blessed of the Lord.'* <sup>4</sup>

What had taken place in her life that a nineteenth century woman should receive such lavish and public praise?

### **The Contribution of Evangelicals to Colonial Philanthropy**

There is a considerable literature on philanthropy including Owen, Prochaska and Heasman on English Philanthropy, Checkland on Scottish Philanthropy, Luddy on Irish Philanthropy, Bremer and McCarthy on American Philanthropy together with the work of Hilton on nineteenth century evangelical influence, all of which contribute some background to the Colonial context.<sup>5</sup> Work has also been carried out on the Australian Colonial context by, among others, Dickey, Godden, Swain, O'Brien and Ramsland.<sup>6</sup> The various changing theories and approaches of historians on

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<sup>4</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW* (Sydney, NSW), January 30, 1903.

<sup>5</sup> David Owen, *English Philanthropy 1660-1960* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964); Frank Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); Kathleen Heasman, *Evangelicals in Action* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1962); Olive Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1980); Maria Luddy, *Women and philanthropy in nineteenth century Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Robert H. Bremner, *American Philanthropy*. 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Kathleen D McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige: Charity and Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago, 1849-1929* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement. The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1875-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

<sup>6</sup> Brian Dickey, *No Charity There. A Short History of Social Welfare in Australia* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1980); Judith Godden, 'Philanthropy and the Woman's Sphere, Sydney, 1870-circa 1900.' PhD thesis Macquarie University, 1983; Shurlee Swain, 'Women and philanthropy in colonial and post-colonial Australia', *Voluntas*, 7:4. 428-443; Anne O'Brien, *Poverty's Prison*,

voluntarism and philanthropy in the nineteenth century have been detailed by Gorsky in his work on philanthropy in Bristol<sup>7</sup> and also by Jones in his discussion of recent trends in the history of charity.<sup>8</sup> O'Brien<sup>9</sup> also has pointed out that historians of Sydney's philanthropy have shared the shifting assumptions of such international studies:

those published in the 1970s and 1980s, influenced by 'the new left', emphasised the desire to control and reform;<sup>10</sup> in the 1980s feminists wrote of philanthropy's capacity to hone women's skills and provide them with something of a public life;<sup>11</sup> historians of volunteering<sup>12</sup> in the late 1990s widened the scope by positioning philanthropy within a range of community organisations.

These approaches have been helpful and have all added to our understanding in the attempt to piece together a better appreciation of the multifaceted activity of nineteenth century colonial philanthropy. Luddy, in her work on the philanthropy of women in nineteenth century Ireland, reflects the emphasis of much work on philanthropy when she says:

Voluntary effort was the response of women to their Christian duty to help the deprived of society, but it was also, in many instances, an expression of the desire of philanthropists to control and reform the behaviour of those

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*The Poor in New South Wales 1880-1918* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1988); John Ramsland, *Children of the Back Lanes* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 1986).

<sup>7</sup> Martin Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy - Charity and Society in Nineteenth-Century Bristol* (Suffolk: The Royal Historical Society/The Boydell Press, 1999), 1-20.

<sup>8</sup> Colin Jones, 'Some recent trends in the history of Charity' in *Charity, self-interest and welfare in the English past*. Ed. Martin Daunt (London: UCL Press, 1996), 51-63.

<sup>9</sup> Anne O'Brien, 'Charity and Philanthropy', *Sydney Journal* 1(3) December 2008, 18.

[http://epress.lib.uts.edu.au/ojs/index.php/sydney\\_journal/article/viewFile/887/936](http://epress.lib.uts.edu.au/ojs/index.php/sydney_journal/article/viewFile/887/936). Examples of each approach mentioned have been footnoted within the quotation from O'Brien.

<sup>10</sup> An example of this approach is Elizabeth Windschuttle, 'Women and the Origins of Colonial Philanthropy,' in *Australian Welfare History – Critical Essays*, edited by Richard Kennedy, 10-31 (McMillan: South Melbourne, 1982).

<sup>11</sup> Judith Godden, 'Philanthropy and the Woman's Sphere, Sydney, 1870-circa 1900.' (PhD thesis Macquarie University, Sydney, 1983) is an example of this but it also values the insights of philanthropy as social-control.

<sup>12</sup> Melanie Oppenheimer, 'We all did voluntary work of some kind': voluntary work and labour history.' *Labour History* 81, Nov 2001: 1-11. <http://search.informit.com.au/fullText;dn=200116907;res=APAF7> ISSN: 0023-6942 [accessed November 16, 2011]; Oppenheimer, Melanie. 'Voluntary work and labour history. [The reasons why voluntary work has largely been excluded from labour history]' *Labour History* 74, May 1998: 1-9. <http://search.informit.com.au/fullText;dn=981010613;res=APAF7> ISSN: 0023-6942 [accessed November 16, 2011].

considered to be outcasts in society, which essentially meant those who did not conform to the ideas of middle class respectability<sup>13</sup>

While not denying the insights of feminist historiography and the social control aspects of much nineteenth century philanthropy, particularly that directed towards women, this thesis seeks to look at philanthropy from a view that provides a supplementary and complementary perspective. This perspective is from the view of the work and efforts of the philanthropists themselves, their 'Christian duty' in what they did, how and why they did it and what it cost them, and seeks also to understand the view that the general community of the time had of their work.

Historians, in their analysis of this period, make passing reference to the importance of the religious dimension of such philanthropy and note the significance of evangelicals in nineteenth century philanthropy in Sydney.<sup>14</sup> The motivations behind such involvement in colonial philanthropy have not, however, been given a great deal of sustained analysis.<sup>15</sup> Apart from generalisations, little attention has been paid to the motives of individual Christian philanthropists, nor has much attempt been made to understand their perspective. There is no work on the religious motivations of colonial philanthropists to match that of Prochaska on English nineteenth-century women.<sup>16</sup> In her work on Sydney's nineteenth century philanthropy, Godden notes that she was unable to survey motives,<sup>17</sup> but nevertheless states that

to a nineteenth century evangelical the main purpose of any organisation was to evangelise, that is to win converts to their version of Christianity. Evangelicals believed that the essential message of Christianity was salvation of an essentially depraved humanity by faith through the atoning death of Christ. Their over-riding concern was for the individual soul and this concern

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<sup>13</sup> Maria Luddy, *Women and philanthropy in nineteenth century Ireland*, 2.

<sup>14</sup> Godden, 'Philanthropy and the Women's Sphere,' 8, and also in other colonies Shurlee Swain, 'Women and philanthropy in colonial and post colonial Australia,' *Voluntas* 7:4, 433. This evangelical dominance was also true of English philanthropy.

<sup>15</sup> Godden in her work on Helen Fell in 'Philanthropy and the Women's Sphere,' 235-253 and Anne O'Brien in *Poverty's Prison*, 189-199 have made helpful contributions to this area of work but it remains a neglected field. The work on women and their religion by Anne O'Brien, *God's Willing Workers, Women and Religion in Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales, 2005) has also made a useful contribution to understanding the religious motivation of colonial women as has Shurlee Swain, 'Religion, Philanthropy and Social Reform. Means, Motivations and Interactions in the Lives of Nineteenth Century Australian Women,' *Women-church* 23, October 1998, but the need for detailed individual studies on women and men remains.

<sup>16</sup> Frank K Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth –Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press; 1980) particularly 95-221.

<sup>17</sup> Godden, 'Philanthropy and the Women's Sphere,' iii.

led to an individualistic approach to social problems, and a tendency to oppose social reform measures to overcome poverty.<sup>18</sup>

That evangelicalism<sup>19</sup> had a deep concern for the salvation of individuals is true, and this formed part of any effort made by them. They simply believed that any relief, improvement, reform or civic engagement without spiritual engagement was not, in their world view, really providing for the needs of society. As Prochaska notes:

the missionary character of much charity must be seen in light of the limitations of the health and social services. Before the twentieth century human suffering was commonly seen through a religious lens. Religion made sense in a world in which life was uncertain but the leaving of it was likely to be torment. This helps to explain why Christian belief was so widespread.<sup>20</sup>

To restrict evangelical motivation to evangelism alone, however, is to suggest that they, who were often highly biblically literate and committed to the Bible's contents, were ignoring the teaching of their founder to show mercy and love to those in need. It also ignores the evangelical's desire to honour their God in all things. They demonstrated this desire by their devotion, and through their worship and their obedience as they sought, however imperfectly, to do everything God commanded and required. Honouring God and being obedient therefore consisted in more than evangelism. Their philanthropy was equally an attempt to express honour to their God. The evangelical desire to evangelise is not a sufficient explanation for the significant involvement of evangelicals in philanthropy, nor for their dominance within nineteenth century philanthropy. A fuller explanation is to see the desire to show Christ-like compassion, however imperfectly executed, as equally intrinsic to the evangelical faith of the nineteenth century as was the desire to evangelise.

The language of their hearts was 'what shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits toward me'? (Psalms 116:12). Their most essential qualification was

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<sup>18</sup> Godden, 'Philanthropy and the Women's Sphere,' 8 which quotes Kathleen Heasman, *Evangelicals in Action* (London: Godfrey Bles, 1962), 19-20.

<sup>19</sup> The term as used in this thesis follows the general definition of Bebbington and refers to those protestants who displayed Biblicism, being a particular regard for the Bible; crucicentrism, a focus on the atoning work of Christ on the cross; conversionism, the belief that human beings needed to be converted by God and; activism, the view that the gospel was to be expressed in the life of the believer. David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 2-17.

<sup>20</sup> Frank Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain, The Disinherited Spirit*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 12.

a love of Christ; and guided by his example, they opened the door of mercy to fellow sinners. They loved the poor because Jesus loved the poor.<sup>21</sup>

Furthermore, what Prochaska says of a modern understanding of English nineteenth century philanthropy is also true, to a significant degree, of its colonial counterpart:

reading our secular selves into history, it is questionable whether we can fully understand the motives of the faithful in the past, even when we admire their energy and accomplishments. In an increasingly mobile and materialist world, in which culture has grown more national, indeed global, our intellects no longer relate to the lost world of parish life ... the very idea of Christian social reform has a quaint, Victorian air about it. As we reject the pieties and social hierarchies of our ancestors, we tend to forget that benevolence and neighbourliness, self-help and helping others, were among the most urgent of Christian values.<sup>22</sup>

While there are significant differences between English and colonial philanthropy in the nineteenth century such as the lack of a mature established church parish structure, accepted methods of welfare distribution, established wealth and the role of government, Prochaska's point on our forgetfulness remains. What has been lacking in the historical study of nineteenth century colonial philanthropy are in-depth studies of individual philanthropists and an examination of the scope, nature, motivation and intent of their philanthropic activities. This study on John and Ann Goodlet is a small contribution to fill that lack and places philanthropy, in the case of these two philanthropists at least, as an expression of the Christian faith of the nineteenth century and as a contribution to the development of Colonial New South Wales.

### **The Philanthropic Spectrum**

Philanthropy is derived from two Greek words, *philos* meaning love and *anthropos* meaning humankind. Hence at its root philanthropy is the loving of one's fellow human beings and philanthropists are those who exert themselves for the well-being of their fellows.<sup>23</sup> Harrison is critical of Owen's work on English Philanthropy for its narrow definition of philanthropy which prevents Owen from, among other things,

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<sup>21</sup> Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, 118. Prochaska is speaking here especially of the motivation of women.

<sup>22</sup> Prochaska, *Christianity and Social service*, 2.

<sup>23</sup> *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., s.v. 'Philanthropy.'

emphasizing its religious dimension.<sup>24</sup> Bremer, a historian of American Philanthropy, also favours a broader definition:

The aim of philanthropy in its broadest sense is the improvement in the quality of human life. Whatever motives animate individual philanthropists, the purpose of philanthropy itself is to promote the welfare, happiness, and culture of mankind.<sup>25</sup>

Such a definition is sufficiently broad to do justice to the range of fields in which such welfare, happiness and culture is promoted. To understand philanthropy and those who exercised it, however, it is also important to examine not only its purpose but its motive and outcomes. A related term is 'charity', but O'Brien has noted that for the most of the nineteenth century the terms 'charity' and 'philanthropy' were used interchangeably.<sup>26</sup> Within this thesis this nineteenth century usage will be observed in order to understand the broad-ranging activities of the Goodlets.

Philanthropy is a spectrum of activity and these activities differ in their purpose and in the principles on which it would appear to operate. Lynn and Wisley<sup>27</sup> helpfully identify four traditions of philanthropy within this spectrum. There is philanthropy as relief which seeks to alleviate human suffering and the principle of compassion is said to be its driving force. Philanthropy as improvement seeks to maximise individual human potential and is apparently energised by a principle that seeks to progress individuals and their society. Philanthropy as reform seeks to solve social problems and its stated principle is that of addressing issues of justice often through legislation. Philanthropy as civic engagement seeks to build better community structures and services and is directed by a notion of civic responsibility.<sup>28</sup>

John Goodlet, however, was described as 'Sydney's greatest *Christian* philanthropist' and Ann was spoken of as his 'philanthropic partner in life'.<sup>29</sup> The use of the term 'Christian' was not just a designation to indicate what motivated the Goodlets, but it

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<sup>24</sup> Brian Harrison. 'Philanthropy and the Victorians', *Victorian Studies* 9, 2, June 1966, 256; David Owen, *English Philanthropy 1660-1960*.

<sup>25</sup> Robert H. Bremer, *American Philanthropy*, 2nd ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 3.

<sup>26</sup> O'Brien, 'Charity and philanthropy,' 18.

<sup>27</sup> Elizabeth Lynn and Susan Wisley, 'Four Traditions of Philanthropy' in *The Critically Engaged Reader. A Diverse Collection of Short Provocative Readings on Civic Activity*, ed. Adam Davis and Elizabeth Lynn, 1, (Chicago: Great Books Foundation, 2006).

<sup>28</sup> Lynn and Wisley, 'Four Traditions of Philanthropy,' 4-6. Their idea of civic philanthropy, however, has a different emphasis.

<sup>29</sup> St Stephens Presbyterian Church, Sydney, *Session Minutes*, January 21, 1878.

was also a reference to the Christian causes they supported. Given the definition of philanthropy as seeking an improvement in the quality of human life, all of their church or spiritual activities ought to be seen as philanthropic. The Goodlets, along with the Calvinist tradition they embraced, believed that the church existed to nurture a relationship with God and that coming to know God was a crucial first step to improving the quality of one's human life. Spiritual matters in such a tradition were to have an impact on one's day-to-day life and relationships. For instance, the Goodlets' emphasis on missions both local and overseas, whereby they provided for the gospel to be preached, arose out of a desire that hearers might have an opportunity to embrace the Christian faith and commence this life of improved quality. The Goodlets' Calvinist tradition saw humanity as only truly achieving its purpose when it sought to glorify God and enjoy him.<sup>30</sup> This was the view that humanity could only be truly happy and fulfilled in a relationship with God through Jesus Christ. Such an enjoyment embraced life for it commenced in this earthly sphere and continued beyond death to life eternal.

Almost all charitable activity in which the Goodlets were involved, and much of the philanthropic activity of the nineteenth century, had some spiritual dimension to it. The Christian faith was a valued component of the time and religious people were philanthropic. The Sydney Female Refuge Society (SFRS) is a case in point where women were provided with shelter and taught skills but there was also a good deal of teaching on spiritual matters. For the philanthropists of the SFRS to provide refuge and yet not to seek to communicate the Christian faith would have been, in their thinking, to provide to the women no refuge at all. The fact that it was not done under the auspices of a particular church body did not make its efforts any less Christian in purpose, for the formation of non-church based philanthropic societies of a protestant evangelical persuasion was characteristic of the nineteenth century. Some of the Goodlets' philanthropy, however, particularly involving the church, had as its primary object to bring a person to Christian faith. It only provided philanthropy as understood on the spectrum of Lynn and Wisley as a secondary objective. Such activities which were primarily spiritual were, however, philanthropic in the Christian world view of the Goodlets. In order to accommodate these activities with a primary spiritual focus the philanthropic spectrum of Lynn and Wisley will be expanded in this thesis to include them. Such activities will be categorised as

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<sup>30</sup> The Westminster Shorter Catechism Question 1 which was widely taught in the Scottish education system expounded such a view. It was also a significant component of the Colonial Presbyterian Sunday School education of which Goodlet was a leading supporter.

'spiritual engagement.' This revised five-fold spectrum of philanthropy as relief, improvement, reform, civil engagement and spiritual engagement will be used to elucidate the work of the Goodlets.

### **The Motivation for Philanthropy**

Where did the Goodlets' philanthropy fall on this spectrum, what were their motives, and what were the outcomes of their efforts? Speaking from the social history paradigm, Kidd would see the Goodlets' activities as self-interested and has argued that 'there is no such thing as a disinterested or free gift ... giving is never altruistic', and that in the nineteenth century 'voluntary charity offered a morally approved vehicle for self-aggrandisement'.<sup>31</sup> The Goodlets' contemporaries, however, took a different view of their philanthropy. John Marden, the Principal of the Presbyterian Ladies College (PLC), Sydney, said of John that

he died as he had lived full of schemes and plans for the betterment of the people he lived amongst, for the prosperity of the Commonwealth of which he formed so distinguished a unit, and for the nation whose well being he loved with a passion which had in it no self seeking.<sup>32</sup>

JH McGowan, the minister of Ashfield Presbyterian Church, said of him and his motivation that 'freely he received from God, and freely he gave, for he regarded himself and his possessions as a stewardship he had received'.<sup>33</sup> Of Ann it was said of her philanthropic life that she was 'consecrated to the cause of Christ and humanity'<sup>34</sup> and that

by her varied endowments, intellectual and social, and on account of Colonel Goodlet's place in the commercial life of the State, Mrs. Goodlet, and her husband might have taken any position they wished in the social life of Australia, but they unitedly, definitely, and whole-heartedly decided long years ago not to live for themselves; not for the honours they could get, but for the good that they could do.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Alan J. Kidd, 'Philanthropy and the 'social history' paradigm,' *Social History* 21, 2 (May 1996): 183, 189.

<sup>32</sup> Ashfield Presbyterian Church, Sydney, *Session Minutes*, June 3, 1914: 187-188.

<sup>33</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, January 23, 1914.

<sup>34</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, March 6, 1903.

<sup>35</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, January 16, 1903.

Whose assessment of the role of these philanthropists is the best description of the life of the Goodlets in colonial NSW society? Is it possible to have philanthropy without self-interest as Marden and McGowan believed, or was there something in the philanthropy of the Goodlets they had overlooked? Does an examination of the life of John and Ann Goodlet illustrate the views of those of Kidd or Marden and McGowan? If the life of the Goodlets was self-aggrandising how was it so and to what effect on colonial society?

Shapely, in his work on charity in nineteenth century Manchester, concurs in Kidd's view and indicates that the 'interest' of the philanthropist was acquiring symbolic power. On this view charitable association was a mechanism for acquiring and maintaining social status and leadership. This leadership was a dominance based on the reverence and regard accorded by sections of the community. A charity profile offered to the philanthropist a symbolic form of power. For some it served to underpin their social, economic or political position in the community, while for others, such as new immigrants, it was a pathway towards their becoming fully integrated and accepted within society.<sup>36</sup> Voluntary charities provided the ideal base for displays of apparent generosity, religious virtue and public spiritedness. 'It was a display of moral duty which ostensibly showed the charitable were fulfilling duties associated with the social citizenship of the late nineteenth century.'<sup>37</sup> Charity work, on this view, not only produced social status, but was in fact its motivating reason. Did John and Ann Goodlet receive symbolic power through their charity work? If so, was such receipt a deliberate objective on their part?

Social control is another concept used in examining the development of nineteenth century society and the role of philanthropy. Social control is generally used to describe the imposition of opinions and habits by one class upon another.<sup>38</sup> Did colonial philanthropy, and that of the Goodlets, seek to exert the mechanisms of social control 'which conditioned and manipulated the propertyless masses into accepting and operating the forms and functions of behaviours necessary to sustain the social order of an industrial society'?<sup>39</sup> Efforts at social control through philanthropy encouraging education were tried in Victorian Britain with varying

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<sup>36</sup> Peter Shapely, 'Charity, Status and Leadership: Charitable Image and the Manchester Man,' *Journal of Social History* 32, 1, (Fall 1998): 158.

<sup>37</sup> Shapely, 'Charity, Status and Leadership,' 168.

<sup>38</sup> Francis M. L. Thompson, 'Social Control in Victorian Britain,' *The Economic History Review* Second Series, XXXIV, 2, (May 1981): 190. <http://www.jstor.org/>.

<sup>39</sup> Thompson, 'Social Control in Victorian Britain,' 189.

results.<sup>40</sup> So what was the educational motivation of the Goodlets in the Ragged School movement, PLC, Disability Education and St Andrews? Was it social control, literacy, the well-being of society or the Christianizing of society? Were other charitable efforts of the Goodlets examples of attempts at social control?

McCarthy, in her study of philanthropy in Chicago, sees the concept of 'noblesse oblige' as an important ingredient in its philanthropy.<sup>41</sup> Closely associated with this view is that of paternalism, whereby one in an authoritative position takes a 'fatherly' interest in the welfare of others and expects to receive respect and deference in return. What part did 'noblesse oblige', the obligation of wealth and power, and paternalism play in the philanthropy of the Goodlets? McGowan, the Goodlets' minister, said of John Goodlet that he believed John's philanthropy resulted from his view that his life and wealth were a trust and stewardship from God.<sup>42</sup> Was this stewardship a Christian form of 'noblesse oblige'?

Did the Goodlets show a tendency to social activism through their philanthropy in an attempt to change the nature of society? What role did compassion, in order to relieve suffering, play in the Goodlet philanthropy?

Kidd, in considering possible contributions to the understanding of philanthropy, has suggested that there would be value in 'constructing charitable profiles which examine the personal, economic, social and cultural milieu of particular individuals/families/groups, combining an assessment of psycho-social as well as socio-cultural factors.'<sup>43</sup> This thesis, by examining the personal, economic, social and cultural milieu of the Goodlets, is a contribution to that effort and will seek to test the hypothesis in the life of the Goodlets that there is 'no such thing as a disinterested or free gift'. In their charitable work what was the 'interest' that led them to be great philanthropists? Were there unintended outcomes for the Goodlets flowing from their philanthropy?

### **Developing a Charitable Profile**

To develop a philanthropic or charitable profile of the Goodlets in order to better understand philanthropy in colonial NSW, this thesis will use the concept of capital as

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<sup>40</sup> Thompson, 'Social Control in Victorian Britain,' 193.

<sup>41</sup> Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige: Charity and Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago, 1849-1929*, ix.

<sup>42</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, January 23, 1914.

<sup>43</sup> Kidd, 'Philanthropy and the 'social history' paradigm,' 190.

a lens through which to view the life of the Goodlets and to elucidate their philanthropic contributions. There are four sorts of capital that bear upon the life and times of the Goodlets: human, economic, social and religious.

Human capital is considered an attribute of individuals and comprises a stock of skills, qualifications, competencies and knowledge.<sup>44</sup> If one views such a stock more broadly and analytically it would not be out of place to also include such things as background, innate abilities, drives, talents, creativity, tenacity and entrepreneurial flair.<sup>45</sup> It is the possession of such things, enhanced by education, training and experience, that improves a person's ability to succeed in an economic context to their own benefit and therefore to the benefit of their society.<sup>46</sup> Human capital, though originally coined as a term for use in the economic sphere, is used broadly in this thesis as it is not just relevant to success in an economic context, but also enables individuals to succeed in their endeavours and relationships.<sup>47</sup>

Capital and capitalism as an economic term is well-known and refers to an economic and social system in which capital or the means of production are privately owned and where an important role in decision making is taken by the owners of capital.<sup>48</sup> 'Capitalism' in this sense was first used by the novelist William Makepeace Thackeray in his 1855 novel, *The Newcomes*. In this work, concern is expressed about the wisdom with which Colonel Newcome (who is seeking local election) has invested his capital.<sup>49</sup> At the same time, on the other side of the world in Sydney, John Hay Goodlet, a future Colonel and political aspirant, was considering how to best use his capital. The results of his deliberations and life would contribute significantly to the economic and civic development and wellbeing of the colony of NSW. Though Goodlet was a capitalist and participated very successfully in the emerging capitalist system of colonial NSW, his capital extended well beyond the merely economic. He

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<sup>44</sup> Rosalyn Harper, 'Social Capital – a review of literature,' *Social Analysis and Reporting Division Office for National Statistics* (October 2001), 7.

<sup>45</sup> Barbara Piazza-Georgi, 'The role of human and social capital in growth: extending our understanding,' *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 26, 2002, 461-2 sees talents, experience and entrepreneurship as legitimate aspects of the human capital of individuals.

<sup>46</sup> Tom Schuller, 'The Complementary Roles of Human and Social Capital,' *Printemps* (Spring 2001): 19. [www.rwbsocialplanners.com.au/spt2006/Social%20Capital/Can.Jnl.of%20PR-SC-The%20complementary%20roles.pdf](http://www.rwbsocialplanners.com.au/spt2006/Social%20Capital/Can.Jnl.of%20PR-SC-The%20complementary%20roles.pdf)

<sup>47</sup> Barbara Piazza-Georgi, 'The role of human and social capital in growth: extending our understanding,' 476 points to the close relationship of between human capital and social capital.

<sup>48</sup> John Black, *Oxford Dictionary of Economics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 46, 49.

<sup>49</sup> William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Newcomes*, vol 2, (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1855), 281.

would have agreed with Eva Cox who, drawing on the work of Robert Putnam,<sup>50</sup> has said that attention to financial capital ought not to consume too much importance, and that due weight ought to be given within a society to the generation of *social* capital.

Social capital should be the pre-eminent and most valued form of any capital as it provides the basis on which we build a truly civil society. Without our social bases we cannot be fully human. Social capital is as vital as language for human society. We become vulnerable to social bankruptcy when our social connections fail. If most of our experiences enhance our sense of trust and mutuality, allowing us to feel valued and to value others, then social capital increases.<sup>51</sup>

Social capital as a term is problematic for some.<sup>52</sup> There are many definitions of social capital but Putnam, perhaps the best known exponent of the concept, defines social capital as the 'networks, norms, and trust that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives.'<sup>53</sup> Social capital therefore relates to the resources available within communities in networks of mutual support, reciprocity, and trust.<sup>54</sup> The networks generating social capital are made up of participants that can be ethnic groups, family, societal groups, church, business and so on, and they have resources which are attributes of such networks. These attributes include qualities such as trust, reciprocity, mutual expectations and inclusiveness, and common purposes such as social, civic and economic participation. Drawing on these from within a group can allow a person to act more effectively.

The utilisation of social capital is, however, directed by values as social capital is used by individuals and groups to achieve ends within a society. These ends may be commendable such as building a business or working in a charitable or political

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<sup>50</sup> Robert D. Putnam, 'Bowling alone: America's declining social capital,' *Journal of Democracy* 6, (1995): 65-78.

<sup>51</sup> Eva Cox, 'A Truly Civil Society Lecture 2: Raising Social Capital,' *The 1995 Boyer Lectures*, (1995), <http://www.ldb.org/boyer12>

<sup>52</sup> An example may be seen in Ben Fine, 'Social capital versus social history,' *Social History* 33, 4, (2008): 451 where it is suggested that social capital is an oxymoron and questions the extent to which it can be social or capital or both. It is particularly problematic for Fine as it implies that economic capital is either private/individual or asocial.

<sup>53</sup> Putnam, 'Bowling alone,' 67.

<sup>54</sup> R.W. Edwards, 'Information Paper: Measuring Social Capital: An Australian Framework and Indications,' *Australian Bureau of Statistics* (Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2004), 5. <http://www.futuretasmania.org/uploads/ABS%20Social%20Capital.pdf>

group, or they could be less noble ends such as the development of a gang to rob banks. As Gaggio has aptly said

the vibrancy of social networks in civil society is as essential to economic predation by mafia-like organisations as it is to economic co-operation among civic minded entrepreneurs.<sup>55</sup>

The end to which social capital is put is therefore determined by the values that the user possesses. In this way, from an individual point of view, the direction of the utilisation of social capital is no different from that of one's economic or human capital. Values direct its utilisation. These values which result in purposeful actions are in part derived from the expectations, norms and sanctions of the society in which one lives, one's family background and one's education, but they are also influenced by one's personal convictions, understandings, choices and desires. The role of the colonial state is also an important dimension in understanding the role of social capital in colonial society as the state's policies, deliberations and decisions, such as the refusal to instigate poor laws, impacted upon and channelled the activities of citizens such as the Goodlets.

Contemporary discussions about social capital are focussed on looking forward, on how it may be measured and its positive aspects thus fostered for the future wellbeing of Australian society.<sup>56</sup> In the first instance, however, the historian is interested in the past. How was social capital and civil society fostered within the colony of NSW as it moved from a penal settlement to self-government and beyond? What was the role of individuals, groups and government in fostering and utilising social capital for the civic good? What were the values that directed the use of social capital? Conversely, what was the role of social capital in generating the 'good citizen' of the time?

Such questions are broad and far ranging. This study is rather more modest in scope, yet it will contribute to the examination of the generation and utilisation of economic, human and social capital within colonial NSW. The focus of this study is on two individuals, John Hay and Ann Alison Goodlet, and their contribution to the development of NSW colonial society both in its social fabric and its economic

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<sup>55</sup> Dario Gaggio, 'Do social historians need social capital?' *Social History* 29, 4, (November 2004): 505.

<sup>56</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, Discussion Paper 'Social Capital and Social Wellbeing' (Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002.), 10.  
<http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/D3110122.NSF/0/150BCB152250DDCFCA256C220080BA47?Open>

wellbeing. The Goodlets were a couple who had capital and used it to good effect in their lives. Their use of the capital to which they had access reflected both their personal values and the colonial society in which they lived.

As the utilisation of social capital and its generation is directed by values, an understanding of the Goodlets' social context and its expectations, together with their own value system, is required. An understanding of their value system will highlight that referring to only human, economic and social capital to elucidate the life of the Goodlets and those like them would not be sufficient. Another form of capital needs to be invoked, namely that of religious capital. Religious capital is seen to consist 'of the degree of mastery of and attachment to a particular religious culture'.<sup>57</sup> The self-conscious views of the Goodlets and those like them on the nature of their religious commitment, which is part of their attachment and religious culture, needs to be taken seriously. As Weber has perceptively said

the external courses of religious behaviour are so diverse that an understanding of this behaviour can only be achieved from the viewpoint of the subjective experiences, ideas, and purposes of the individuals concerned – in short, from the viewpoint of the religious behaviour's 'meaning'.<sup>58</sup>

How the Goodlets viewed what they did in relation to their understanding of God, and their self-understanding of its meaning, is critical to understanding their motivation. Shapely, while largely ignoring the area of motivation in philanthropy, does concede that

not everyone who became associated with a range of charities was motivated from a desire to fulfil the criteria for social leadership. Motives are difficult to quantify in any meaningful manner. Each individual had his own specific reasons for becoming associated with charities. Equally, why some entered the charity field while others from a similar social and cultural background did not is problematic. It has been suggested that such differences may ultimately prove to be a question of internal mental states.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 120.

<sup>58</sup> Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 1.

<sup>59</sup> Shapely, 'Charity, Status and Leadership,' 169.

This is the first major study of the Goodlets. Apart from a few general articles in biographical dictionaries, little has been written about them. It is not hard to understand why this should be so. The writing of history is dependent upon the availability of sources and the Goodlets have not received much attention largely because the sources on which to base an examination of their life and contribution have not been readily available. The Goodlets had no children to preserve and promote their legacy, and very few of their personal papers survive. He was a man of action not words and was shy about promoting himself and his work and Ann, as was the custom of the day, did not speak in public. They gave generously but they did so quietly and without fanfare. It is probable that neither John nor Ann committed their thoughts to paper as no personal papers or diaries have been found. They did not set up foundations to further their work. It has therefore been necessary to gain an insight into their 'mental states' (Shapely), or more broadly into the character, thinking, values and motivation of the Goodlets, largely by examining their activities, taking heart from John Locke's comment about men which is equally true of women that 'I have always thought that ... actions are the best guides to ... thoughts.'<sup>60</sup>

While actions as indicators of the sometimes complex issue of personal motivation, values and character, are not as transparent as an historian might wish they nevertheless do give some insight. The sources for what individual philanthropists like the Goodlets actually did in their lives, and as importantly what they did not do, are newspaper articles, both secular and religious, reports of meetings and speeches, annual reports, the stories and letters published by the charities of charity recipients, and the obituaries of the charitable. Such sources ought not always to be taken at face value<sup>61</sup> for those who produced them had their motivations for doing so, but neither should they be dismissed as of little value nor that what is said, because of the agenda of the source, is necessarily exaggerated or totally untrue. The strength of the newspapers of the time for this study, however, is that they covered many activities and charitable meetings in some depth and, together with the extant annual reports and organizational minutes, give a good understanding of the scope

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<sup>60</sup> John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding*, Volume I, 1690, 9.  
<http://www.earlymoderntexts.com/pdf/locke1.pdf>

<sup>61</sup> Shurlee Swain, 'The Value of the Vignette in the Writing of Welfare History,' *Australian Historical Studies* 39:2, 199-212 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10314610802033171> [Accessed 11 February 2013] and Shurlee Swain and Margot Hillel, *Child, Nation and Empire. Child Rescue Discourse, England, Canada and Australia, 1850-1915* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010) give a helpful perspective in this respect to child rescue discourse but the issue is relevant to all public charitable publications.

and range of philanthropic activity and the views society held of the actions of various philanthropists.

Tracking the nature of philanthropists' involvement through these sources, whether by simply giving money, governance or face-to-face engagement, their regularity of attendance at meetings, the nature of their membership or the resolution of conflicting loyalties to various charitable obligations, gives an indication of the priorities and interest of philanthropists in the various types of philanthropy. Annual reports and newspapers by recording the nature and timing of giving, and its consistency and level of financial commitment across decades, allow some conclusions to be drawn about motivation and attitude. These various sources also reveal for us a picture of the reputation of individuals, its consistency and integrity across a wide range of contexts and over considerable periods of time. Such societal understandings of reputation give some insight into the character and values of the individual.



## **CHAPTER 2 The Goodlet Human Capital**

The human capital of John Hay Goodlet and his wife Ann Alison Goodlet was a stock of social and personal skills, qualifications and knowledge, innate abilities, drives, talents, creativity, tenacity and entrepreneurial flair. These things were in part derived from, and encouraged by, their backgrounds and families. It was the possession of such things, enhanced by education, training and experience, that made it possible for the Goodlets to succeed in their adopted context and to gain for John the designation of Sydney's greatest Christian Philanthropist<sup>1</sup> and for Ann that 'she was the friend of the poor, the fallen, the crippled and the broken.'<sup>2</sup>

Human capital is a growing commodity and its development in the Goodlets is not just restricted to their early years in Scotland, but also develops in their adult life in the colonies. For John, as for Ann, family background, education and upbringing all contributed in varying degrees to their human capital through the formation of their attitudes and aspirations. In their adult life in colonial NSW the very things that both John and Ann engaged in, and the degree of John's commercial success, also revealed some aspects of the Goodlet human capital. These developing attributes of human capital will be referred to as their colonial life is traced out in this thesis.

### **Ann Alison Goodlet**

Although Ann Alison Goodlet at her death attracted much praise for her charitable works, kindness and loving concern, her friends, acquaintances and admirers seem to have known little about her background. [Photos pages 30 and 32] Even the stained glass window erected in her honour at the Ashfield Presbyterian Church misspelt her name 'Alison', and her first name 'Ann' is also incorrectly spelt on her gravestone.<sup>3</sup>

According to her death certificate, Ann Alison Goodlet was born in Edinburgh in 1827, arrived in NSW in 1855 and died on January 3, 1903, however her real background is somewhat more complicated. Ann, the daughter of William Panton and his wife Ann Jane (nee Kent), was actually born in 1822<sup>4</sup> shortly before William and Ann left

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<sup>1</sup> Presbyterian Church in NSW, *Proceedings of the General Assembly* (1914), Min 45(2), 33.

<sup>2</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW* (Sydney, NSW), January 16, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> The spelling 'Allison' is used whereas 'Alison' was the correct spelling. The window was not produced by *Goodlet and Smith*. Her gravestone also has her name spelt as 'Anne', which was a form never used by her in her life time. Though others sometimes spelt her name 'Anne' she invariably used 'Ann' which was the way her mother's name was spelt.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix 7 for Panton Family genealogical relationships.

Scotland for the colony of NSW.<sup>5</sup> Their ship was the *Andromeda* and the Rev John Dunmore Lang<sup>6</sup> (on his first voyage to NSW), was also a passenger. Lang noted in his diary that Ann was a babe at the breast of her mother. Ann's mother was the source of inspiration for Lang's amusing pen and he wrote a few lines for the entertainment of his fellow passengers, recalling a cabin incident involving Mrs Panton where she capsized a pitcher of water at dinner:

*Mrs Panton had a pique  
Against her good friend Mrs Leake  
And so, with a design to humble her  
She capsized the jug and broke her tumbler<sup>7</sup>*

Lang thought well of the Pantons who, though Lang described them as 'not people of the least pretensions to religion', were supportive of his opposition to the behaviour of the Captain of the ship.<sup>8</sup>

William Panton was granted land at Picton which he called '*Sea Bright Park*' and where he attempted to farm.<sup>9</sup> Later, he was so impressed by James Busby's book, '*Treatise on the Culture of the Vine and the Art of Making Wine*', that he planted a vineyard and changed the name of his property to '*Montpellier*' after the famous wine-producing district in France. He grew wheat, took part in the Government's experiment with tobacco growing and also began to speculate in livestock,<sup>10</sup> although

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<sup>5</sup>Ann is referred to at her mother's breast in an allusion to 'Mother bank' at Portsmouth. Thus she was born before the ship left English waters if not before embarkation. The Pantons arrived in the Colony of NSW on the *Andromeda* which left Leith October 14, 1822, Falmouth on November 16, 1822 and travelled via Rio leaving on February 7, 1823 arriving in Sydney on July 31, 1823. The Rev John Dunmore Lang had been a passenger as far as Van Diemens Land but elected to arrive in Sydney earlier on the *Brixton* which docked in Sydney on May 23, 1823. The *Andromeda's* passenger list included a Mr & Mrs Panton and child (the future Mrs Goodlet) (*Sydney Gazette* August 7, 1823 and WA Baker, *Days of Wrath* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1985, 25). William had obtained permission to emigrate from his home parish of Turriff, Aberdeen from Lord Bathurst and brought with him a personal note from Henry Goulburn of the Colonial Office addressed to Governor Macquarie. The original letter from Lord Bathurst is in the Macfarlan family's possession.

<sup>6</sup> Rev John Dunmore Lang (1799-1878) a pioneering Presbyterian clergyman. A summary article of his life is found in D. W. A. Baker, 'Lang, John Dunmore (1799 - 1878)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 2, Melbourne University Press, 1967, 76-83.

<sup>7</sup> Lang's Journal Voyage in ship *Andromeda*, Monday March 17, 1823.

<sup>8</sup> Lang's Journal Voyage in ship *Andromeda*, Tuesday February 18, 1823.

<sup>9</sup> The 1828 NSW Muster lists him as having 1000 acres, 50 acres cleared, 25 acres under cultivation, 1 horse, 54 cattle and three assigned convicts.

<sup>10</sup> "William Parton [sic] of 'Sea Bright Park' on the Oaks Road, towards Picton from the Oaks. When he sold his estate in 1836 the sales listed a vineyard and noted for future winegrowers that 'furlowing was not necessary to grow grapes at 'Montpellier' as there was rich soil to a depth of 3 inches'. The vineyard ceased production in the mid-1850's. P. Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney: Cradle of the Australian Wine Industry from First Settlement to Today*. (Horwitz Grahame: Sydney, 1990):151-2.

in July 1831, he was declared insolvent because of losses through this speculation.<sup>11</sup> William appears to have been an educated man, with a considerable library,<sup>12</sup> who read the works of Robert Owen and was convinced by them. He corresponded with Robert Owen and in 1834 wrote from Picton telling him that

even here, where you may suppose plenty of land to be had for almost nothing, although I need hardly inform you of the fact, we are getting embarrassed by competition in mercantile and agricultural affairs; and I can see clearly, although our fate will be more distant, yet it will not be less certain than that of Europe's; therefore I have not entirely abandoned my long-cherished desire to return to my native land, and live and die in one of the villages of mutual co-operation; for I am convinced that no one can know anything like comfort and happiness as society now stands.<sup>13</sup>

In March 1836, Panton and his family left NSW on the ship 'William' for Scotland possibly to join one of Owen's villages of mutual co-operation.<sup>14</sup> Though his family made landfall in Scotland, William died and was buried at sea off the Ascension Islands on June 2, 1836.<sup>15</sup> Had Ann's father not died on the return journey to Scotland Ann may well have led a significantly different life to the one she came to lead.

Ann thus grew up in the Picton area south west of Sydney and was 14 when she returned to Scotland. Life in Scotland must have been a struggle as her deceased father had been a failure as a colonist and would not have left anything of consequence to support his family. Ann and her family lived in the household of her widowed grandfather, Joseph Kent, who worked for the Excise as a Senior Clerk in the Solicitor's Office.<sup>16</sup> There was sufficient money, perhaps from her grandfather Joseph Kent, for her schooling for she spent several years, at least from 1837-1840, at the Edinburgh Ladies Institution for Southern Districts. This school was established in 1833 and was, for the time, a well-regarded school with a large enrolment of girls,

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<sup>11</sup> *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (Sydney, NSW), July 23, 1831; August 4, 1831.

<sup>12</sup> He advertised on several occasions for people who had borrowed a book from his library to return them. *The Sydney Monitor* (Sydney, NSW) August 14, 1830; July 4, 1832; May 28, 1834. In his will he left his books to any sons he might have.

<sup>13</sup> *The Crisis and National Co-operative Trade Union Gazette*, July 26, 1834 [Google E Books].

<sup>14</sup> *The Australian*, March 9, 1836.

<sup>15</sup> Babette Smith (nee Macfarlan) personal communication, November 14, 2002. *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (Sydney, NSW), December 10, 1836.

<sup>16</sup> *Edinburgh Almanack and Universal Scots and Imperial Register for 1840*. (Oliver and Boyd, 1840).

giving an education to 'Young Ladies of the upper ranks'.<sup>17</sup> Its curriculum covered French, German, Arithmetic, English, Geography Drawing, Sewing, Music and Religious Instruction and may even have given special classes in teaching methodology for prospective governesses.<sup>18</sup> Girls usually completed their education at 15 so Ann began later and would have been one of the older girls in the school.<sup>19</sup>

Ann appears to have been a good student and won prizes in English (1837), Writing (1838), and in History and Geography (1840).<sup>20</sup> It is not surprising then that from at least 1849 until 1853, she worked as a governess in the house of Sir James and Lady Russell in Edinburgh and Galashiels. This position was apparently a happy and enjoyable situation for Ann as the Russells were kind employers.<sup>21</sup> At this time Ann was courted by John Dickson who was a pious employee of the Union Bank of Scotland, and who appears to have been well-known in the Panton family circle.<sup>22</sup> Her cousin and school friend Beatrice, who had accompanied her brother the Rev George Ann Panton<sup>23</sup> when he went to Auckland, New Zealand, in 1849, wrote to Ann:

I had a long letter from Mr Dickson by the same vessel which brought your's (sic) in it he mentioned a circumstance that you quite overlooked in your's, which was that you and he were at the Exhibition of Paintings I suppose you saw as much of them as I did here almost to say nothing, more Anne (sic) this looks very suspicious, Am I to prepare myself for something of a more serious nature before I hear again from you?<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Hannah Barker and Elaine Challus (Editors), *Women's History: Britain, 1700-1850: an introduction* (London; New York: Routledge, 2005), 47; *The Athenaeian* (London, England), August 14, 1858.

<sup>18</sup> *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh, Scotland), August 1, 1838; August 5, 1840; Hannah Baker and Elaine Challus, *Women's History*, 47.

<sup>19</sup> Lindy Moore, 'Young ladies institutions: the development of secondary schools for girls in Scotland, 1833-c1870.' *History of Education* 23: 3, May 2003, 254. [accessed February 29, 2012] <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00467600304141>

<sup>20</sup> *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh, Scotland), August 1, 1837; August 1, 1838; August 5, 1840.

<sup>21</sup> *Panton Letters*, Beatrice Panton to Ann Panton, December 19, 1850. Paul F Cooper, Ed. (unpublished)

<sup>22</sup> *Panton Letter*, Beatrice Panton to Ann Panton, July 10, 1852.

<sup>23</sup> He was sent out by the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, and arrived in Auckland January 1849. Controversy broke out between himself and his office bearers and he returned to Scotland in October 1850 but Beatrice remained in New Zealand eventually marrying Robert Maunsell in September 1852. John Rawson Elder, *The History of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1840-1940* (Christchurch: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1940), 57.

<sup>24</sup> *Panton Letters*, Beatrice Panton to Ann Panton, December 19, 1850.

Indeed Beatrice needed to do so, for Ann Panton married John Dickson in Edinburgh in 1853<sup>25</sup> when they were both in their early thirties.<sup>26</sup> Her cousin Beatrice approved of their marriage for she saw the partnership as a good one.

In a late letter Agnes told me she had heard you were to be married to Mr. Dickson – Is this true? If so I shall be exceedingly happy. I trust he has gone on well. I love you too well to wish to see you united to any but a kind, affectionate, and pious gentleman. Although this late in the day you and I perhaps may neither require to begin a Gundy<sup>27</sup> Shop or go to the Garret.<sup>28</sup>

The married couple came to the colony of NSW by 1855, probably in order to seek an improvement in John's health as he suffered from consumption.<sup>29</sup> Ann's later concern for the consumptive, and the understanding that the Goodlets had of the issues that attended the needs of the consumptive, was part of her human capital born as it was from her own personal experience and grief.

Little is known of Ann's religious background and experience. She was married in St Cuthbert's Edinburgh, a church of the Church of Scotland,<sup>30</sup> but John and Ann Dickson were of Free Church sympathies, attending Presbyterian Churches of that origin during their time in Sydney. They initially attended Pitt Street Free Church (August 1855 to September 1858),<sup>31</sup> before moving to Chalmers Free Church in 1858.<sup>32</sup> After John's death from tuberculosis in April 1859<sup>33</sup>, Ann left Chalmers Free Church and (presumably) joined the St George's Free Church. In May 1860, Rev Dr

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<sup>25</sup> June 19, 1853 Register of Marriages Parish of Edinburgh, County of Midlothian.

<sup>26</sup> Death Certificate 1859/000493, John Dickson. NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages (BDM).

<sup>27</sup> Gundy was a type of Scottish sweet made by boiling sugar and adding baking powder. 'The Garret' is a reference to accommodation occupied by spinsters.

<sup>28</sup> *The Panton Letters*, Beatrice Panton to Ann Panton July 10, 1852.

<sup>29</sup> They arrived in Sydney on the inter-capital Steamer *Wonga Wonga* on July 31 having left Melbourne of July 28, 1855. *The Empire*, August 1, 1855. That this is the likely date, and certainly the year, is confirmed by information supplied on Ann's death certificate when in 1903 it is indicated that she had been in the colony for 48 years and on John Dickson's death certificate of 1859 indicating that he had been in NSW for 4 years. Ann Alison Goodlet Death Certificate 1903/001133, (BDM). John Dickson Death Certificate 1859/000493 (BDM).

<sup>30</sup> Mansfield is incorrect as it was not St Cuthbert's Episcopal Church but St Cuthbert's Church of Scotland. Joan Mansfield, 'Goodlet, Ann Alison (1824–1903),' Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/goodlet-ann-alison-12941/text23387>, [accessed March 24, 2012].

<sup>31</sup> Dickson contributed as follows October 1854 to September 1855 4/-; October 1855 to September 1856 £2.10.0; October 1856 to September 1857 £2.10.6; October 1857 to September 1858 £2.0.0. These amounts are consistent with Dickson arriving with Ann in July 1855 and then leaving the congregation by the end of 1858. Macquarie Street (formerly Pitt Street) Free Church, *Deacons' Court Reports*.

<sup>32</sup> Chalmers Free Church, Sydney, *Communion Roll for 1859*.

<sup>33</sup> April 27, 1859 Death Certificate John Dickson (BDM).

Mackintosh McKay celebrated at Ann's marriage to John Hay Goodlet in a ceremony at Mrs Gibson's boarding house in Cleveland Street, Redfern.<sup>34</sup> At this time Ann was 38 years of age and John was 25 years old.

### **John Hay Goodlet**

John Hay Goodlet was born in Leith, Scotland on March 22, 1835, to Mary Hay and George Goodlet.<sup>35</sup> [Photos pages 30 and 31] Their union produced eight children, and John was the fifth child and the second son. John's father George was a financially unsuccessful, if innovative and entrepreneurial, merchant and manufacturer.<sup>36</sup> He was the proprietor of the London, Leith and Edinburgh Steam Mills<sup>37</sup> and was involved in the milling of grains and probably the distillation of spirits. George was an inventive man as he had several patents registered in his name, nearly all connected with brewing and the distillation of spirits by the use of steam engines.<sup>38</sup> In 1828, he borrowed heavily against his assets to greatly expand his operations, but in 1833 his steam mills in Leith were burnt to the ground. Goodlet was not fully insured and was, as a result of the fire, deeply in debt. He borrowed further to restart his business, but ultimately got into further difficulties and was declared bankrupt.<sup>39</sup> In this venture Goodlet lost a significant amount of the wider Goodlet family money.

Some of George Goodlet's intemperate actions at that time must have been coloured by the financial ruin he faced. He had involved in his business his niece Ann Liddell, who had lost her parents and was specially provided for by her grandfather Alexander Goodlet's estate. George seems to have persuaded Liddell to use her inheritance and become a financial backer of his business. She may have had little choice in the matter as he was heavily in debt to the estate, and he may not have

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<sup>34</sup> May 3, 1860 Marriage Certificate John Goodlet and Ann Dickson (BDM).

<sup>35</sup> Mary was born Jan 26, 1801 and died March 4, 1876. George was born July 2, 1792 and died May 23, 1859. They were married on December 14, 1825. See Appendix 7 for Goodlet Family Tree

<sup>36</sup> George died intestate in 1859 with an estate of less than £200.

<sup>37</sup> The addition of London and Edinburgh may have been a little grandiose promotional padding as there is no evidence of any mills owned by Goodlet outside of Leith.

<sup>38</sup> Letter patent for the invention of a new method of distilling spirits and other things which George Goodlet, Merchant of Leith, had invented. Dated as issued on 10<sup>th</sup> Day of July 1837, in reign of George IV. The Letter Patent is in possession of David Barclay Throsby Clark, Moss Vale. Goodlet also held patents for the drying and preparation of rough meal (May 3, 1832) noted in James Allen Ransome, *The Implements of Agriculture* (London: Ridgway, 1843), 228; and for the 'improvements in engines to be worked by steam, air, or air and water combined' (May 31, 1853) noted in William Laxton, *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* 16, (1853): 471.

<sup>39</sup> Goodlet was deeply indebted to his father's estate, his father having died in 1823 and had been in debt since 1816. *The last will and Testament of Alexander Goodlet, 1824*. John Hay, Mary's father, in 1836, came to his daughter's rescue

been able to make good his debts sufficiently to allow Liddell to access her inheritance. In taking out various loans for the business, Goodlet also obligated Liddell in the repayments. He initially fulfilled the asset insurance required of these loans but later, probably to save money, he reduced his level of insurance. When the mill was destroyed not just he, but also his niece, was liable to meet the loans and the shortfall in the insurance.

Liddell was being courted by Robert Menzies, and at this time anonymous letters addressed to Liddell and the Goodlet family arrived denigrating Menzies' character. These letters, if believed, would have encouraged Ann to break the relationship. Goodlet was convinced that these letters were written by Menzies himself who he thought was seeking to exit his relationship with Liddell, probably in order to evade her financial difficulties. Goodlet publicly branded Menzies 'a liar and a scoundrel' which led Menzies to sue Goodlet for libel, the court deciding in Menzies' favour which cost Goodlet a further £700. Goodlet had misjudged Menzies who married his niece shortly afterwards, though it meant considerable financial difficulty and also involved them in subsequent court cases with Goodlet's creditors. None of this would have done much for family relationships. Goodlet himself took up work as a post master and did not return to business, though he continued to tinker with various steam engines and processes involved with them.

John was thus raised in the household of a bankrupt and a business failure which was dependant upon his maternal grandfather for the retention of their very household furniture. Even though these events took place before John was born, they must have left a pall over the Goodlet family and may have been a motivation for the young John Goodlet to succeed. By contrast, John's mother's family, the Hays, were very successful in business.

John Hay, John Goodlet's maternal grandfather, was a prosperous shipowner, a partner in the *London and Edinburgh Shipping Company* and shareholder in the *Edinburgh Roperie and Sailcloth Company*. His son James Hay, John's uncle, appears to have been a significant person within the Goodlet family circle and he was a very successful, wealthy and well-regarded business man.<sup>40</sup> He was the managing partner

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purchasing their household furniture at the bankruptcy sale and returning it to them. *Last Will and Testament of John Hay, Shipowner Leith, 1840*. <http://www.scottishdocuments.com>. Goodlet was bankrupt around 1834 just prior to John's birth.

<sup>40</sup> James Hay died in 1880 leaving an estate in excess £120,000 which was considerably more than John Goodlet was to leave some 40 years later. His estate was left totally to family and not a pound was left to charity. All the Goodlet children received sizeable bequests with the exception of John who received nothing from his uncle.

of the *Edinburgh Roperie and Sailcloth Company* of Leith which employed Goodlet when he left school and prior to his departure to the colony of NSW. The Hays and the Goodlets lived in what was, at that time, the newer part of Leith where the successful merchants lived and which was characterised by elegant houses overlooking Claremont Park.

In the time of Goodlet's youth, Leith was a merchant, manufacturing and shipping town. It boasted a cannery, paint factory, glass manufacturers as well as iron foundries, saw mills, soap and candle works, rope and sail manufacturers, shipbuilding and many distilleries. It was also a trade centre with extensive shipping into the Baltic, Americas, East and West Indies, 'New Holland' and China.<sup>41</sup> There was a significant military presence in Leith as a fort was erected there in 1780 during the American War of Independence in order to guard the harbour. It was the head quarters of the Royal Artillery in the north of the country and two companies of soldiers were stationed there.

Goodlet's interest in ships was no doubt fostered by his family connection and perhaps even sailing with his father who owned a small yacht. Goodlet seems to have inherited many of his father's abilities, but not his shortcomings. Goodlet, like his father, had drive and an entrepreneurial spirit, was creative and inventive but, unlike his father, was not careless in his financial management, nor intemperate with his tongue. His father's bankruptcy and failure may have been a significant contributor to Goodlet's decision, and later that of his brother Alexander, to go to the colony of NSW to seek his fortune free from the taint of his father's ill-fated ventures.

Goodlet received his schooling at the Edinburgh Institution for Languages and Mathematics,<sup>42</sup> probably commencing when seven years old and leaving at 16 years of age. The Institution had an emphasis on the use of modern languages, French, German and Italian, and especially mathematics and science in education. While it had a classical education stream, Goodlet probably completed a curriculum which

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<sup>41</sup> *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol 1, (Edinburgh & London: Blackwood, 1845), 761-781.  
<http://www.archive.org/stream/newstatisticalac06edinuoft#page/n13/mode/2up>

<sup>42</sup> He received a prize in 1846 for improvement in English. The inscription read 'This Premium for improvement in the 2d Class of English in the Edinburgh Institution for Languages, Mathematics, &c was adjudged to John Goodlet by Mr Hunter (signed) George Murray 1846'. The book was Jeremy Taylor, *The Rule and Exercises for Holy Living* (Edinburgh: John Anderson, 1826) and is now held in the Ferguson Library, Sydney.

was designed to equip a student for 'a practical life'.<sup>43</sup> In this stream Goodlet would have completed courses in practical experimental science, architecture and engineering drawing. The mathematics courses dealt with such practical issues as interest, insurance, stocks and profit and loss. Such courses, as they were designed to do, would have prepared Goodlet for his future role in business and were ideal for one who was to become a colonial merchant and manufacturer. Religion was also part of the school curriculum where the content of the Scriptures were taught and in the senior classes William Paley's 'Evidences for Christianity' was studied.

The depth of the religious background of John Goodlet's family is largely unknown except that when Goodlet was leaving for the colonies his mother gave him a copy of the Standards of the Free Church of Scotland.<sup>44</sup> His mother's sister Jane, who on his departure gave him a copy of the Bible, was married in 1843, the year of the Disruption, to the Rev David Thorburn. Assistant Minister at South Leith Parish Church, Thorburn had led a substantial proportion of the congregation out to form a Free Church congregation. Goodlet's sister Ann married David Clark who was of Free Church sympathies and an elder of that church and, according to family tradition, was disinherited on account of them. As Goodlet first associated himself with the Free Church tradition in Sydney it would seem that his family were of that persuasion. The reality of the enormity of the task of the Christian church in the colonies, however, seems to have modified what Free Church views Goodlet may have had as he associated with Presbyterians and Christians of all persuasions. This practice was an outworking of Goodlet's practical approach to his Christianity demonstrating his commitment to the core of the Christian faith that the Protestant churches held in common. While remaining a loyal son the Presbyterian Church, he would show little inclination to perpetuate the theological and organisational distinctions of the Presbyterianism of Scotland. It would seem that he did not see them as very relevant to the task of advocating Christ in the colony.

While the Free Church Standards given to him by his mother may have had little impact on Goodlet, the inside cover of the book was inscribed with several Bible references. Mary Goodlet had no idea when she might again see her young son and she brought to his attention various Bible verses she thought would be important for

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<sup>43</sup> Alexander Dallas Bache, 'Edinburgh Institution' in *Report on Education in Europe to the Trustees of the Girard College for Orphans*, (Philadelphia: Lydia Bailey, 1839), 382-390. <http://books.google.com.au/books>

<sup>44</sup> *The subordinate standards and other authoritative documents of the Free Church of Scotland* (London: Johnstone and Hunter, c1851) and the inscription read 'John Hay Goodlet from his affectionate mother March 17<sup>th</sup> 1852 Matt X:32, Pslm:I, Ex 20:II, Ps 15:I, Isa LVII:13, 14.' This book is held in the Ferguson Library, Sydney.

him to remember.<sup>45</sup> John may not have imbibed the doctrinal outlook of the book his mother gave him as it seems to have been unread and he never really showed much interest in things of a theological nature. Nevertheless, as his life in the colony would demonstrate, he did heed the message of the Bible verses noted down for his instruction for he was to be, as the verses advocated, devout, honest and successful.

At the age of almost 17 Goodlet left his family and set sail for the colonies, arriving in Port Phillip and disembarking from the *Three Bells* in June 1853. His emigration to the colonies was an economic choice he made as he probably considered his prospects in the Australian colonies were better than those in Scotland.<sup>46</sup> The gold rush in the Colony of Victoria had begun in late 1851 and the population of Victoria increased from 75,000 in that year to 500,000 by 1861. Goodlet, however, never sought to be involved in gold prospecting, but rather in the commercial life generated by the prosperity of the gold rushes. He was to remain two years in Melbourne before moving to Sydney to commence a business. While in Melbourne, he went to work for timber merchants who ran a steam saw mill and timber yard in Albert Street on the south side of the Yarra River. It would appear that the groundwork for Goodlet's confident and sure-footed start in Sydney was laid by his experience at this yard.

Goodlet was to become a devoted Christian, a skilled and successful businessman, and a very generous philanthropist. His background does not immediately suggest that he would inevitably proceed in any of these directions. His family's religious emphasis, such that it was, was certainly not followed by his brother Alexander who showed no interest in the Christian church. His father was not a success financially as either a manufacturer or merchant. Alexander does not appear to have been a success in this area of life either, failing in business in both Melbourne and Sydney. His uncle James Hay, however, was both successful and rich. His business acumen and example may have inspired John, but he left Scotland so early that his direct influence could only have been marginal.

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<sup>45</sup> Matthew 10:32 Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven. Psalm 1:1 Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful. Exodus 20:2 I am the LORD thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Psalm 15:1 Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? Who shall dwell in thy holy hill? Isaiah 57:13-14 When thou criest, let thy companies deliver thee; but the wind shall carry them all away; vanity shall take them: but he that putteth his trust in me shall possess the land, and shall inherit my holy mountain; And shall say, Cast ye up, cast ye up, prepare the way, take up the stumbling block out of the way of my people.

<sup>46</sup> Eric Richards, 'Varieties of Scottish emigration in the nineteenth century,' *Historical Studies* 21; 85: 479-480. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10314618508595722> [accessed March 9, 2012].

To leave Scotland at such a young age and travel unaccompanied to the other side of the world, and later at 19 to set up in business on his own in another colony, shows a significant degree of personal drive, ambition and confidence. John's charitable instincts were displayed right from the time he was on wages and were to be greatly and significantly encouraged and channelled by his wife Ann. The one aspect of John's life that does not seem to be prefigured in his upbringing and education is his philanthropic attitude. Both his grandfather John Hay and uncle James Hay were wealthy men, but left no provision whatsoever in their wills for charity. Apart from John Hay's chairmanship for a period of time of Trinity House in Leith, and even this had little to do with charitable work, there is no evidence of any family charitable activity on the part of the Goodlet or Hay families. The degree to which John and Ann Goodlet were able to be philanthropic was, in part, influenced by John's success in business as *Goodlet and Smith*, timber merchants and producers of bricks, tiles and cement, generating the means for them to be generous. John's economic capital was the foundation of the Goodlet philanthropy and his business activity is revealing in giving further insight into the Goodlets' human capital.

**John Hay and Ann Alison Goodlet**  
throughout the years



In his mid-thirties (c1869)



In her mid-forties (c1868)



In his mid-forties (c1880)



In her mid-fifties (c1879)



In his seventies (c1905)

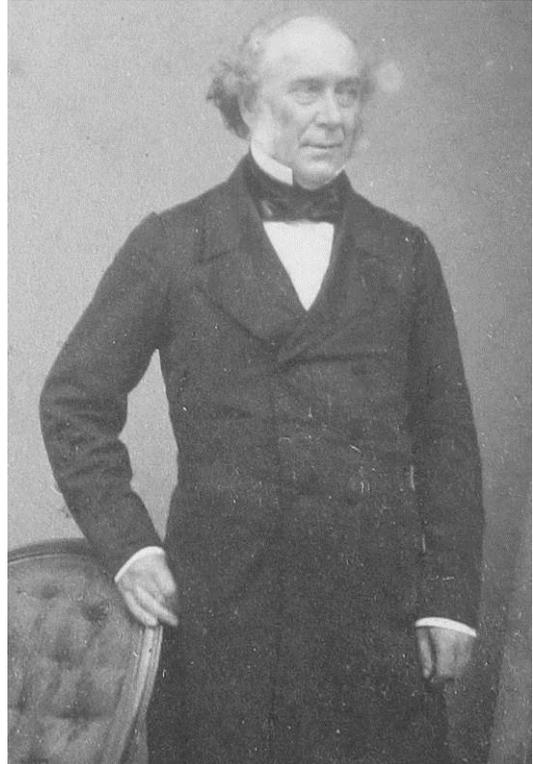


In her mid-sixties (c1889)

## Some of John Goodlet's Family in Scotland and England



Mother: Mary Goodlet (nee Hay) married to George Goodlet



Uncle: James Hay, Manager of Edinburgh Roperie & Sailmaking Company, Leith where John worked after leaving school



Sister: Annie Henderson Clark (nee Goodlet) whose sons worked for *Goodlet and Smith*



Sister: Jane Hay Goodlet

## **Ann Alison Goodlet's Family**

### ***In Scotland***



The Panton sisters and children, 1869, Scotland

Adults (L to R) Isabella Panton, Matilda Panton,  
Janet Bland Macfarlan (nee Panton) and Ann Alison Goodlet (nee Panton)  
Children (L to R) Alfred, Charles, Alexander, Arthur, John and Annie Macfarlan

### ***In Australia***



Ann Goodlet (centre) with her 'adopted' family of Copelands  
(L to R) Josephine, Agnes and Isabella, with Josephine's children Annie and David Clark

## CHAPTER 3 The Goodlet Economic Capital

Economic capital refers to a system in which capital or the means of production are privately owned and where an important role in decision making is taken by the owners of capital.<sup>1</sup> Through his company *Goodlet and Smith*, Goodlet was to become a capitalist and he participated very successfully in the emerging capitalist system of the colony of NSW. In doing so he would contribute significantly to the economic and civic development and well-being of his adopted homeland. Through his generation of economic capital Goodlet gained for himself that which had eluded his own father, financial security, success and social standing as a respected merchant, manufacturer and businessman. It also provided the Goodlets with the necessary wealth that they might become significant philanthropists.

An enterprise history of *Goodlet and Smith* could be written and would be a valuable contribution to the literature of business history.<sup>2</sup> This thesis, however, is interested in *Goodlet and Smith* only in so far as it illuminates the life and character of John Hay Goodlet. Goodlet's business was a very important constituent of that life and provided the wealth that enabled him to be a philanthropist. More than that, an understanding of the development of the company provides a window into the character, skill and person of Goodlet and contributes an understanding of his human capital. For such an examination to illuminate his attitudes and abilities, however, it needs first to be demonstrated that the Company and its activity was largely the result of the activity of Goodlet himself. The relative scarcity of personal detail on Goodlet makes *Goodlet and Smith* an object of interest to those who would understand the emergence of this great philanthropist in the Victorian era.

### The formation of Goodlet and Smith

When Goodlet arrived in Melbourne from Scotland in June 1852 he went to work as a clerk for the recently formed timber merchants, C & J Smith.<sup>3</sup> John Walker, who was a close confidant of the Goodlet family and who regarded Mr & Mrs Goodlet as his 'Australian parents', says that 'Mr. Goodlet took advantage of a business opening

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<sup>1</sup> John Black, *Oxford Dictionary of Economics*, 46, 49.

<sup>2</sup> Examples of such are Clive Howard Lee, *A Cotton Enterprise, 1795-1840: a history of M'Connel & Kennedy fine cotton spinners*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972); Derek Sawyer, *Australians in company: BHP in its 100<sup>th</sup> year*, (Melbourne : Broken Hill Proprietary Company Ltd, 1985).

<sup>3</sup> Unsourced newspaper cutting in *A.I. Macfarlan Scrap Book*. Charles and John Smith, the founders of the Company had arrived in Melbourne in August 1850. See Jane Sandilands, *Helen Macpherson Schutt: Philanthropist* (Melbourne: Helen M Schutt Trust, 2001), 29.

which met him the day after his landing in Melbourne ... and he so earnestly applied himself that in about a year ... he was a partner.<sup>4</sup> Goodlet later recalled that three years after his commencing work with the Smith brothers he had the desire to strike out on his own. He went to Sydney in June 1855 to assess Sydney's business potential. He came with a shipload of American doors as his capital and sold them profitably, a sale which increased his capital and allowed him to commence his own business.<sup>5</sup> Part of the reason for the choice of Sydney was economic necessity, for though his place of residence was the business capital of Australia at the time, the Melbourne commercial scene was undergoing a recession.<sup>6</sup> Another factor influencing his decision may have been the imminent arrival of a further two Smith family brothers in 1855, who may have needed employment in the fledgling Melbourne business. Goodlet remained in Sydney for six weeks before returning to Melbourne and when he returned permanently to Sydney in August that year he was soon advertising his business as J Goodlet and Co of 22 Erskine Street, selling what was advertised as the 'best' Bangor slate and 'cheap' double molded doors.<sup>7</sup> This initial foray into the world of business was to be indicative of the entrepreneurial flair, judgment and confidence of Goodlet that showed from the very beginning of his time in Sydney, and indicated that he had the human capital to be a success in business.

Goodlet had not just the right human capital to be a success, but he had also arrived and commenced his building supply company at just the right time to prosper. Butlin says the building boom that began in the 1850s and continued until the 1880s arose in a conjunction of favourable circumstances. These included the existence of intense housing shortages due to an influx in the population in the 1850s, a high inflow of migrants after the 1860s, sustained high employment and wage rates, relatively stable building costs which remained low in relation to wage incomes, high but gradually falling rents, and increasingly easy credit conditions.<sup>8</sup> To meet these circumstances in NSW the provision of building supplies through brick making and

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<sup>4</sup> John Walker, 'John Hay Goodlet, Esq J.P.,' *The Woollahra Presbyterian Messenger (Sydney NSW)*, January 1893.

<sup>5</sup> *SMH*, October 30, 1905.

<sup>6</sup> John Hay Goodlet arrived in Sydney on June 15, 1855 travelling from Melbourne on the 'Telegraph'. *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, June 16, 1855. For the Melbourne commercial setting cf *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, January 10, 1855 quoting *The Argus (Melbourne)*, January 5, 1855.

<sup>7</sup> Over the next month Goodlet ran advertisements on four occasions and in each advertisement the number of Bangor Slates decreased (22,000; 15,000; 12,000; 10,000).

<sup>8</sup> Noel George Butlin, *Investment in Australian Economic Development, 1861-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 211.

timber milling increased significantly in the period 1870-1880.<sup>9</sup> Goodlet's company was to be part of the growth in the supply of commercially produced building materials derived and developed from domestic sources to meet the demand for housing and construction.<sup>10</sup>

It would appear that by 1859 the continued expansion of the business to meet the increasing demand required Goodlet to rethink its structure. He looked to have some assistance in the management of the firm by dissolving his partnership with the Smith brothers in Melbourne and taking in a local Sydney-based partner. Even so he didn't wander far from his loyalties for that locally based partner was James Smith, a brother of his previous partners, who had been in Sydney for some time assisting Goodlet.

### **James Smith**

In the business world of Sydney the name 'Smith' was to be closely linked with that of Goodlet for almost one hundred years. James Smith was born at Darnick near Melrose, in the County of Roxburgh, Scotland, on May 18, 1829, and was some six years older than Goodlet. He was the third son in a family of 12 children and his early education was in Edinburgh.<sup>11</sup> His father, John Smith, was an architect and builder and a friend of Sir Walter Scott, part of whose seat at Abbotsford he had built. James commenced business on his own and built, among other things, a church at Galashiels. He decided to come to Australia and after arriving in March 1857<sup>12</sup> he commenced work with Goodlet & Co, later joining Goodlet in the partnership that would transform the company into *Goodlet and Smith*. [Photo page 36]

What was the nature of the partnership and how did it come about? The role of James Smith in *Goodlet and Smith* and his influence in its direction and success is an important question for this thesis. If Smith had a significant impact upon the direction and success of the Company then it complicates the value of using the progress of *Goodlet and Smith* as a window into the character and activity of Goodlet.

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<sup>9</sup> Butlin, *Investment in Australian Economic Development, 1861-1900*, 272.

<sup>10</sup> Butlin, *Investment in Australian Economic Development, 1861-1900*, 269. [ see Appendix 2]

<sup>11</sup> *The NSW Independent (Sydney, NSW)*, August 15, 1887 but , 'James Smith', *Australian Men of Mark*, vol 1, series 1, (Sydney: Charles F Maxwell, [1889]), 344, says he is the fourth son.

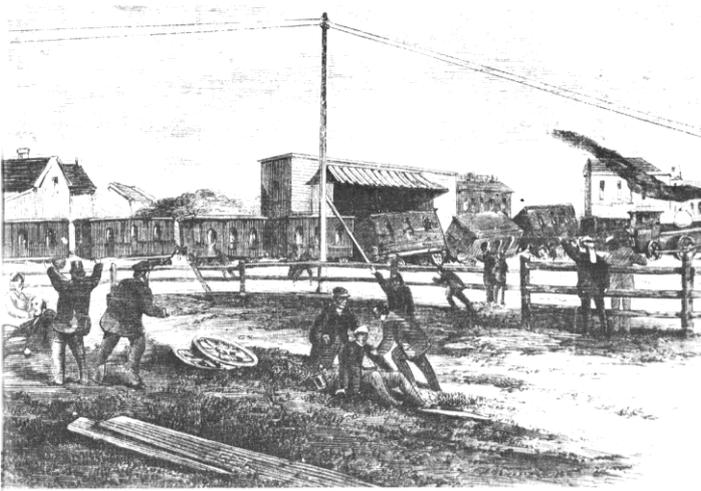
<sup>12</sup> Probably on the *Minnehaha*. 1857 is the date of arrival given by Sandilands, *Helen Macpherson Schutt*, 33.

**James Smith**  
(1829 -1887)



*James Smith*

**Line drawing** with signature



**Railway Accident  
Newtown**

Newspaper illustration of the incident in which James Smith was seriously injured January 6, 1868.

*(Illustrated Sydney News January 16, 1868)*

Teale claims that Smith and Goodlet entered a partnership about 1862,<sup>13</sup> but closer investigation indicates that the partnership was already operative as early as March 1859.<sup>14</sup> Somewhat ambiguously *Australian Men of Mark* notes that Smith went to Sydney in 1858 to

manage a branch of the business there, which he did for some time with considerable success, and later on, in conjunction with Mr. Goodlet, he purchased it and changed its name to that of '*Goodlet and Smith*'.<sup>15</sup>

In his obituary of James Smith, Robert Dey, as the Smith family minister and someone who thus had access to family sources, states that Smith joined Goodlet in Sydney and that Goodlet had come there to establish a branch of the Melbourne business.<sup>16</sup> In Dey's view of the matter, then, it was Goodlet not James who came to Sydney to start a branch of C & J Smith with James later joining Goodlet in this business. There is no evidence of C & J Smith trading in Sydney under their business name and indeed, in September 1855 three months after his arrival in Sydney, Goodlet was advertising for business as J Goodlet and Co and continued to do so until October 6, 1860.

The nature of the business arrangement is explained to some degree, and Dey's view of the partnership endorsed, by an announcement in the newspaper dated March 5, 1859. The announcement states that

The partnership hitherto subsisting between John Hay Goodlet, Charles Smith, and John Smith, as timber merchants, under the style of J.H. Goodlet and Company, has been dissolved by mutual consent, and will in future be carried on by John Hay Goodlet and James Smith.<sup>17</sup>

It would appear then that Goodlet went to Sydney in a partnership arrangement with C & J Smith of Melbourne to commence business there under the name 'J.H. Goodlet

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<sup>13</sup> Ruth Teale, 'Goodlet, John Hay (1835 - 1914)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 4, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1972), 263-264.

<sup>14</sup> *SMH*, March 5, 1859; October 26, 1860.

<sup>15</sup> Digby, *Australian Men of Mark*, 344.

<sup>16</sup> *The New South Wales Independent (Sydney, NSW)*, August 15, 1887.

<sup>17</sup> Jessie Smith Cuttings, 53. See also *SMH*, March 5, 1859; see also *SMH*, October 31, 1860 which gives the date of commencing trading as Goodlet and Smith as October 24, 1860.

and Company'. The nature of the partnership allowed the company to bear Goodlet's name alone. This arrangement probably meant that when the business commenced Goodlet was the principal partner and that the C & J Smith contribution to the partnership, at this stage, was junior. James was perhaps sent to Sydney in 1858 to look after the Smith interest in the business.

Was this an equal partnership between James and John, or was one regarded as the senior partner and the other as the junior partner? Initially, the company was formed by the initiative of Goodlet. When Smith entered the partnership in 1859 the name of the company was not changed to include him. Since the name was not changed for another 20 months it seems highly unlikely that Smith was the senior or even equal partner with Goodlet. He seems simply to have taken over his brothers' minor interest. In 1899, however, when Smith's eldest son John Charles died, the obituary for John describes his late father James (who had predeceased his son in 1887) as the junior partner in Goodlet and Smith.<sup>18</sup>

Compared with Goodlet, Smith was not involved in the active management of *Goodlet and Smith* for a great length of time, for in 1868<sup>19</sup> he was involved in a serious railway accident at Newtown which caused him severe internal injuries from which he never fully recovered. In 1869, he was absent in Scotland with his wife and two children in an attempt to recover his health, returning in June 1871. In 1881, then in his early fifties, Smith would retire from the firm due to these continuing health issues,<sup>20</sup> and in order for Smith to retire Goodlet bought him out, but retained the (by this stage) well-established company name.

James Smith and John Goodlet had a great deal in common. They were both Scots, both Presbyterians by upbringing with a more than nominal interest in their Christianity, and both were generous to their church. They were both men of deeds rather than words. Whereas Smith rarely appeared in public settings, Goodlet often did so, though even then Goodlet was hardly a man who loved public attention. Smith, the elder of the two, was the only one who had prior experience in building and building materials before coming to Australia. Their paths, however, diverged

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<sup>18</sup> 'Prominent among those at the grave were Mr. J.H. Goodlet, of the firm of *Goodlet and Smith*, of which firm the late Mr. Smith, father of the deceased, was once junior partner; and Mr. Lawson, the senior partner in the firm of which, the deceased had been a partner'. Unsourced and undated newspaper cutting, *Jessie Smith Cuttings*, 4.

<sup>19</sup> *The New South Wales Independent (Sydney, NSW)*, August 15, 1887, 148. This was probably a train crash that happened on January 6, 1868. *SMH*, January 7, 1868.

<sup>20</sup> Digby, *The Australian Men of Mark*, 344. The partnership was dissolved on December 31, 1881. *SMH*, January 24, 1882.

due to personal circumstances. Smith had a large family and poor health. Goodlet had neither of these things which significantly affected what he was able to do and influenced the direction and control of the business.

The original business, then, was established by Goodlet from 1855 to 1859, and after 1881 owed its continued success to Goodlet. Smith's part as the junior partner between 1859 and 1868 when he was active in the business, and in the period 1871 to 1881 when he was hampered by poor health, is unknown.<sup>21</sup> For 37 of the 56 years of *Goodlet and Smith*, therefore, it can be demonstrated that Goodlet was undoubtedly its driving force and this was probably also true for the remainder of the period as well. *Goodlet and Smith*, therefore, was largely successful due to the entrepreneurial skill of John Hay Goodlet and the study of its development will tell us about the principal behind its success.

### **The Development of Goodlet and Smith**

The development of *Goodlet and Smith* from 1855 to 1914, during Goodlet's lifetime, is both a reflection of and a reaction to the economic development of NSW. The 1850s brought important changes to colonial society and the role of government. The establishment of Victoria and NSW as self-governing colonies took place in 1856 and the separation of Queensland from NSW followed in 1859. These governmental changes occurred against the backdrop of the gold rushes and their associated demographic and social consequences. As early as 1852, liberal Christian opinion, inspired in part by the anti-transportation campaigns, was mooting the possibility of a federated Australia.<sup>22</sup> When the population growth slowed after the gold rushes, there were backlogs in the demand for housing and infrastructure. Colonial government and private borrowing from Britain grew in order to raise capital to meet the demand and the economic opportunity. The result was a rapid growth in income payable overseas, which had risen to nearly 40% of export earnings by 1891.<sup>23</sup> Confidence in the colonial economies was high in the 1880s and had attracted large overseas investment and speculation thrived.

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<sup>21</sup>There is a lack of sources for this period which give an indication of Smith's involvement. A 1877 newspaper account of the business does seem to indicate that Smith was, at that stage, still active within the business. *Australian Town and Country Journal (Sydney, NSW)*, February 3, 1877.

<sup>22</sup> John West, *Union among the colonies* ed. Gregory Melleuish, (Kew, Victoria: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2001).

<sup>23</sup> Robert Vincent Jackson, 'The Colonial Economies: An Introduction,' *Australian Economic History Review* 38, 1, (March 1998): 6.

Thus began the 'long boom' which stretched from 1860 to around 1890, and Goodlet was to tap in on this boom and the opportunity it provided. In the 1880s, the activities associated with building and construction, such as the manufacture of bricks, pottery, sawmilling, joinery and furniture, made up 15 to 20 percent of the manufacturing workforce.<sup>24</sup> As a reflection of the increasing investment in residential building and public works, the employment in brickworks doubled between 1877/8 and 1885/6. *Goodlet and Smith's* expansion and contraction reflected economic trends, the growing economy made it sensible for the company to open a second brickworks at Waterloo (1875) and then later a much larger one at Granville (1884). In the latter part of the 1880s, a decline began in the numbers employed by brickworks due in part to the increased mechanization utilized by manufacturers such as *Goodlet and Smith*, but more importantly due to a drop in demand.<sup>25</sup> The 1870s were characterised by a fairly subdued level of residential building activity whilst the 1880s saw a major housing boom.<sup>26</sup> Thus the 1880s had been a profitable period for *Goodlet and Smith* and yet, even as Goodlet considered the outright purchase of the company in the latter part of this decade, the call for building materials was declining. In the period 1876 to 1880 the amount spent on new residential construction had been £5,584, between 1881 and 1885 it was £20,545 whereas in the period from 1886 to 1890 it had dropped to £12,741. Worse was yet to come for

by the early 1890s many houses were standing empty, large numbers of builders were insolvent, unemployment in the building trades was high and most house and land financing institutions had failed or were experiencing severe liquidity problems.<sup>27</sup>

A similar trend was experienced in the government spending with a contraction in railway construction and other government projects. By this time economic conditions within the colony of NSW had begun to abate after a long boom period, and Goodlet was seeking to buy out his partner's share of the business in a time of declining but still strong demand.<sup>28</sup> This drop in demand goes some way to

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<sup>24</sup> Godfrey James Rutherford Linge, *Industrial Awakening – A Geography of Australian Manufacturing 1788-1890* (ANU Press, Canberra, 1979), 471.

<sup>25</sup> 244,000,000 bricks in 1886-7 to 185,000,000 in 1890-1 and 92,000,000 in 1894. Linge, *Industrial Awakening*, 471.

<sup>26</sup> Robert Vincent Jackson, *Australian economic development in the nineteenth century*, (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1977), 126.

<sup>27</sup> Jackson, *Australian economic development in the nineteenth century*, 127.

<sup>28</sup> Linge, *Industrial Awakening*, 416.

explaining Goodlet's decision to make *Goodlet and Smith* a 'Limited Company'. Additional capital was needed if the Company was to diversify and develop its products in order to compete in an increasingly difficult market.

When a deterioration in international economic conditions brought falls in colonial exports and capital inflow with heavy, maturing overseas debt in the early 1890s, a deep depression soon followed.<sup>29</sup> The contraction of the economy brought high unemployment, widespread business failure, and great distress. It also brought the collapse of many financial institutions and the closure of several banks. Pastoralists, who had borrowed extensively to tap in on the boom, faced low wool prices and then in 1895 had to endure the worst drought in colonial experience.<sup>30</sup> There was a contraction in housing construction and government projects which adversely affected firms such as *Goodlet and Smith*.

By the end of the century, when the worst of the recession had passed, there arose a willingness to improve the quality of the suburban infrastructure. Sydney's unregulated growth had created problems and the state government began to improve the urban environment. This coincided with the emergence overseas of a school of reformers and town planners who saw that a solution to the problem of the urban slums lay in the rehousing of the poor in the new 'garden cities', planned urban areas built in open countryside.<sup>31</sup> The acceptance of such views within Australia meant that the old, rundown inner suburban housing needed to be cleared away and new, spacious suburbs opened up if urban problems were to be avoided.<sup>32</sup>

Thus, at the end of the 1890s, Sydney's network of suburban tramways and railways was electrified and extended and a new Central Station was opened in 1906 which permitted people to commute and the suburbs began to grow. Between 1910 and 1914, a host of Sydney suburbs began to substantially increase their populations and by 1920 had more than doubled in population with growth along the railways being particularly rapid.<sup>33</sup> This expansion and growth provided an opportunity to sell building materials. New products, such as the locally produced Marseille Tiles which

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<sup>29</sup> Peter Cochrane, *Industrialization and Dependence Australia's Road to Economic Development, 1870-1939* (St Lucia: University of Queensland, 1980), 10.

<sup>30</sup> Jackson, 'The Colonial Economies,' 6.

<sup>31</sup> Lionel Frost, 'The Contribution of the Urban Sector to Australian Economic Development before 1914,' *Australian Economic History Review* 38, 1, (March 1998): 68.

<sup>32</sup> Lionel Frost, 'The Contribution of the Urban Sector to Australian Economic Development before 1914,' 68.

<sup>33</sup> Lionel Frost, 'The Contribution of the Urban Sector to Australian Economic Development before 1914,' 68.

Goodlet's entrepreneurial actions had developed during the recession, sold in increasing quantities and this, together with the improved production of bricks and cement, allowed *Goodlet and Smith* to quickly return to profitability. The typical colonial enterprise in the beginning of the nineteenth century centered upon trading activities: it was non-specialist, privately owned, and was mostly on a small scale. In the course of the century this changed and there was a move towards manufacturing and tertiary production: firms became more specialized, larger, and were often characterized as joint stock companies.<sup>34</sup> *Goodlet and Smith*, though a wholly owned partnership, was part of this change.

### **Goodlet's Business Characteristics**

In Goodlet's lifetime, the company he controlled demonstrated various business characteristics which, in their turn, reflected Goodlet's capacities as a clever, gifted and successful man whose Christian ethic permeated his business dealings. Those business characteristics included: entrepreneurship and innovation, value adding, diversification, backwards integration, supply control and wise management strategies.

**Entrepreneurship** is defined by Ville as 'decision-making in relation to organizing resources for productive purposes, including the procurement, processing and distribution of inputs and outputs'.<sup>35</sup> Such decision-making is made on the basis of imperfect and incomplete information and involves discerning an opportunity and having the information on how such an opportunity can be met. Such entrepreneurship requires a significant degree of self-belief and courage. Goodlet was such an entrepreneur.

Whilst Goodlet showed a significant degree of confidence and self-belief in leaving his family in Scotland at 17 and travelling to the colony of Victoria as the gold rush period came to a close, many others had done the same. What marked Goodlet out was his entrepreneurship. Goodlet's entrepreneurial behaviour is perhaps first shown in his venturing to Sydney with a load of doors to sell and test the market. Goodlet was less than 20 years old at the time, but he had sufficient self-confidence to move to the unfamiliar and unknown Sydney scene to see if it could be a profitable sphere to start a business of his own.

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<sup>34</sup> Simon Ville, 'Business Development in Colonial Australia,' *Australian Economic History Review* 38, 1, (March 1998):16.

<sup>35</sup> Ville, 'Business Development in Colonial Australia,' 17.

His first sales were of imported goods from Melbourne and probably sourced from his partners, C & J Smith. Goodlet's entrepreneurial skills were quickly shown in Sydney through his gaining public attention for his new business venture. The young Scot was aware that in order to make his presence felt he had to be accessible and known and he began to advertise in a manner that was distinctive for the time in Sydney. The Goodlet and Co advertisements appeared not just in the Sydney papers, but also in such papers as the *Maitland Mercury* and *Morton Bay Courier*. Although only one or two lines, they stood out and caught the eye. His strategy was that of regular, informative and variable advertisements stressing the nature of the product available, and including quite detailed information with an eye-catching emphasis on the numbers or quantities available.

This was a similar advertising strategy used by C & J Smith in Melbourne when they commenced advertising in October 1853, some 14 months after Goodlet had begun to work in the business. This sort of advertising may have been instigated by Goodlet himself in Melbourne where he was involved in the administrative side of the business. Within 12 months of starting he had risen to the position of partner, and this is an example of the 18 year old's drive and initiative. While competitors in Sydney tended to run the same advertisement for weeks on end, Goodlet varied his advertisements in small ways by giving additional information. The quantities of the various goods available are reduced over time in order to give a dynamic feel to the business. The implied message to the potential purchaser is the need to act promptly with regard to a quickly selling item. A further emphasis in the advertisements is that the products are 'cheap'. The advertisements describe the goods as 'cheap', 'very cheap', 'extraordinarily cheap' or 'cheap, cheap'. Goodlet's terms of business were cash,<sup>36</sup> delivery was available,<sup>37</sup> and while attempting to establish his presence in the building supply trade he advertised almost daily.

To be accessible he arranged to lease a site at the foot of Erskine Street which was close to the water and wharves and was accessible to those interested in his products. The condition of the land no doubt allowed Goodlet to drive a hard bargain in terms of its rental as the land acquired was mostly swamp. But Goodlet, with the eye of an entrepreneur, had seen its potential and had rubbish tipped there as

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<sup>36</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, November 6, 1855.

<sup>37</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, January 27, 1857.

landfill until the land was reclaimed.<sup>38</sup> The business, in contrast to its later development, worked out of a small office (a single room 12 by 12 feet) which was so small that employees joked that when Mr. Goodlet, who was a tall man, was present there was no room for anyone else.<sup>39</sup>

Goodlet's choice of site demonstrated his farsightedness and forward thinking for the site was large and could support 'extensive' premises<sup>40</sup> and being near the water it provided him with easy access to transport for the delivery of uncut logs by ship to his premises. As early as April 1856, Goodlet leased a nearby wharf at the foot of Erskine Street in order to utilize this proximity to water. John had now placed himself in a good locality for accessibility for his business inputs, log timber from Jervis Bay, and his outputs, the sale of timber to the general public. At this time in Sydney saw milling was largely by hand and was therefore labour intensive, slow and of necessity of limited output. Goodlet realized that if he was to gain an advantage over his competition in a situation of high demand for sawn timber he needed to introduce processes he had seen in Melbourne. In what was to be for him the first of many technological advances, Goodlet set about providing a more cost effective and productive method of milling timber. He set up the Victoria Steam Saw Mill at Erskine Street using steam technology and the newly-developed circular saw to improve production. As Goodlet did not have the staff who knew how to use this new technology, he engaged a man from Melbourne for three months to instruct his employees in its use. John claimed that he was the first to introduce machine-driven saw milling into NSW, there being nobody at the time in Sydney but hand sawyers.<sup>41</sup> He may not have been accurate in such a claim, but if he was not the first he was certainly a leader in the field.

Being innovative is part of being an entrepreneur as 'first-mover' advantages may provide substantial gains. This was the case in the utilization of the steam saw mill as it allowed Goodlet to substantially increase his volume of sales. By February 1857, Goodlet was able to open a yard at Parramatta Street on the north side between Harris and Bay Street near the railway station, and in 1858 he opened a branch in

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<sup>38</sup> *Unsourced newspaper cutting date November 1, 1905, A.I. Macfarlan Scrap Book.*

<sup>39</sup> *Unsourced newspaper cutting date November 1, 1905, A.I. Macfarlan Scrap Book.*

<sup>40</sup> City of Sydney, *Assessment Book*, June 7, 1858.

<sup>41</sup> *SMH*, October 30, 1905; John Dargavell, ed., *Sawmilling, Selling and Sons, histories of Australian timber firms* (Canberra: Center for Resource and Environmental Studies, 1988), 21 who contradicts this claim.

Campbelltown.<sup>42</sup> Over time Goodlet developed his timber production and in 1866 he opened a store in George Street and by 1869 the business opened a timber yard at 419 Harris Street.<sup>43</sup> [Photo page 51] Later, in 1887, these premises were expanded with additional purchases in Mew Street adjoining those in Harris Street.

In 1872, the lease on the Erskine Street Wharf was nearing its completion and Goodlet sought but was unable to obtain its renewal. This loss of location was the first of many setbacks that *Goodlet and Smith* suffered<sup>44</sup> and was due to the growth both of the urban environment of Sydney and the growth of *Goodlet and Smith*. Sydney was growing and timber mills and the sort of extractive industries developed by *Goodlet and Smith* were being forced to the margins of the city. Each resumption or lease expiry threatened the viability and continuance of the business, but Goodlet utilized the opportunity of the compensation and/or forced relocation to invigorate and expand his business and so improve his competitiveness.

The impending closure of the Erskine Street site and the loss of the wharf facilities there meant that finding new wharf facilities was crucial to the continued success of the business. Goodlet, however, had planned for this eventuality for in 1871 and 1872, probably to ensure against the loss of the Erskine Street facilities,<sup>45</sup> a wharf and yards were acquired at Murray Street adjacent to the Pyrmont Bridge, though these do not seem to have been developed until 1874.<sup>46</sup> Here was developed what was described in 1877 as 'one of the most extensive saw mills and joinery works in the colony,'<sup>47</sup> certainly by 1880 amongst the largest and most complete establishments of their kind.<sup>48</sup> [Photo page 46] *Goodlet and Smith* had taken the opportunity of the relocation to modernize and further mechanize the operation. Yet

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<sup>42</sup> *SMH*, July 19, 1858. This was not successful and closed probably in February 1859 and certainly by December 1859. *SMH*, February 1, 1859; December 22, 1859.

<sup>43</sup> 1876 Sands Directory for Sydney (Sydney: J. Sands, 1873-1900) lists *Goodlet and Smith* as next to Baptist Chapel between Parramatta Street and Thomas Street. It was later to be renumbered 767, the University of Technology, Sydney now occupies the site.

<sup>44</sup> Others were Murray Street 1882, Riley Street 1892, 1904, 1915, and after John's death at Pyrmont 1927. These resumptions in the hands of a lesser management led to a shrinkage of *Goodlet and Smith* and its retreat from the timber business entirely and a concentration at Granville to the exclusion of anywhere else.

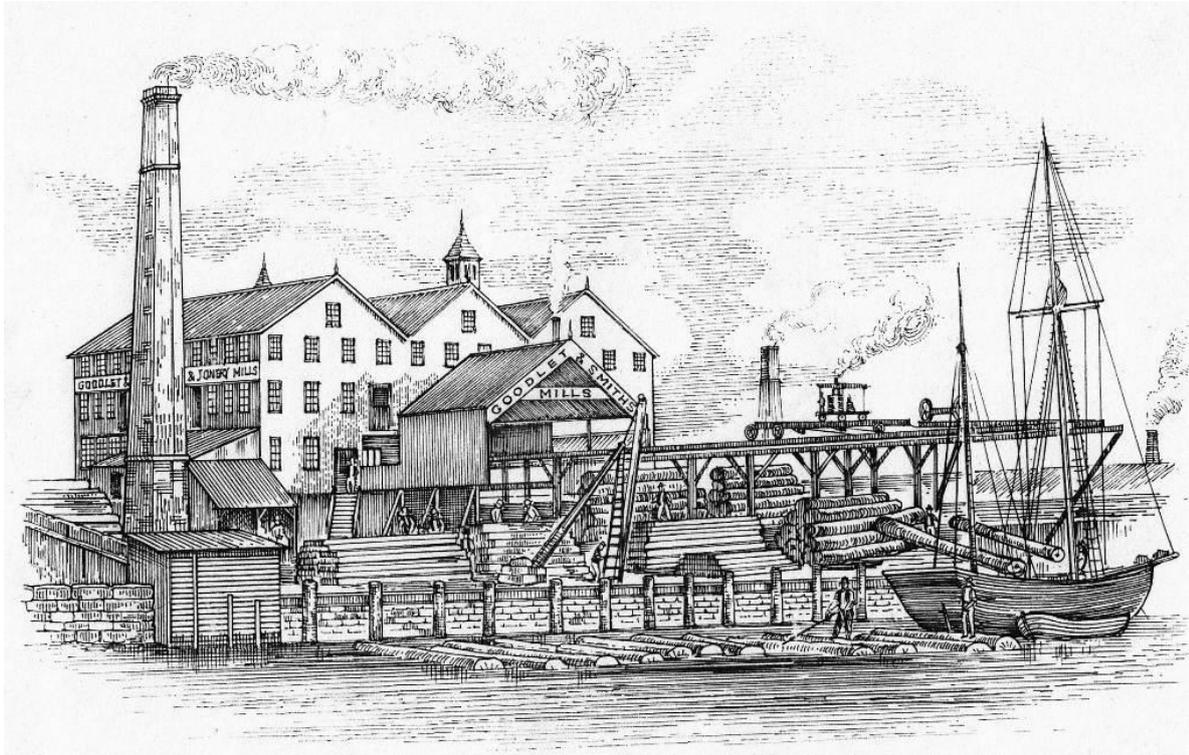
<sup>45</sup> The lease would appear to have expired towards the end of 1874. *SMH*, December 16, 1874.

<sup>46</sup> *City of Sydney Assessment Book* March 13, 1871. These holdings were expanded in 1872 with the purchase of a block of land with a harbour frontage in Murray Street Pyrmont at the cost of £1250. *SMH*, November 23, 1872; April 14, 1874; October 25, 1876; *NSW V & P of the Legislative Assembly (1879-1880)*, 243. See also *SMH*, August 19, 1879 for details of subsequent dispute over the ownership of this land.

<sup>47</sup> *Australian Town and Country Journal (Sydney, NSW)*, February 3, 1877.

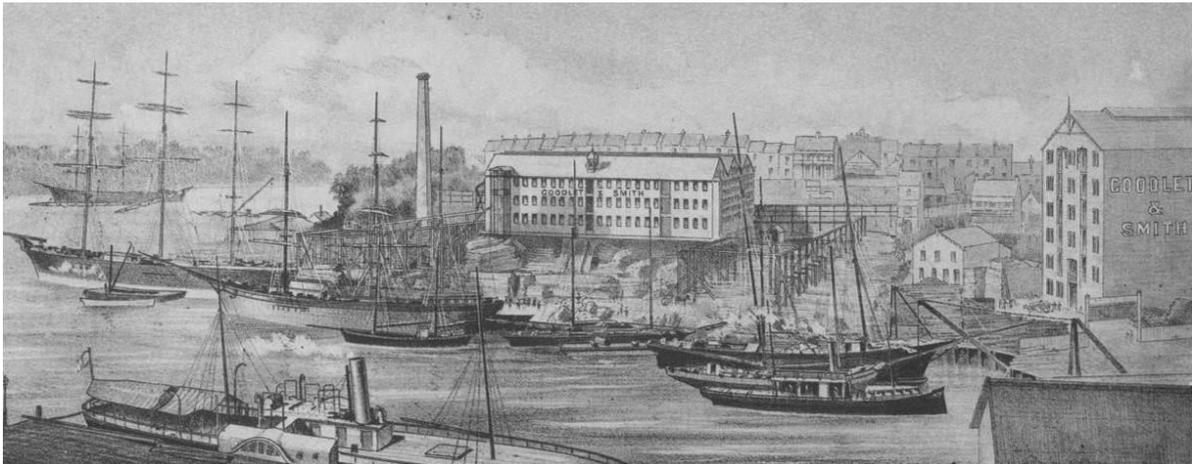
<sup>48</sup> H. Franklyn Mortimer, *A Glimpse at Australia in 1880* (Melbourne: The Victoria Review Publishing Company Limited, 1881), 368.

**Goodlet and Smith  
Wharves**



**Wharf and Timber Mill at Murray Street  
Darling Harbour**

1874-1883



**Wharf and Timber Mill  
Pyrmont**

1884 -1927

even more than that, the company had developed an integrated joinery works which allowed the firm to continue to improve its 'value adding' to its timber mill products. By 1881, *Goodlet and Smith* was making a profit of £20,000 per annum (\$1.86M, 2008 value).<sup>49</sup>

**Value adding**, simply put, is any activity that makes a product more valuable. Value adding was a strategy used by Goodlet to enhance his business and, as early as August 1859, the designation of the Victoria Steam Saw Mill was changed into the 'Victoria Saw and Moulding Mills'. At the same time the company also increased its advertising of finished timber products such as turnery, mouldings and architraves, indicating that Goodlet was expanding the business to include more 'value added' products beyond the sale of mere building timber. [Photos pages 49 and 58] By April 1863, *Goodlet and Smith* was advising the public that 'recently and at considerable expense', it had erected new and improved machinery for the manufacture of architraves, skirtings and mouldings and were in a position to supply the same at considerably reduced prices.<sup>50</sup>

The relocation and development of a new joinery and moulding works at Murray Street<sup>51</sup> provided a large extent of water frontage which allowed the firm's ships, and the log timber from the coastal districts, to be landed directly at the mill. Logs from the vessels moored alongside the company's wharf facilities were lifted out of the ships holds by means of stream travelling cranes, and carried directly to the sawing machines with the saw mill cutting over 100,000 feet of timber per week and landing some 18,720 ship loads of timber per annum.<sup>52</sup> The timbers were then finished in a purpose-built three story joinery and moulding works which utilized the most modern of technology and required a considerable amount of skill and labour. This location was not to be a long term proposition, but it served the needs of *Goodlet and Smith* for some 13 years until the main saw mill was moved to the foot of Harris Street, Pyrmont, around June 1883.<sup>53</sup> [Photo page 51]

The Government had resumed the Murray Street site in 1881, an act which imperilled Goodlet's business, and after a lengthy dispute *Goodlet and Smith* was

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<sup>49</sup> *SMH*, June 13, 1882. For 2008 values see footnote 151, page 255.

<sup>50</sup> *SMH*, April 23, 1863.

<sup>51</sup> Sited where the current Maritime Museum, Sydney now stands.

<sup>52</sup> *SMH*, June 20, 1882.

<sup>53</sup> *SMH*, June 20, 1882. They were permitted to remain at this site until June 14, 1883. *SMH*, June 21, 1882.

paid compensation.<sup>54</sup> Given the enormous challenge of finding and constructing a suitable site in an increasingly crowded harbour foreshore, a lesser man might have retired from business. But Goodlet again, despite the great difficulty imposed through the Government resumption, used this move as an opportunity to reinvigorate the business and expand his capacity to further add value to the products of his timber mill. Prior to the move in 1883, *Goodlet and Smith* had also been in the process of building a further wharf along the roadside in Harris Street and hewing a water frontage from 37 foot cliffs.<sup>55</sup> The adjacent site consisted of two acres of ground on a point overlooking Elizabeth Bay, and this site provided greatly improved deep-water accommodation, allowing for six vessels of up to 2,000 tons to berth at a time. The mill was an imposing structure of five stories occupying 150 by 100 feet, with a total floorage of about two acres. Three powerful hydraulic lifts were employed and these, as well as four more in adjacent buildings, were driven by two steam engines. [Photo page 51]

From the construction of the Murray Street premises *Goodlet and Smith* had learnt what was necessary for a successful mill. The systems in place at Harris Street for extracting the logs from the ships and breaking them down were copied from Murray Street. Some equipment was upgraded and the new mill had a saw installed which was six feet in diameter, the largest circular saw in the colony at the time.<sup>56</sup> The first three floors of the main building were similar in their activities to Murray Street, but the fourth floor expanded the value-adding capacity of *Goodlet and Smith*. This floor was used to prepare kit-buildings with numbered parts and instructions for the building of 'portable and fixed houses' consisting of from between two and four rooms. These had become an important item in the business of the firm, which manufactured and sold a great number of them.<sup>57</sup> Also on this floor of the building other joinery work took place such as the construction of shop fronts, entrance gates and fencing, bank and shop counters, school furniture and general house and church joinery. On the top floor of the building, turnery of all kinds was produced, using

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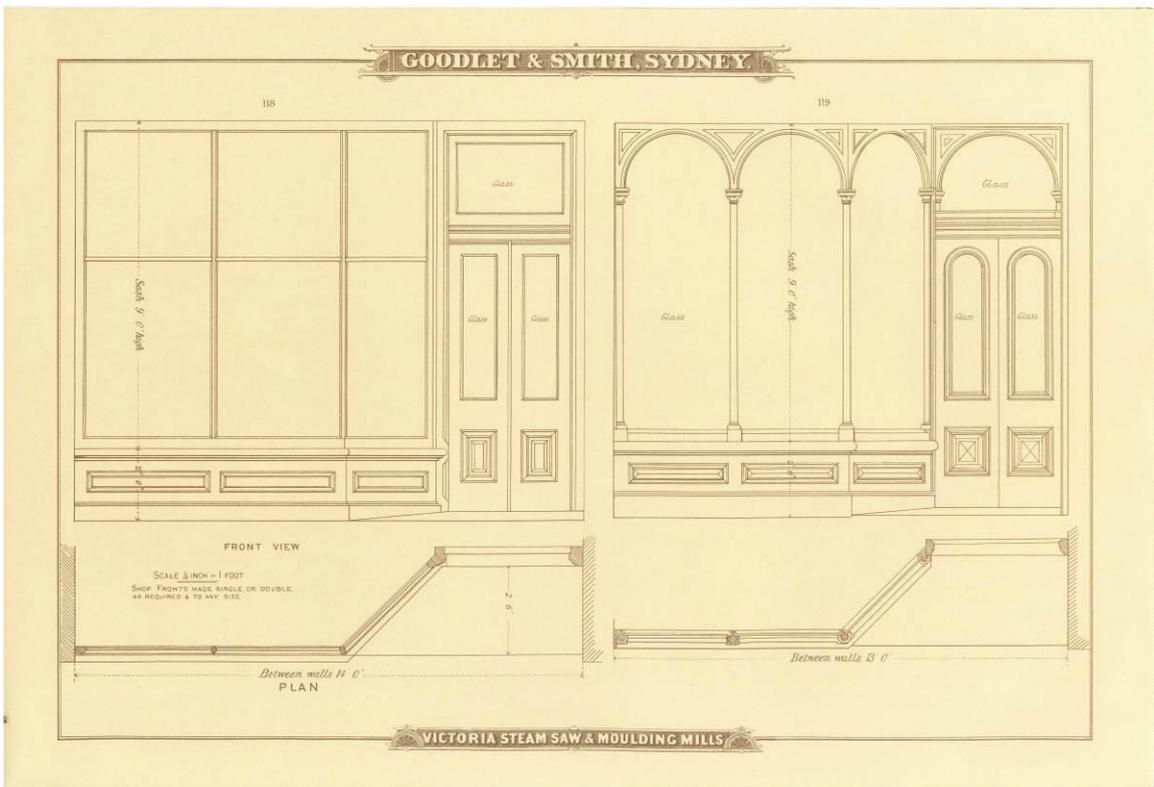
<sup>54</sup> This was a matter of a lengthy legal dispute with the Government over the amount of the compensation. The date of the resumption was June 1881 but *Goodlet and Smith* continued there for several more years until June 14, 1883 as part of the compensation awarded to them. *SMH*, June 13, 1882; June 20, 1882, *The Maitland Mercury & Hunter River General Advertiser (Maitland, NSW)*, June 24, 1882.

<sup>55</sup> Letters Council 1883/414 City of Sydney Archives March 15, 1883. See also *SMH*, June 20, 1882. *North Australian (Darwin, NT)*, April 17, 1885.

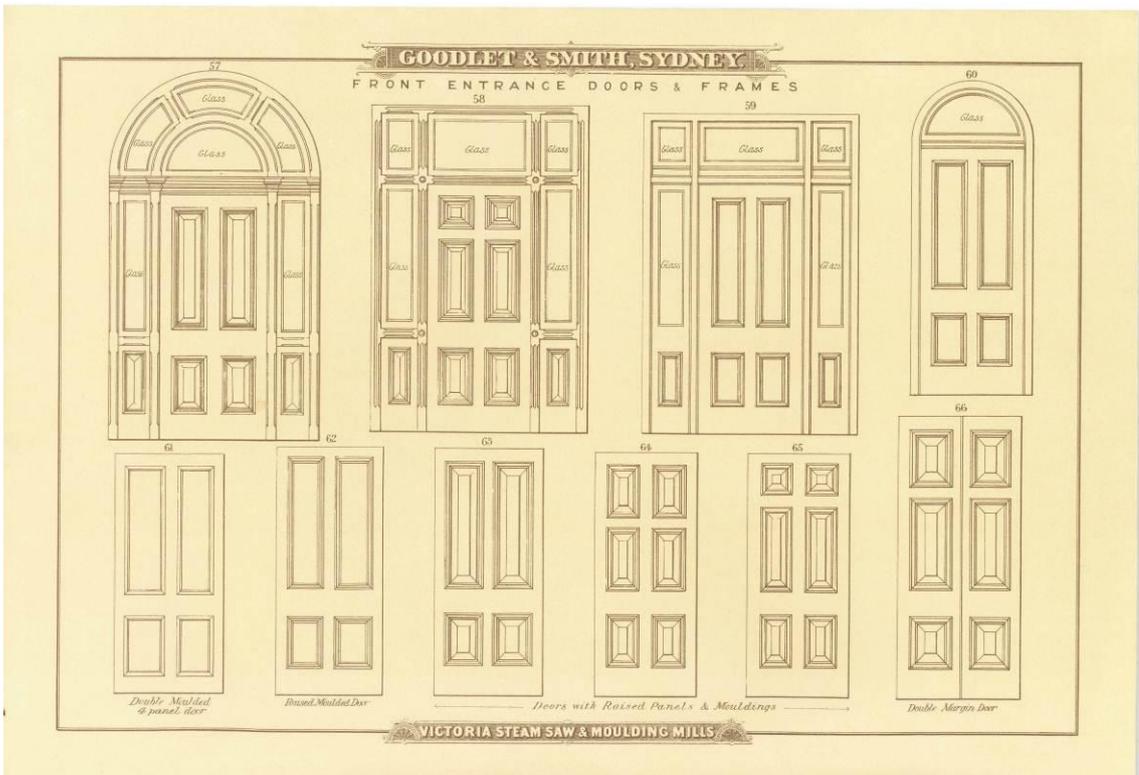
<sup>56</sup> It was propelled by its own separate engine. *The Australasian Building and Contractors News* 1, 3 May 28, 1887.

<sup>57</sup> The Martyrs' Memorial Church, Erromanga was one such building. *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, September 4, 1903. Also the church in Aniwa was supplied by *Goodlet and Smith* in 1893. PMB 1046 Rev William Gray Diaries, correspondence and miscellaneous papers *National Library of Australia*, Canberra.

## Goodlet and Smith Manufactured Products (1)



Prefabricated shopfronts



Various doors and door frames

lathes powered by the engines on the ground floor. *Goodlet and Smith* moved its Head Office to this site in 1912 and remained there until 1927. In each resumption Goodlet, the entrepreneur, did not allow an apparent set-back to impede his business, but rather he used the opportunity to expand, modernize, mechanize and increase the range of goods his firm offered the public.

**Diversification** of services helped early colonial businesses ease the problems of a small market and volatile trading conditions.<sup>58</sup> Goodlet sought to achieve this, as other timber merchants did, through the sale of various non-timber products linked to the building trade. Very early in the life of *Goodlet and Smith* the company was selling an extensive range of building supplies including pipes, Bangor slates, white Scotch firebricks, Hobart Town palings, American pickets, plaster of paris, roman and portland cement, galvanized ridging, glass for greenhouses and windows and various finished timber products. Not only did timber merchants diversify, they sought to ensure supply and cost control in their timber products by developing their own country timber mills. *Goodlet and Smith* had long engaged in what Linge (1979) calls **Backwards Integration**<sup>59</sup> where (as a building supply company) it began to produce and manufacture that which it supplied. Initially, Goodlet began supplying the Sydney building market with imported goods from Melbourne, but quickly, within the first months of operation, he realized that to control costs and supply he needed to source his products locally. He began to supply cut and dressed timber by cutting at Erskine Street timber logged and delivered to Sydney from the Jervis Bay and Bateman's Bay areas.<sup>60</sup> To do this more effectively Goodlet developed his own saw mills and a fleet of ships to transport the timber to Sydney. [Photo page 55] The cost of running this fleet was defrayed by Goodlet as his ships carried general cargo on their return journey.<sup>61</sup>

## Timber Mills

By 1877 *Goodlet and Smith* established a saw mill on the South Coast of NSW at Redhead, now known as Bendalong, a small promontory situated in Wreck Bay just

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<sup>58</sup> Ville, 'Business Development in Colonial Australia,' 22.

<sup>59</sup> Linge, *Industrial Awakening*, 469-471.

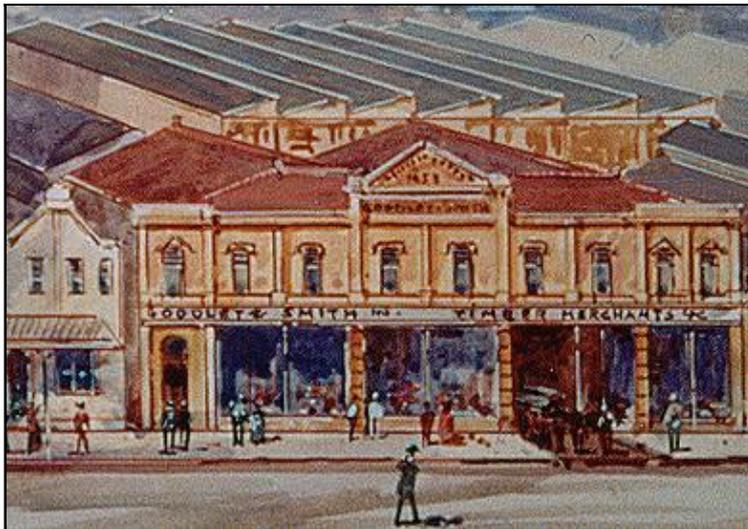
<sup>60</sup> A saw mill for *Goodlet and Smith* was in operation at Tomerong, Jervis Bay as early as 1864. *SMH* December 7, 1864. As early as 1869 *Goodlet and Smith* may have set up a saw mill at Tuross River and shipped milled timber to Sydney via their company ship, the *Mary Ann*. In 1870 the *Mary Ann* sank at the entrance to the Tuross River. *SMH*, March 29, 1870. The *Mary Ann* transported timber from the Tuross River to Sydney at least from early 1869 and could carry up to 14,500 ft of timber. *SMH*, April 12, 1869.

<sup>61</sup> *SMH*, January 12, 1899.

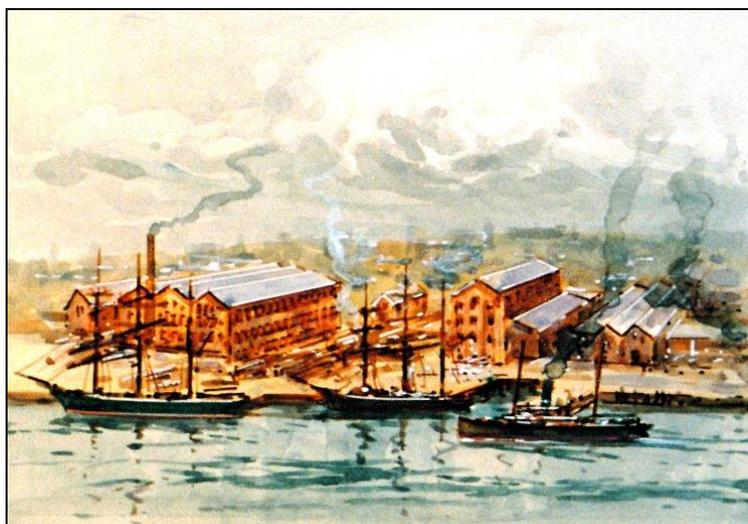
**Goodlet and Smith  
Locations**



**Goodlet and Smith  
premises**  
George Street Sydney



**Goodlet and Smith  
premises**  
Harris Street Sydney



**Victoria Steam Saw Mills**  
Pyrmont

south of Jervis Bay.<sup>62</sup> [Photo page 53] Some 30 men were employed cutting around 40,000 feet of timber a week<sup>63</sup> which was initially carried to Sydney by *Goodlet and Smith's* ship, the *Margaret*. By August of 1879, in order to increase volumes and contain costs, *Goodlet and Smith* had purchased another ship, the *Samoa*, which had a carrying capacity of 60,000 feet.<sup>64</sup> The mill at Redhead was discontinued by March 1885 and the workforce, mill and school were moved south to Kioloa by ship.<sup>65</sup> The Kioloa mill was an extensive operation having a capital value of £4,950,<sup>66</sup> and the plant utilized 20 horses for a horse-drawn wooden tramway to transport the logs to the mill.<sup>67</sup> This is another example of Goodlet's innovative use of modern technology as the company was probably the first to use the tramway system in this area as its use at a competitor's mill at Bawley Point did not commence until 1892/3.<sup>68</sup> The mill at Kioloa burst a boiler tube in May 1893<sup>69</sup> and the *Samoa* sank in July the same year.<sup>70</sup> These events, when combined with the depression that was developing, prompted Goodlet to close the mill and concentrate on his other mill at Coolongolook on the north coast of the colony.<sup>71</sup> [Photo page 53]

Around 1883, *Goodlet and Smith* had purchased a saw mill at Coolongolook, located

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<sup>62</sup> *The Argus (Melbourne, Vic)*, October 6, 1877. There was a school commenced in July 1879 and continued until 1885 when it along with the mill was moved south to Kioloa. It had up to fifty two children attending. Alex McAndrew, *Congenial Conjola: one of the great lake districts of the Milton-Ulladulla area* (Epping, N.S.W.: A. McAndrew, 1991).

<sup>63</sup> The manager of the mill was a Scot, William Pearson, *Australian Town and Country Journal (Sydney, NSW)*, January 20, 1883.

<sup>64</sup> The *Samoa's* first cargo of timber for *Goodlet and Smith* arrived in Sydney August 5, 1879. *SMH*, August 6, 1879. The *Samoa* was able to carry a load about every 20 days and so the two ships continued to move timber to Sydney until October 1880 when the *Margaret* was sold.

<sup>65</sup> This location is variously spelt Kioloa or Kiola.

<sup>66</sup> This was some £1,865 more than that of *Goodlet and Smith's* other mill at Coolongolook. *Goodlet and Smith Limited, 1890 Prospectus (1890)*. The saw mill had several mill buildings, a wharf and several crane punts, 6 slab huts, 4 weatherboard houses, store and stables.

<sup>67</sup> Michael M. Tracey, 'Archaeological evidence for a horse-drawn tramway at Bawley Point NSW,' in *Australia's Ever-Changing Forest II; Proceeding of the Third National Conference on Australian Forest History*, Jervis Bay, November 1996, edited by John Dargavel, (Canberra: Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, 1997) 16, 187-209. In 1890 there were 7 miles of track which had been increased to almost 9.5 miles by 1892. *Goodlet and Smith Limited, Prospectus (Sydney, 1890)*; *Goodlet and Smith, Annual Report (1892)*.

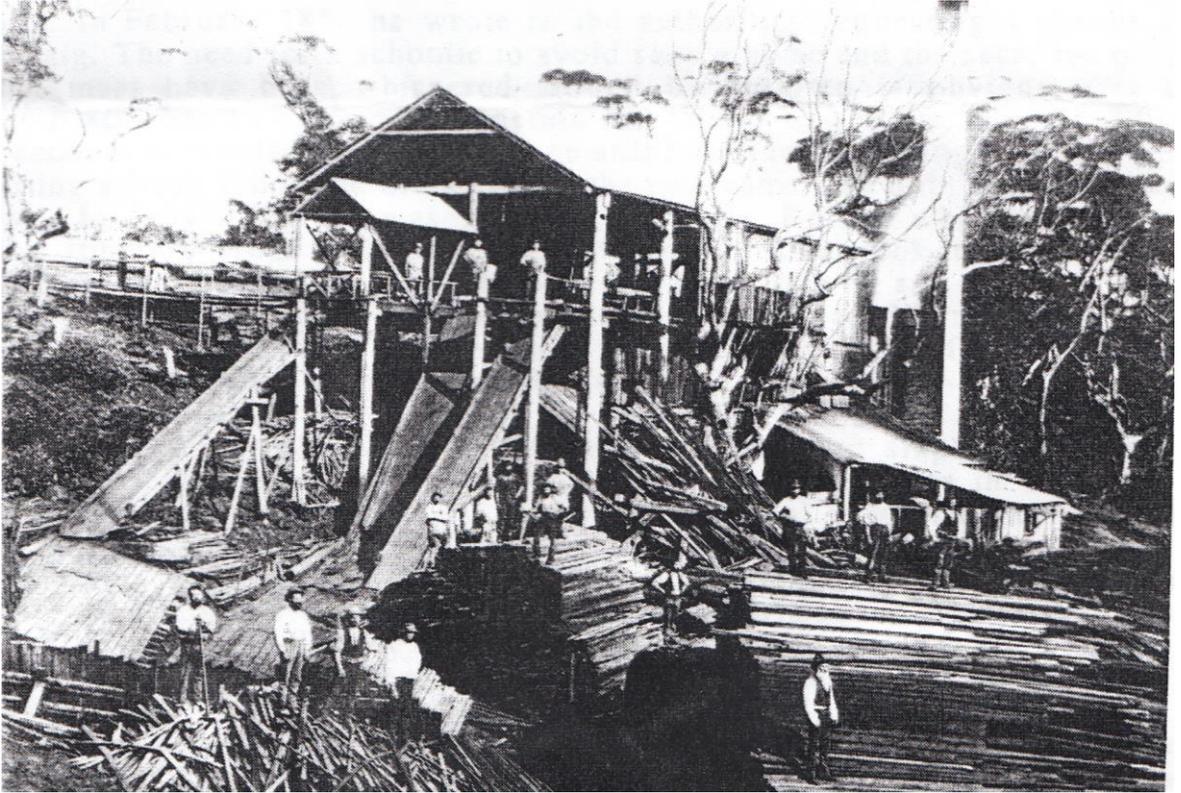
<sup>68</sup> Tracey, 'Archaeological evidence,' 194. See also Michael M. Tracey, 'When the timber cut out, archaeological aspects of timber extraction procedures and shipbuilding in the Murramarang district, NSW,' (Honours dissertation, Australian National University, 1994).

<sup>69</sup> *The Ulladulla and Milton Times (Nowra, NSW)*, May 26, 1900.

<sup>70</sup> *The Ulladulla and Milton Times (Nowra, NSW)*, July 8, 15, 1893. According the B.V. Hamon, *They came to Murramarang: a history of Murramarang, Kioloa and Bawley Point (Canberra : Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, 1994)*, 67, the *Samoa* was previously used in the slave trade but I have not been able to verify this statement.

<sup>71</sup> By the time of its closure the Redhead and Kioloa Saw Mills had processed some 15.8 million super feet of hardwood in their fourteen years of operation.

***Goodlet and Smith***  
**Timber Mills**



**Red Head Timber Mill**  
South Coast NSW



**Coolongolook rear wheel punt at Coolongolook Timber Mill**  
North Coast NSW

on the bank of the Coolongolook River opposite Midge Island.<sup>72</sup> This venture demonstrated the company's need to adjust the type of ships employed in order to maintain an effective supply of timber and facilitate backwards integration. The timber cut at Coolongolook Mill was transported by the *Coolongolook*, a *Goodlet and Smith* owned and specially constructed steam-powered rear paddle wheel punt, carrying up to 30,000 feet of timber down the Coolongolook River to Cape Hawke.<sup>73</sup>

From here it was transported to Sydney by *Goodlet and Smith's* ship the *Shannon* but in 1897, because of the poor state of the bar at Cape Hawke, *Goodlet and Smith* found it necessary to also procure a vessel of lighter draught and so bought the scow *Willinga*.<sup>74</sup> [Photo page 55] Two vessels enabled the company to move considerably more timber as production was outstripping its ability to ship the timber to Sydney by the *Shannon*. Even with this addition the mill still produced much more timber than *Goodlet and Smith* was able to transport.

Most major timber merchants in Sydney were engaged in this sort of backwards integration within the timber industry. What distinguished *Goodlet and Smith* from the others was that the company also began to diversify its backwards integration by developing a clay products manufacturing aspect to the firm. [Photo page 58] *Goodlet and Smith* far-sightedly saw that in Sydney, with the geological advantage of extensive Wianamatta Shale deposits, there could be provided from the clays a cheap and quality brick for house construction.<sup>75</sup>

## Clay Products

*Goodlet's* entrepreneurial use of new technology, processes and the development of new products is best seen in the backwards integration in the clay products industry. *Goodlet and Smith* had a reputation for producing a high quality product, and to some degree this was one of the reasons for the success of his backward integration. By 1870, due to the increase in demand for building supplies, *Goodlet and Smith* was

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<sup>72</sup> Its previous owner was a John Donaldson. The mill provided considerable employment in the district and most of the local settlers were involved in cutting and transporting timber to the Coolongolook Mill. There were as many as forty bullock teams transporting timber to the mill from the Wootton, Curreeki Creek and the Willina/Bunyah areas. *A History of Coolongolook District* (Coolongolook, NSW: Coolongolook School Centenary Committee, 1984), 44-46. By 1890 the Coolongolook and Cape Hawke operation was valued at £3,932 and consisted of a saw mill, mill buildings, wharves, 1 steam punt, 1 punt, 2 boats and a crane and steam engine, various huts and houses and some general working plant. *Goodlet and Smith Limited, Prospectus* (Sydney, 1890);

<sup>73</sup>The tender for its construction was called in June 1899. *SMH*, June 1, 1899.

<sup>74</sup> The *Willinga* was a wooden Schooner of 82 tons.

<sup>75</sup> Production began sometime prior to January 1866 probably in October 1865. *SMH*, January 10, 1866; October 11, 1865.

## **Goodlet and Smith Shipping Fleet**



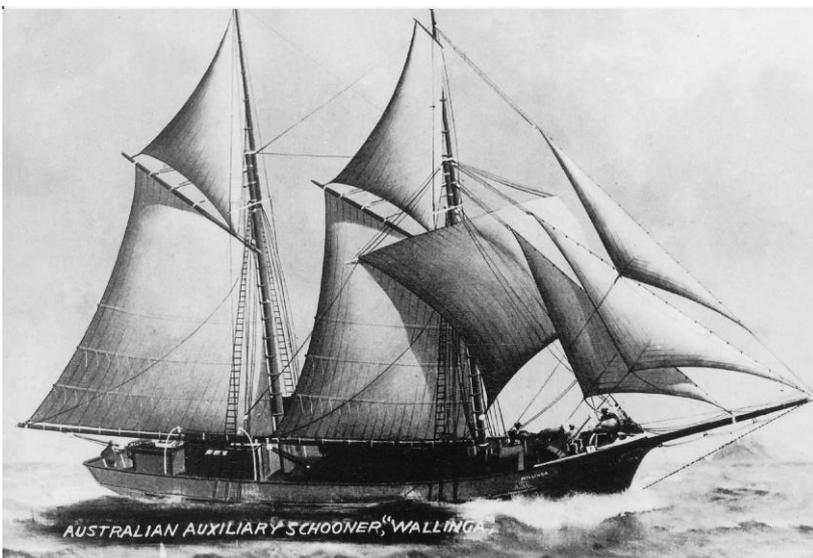
### **The *Nineveh***

Used for transporting timber from the United States and Canada.



### **The *Shannon***

Used for the coastal transport of timber principally on the north coast of NSW.



### **The *Willinga***

Used for coastal transport of timber principally between Sydney and Foster.

*(Misidentified on the photo as Wallinga but Willinga is on the bow).*

concerned to increase output and efficiency and reduce costs. Though some machinery was used prior to this time, work was labour intensive, mostly done by hand,<sup>76</sup> and used horse power to puddle the clay and causing Goodlet to quip that it was a 'one-horse affair'.<sup>77</sup> The need was to become more efficient and it was clearly with this need in mind that Goodlet sought to adapt the best practices he had seen in his travels around the world. On his 1869 trip to England, Goodlet purchased a new crushing mill, pugging mill and two pipe-making machines, and on his return built new buildings to house the equipment.<sup>78</sup> In this upgrade of 1870,<sup>79</sup> an oblong Hoffman Annular kiln was constructed<sup>80</sup> and machine-pressed brick production, which replaced manual production, began around 1872.<sup>81</sup>

All the modern equipment Goodlet had installed significantly reduced both the costs of the pottery and the arduous labour involved in the manufacturing process, while improving the speed and volume of the output. It enabled Goodlet to increase his production without increasing his labour costs and this gave *Goodlet and Smith* a great advantage in supplying the market with terracotta and bricks. Attempts were made by companies such as Fowlers at Camperdown to address the technological advantage gained through Goodlet's far-sighted purchase of overseas patents, leading to court action as *Goodlet and Smith* sought to maintain its advantage and investment by enforcing its patent rights.<sup>82</sup>

It would appear that by 1875 either the Riley Street clay was no longer suitable or the company was unable to meet the demand for pressed bricks from this location so

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<sup>76</sup> The Riley Street works employed twenty four men and boys.

<sup>77</sup> *Unsourcesd Newspaper cutting dated November 1, 1905, A.I. Macfarlan Cutting Book.*

<sup>78</sup> To house the new machinery *Goodlet and Smith* constructed a large three-storied building some 84 feet by 40 feet wide. The crusher produced powdered clay that was then scooped up by a continuous bucket system and carried to the top floor of the building and emptied into a sieve. The fine material was sieved into a mixer and the coarser material was returned for further crushing. The mixer removed the need for a soaking pit and resulted in a drier and quicker process as the need for drying prior to firing, was eliminated. The two newly installed pipe making machines were steam driven and consisted of a steam ram that forced the clay firstly to form the collar of the pipe and then a second feeding of clay, followed by the steam ram, resulted in the completion of the pipe. The machines could make pipes up to 24 inches in diameter. A large chimney stack of 80 feet in height was also constructed and connected to the flues of the various kilns. *The Industrial Progress of New South Wales : being a report of the Intercolonial Exhibition of 1870, at Sydney, together with a variety of papers illustrative of the industrial resources of the colony* (Sydney: Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1871), 458.

<sup>79</sup> 1870 is the date Goodlet gives in his speech at the Jubilee Picnic, *Unsourcesd Newspaper Cutting dated November 1, 1905, A.I. Macfarlan Cutting Book.*

<sup>80</sup> *Australian Town and Country Journal* (Sydney, NSW), February 3, 1877.

<sup>81</sup> William Edwards, Surry Hills, Manager of Riley Street Brickworks in a Statutory Declaration June 11, 1914. *City of Sydney Archives, Goodlet and Smith Belvoir Street Resumption 1913.*

<sup>82</sup> *Goodlet v Fowler* (1876) 14 SCR (NSW) 496.

it opened another site at Waterloo.<sup>83</sup> [Photo page 59] This was to concentrate on brick production and left the Riley Street site to concentrate on pipe and terracotta production.<sup>84</sup> In the move, Goodlet innovatively introduced modern steam-driven dry-press brick making equipment, regarded as 'being the speediest and best machine to be found in the Australian colonies.'<sup>85</sup> In addition, the efficient oblong Hoffman Annular kiln was erected for which Goodlet had secured the NSW patent and which was a vast improvement on previous processes, allowing them to produce high volumes of bricks at low cost. A contemporary account noted that

one cannot stand by and watch the movements of the whole thing without being struck with the marvelous ingenuity and regularity combined in its construction; it supersedes the human hand, does the work better, and quicker, and spares men an immense amount of drudgery.<sup>86</sup>

As Australia had traditionally been a relatively high wage economy, which by the 1880s was increasingly unionised, mechanisation provided solutions which also participated in the ethic of 'improvement' which typified the era. Railways, steam power and increasing demand through migration, supported Goodlet's decision to expand the production of bricks and other clay products. In November 1884, *Goodlet*

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<sup>83</sup> To produce common building bricks in sufficient quantity *Goodlet and Smith* began production at Waterloo in September 1875. *SMH*, September 21, 1875 but Warwick Gemmell, 'And so we graft from six to six: the brickmakers of New South Wales' (North Ryde, NSW: Angus & Robertson, 1986), 67 dates it as 1876. Scott Cumming 'Chimneys and Change: Post-European environmental impact in Green Square,' in *Histories of Green Square: Waterloo, Alexandria, Zetland, Beaconsfield, Rosebery*, edited by Grace Karskens & Melita Rogowsky, (Sydney: School of History, University of New South Wales, 2004) gives the date of *Goodlet and Smith* being present on the site as 1855. I know of no evidence that supports such an early date for their activity at this site which was probably leased by Goodlet as early as 1873 as his electoral qualification in 1873-4 is on the basis of leasehold land at Waterloo, NSW Electoral Roll 1873-1874, Canterbury. The site was in excess of five acres and production continued until about May 1888. *Australian Town and Country Journal* (Sydney, NSW), February 3, 1877. The site was bounded by current day Epsom Rd, Dunning Ave, Cressy St and Botany Rd, Rosebery. *Map of Waterloo, Parish of Alexandria* Higginbotham & Robinson, c. 1885; *SMH*, September 20, 1875.

<sup>84</sup> The council had resumed various portions of land at Riley Street over the years and by 1915 the remaining portion was too small to enable the continuation of manufacturing on this site. Goodlet and Smith, *Annual Report 1915*.

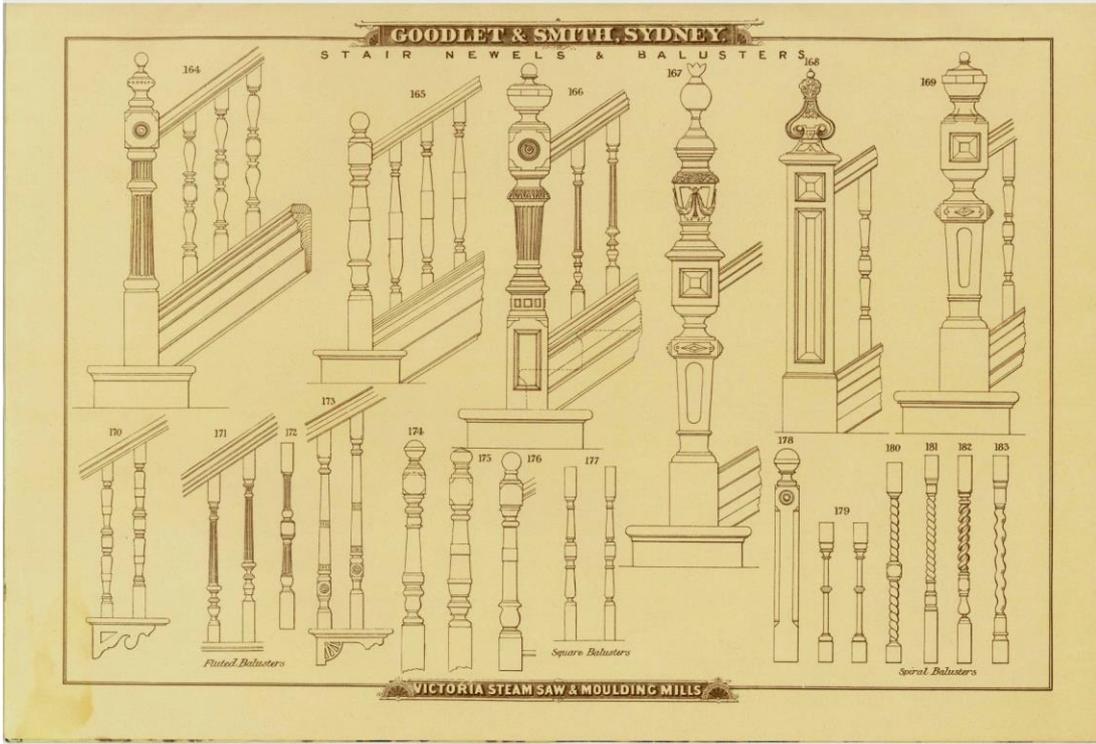
<sup>85</sup> *Australian Town and Country Journal* (Sydney, NSW), February 3, 1877. This machinery may have been first used at Riley Street from 1872 and then moved to Waterloo. Gemmell, 'And so we graft from six to six,' 23, dates the introduction of the dry press brick making process into Sydney in the 1890's. It is evident that *Goodlet and Smith* was using the process at Waterloo from at least 1875 and Riley Street from 1872.

<sup>86</sup> *Australian Town and Country Journal* (Sydney, NSW), February 3, 1877. By 1877 the area for quarrying was about one acre and the site had been excavated to a depth of 50 feet. On the floor of the quarry was laid a light rail track upon which ran cars which were then winched up the side of the quarry by a steam powered engine a distance of 600 to 700 feet up a height of 80 feet. This part of the operation was overseen by one workman. On arriving at the top of the incline over the crushing plant the base of the truck carrying the shale was retracted and the contents dumped into a bin. The shale then passed from the bin to a crusher and then to a sieve. The arrangement had been designed so that the materials then passed to the brick making machine which utilized a steam pressure of up to 200 tons via a solid iron column which, in three presses, turned out bricks ready for the kiln.

**Goodlet and Smith  
Manufactured Products (2)**



Designs for pipes, chimney, brick and other clay products



Designs for balusters and turned wood products

**Goodlet and Smith  
Works Producing Clay Products**



**Pottery and Pipe  
Works**  
Riley Street Sydney



**Brick Works**  
Waterloo



**Brick, Tile and  
Cement  
Manufacturing  
Works**  
Granville

*and Smith* acquired the Junction Brick and Pottery Company at Granville for £5,500<sup>87</sup> [Photo page 59] and the plant was completely remodelled<sup>88</sup> during 1885. Its close proximity to the railway, the same railway which was fuelling the suburban growth in Australia's cities, gave *Goodlet and Smith* an advantage that it sought to use to establish itself as a major brick producer for NSW. The company offered to deliver bricks to any station on the Western, Southern and Coast Railway lines. In the remodelling of the site *Goodlet and Smith* introduced labour saving technology using machinery wherever possible<sup>89</sup> and by 1891, in a further upgrade, a new rectangular patent Hoffman brick kiln was constructed.<sup>90</sup> The effect of the remodelling and upgrade was to make the works more efficient and cost-effective, though it did not greatly increase gross production. The sales figures for 1899 to 1913 indicate that brick sales generally hovered around just over 3 million bricks per annum, but the plant had the capacity to produce around 4 million per annum.<sup>91</sup> [Figure 1 page 61]

Backward integration informed much of the company's growth across this period. Goodlet sought to diversify his range of manufactured products by developing the first commercially viable cement manufacturing plant in NSW. In the decade 1880 to 1889 in NSW, the annual average cement import was 31,000 tons at a landed price of about £5 per ton (twice the price it sold for in Britain).<sup>92</sup> This was sufficient reason to explain why, by 1890, *Goodlet and Smith* was experimenting, under the direct supervision of Goodlet himself, to see if deposits of shale and limestone owned by

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<sup>87</sup> A.W. Johnson, *Goodlet and Smith Ltd Brickworks, Roofing Tile Manufactures, Cement Works and 'Benedict Stone' Manufacturers Granville, N.S.W. (1886-1982), vol 1*, (Major Project Historical Archaeology II, University of Sydney, 1982), 4, gives the date as 1886. The Deed Register of *Goodlet and Smith* gives the date of the transfer to *Goodlet and Smith* as November 26, 1884. *Goodlet and Smith Papers*, Mitchell Library; P. Romeny, *Heritage Study of Goodlet & Smith Brickworks Crescent St, Granville* for LJ Hooker & Co. (March 1989), 10.

<sup>88</sup> *The Cumberland Mercury (Parramatta, NSW)*, January 9, 1886. It was not until January 1886 that bricks produced from this site went on sale. 'We, having started the Junction Brickworks at Granville are now prepared to deliver BRICKS at any station on the Western, Southern and Coast Railway lines.' *SMH*, January 22, 1886.

<sup>89</sup> *The Cumberland Mercury (Parramatta, NSW)*, March 6, 1886. At the time of the reopening some thirty men were employed.

<sup>90</sup> It was not complete until the 1892/3 financial year, *Goodlet and Smith, 1891 Annual Report*. Stuart and Everett suggest that this may not have been, despite the Annual Report, a Hoffman kiln. Goodlet had purchased the patent for Hoffman Kilns in 1869 and was involved in a court action over the patent. It is unlikely that the Annual Report is in error. I Stuart & C. Everett, Conservation Plan for the former *Goodlet and Smith* Brickworks (Merrylands Holroyd City Council October 1995), 15-17. See also Johnson, *Goodlet and Smith Ltd Brickworks*, 4-5.

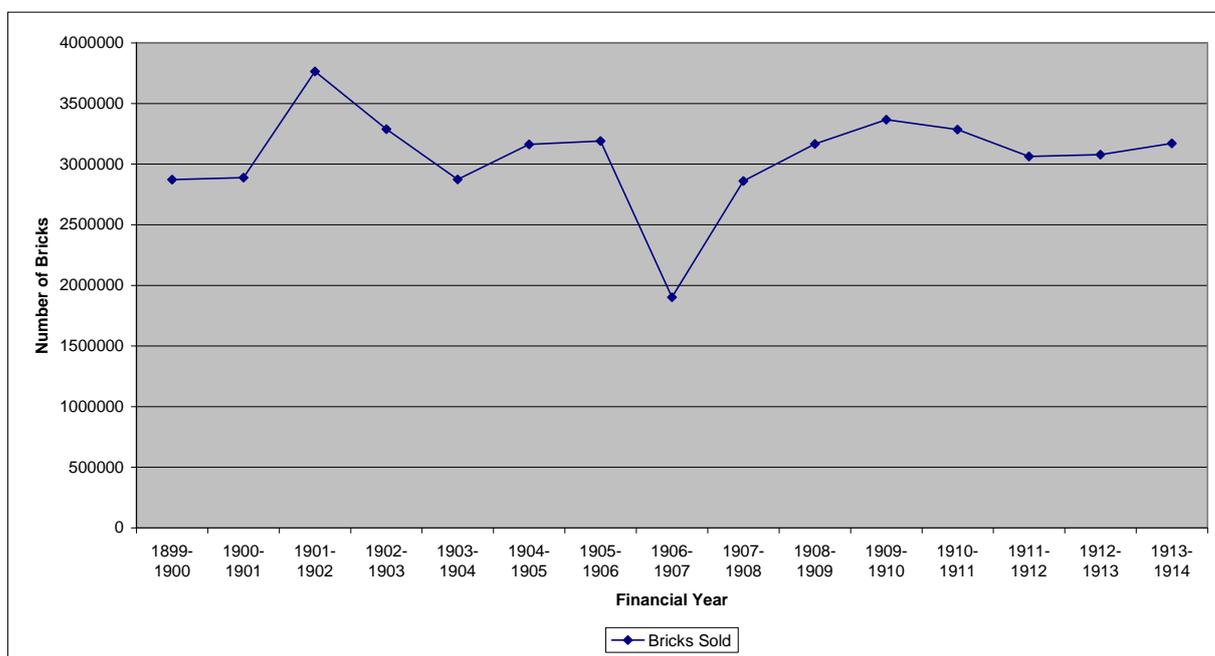
<sup>91</sup> *SMH*, April 1, 1905.

<sup>92</sup> J. B. Henson, 'Portland Cement: its manufacture from local materials', *Proc. Eng. Ass. NSW* 6, (1891), 15-28, quoted in D. Patrick James and Hubert Chanson, 'Cement by the Barrel and Cask,' *Concrete in Australia* 26, 3, (2000): 2 <http://espace.library.uq.edu.au/eserv/UQ:9029/Cement.pdf>

the company would be suitable for cement production.<sup>93</sup> These experiments encouraged Goodlet to commence producing Portland Cement in 1891.<sup>94</sup>

By 1892, Goodlet must have been confident that the company could produce quality cement, for he purchased the Excelsior Lime Works, near Capertee, at a cost of £5,078.<sup>95</sup> With an assured supply of lime, *Goodlet and Smith* began increasing its production of cement.<sup>96</sup> In November 1892, Goodlet went to Europe and 'after taking skilled professional advice, purchased a complete plant capable of producing cement on the most modern and labour-saving principles'.<sup>97</sup> The English cement plant was erected in part in 1893<sup>98</sup> and was fully operational by September 1894,<sup>99</sup> eventually

**Figure 1:**<sup>100</sup> **Brick Sales by Goodlet and Smith, 1899-1914**



<sup>93</sup> Joseph Edmund Carne and Leo Joseph Jones, *The Limestone Deposits of New South Wales* (Sydney; Government Printer, 1919), 100.

<sup>94</sup> The process used required the limestone to be first burnt and then mixed in the proper proportions with shale before being burnt a second time. *Goodlet and Smith* used a 'bottle'-type kiln which was capable of producing 20 tons per week.

<sup>95</sup> The property consisted of a limestone quarry (on 50 acres of freehold) plus all the equipment needed to carry out the quarrying operation. *Goodlet and Smith, Annual Report (1892)*, August 10, 1892.

<sup>96</sup> *Goodlet and Smith, Annual Report (1892)*, August 10, 1892. The date of the production of the first saleable 'Rock Brand' cement was June 21, 1895. *SMH*, June 21, 1895. *Goodlet and Smith* was selling lime from Excelsior as early as February 1892. *SMH*, February 8, 1892.

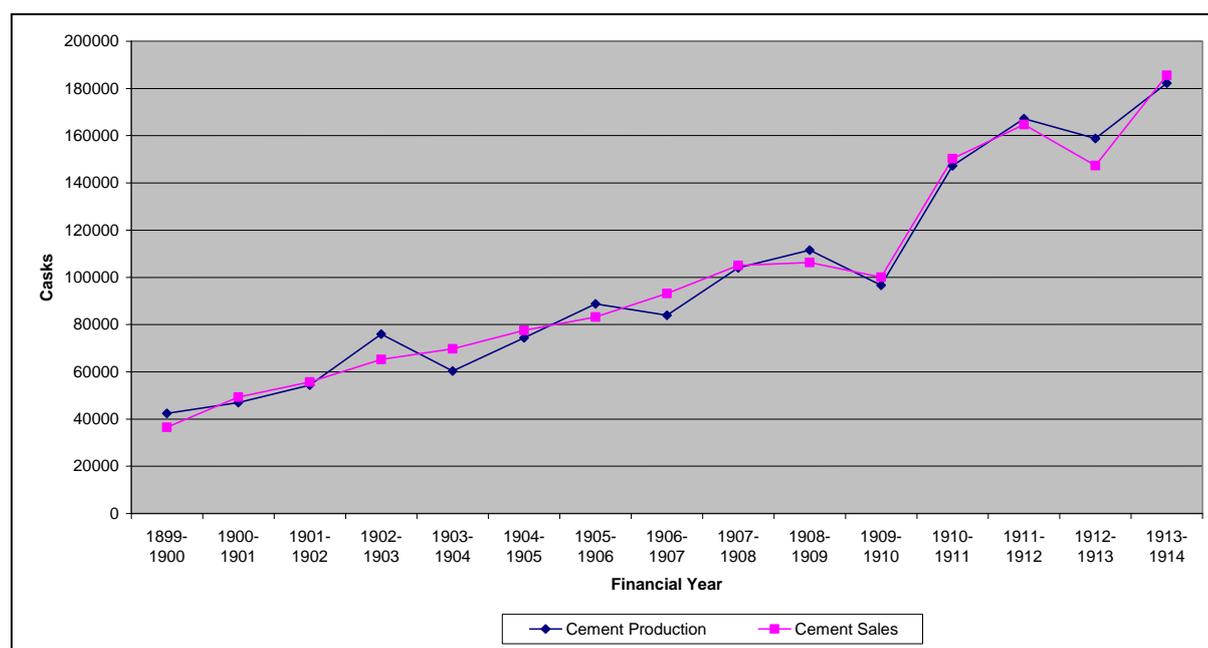
<sup>97</sup> *Goodlet and Smith, Annual Report (1893)*, August 22, 1893.

<sup>98</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), September 2, 1893.

<sup>99</sup> *Goodlet and Smith, 1894 Annual Report*, August 20, 1894.

<sup>100</sup> *Data extracted from the Goodlet and Smith Papers*, Mitchell Library.

**Figure 2:<sup>101</sup> Cement Production & Sales by Goodlet and Smith, 1899-1914**



producing some 25,000 casks of high grade cement per annum.<sup>102</sup> In 1895, the company was reporting, in words which indicated where the colonial standards originated, that it was now producing cement the equal of any English cement.

The outlay of capital was considerable and a number of technical difficulties required additional expenditure with *Goodlet and Smith* investing £23,278 over the period 1893 to 1895. The cement was known as 'Rock' brand Portland Cement and 'owing to its regularity and good quality'<sup>103</sup> it quickly acquired a good reputation and sold well. Unfortunately for *Goodlet and Smith* the import duty on cement which had been in place for 25 years was removed. The locally produced cement could not compete with the price of the imported German cement and the works had to close. About 100 men were affected by the closure, leading to melodramatic and inaccurate reports that the new plant had never even been used.<sup>104</sup> Arrangements were made to reduce the cost of the raw material and *Goodlet and Smith* announced that 'we intend to start manufacturing again ... so as to keep hold of the market, believing

<sup>101</sup> Data extracted from the *Goodlet and Smith Papers*, Mitchell Library.

<sup>102</sup> *Goodlet and Smith*, *Prices Current* (1907), 35; Carne and Jones give the production as 50,000 casks per annum. In this more efficient process raw materials were ground in pans with air separators to extract the finely-ground material, which was afterwards pressed into bricks and burnt in Deitch kilns. Carne and Jones, *Limestone Deposits*, 10.

<sup>103</sup> *Goodlet and Smith*, *Annual Report* (1896), August 14, 1896.

<sup>104</sup> *The Advertiser* (Ashfield, NSW), May 30, 1896.

that prices must advance'.<sup>105</sup> This indicated an overall strategic view which informed the internal considerations of the company, but which are absent from some of the more public details about its operations. There can be little doubt that this sense of expansionary confidence was coming from Goodlet himself.

In 1901, as a result of his 1899 trip to Europe and America, Goodlet purchased and installed the most up-to-date plant in the form of two rotary kilns and the necessary grinding machinery. Through his desire to include new advances in process and machinery made in Europe and America, *Goodlet and Smith* managed to keep its cement plant up-to-date.<sup>106</sup> For a number of years almost the entire output of the *Goodlet and Smith* cement works was absorbed by Government Departments.<sup>107</sup> While the company was able to sell all of its product [Figure 2 page 62], the lack of a general market makes it likely that the cement making aspect of the business was never very profitable. Goodlet was only able to compete with overseas produced cement, shipped to the colony as ballast, while ever the government retained a tariff upon imported cement.

As Ville notes, entrepreneurs can gain first-mover advantages and this may provide substantial gains.<sup>108</sup> However, he also notes that this is not *always* the case, as innovation of first generation technology can be a highly risky investment and waiting until the process or industry is established can be a safer course of action. Finding the optimal time to innovate is an important entrepreneurial decision. While Goodlet was usually an effective and successful entrepreneur in terms of Ville's definition, in the case of cement production his innovation did not result in success. Although excellent quality cement was produced, Goodlet was never really able to do so at a sufficiently competitive price to ensure its continued production. Nevertheless, while ever he was in control of *Goodlet and Smith*, Rock brand was produced, but soon after his death the company discontinued its production and sold

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<sup>105</sup> Goodlet and Smith, *Annual Report (1896)*, August 14, 1896.

<sup>106</sup> Carne and Jones, *Limestone Deposits*, 10. They were able to store over 50,000 casks of cement at their works: and the cement in these stores was tested by the Government Department of Public Works, the Railway Commissioners, and the Water and Sewerage Board, and was kept under the control of their officers for their work and the use of contractors. Goodlet and Smith, *Prices Current (1907)*, 36.

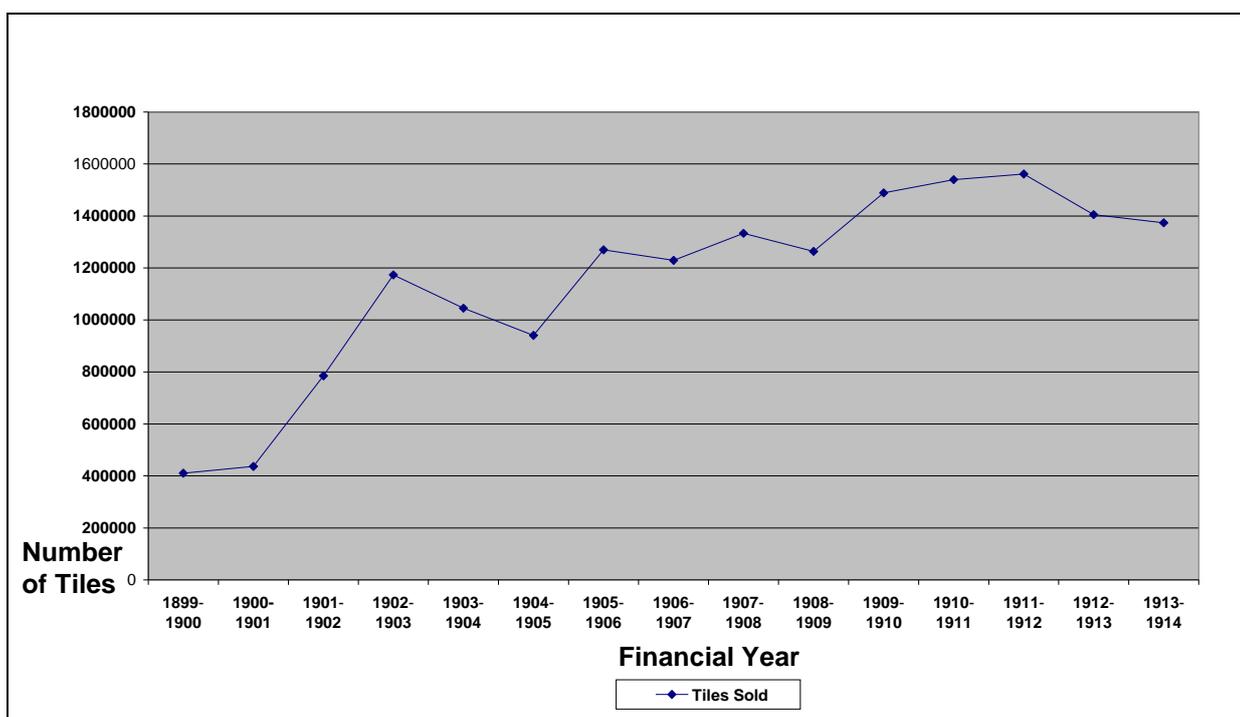
<sup>107</sup> J. Cheyne Wharton, ed. *The Jubilee history of Parramatta: in commemoration of the first half-century of municipal government, 1861-1911* (Parramatta, NSW: Little and Richardson, 1911), 191.

<sup>108</sup> Ville, 'Business Development in Colonial Australia,' 17.

its cement making equipment.<sup>109</sup> It is ironic, and perhaps a measure of the man's realism, that Goodlet, who was for a long period of time a staunch supporter of free trade, was in reality dependent upon tariff protection to remain profitable in cement production. That said, *Goodlet and Smith* was a pioneer in NSW cement production and it was one of the first companies to be able to produce cement of sufficiently consistent quality and quantity for the colonial market.

Goodlet's entrepreneurial attitude was more successful in the introduction of Marseille Tiles to the Australian market. While Varman suggests that *Goodlet and Smith* began production of Marseille Tiles in 1897,<sup>110</sup> production actually began in 1893/4.<sup>111</sup> Goodlet was overseas in Europe in 1892, and it is possible that during this trip he investigated tile production, purchased tile making equipment and the right to

**Figure 3:<sup>112</sup> Tile Sales by *Goodlet and Smith*, 1899-1914**



<sup>109</sup> In 1919 the Cement making plant at Granville was sold to the West Australian Cement Co and it was decided to discontinue the manufacturing of cement, as the company already had an interest in the NSW Cement Co. Goodlet and Smith, *Annual Report (1919)*.

<sup>110</sup> Robert V.J. Varman, 'The Marseille or French Patterned Tile in Australia,' *The Australian Society for Historical Archaeology*, University of Sydney (nd), 12.

<sup>111</sup> *Goodlet and Smith, Annual Report (1894)*; Varman, 'The Marseille or French Patterned Tile,' 12, suggests that *Goodlet and Smith* may have been experimenting with the production of roofing tiles from much earlier perhaps as early as 1868. There is, however, no evidence that *Goodlet and Smith* produced roofing tiles before 1893 and up to this date they only sold roofing slates and galvanised iron tiles.

<sup>112</sup> Data extracted from the *Goodlet and Smith Papers*, Mitchell Library.

produce the Marseille Tile. The company had only just become a public company and was spending considerable sums on new technology. In 1896, due to increased demand for tiles, *Goodlet and Smith* imported additional tile making machinery from France and expanded the company's production. Demand continued to increase and on Goodlet's trip to Europe in 1899 he purchased additional machinery for tile production. Tile sales reflected the increased tile making capacity, rising from 430,000 in 1900/1 to 800,000 in 1901/2, and to 1,100,000 in the 1902/3 period.<sup>113</sup> [See Figure 3 page 64]

Goodlet's entrepreneurial attitudes and policy of backwards integration, modernization through mechanization, and diversification also contributed significantly to its ability to weather the storm of the economic downturn in the 1890s. As *Goodlet and Smith* supplied much of its major saleable products such as timber, pipes, tiles and bricks to itself, it was able to more effectively control both labour and raw material costs.

### **The Crisis of the 1890s**

By the early 1890s, Australia had been borrowing excessively for unprofitable investment in the leading growth industries of both the public and private sectors.<sup>114</sup> A highly optimistic attitude to the likelihood of continued expansion militated, for a time, against decisions to reduce investment. The extension of credit, the value of urban land, sheep stations, shares in mining which continued to rise, was based on future imagined value. When doubts about the future arose investment was curtailed, speculation collapsed, and a downward monetary spiral was induced.<sup>115</sup> The depression that followed

was fundamentally caused by the collapse of public investment in communications and of private investment in the pastoral industry and in building. The end of the investment boom had in turn meant the failure during 1891-1892 of a large number of land, building, and finance companies which had depended heavily upon the investment boom, had speculated excessively on its continuance, and could survive only so long as the boom lasted. The banking crisis then followed as the final and most critical phase of the major

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<sup>113</sup> *Goodlet & Smith Papers*, Mitchell Library NSW.

<sup>114</sup> Ernst Arthur Boehm, *Prosperity and Depression in Australia 1887-1897* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 162.

<sup>115</sup> William Angus Sinclair, *The Process of Economic Development in Australia* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1976), 146-147.

monetary readjustments which resulted from the collapse of the investment boom.<sup>116</sup>

These events were potentially a disaster for the fortunes of Goodlet and his newly listed company *Goodlet and Smith*, but during the whole of the life of *Goodlet and Smith*, he had displayed **wise management** and this was nowhere better seen than during the crisis of the 1890s.<sup>117</sup>

In 1853, Victoria and NSW broke with British tradition by introducing limited liability for partnerships outside banking and insurance.<sup>118</sup> Incorporation reached its peak in the latter part of the 1880s, when many such incorporations became the mechanism for speculative attempts to cash in on the boom. Well established and private firms, especially in manufacturing, also incorporated so as to raise additional capital to meet the opportunities of economic prosperity. *Goodlet and Smith* was one such manufacturing company. It was not uncommon for such incorporated companies to change little in their relationship of ownership and control. Burns Philp incorporated in 1883, but the company's original principals, Burns and Philp, retained more than half the company's shares and continued to exercise effective control, appointing themselves as managing directors and calling board meetings only rarely and then only for formal matters.<sup>119</sup> Goodlet followed a similar path in 1890 in forming *Goodlet and Smith* as a Limited Liability Company, while retaining effective control through majority ownership of more than 65% of the shares.

In the 1890s, Goodlet's management skills were tested, but he emerged triumphant at the end of the decade of decline. After the retirement of James Smith in 1881, Goodlet became the sole manager of *Goodlet and Smith*. In January 1887, he mortgaged several of his properties, including Canterbury House the Goodlet's residence, for the enormous sum of £66,000 (approximately \$7.46 million in 2008 dollars). [Photo page 67] This money was not used to expand the operations of *Goodlet and Smith* as no expansion occurred in the period prior to it being listed as a public company in 1890. The most likely explanation for the mortgage is that Goodlet was seeking to raise money in order to buy out Smith's share of the business. At this

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<sup>116</sup> Boehm, *Prosperity and Depression in Australia 1887-1897*, 271.

<sup>117</sup> Boehm, *Prosperity and Depression in Australia 1887-1897* gives a good account of the reasons for the crisis.

<sup>118</sup> Ville, 'Business Development in Colonial Australia,' 33.

<sup>119</sup> Ville, 'Business Development in Colonial Australia,' 34.

**Canterbury House**  
The home of John and Ann Goodlet



Front view  
of the house



The  
Fernery



An interior  
view of  
the house

time Smith was in very poor health and may have wanted to settle his affairs to make provision for his seven children, five of whom were minors.<sup>120</sup>

It was in 1890 that Goodlet took *Goodlet and Smith* into the Limited Liability Company form and the prospectus for the share issue described the business as highly respected, ably managed and of 'gigantic magnitude'. The purpose of forming a public company was that *Goodlet and Smith* now required further development. With a value of around £220,000, and on the basis of past profits, it was expected to pay a dividend of at least 8% on its capital value. Goodlet was to remain as managing director and retained 150,000 shares of £1 each fully paid up, 75,000 of which would not be able to be transferred by Goodlet until five years from the date of incorporation, leaving 70,000 shares to be offered to the public. The Board of three Directors were John Hay Goodlet, managing director, his brother, Alexander Goodlet, and James Hay Clark, John's nephew.<sup>121</sup> [Photo page 72] *Goodlet and Smith* was registered as a Limited Liability Company on 2 September 1890<sup>122</sup> and the net effect of this incorporation was that Goodlet still controlled his business as before but had the security of Limited Liability, and had, when all the shares were taken up, a potential capital of £70,000 available to him.<sup>123</sup> With Goodlet as the managing director holding just under three quarters of the shares, and with the Board made up of members of his family, undoubtedly the business functioned in much the same way as it had since Goodlet became the sole proprietor in 1881.

The company's decisions were Goodlet's decisions. The move to incorporation proved a stroke of genius or, as Goodlet would hold, a stroke of Divine Providence. Over the next ten years Goodlet would be engaged in a battle with the economic circumstances to save his company. The incorporation protected Goodlet's personal wealth and assets on which the company's wealth was secured, but gave him some of the necessary capital to ride out the economic storm, and to reposition his company by expansion and modernisation to take advantage of the improved

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<sup>120</sup> Three years later, when Goodlet was certainly the sole owner, the business was valued at £220,000. It is known that Smith was the junior partner in the business so that the sum of £66,000, if it were used to buy out Smith's share would indicate that Smith held about a 30% share of the business. Smith's estate value placed in a trust was commensurate with this amount being paid to Smith shortly before his death. *John C Smith Estate Papers* NSW Archives Office.

<sup>121</sup> Goodlet and Smith Limited, *Prospectus (Sydney, 1890)*; Unsorted Papers of *Goodlet and Smith*.

<sup>122</sup> Register of Public Companies 1875-91, 11/11782, Vol 1, NSW Archives Office.

<sup>123</sup> It is uncertain, due to a lack of clarity in the record keeping, as to how many shares were actually taken up. Six years after the offer of shares it would appear that only 12,686 shares had been purchased. *Goodlet and Smith Ltd Register of Public Companies 1875-1891 Vol 1 11/11782 State Archives*. If this is so then much of the money used by *Goodlet and Smith* in the depression was actually Goodlet's own money.

circumstances in the next century. The new company began well with a dividend return to investors of 8% suggested in the 1891 float prospectus. Economic conditions in late 1891 began to become more difficult, however, and *Goodlet and Smith* noted the 'stoppage of many Building and Land Societies, and the shrinkage of Trade has been very considerable during the rest of the year.'<sup>124</sup> As a consequence the second year dividend return was reduced to 6% and by the 1892/3 financial year *Goodlet and Smith* was unable to give a dividend to its shareholders, 'the first time since the establishment of the business, thirty-eight years ago, that a fair profit has not been made'.<sup>125</sup> Losing money on its operations, this situation continued until the end of the 1896/7 financial year when *Goodlet and Smith* returned a small surplus. [Figure 4 see below]

**Figure 4: Loss in Pounds (£) by *Goodlet and Smith*, 1892-1897**

1892-1893	1893-1894	1894-1895	1895-1896	1896-1897
-1,087	-1,447	-5,911	-7,017	1,053

The response of *Goodlet and Smith* to these difficult conditions was to reduce costs and to seek to expand the business by spending capital to acquire new assets, develop and use new technology, to improve its efficiency, and to diversify the products that were offered to the building trade and the community.

In the 1891/2 financial year, despite the serious slowdown in the demand for *Goodlet and Smith's* products, the company purchased additional land at Petersham to improve access and increase the value of the clay deposits it held there. The Excelsior Lime Works (near Capertee) was purchased in order to develop and carry on a trade in lime, followed by the commencement of a Portland Cement works at Granville. In the 1892/3 period additional property in Mew Street was purchased and a complete and modern cement plant was imported from Europe. In 1893/4 additional expenditure was incurred in setting up a plant at Granville to manufacture terracotta roofing tiles, all this despite the continual shrinkage in the volume of business.

<sup>124</sup> Goodlet and Smith Limited, *Annual Report (1892)*, August 10, 1892.

<sup>125</sup> Goodlet and Smith Limited, *Annual Report (1893)*, August 22, 1893.

**The Goodlet Family Circle**  
at Canterbury House



Isabella, Josephine, Agnes and Alexander Copeland



Gordon Clark son of  
Annie Henderson Clark (nee Goodlet)



James Hay Clark and John Walker



Josephine (nee Copeland) and David Barclay Mellis Clark



A family grouping probably taken at Canterbury House (c1895-1908)

The company continually sought to reduce costs, but Goodlet generally did so without the retrenchment of staff. The exception to this was the closing of the cement works in May 1896 when the Government's removal of duty on cement forced a closure.<sup>126</sup> Goodlet's decision not to take the easy option and lay off his workers during economic depression was probably motivated by both his social philanthropic and business outlook. He did not wish to contribute to the difficulty that the working man faced and was well aware from his philanthropic work of the great evils and social cost of unemployment. From a business point of view he would not have wished to lose skilled staff who would contribute greatly to the revival of the company's fortunes when the economic conditions improved. As can be seen in the rest of his business activities, he invested for the long-term. Consequently, Goodlet chose to reduce cost in other ways and by May of 1892 *Goodlet and Smith* had cut all salaries and wages by 10 percent.<sup>127</sup> The *Nineveh*, in which Goodlet imported timber from the United States,<sup>128</sup> was taken out of service from November 1892 until October of 1894. [Photo page 55] When the ship was lost in 1896 in a storm it was not replaced as Goodlet was placing his hope for the recovery of his fortunes in the clay products portion of his business rather than in timber. Stock which was not manufactured or milled by *Goodlet and Smith*, usually that purchased from outside sources, was not replenished thus saving capital. The Kioloa Mill was not reopened after an industrial accident, and the *Samoa*, which carried timber from this mill, was not replaced after it sank.

All these cost reductions, however, did not improve the performance of the company as they were more than counterbalanced by an increase in bad debts. In the 1894/5 period the depressed state of trade brought with it keen competition from *Goodlet and Smith's* rivals, with a consequent reduction of prices and business. The cement plant required further large outlays due to various technical difficulties that were experienced and these significantly affected the balance sheet. In 1895/6 the economy continued to be difficult with 'excessive and unreasonable competition', conditions that were exacerbated by a drought and the removal by the Government of the import duty on cement. This Government action was to cause Goodlet to

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<sup>126</sup> This exception of Goodlet's practice may be prompted by the fact that *Goodlet and Smith* had by this stage in the depression an accumulated loss of £15, 462 additionally Goodlet may have sought to try use the closure as political leverage on maintaining the tariff. William Lyne sought to use it in this fashion in the then current debate of Free Trade and Protectionism. *The Argus (Melbourne, Vic.)*, May 12, 1896.

<sup>127</sup> There was no adverse union response to Goodlet's action as unionists at this time were left free to accept employment at whatever rates they could secure. J.T. Sutcliffe, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia* (Melbourne: MacMillan, 1967), 104.

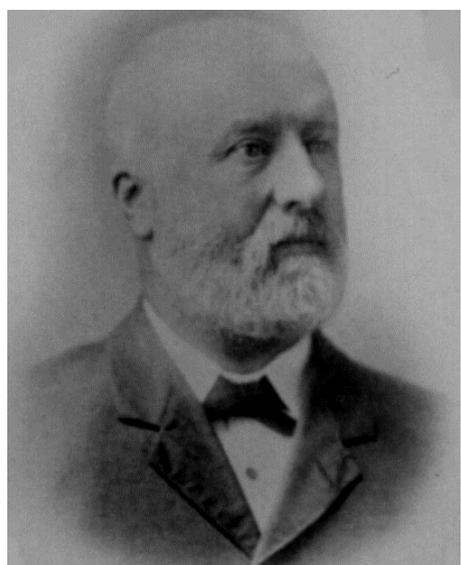
<sup>128</sup> This vessel was purchased in October 21, 1881. *SMH*, October 21, 1881.

***Goodlet and Smith***  
Family Employees



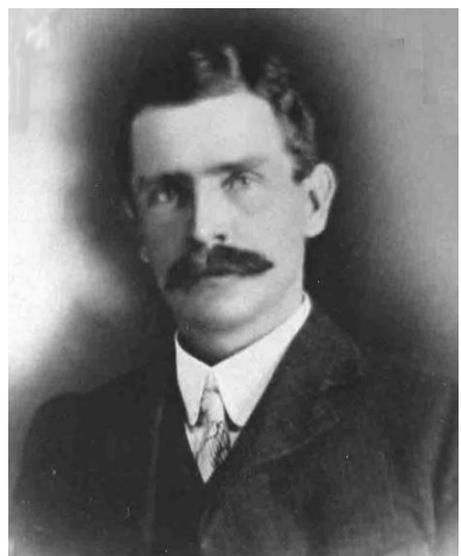
**James Hay Clark**

Nephew and Director  
of *Goodlet and Smith*  
(1890-1897)



**Alexander Goodlet**

Brother and Director  
of *Goodlet and Smith*  
(1890-1907)



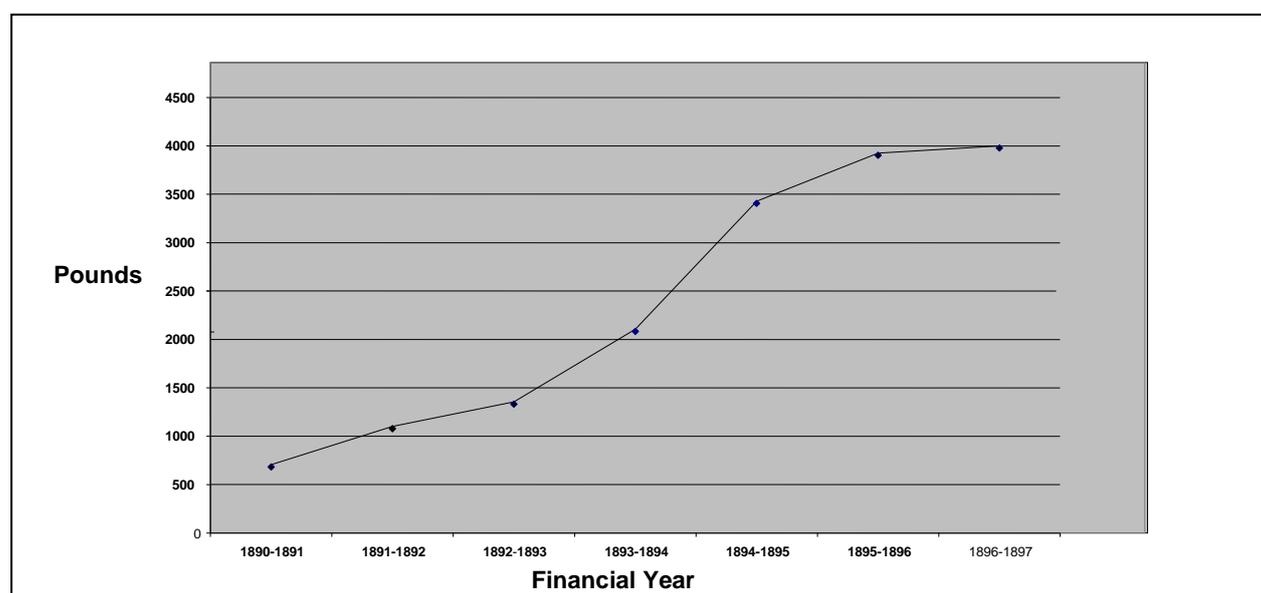
**Alexander Copeland**

'Adopted' son and  
Director (1897-1935)  
Managing Director (1914-  
1935) of *Goodlet and Smith*

rethink his Free Trade commitment and this will be dealt with in another part of the thesis (see Chapter 7). As noted above, expenditure was still made on the tile making plant at Granville with the importation of state of the art machinery from France.<sup>129</sup> During the financial year 1896/7 the economy began to improve and *Goodlet and Smith* returned to profitability, but the low price of cement did not yield a profit sufficient to defray its initial outlay.

During the years 1890 to 1897, Granville was the site of most of the company's capital development and through investment and changes in land value, the *Goodlet and Smith* Granville Works increased in value from £6,825 to £39,771. [Figure 5 page 73]<sup>130</sup>

**Figure 5:<sup>131</sup> Investment (£) by *Goodlet and Smith*, Granville, 1890-1897**



In the time of the economic depression *Goodlet and Smith* expended nearly £33,000 in expanding the site's capacity and modernising it, as well as adding the technology to produce cement and terracotta tiles. Again, Goodlet took advantage of an apparent setback to reposition the company so that when the economic downturn reversed it would be in a position to take advantage of its increased and broadened capacity in a situation of decreased competition.

<sup>129</sup> Goodlet and Smith Limited, *Annual Report (1896)*, August 14, 1896.

<sup>130</sup> Goodlet and Smith Limited, *Annual Reports (1890-1897)*.

<sup>131</sup> Data extracted from the *Goodlet and Smith Papers*, Mitchell Library.

By 1897, the difficult economic conditions began to ease and *Goodlet and Smith* once again returned (though barely) to profitability, as compared to an accumulated loss of £14,410. In the 1897/8 financial year, Goodlet had all the properties and machinery re-valued and the capital of *Goodlet and Smith* was reduced 25% from £220,000 to £165,000 thus wiping £55,000 off the value of the company. Goodlet's action allowed the company to once again pay a dividend, commencing in 1897 with a modest 2.5 percent. While the shareholders suffered a reduction in the value of their shareholding, Goodlet bore most of the financial pain as the majority shareholder and he saw his assets reduced by £37,500. Such sound and prudent financial decisions assisted the company to quickly return to profitability.<sup>132</sup>

The return of *Goodlet and Smith* to profitability was to be sustained, apart from a slight downturn in trade in the 1903/4 and 1904/5 financial years, due to a stoppage of government works and strong competition. It was not until the 1907/8 financial year, however, that returns to investors began to approach the returns prior to the onset of the economic downturn. The returns never reached the heady 8% days of the first year of the company, but by 1907/8 the company was returning a consistent 8% on the reduced capital of £165,000. A reserve fund<sup>133</sup> and a dividend protection fund<sup>134</sup> were developed and by 1909 Goodlet finally discharged the mortgage of £66,000 (\$7.46 million in 2008 value) over his property, indicating that he too was now personally in a stronger financial position.

The survival of *Goodlet and Smith* through the 1890s showed Goodlet to be a wise manager. Having ensured the survival of the company, he turned his thoughts to its long term future. When his nephew, James Clark, resigned from the board in 1896 to pursue his own interests and later to return to Scotland, he was replaced by an 'adopted nephew' and existing *Goodlet and Smith* employee, Alexander Copeland. By 1901 Alfred Ingram Macfarlan, a nephew of Ann and John, had left Scotland and was employed by the firm, joining his brother Charles William Macfarlan who had been

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<sup>132</sup> Romeny, *Heritage Study of Goodlet & Smith* says that on January 24, 1900 the company was liquidated and a new 'Goodlet and Smith Ltd' was incorporated with increased capital, which was spent in expanding the Granville works. There is no indication in the narrative of the annual reports of the company for 1899-1900 nor in the accounts that any liquidation of the company took place at that date. The company had returned to profitability but there is, however, evidence of the existence a 'Wind up Report' dated January 24, 1900 and a 'Liquidators Report' dated September 3, 1900 and it is this that probably has led Romeny to the conclusion that there was a 1900 liquidation. It may be that these reports were generated by and refer to the capital reconstruction of *Goodlet & Smith that took place in 1898 when the capital was reduced from £220,000 to £165,000*. Reg No. 89 Book 672 Letter To Town Clerk from PS Dawson of Dawson, Waldron and Glover dated February 22, 1915 in CN 1054 Belvoir St resumption. *Claim of Goodlet & Smith Ltd. 60 Wilton St. City of Sydney Archives.*

<sup>133</sup> £50,000 by 1914.

<sup>134</sup> £5,000 which was never drawn upon in Goodlet's lifetime.

employed by the company since 1881.<sup>135</sup> [Photo Page 77] In 1907 Alexander Goodlet, John's brother and a member of the Board of Directors, died and it was decided to expand the board to five by including non-family members.<sup>136</sup> [Photo page 72] It would seem that in the board expansion Goodlet, who was now 72, was preparing the business for life without him. It has been suggested by some writers that Goodlet's increasing age and his lack of interest in the business led to *Goodlet and Smith* closing many of its works.<sup>137</sup> There is no evidence of such a decline in the operations of *Goodlet and Smith*, however, nor a lack of interest on the part of Goodlet. The company did not close any works prior to Goodlet's death and only closed the Riley Street operations due to the council resumption of the land in 1915, a year after Goodlet's death. It ceased cement production, which had been problematic from the beginning, and sold its plant in 1919, but maintained a substantial interest in the NSW Cement Company.

For many years the company had been concerned about the decrease in the profit margin in the timber side of its business.<sup>138</sup> In 1927, when the lease on its Pyrmont properties expired and all the *Goodlet and Smith* foreshore land was resumed by the Sydney Harbour Trust, it was decided to quit the timber side of the business, and the mill at Coolongolook was also closed. From this point on the company decided to concentrate its efforts on terracotta and brick manufacture.<sup>139</sup> In fact, contrary to the assertion of decline, it is only in 1907 that *Goodlet and Smith* returned to its pre-depression levels of profit, levels it continued to achieve while ever Goodlet was alive. It was only after Goodlet's death that there was some shrinkage in the diversity of *Goodlet and Smith's* operations. In January 1911, Alexander Copeland was appointed Managing Director, a position he had effectively exercised since 1910 when Goodlet was overseas. Upon Goodlet's death in 1914, the company underwent a smooth transition to life without him. As always, Goodlet had planned well and looked to the future.

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<sup>135</sup> Others were James Reid Co. Secretary & John O. Smith, Accountant, unrelated to James Smith) [See Photo Page 77].

<sup>136</sup> The new board consisted of John Goodlet as Managing Director, Alexander Copeland, Goodlet's 'adopted' son, Alfred Macfarlan, an employee of *Goodlet and Smith*, was also Goodlet's nephew through his first marriage, Albyn Athol Stewart of Waygood, Limited and Francis William Hixon. Stewart was an Australian-born marine engineer and was a Presbyterian. Hixon was the son of Captain Francis Hixon RN and was born in 1862 and was later to be a Commodore in the Naval Brigade. Two of his sisters married grandsons of John Fairfax. See Appendix 7 for Copeland Family genealogical relationships.

<sup>137</sup> A.W. Johnson, *Goodlet & Smith Ltd, Brickworks*, 2. I. Stuart & C Everret, *Conservation Plan for the former Goodlet & Smith Brickworks*, 18.

<sup>138</sup> See for example Goodlet and Smith Limited, *Annual Report (1924)*.

<sup>139</sup> Goodlet and Smith Limited, *Annual Report (1927)*.

## **Goodlet's attitude to industrial issues**

What was Goodlet's attitude to industrial issues and the growth of union influence? Pigginn says of Ebenezer Vickery, a contemporary of Goodlet, that while Vickery was a great philanthropist yet, 'his record with his employees was not so admirable, and his opposition to his own workmen's attempts to improve their lot through unionism and legislation on mine safety, is a regrettable trait.'<sup>140</sup> Industrial action and strikes were of considerable concern to capitalists like Goodlet and Vickery, especially from 1890 when unions became 'involved in an unprecedented level of strike activity in defence of wages, working conditions, and unionism itself.'<sup>141</sup> Goodlet had cause to be concerned for industrial actions, such as the coal strike in 1910, reduced *Goodlet and Smith's* profit for that year by almost 20 percent. The shareholders were informed that

owing to the coal strike extending over a period of three months and causing a suspension of trade, the manufacturing plants of the company were either at a standstill or working under considerable extra cost.<sup>142</sup>

Strikes and industrial action were damaging to business and were to be avoided if at all possible. Good industrial relations and conducive business and manufacturing conditions were of concern to Goodlet and he sought to engender both of these throughout his lifetime.

## **Goodlet's role in improving business and manufacturing conditions**

For the whole of his business life, Goodlet was prominent in activities that sought to improve the conditions under which business, commerce and manufacturing could flourish. In 1859, some four years after commencing business in Sydney, he was elected as a member of the Sydney Chamber of Commerce.<sup>143</sup> From 1862, he served on the Committee of the Trade Protection Society, a group whose object was to collect relevant financial and credit information on merchant's customers.<sup>144</sup> In 1870,

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<sup>140</sup> Stuart Pigginn. Vickery, Ebenezer (1827-1906) <http://webjournals.ac.edu.au/journals/adeb/v/vickery-ebenezer-1827-1906/>

<sup>141</sup> Ray Markey, 'Trade union democracy and labor party in New South Wales, 1880-1914,' *Historical Studies* 22:86, 71. Markey sees this increasing industrial activity as taking place in the period 1890-1896. *Goodlet and Smith*, however, began to experience industrial action in the early 1880s.

<sup>142</sup> *Goodlet and Smith*, Annual Report 1909-1910.

<sup>143</sup> *SMH*, January 4, 1859.

<sup>144</sup> Sands Directory 1862, 1863, *SMH*, May 14, 1859. This body made representations to parliament for changes in commercial law. *SMH*, March 23, 1861.

***Goodlet and Smith***  
Family and other Employees



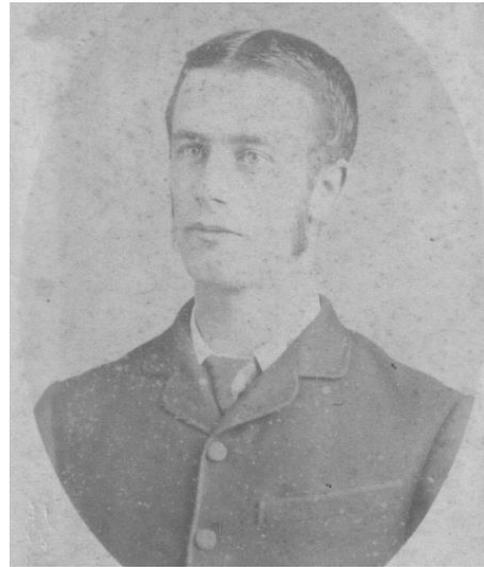
**Alfred Ingram Macfarlan**

Nephew of  
Ann and John Goodlet

*Goodlet and Smith* (1901-1925)

Director  
(1907-1915)

Company Secretary  
(1912-1925)



**Charles William Macfarlan**

Nephew of  
Ann and John Goodlet

*Goodlet and Smith* (1881-1913)



**James Reid**

*Goodlet and Smith*  
Company Secretary  
(1890-1911)



**John Oliver Smith**

*Goodlet and Smith*  
Accountant  
Born Leith, Scotland  
Member Ashfield Presbyterian Church

he chaired the first meeting of the Chamber of Manufactures<sup>145</sup> and was appointed its president,<sup>146</sup> but this was a short-lived organisation. It did, however, make some representations to government to seek amendment to proposed legislation affecting manufacturers. In 1888, he was also a member of the organising committee of the Employers' Association, but there is no evidence that he was particularly active in its activities.<sup>147</sup>

Goodlet was prominent in public meetings of interested business and civic groups that sought improved commercial practices, and provision of civic services as diverse as the use by merchants of uniform bills of lading, an investigation as to the best water supply pressure for the colony, and a Royal Commission for the rail extension to the city.<sup>148</sup> He attended, but did not seek appointment to, the Chamber of Manufactures when it was re-inaugurated in 1895. Then, in 1900, he was appointed to the chamber at a time when employers such as Goodlet were deeply concerned about the State Government's proposed Industrial Relations Bill.<sup>149</sup> He was elected Vice President of the Timber Industry Association in 1901.<sup>150</sup> As a businessman, Goodlet took a direct interest in many of the public questions that would have an impact upon the colony's ability to develop a strong business and manufacturing sector.

### **Harmonious industrial relationships**

During the 1880s, there was a period of rapid growth in union membership and activity resulting in NSW, along with Victoria, being two of the most unionised places in the world.<sup>151</sup> All this took place against a structural economic shift that the colonies had been going through for some time, moving from a pre-industrial pastoral and mining economy, based on wool, wheat and gold, towards a more complex industrial and commercial economy.<sup>152</sup> This shift in emphasis provided more employment and the opportunity for capitalists like Goodlet to prosper. The unions

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<sup>145</sup> *SMH*, November 22, 1870.

<sup>146</sup> *SMH*, September 14, 1871.

<sup>147</sup> *SMH*, July 17, 1888.

<sup>148</sup> *Australian Town and Country Journal (Sydney, NSW)*, June 30, 1883. This was the Kenny Hill water scheme. *SMH*, October 21, 1880; December 31, 1890.

<sup>149</sup> *SMH*, September 25, 1895; August 29, 1900.

<sup>150</sup> *SMH*, May 31, 1901.

<sup>151</sup> Ray Markey, 'Explaining Union Mobilisation in the 1880s and Early 1890s,' *Labour History* 83, (Nov 2002) 21-22 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27516881> [Accessed December 6, 2011].

<sup>152</sup> Markey, 'Explaining Union Mobilisation,' 22.

sought to have an increased share in this prosperity for its members in terms of increased wages and better working conditions. Unionism was thus an increasingly significant issue for employers through the 1880s and with the deteriorating economic conditions of the 1890s a period of significant industrial unrest, where 'the federation of labour and the counter-federation of employers'<sup>153</sup> would be a prominent feature of employer and employee relations. Goodlet appears to have been an astute employer who realised the value of his workforce and, by 1900, was a significant employer having a workforce of some 500 hands. His relationship with labour, and his treatment of his workers, seems to have been good and he was greatly appreciated by his employees.

During John's lifetime *Goodlet and Smith* did not experience any significant industrial problems arising from local issues. Industry-wide industrial challenges were, to some degree, ameliorated by strong bonds of mutual commitment between the employees and Goodlet. This was, in part, due to his personal values of fairness, but also he must have realised the value of maintaining a stable and harmonious workforce. In the 1890s, Goodlet sought to keep his workforce together in the midst of the economic crisis by not retrenching workers, and his maintenance of good industrial relations was similarly aimed at that goal. The sentiment expressed in the address given to him on the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the company appears to be borne out by events. The officers and employees of the company said that

we feel it a great privilege to be in your employment: your uniform kindness and consideration at all times deepens the regard we bear you. 'None can command success but all may try to deserve it.'<sup>154</sup>

At the *Goodlet and Smith* picnic in 1900, Goodlet expressed his satisfaction at seeing the presence of so many of his employees' wives and families. He felt that such a presence clearly demonstrated that 'the harmonious relations which existed between the firm and the responsible men at the head of important departments also extended to the humblest employee'.<sup>155</sup> This did not mean, however, that there were never any differences of opinion between Goodlet and his employees concerning appropriate levels of pay and conditions. There were several disputes and these

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<sup>153</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *The Economic Development of Australia*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition, (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1980), 95.

<sup>154</sup> 50 Anniversary Illuminated Address *Goodlet and Smith* in possession of AS Copeland.

<sup>155</sup> *SMH*, October 22, 1900.

disputes, and the way in which they were dealt with, shed light on his attitudes to industrial and union issues.

### **1882 Carpenters and Joiners Dispute**

In 1882, carpenters and joiners, no doubt aware of the boom conditions, sought to secure higher wages through their unions 'the Amalgamated Society'<sup>156</sup> and the 'Progressive Society'. The aim of the union claim, it was understood by the employers, was to secure an advance for all joiners and carpenters to a wage of 11 shillings per day. The employers, such as *George Hudson & Son*, *Alexander Dean* and *Goodlet and Smith*, were unhappy with this blanket approach which would raise all carpenters and joiners to the same wage. They sought only to give this increase to those of the trade who were, in their judgement, deserving and so refused to give the increase to those who were considered 'incompetent or indifferent workmen'. Under such an arrangement over 80% of the employees would receive the increase so the remainder decided to strike.<sup>157</sup> There was, however, a misunderstanding by the employers due to a lack of communication by the unions as to what was being sought. What was being sought was not a blanket increase to 11 shillings per day for all, but rather a blanket increase of 1<sup>1/2</sup>pence per hour on an employee's existing wage.

When this matter was clarified *Goodlet and Smith* agreed to pay as the company considered the claim justified. This preserved the right of the employer to pay a higher wage to tradesmen who were considered more valuable employees,<sup>158</sup> and this incident illustrates the resistance of employers, such as *Goodlet and Smith*, to the unions setting uniform pay and conditions for workers. The employers did not want to increase the pay of those whom they deemed undeserving, nor remove incentive to gain higher wages from the skilled and reliable in their workforces. In this dispute the employers were asserting their 'freedom to contract', and initially they thought that the unions were seeking to implement uniform standards which would overrule their management. This would be an issue that would come to a head

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<sup>156</sup> The 'Amalgamated' union was formed no later than 1878, (*SMH*, September 30, 1878) but the 'Progressive' union was formed in 1861 (*SMH*, August 27, 1861) and sought to maintain the eight hour day and provide various benefits in case of unemployment, sickness or death. It was in 1871 a founding member of the NSW Trades and Labor Council. Only a small percentage of the trade were members of either union. *SMH*, June 2, 1886. N.B. Nairn, 'The Role of the Trades and Labor Council in New South Wales,' *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand* 7: 28, 422 [accessed December 22, 2011] <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10314615708595083>

<sup>157</sup> *SMH*, June 21, 1882.

<sup>158</sup> *SMH*, June 23, 1882.

in the 1890 Maritime strike.<sup>159</sup> Patmore points out that the carpentry unions, because carpentry skills were widespread in the community, were unable to control the labour supply. This meant that they did not negotiate from a position of great strength for the employers had alternative sources of labour.<sup>160</sup> The willingness of employers such as *Goodlet and Smith*, who were in a position of strength to negotiate, was indicative of their desire to maintain a continuous output of goods uninterrupted by labour problems.

### **1886 Brick Makers Dispute**

In 1886, those employed as brick makers began a campaign to have an eight-hour day. Following unsuccessful attempts by the Brick Maker's Union (BMU), the Trades and Labour Council resolved to seek to bring about a conference between the BMU and the employers to consider the implementation of an eight-hour day.<sup>161</sup> James Cook, secretary to the BMU, reported that the Master Brick Makers' Protective Association had absolutely refused to meet the wishes of the employees with regard to the eight-hour system, and had strongly objected to the formation of the union. It was resolved to seek discussion with the relevant parties with the view to bringing about an amicable settlement of the disagreement.<sup>162</sup> Some brick makers were prepared to introduce the eight-hour day, but others would not do so<sup>163</sup> and so the BMU called for a strike to achieve the eight-hour day.<sup>164</sup> Later that year, Cook reported that the eight-hour system of labour was adopted in Sydney and the surrounding districts except in the yard of *Goodlet and Smith* and two others.<sup>165</sup> This is consistent with the stated position of *Goodlet and Smith* that it was not in favour of introducing an eight-hour day.<sup>166</sup> It was incorrectly reported at the time that Goodlet, as a result of the strike, had indicated that he would refuse to employ unionists, but Goodlet had not done so and the claim was retracted.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> Rimmer and Sheldon, "Union control' against management power: Labourer's unions in New South Wales before the 1890 Maritime strike,' *Australian Historical Studies* 23:92, 290.

<sup>160</sup> Greg Patmore, *Australian Labour History* (Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1991), 57.

<sup>161</sup> *SMH*, April 9, 1886. The Brick Maker's Union was sometimes described as the Brick Maker's Society.

<sup>162</sup> *SMH*, April 23, 1886.

<sup>163</sup> *SMH*, May 7, 1886.

<sup>164</sup> *SMH*, June 22, 1886.

<sup>165</sup> *SMH*, November 5, 1886.

<sup>166</sup> *The South Australian Advertiser (Adelaide SA)*, August 23, 1886.

<sup>167</sup> One of Goodlet's managers had made this statement and this was contrary to the stated policy of Goodlet, who in 1904 said, that *Goodlet and Smith* did not enquire as to the union membership of their employees. Goodlet either had had a change of heart or more likely, as the statement made in 1886 concerning non-union employment was publically retracted, it was not authorised by him and nor did it reflect his policy. *SMH*, August 26, 1886; June 2, 1904.

It is unclear as to why *Goodlet and Smith* was not in favour of implementing the eight-hour day. Perhaps the answer lies in why the other brick makers were willing to do so. While other brick makers considered the eight-hour day advantageous in that the men worked better and were more productive, there was probably a more significant reason for their support. Bricks were in oversupply at the time, the smaller companies were having trouble selling their production, and the reduced hours would diminish the volume of bricks available for sale.<sup>168</sup> One suspects that *Goodlet and Smith*, as a very large brick maker with lower costs like *Goodsells* who also opposed the eight-hour day, were not suffering to the same degree as the smaller operators and so were happy to continue the production given by the longer hours. For the smaller operators, unlike the larger operators, the eight-hour day was an advantage. Goodlet's benevolence in other circumstances did not prevail in this business decision for he did not wish to reduce his commercial advantage over the smaller operators by increasing his costs through granting his workers the eight hour day.

### **1890 Maritime Dispute**

The maritime dispute of 1890 began with marine officers wanting to affiliate with the Melbourne Trades Council and escalated into a wider confrontation, causing employers to consider how to check the advancing power of the unions and the Trades and Labour Council. The increasing ability of the unions to dictate terms led the employers to show a 'determination to fight the matter out to the bitter end'<sup>169</sup> and to seek to eliminate union intervention in agreements between individual employers and employees.<sup>170</sup> The long period of prosperity having unmistakably closed the employers had 'decided that the time for making concessions to the unions had closed also'.<sup>171</sup> For the employers the price of the employees' progress in a time of an economic slump 'involved a loss of dividends too great to be borne'<sup>172</sup> and so the maritime dispute sparked a major confrontation which lasted for over two months.<sup>173</sup> The strike was widespread and crippling encompassing seamen, marine officers, stewards and cooks, wharf labourers, coal lumpers, trolley and draymen,

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<sup>168</sup> *SMH*, May 27, 1886.

<sup>169</sup> Sutcliffe, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia*, 92.

<sup>170</sup> Sutcliffe, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia*, 97.

<sup>171</sup> Brian Fitzpatrick, *Short History of the Australian Labor Movement* (Melbourne: MacMillan, 1968), 113.

<sup>172</sup> Fitzpatrick, *Short History of the Australian Labor Movement*, 115.

<sup>173</sup> Sutcliffe, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia*, 92-98.

coal miners, metal miners and shearers,<sup>174</sup> and between 40,000 and 50,000 workers in NSW, Queensland, South Australia and Victoria were involved.<sup>175</sup> Behind the particular matters in dispute there were key issues for each side.

For the unionists it was the recognition of unionism. By this they meant the right of workers to form a union, to make rules, including the rule that unionists would not work with non-unionists, and the right of labour organizations to affiliate with one another. Against the union claim the employers took their stand on the principle of freedom of contract: the right of employers to engage anyone, unionist or non-unionist, to work under union conditions or under conditions agreed to by the employee.<sup>176</sup>

From Goodlet's perspective, the problem was that the unions were organised but the employers were not, and if the employers had been better prepared then the strike would not have arisen. The employers, said Goodlet, were 'like a number of straws floating about'<sup>177</sup> and he saw the employers as being at the mercy of the unions:

he had never tyrannised over his men, ... he believed that they should have equal liberty with himself. He did not, however, believe in standing by and seeing the employees combining to tyrannise over him and other employers.<sup>178</sup>

In his solution his rhetoric reflected his military background [See Chapter 6] by pointing out that

the best method for obtaining peace was by being prepared for war, as was the case in Europe now. Peace reigned because it was known that both sides were prepared for the struggle, and if it was but a fact that instead of all the organisation being on one side they were both thoroughly organised, the men

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<sup>174</sup> Rimmer and Sheldon, 'Union control,' 285.

<sup>175</sup> Patmore, *Australian Labour History*, 65.

<sup>176</sup> R.A. Gollan, 'The Historical Perspective.' In *Australian Trade Unions*, edited by P.W.D Matthews and G.W. Ford (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1988), 23. Nairn, contrary to Gollan and Fitzpatrick, sees the unionists overcoming 'freedom of contract' as well under way by the time of the strike. Its reassertion by employers was not a primary reason for the dispute but was revived by the strike. N.B. Nairn 'The 1890 maritime strike in New South Wales,' *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand* 10:37, 1-2, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10314616108595202> [accessed 22 December 2011].

<sup>177</sup> *The Maitland Mercury & Hunter River General Advertiser* (Maitland, NSW), September 4, 1890.

<sup>178</sup> *The Maitland Mercury & Hunter River General Advertiser* (Maitland, NSW), September 4, 1890.

would be afraid to face the consequences of such severe struggles as must ensue.<sup>179</sup>

Goodlet stressed that, in the move to achieve a more unified and coordinated approach to industrial relations on the part of the employers, there was

no desire to oppress the men, and he for one was strongly opposed to any oppression; but he considered that the time had come when they [the employers] should exert their rights.<sup>180</sup>

There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of Goodlet's attitude to industrial relations and his attitude to oppression of his employees. Goodlet, as a capitalist, may have seen the issue in terms of the need for employers' solidarity yet the employers were eventually sufficiently well-organised and there was sufficient surplus labour which, combined with government intervention, was such that the strike was broken. Goodlet's view of the industrial unrest as an imbalance of power was true enough, except that the imbalance was in reality in the opposite direction to that which Goodlet perceived. Employers such as Goodlet did not wish to allow the unions a role in determining wages and conditions and opposed such a role, but they also desired industrial peace so that their businesses would not be impeded.

The solution that Goodlet advocated of bolstering employer strength was overly optimistic. It was unlikely to produce industrial harmony as it underestimated the strength of the desire of unions and their members to gain better working conditions and wages. It also underestimated the fairness of employers in their dealings with employees, as not all employers adopted Goodlet's attitudes to their workforces. After the defeat of the strike and the depression, the State and later Commonwealth Governments would seek to address these issues by union recognition, compulsory arbitration and wages boards.<sup>181</sup> The attitude of Goodlet to the introduction of the various legislative attempts to implement compulsory arbitration and wage fixing is unknown. As a member of the board of the Chamber of Manufactures he probably supported the chamber's initial outright opposition to BR Wise's proposed Industrial

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<sup>179</sup> *SMH*, September 3, 1890.

<sup>180</sup> *SMH*, September 3, 1890.

<sup>181</sup> Patmore, *Australian Labour History*, 104-116.

Arbitration Bill and also its later move from outright opposition to amendment of the Bill.<sup>182</sup>

### **1901 Tile Boys Dispute**

In 1901, some 20 boys who were employed in the tile works at Granville, left off work without giving any notice and demanded higher wages. The boys, who were receiving up to 14 shillings a week, demanded a significant increase to nine shillings a day so that their wage would be equivalent to the adult wage. The demand was not met, and when there was an attempt to return to work only some of the boys were re-employed.<sup>183</sup> The fathers of some of the boys, perhaps concerned at the impact of the strike on family incomes, were not overly impressed with the merit of the industrial dispute for 'hearing of their foolhardy step, had inflicted salutary punishment, which had some effect upon the others'.<sup>184</sup> It would appear that the boys continued the industrial unrest and *Goodlet and Smith* came up with, for its time and in the local industry, a novel and creative solution. Following the practice of the Continent the company employed 20 women and girls to replace the restive boys and it was noted that they did the same job as well as, if not better than, the boys and without the industrial trouble.<sup>185</sup> 'They have a forewoman over them ... and the engagement of the girls – and we have had a very large number of applications for the work, can get more than we want at present, in fact – is left entirely to her.'<sup>186</sup> The motivation for the introduction of girls was not economic as they were paid at the same rate as the boys,<sup>187</sup> but because of the need for *Goodlet and Smith* to have a reliable and dependable workforce. The matter had long been under consideration and it was the industrial issue that prompted action. Copeland, who oversaw this introduction no doubt with Goodlet's approval, believed the girls would value the employment more highly and therefore be less trouble. Goodlet was benevolent but not so benevolent as to allow his business to suffer disruption from his workers. The male employees were not overly happy about this development for if the practice grew it would threaten their employment, nevertheless they believed it would be a

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<sup>182</sup> *SMH*, August 29, 1900. Patmore, *Australian Labour History*, 110.

<sup>183</sup> *SMH*, December 14, 1901.

<sup>184</sup> *The Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate (Parramatta, NSW)*, December 14, 1901.

<sup>185</sup> *SMH*, April 19, 1902.

<sup>186</sup> *The Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate (Parramatta, NSW)*, April 12, 1902.

<sup>187</sup> *The Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate (Parramatta, NSW)*, April 19, 1902.

'nine days wonder' and would soon collapse.<sup>188</sup> They were wrong as for by 1913, women had become the primary source of workers to produce roof tiles.<sup>189</sup>

### **1908 Timber Workers Dispute**

In 1908, a timber workers dispute arose which revolved around dissatisfaction with the timber workers Arbitration Court award.<sup>190</sup> The unions sought a cancellation of the award, which had operated for two years, and the adoption of a new approach to the classification of the timber workers. The employers, for their part, simply sought to negotiate changes to the existing award.<sup>191</sup> This led to a strike of 3,000 workers in timber yards which included the workers of *Goodlet and Smith*:

At Messers Goodlet and Smith's, Pyrmont, work was in full swing. The men halted outside and cheered. It is stated by an employer that yells and offensive language were flung at those inside, and that men sent in some sort of message to terrify them into striking. The men, on the other hand, say that a few isolated expressions may have been heard; but as the yard gates were shut, and the police had been summoned, the crowd was not in a position to send in such a message, and they are confident that no such message was sent in from outside. A couple of young hands came out on this occasion but the majority continued working.<sup>192</sup>

While the company's attitude to the wage and other demands is not known, the attitude of Goodlet's workforce is, and they were reluctant to strike. They had to be encouraged to do so and though they joined the strike as it progressed, they quickly returned to work. As the strike continued, the union again decided to picket *Goodlet and Smith* workers who had returned to work, noting that 'the majority of the returning men would be persons who had worked for those employers since their early years, and who were in the first instance very reluctant to leave.'<sup>193</sup> The comments of the union on the unwillingness of the employees to strike suggests that 'loyalty' was the reason for their reticence, but they may also have been concerned about the loss of income as well the possible loss of a job. It is known that later that

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<sup>188</sup> *Windsor and Richmond Gazette (Windsor, NSW)*, April 26, 1902.

<sup>189</sup> *SMH*, February 21, 1913.

<sup>190</sup> *SMH*, January 31, 1908.

<sup>191</sup> *SMH*, December 13, 1907.

<sup>192</sup> *SMH*, February 13, 1908.

<sup>193</sup> *SMH*, February 17, 1908.

year, Goodlet was paying above award wages to his workers, and so he may have been doing so at the time of the strike as well, which would have given the men another reason to remain working.<sup>194</sup> While the description of Goodlet as one for whom 'there never was any [trouble] between him and his men' was overdrawn, this incident underlines the existence of good relationships and loyalty between Goodlet and his long-term employees.<sup>195</sup>

### **Unionism at Goodlet and Smith**

Goodlet's own workforce appeared to be little unionised for in 1909, of the 170 woodworking machinists employed, only 29 were unionists. This was not due to any discriminatory policy of Goodlet, however, as other significant employers of machinists, such as the company's competitors *George Hudson & Sons* and *Davis Brothers*, had even smaller percentages of unionists.<sup>196</sup> The unions had yet to have a significant number of members within this industry and furthermore, in evidence given in the Brick Makers and Brick Carters Union dispute in 1904, Goodlet stated that 'as to the issue of giving preference to unionists, his men did not desire to belong to a union.'<sup>197</sup> Presumably, up until that point in time, the employees did not feel the need to do so or perhaps they were concerned that Goodlet, as an employer, might not look kindly upon such membership and it was only after Goodlet's death that unionism became a stronger feature of the company's workplace. According to Goodlet, the company did not discriminate either in favour of or against unionists, and 'the company did not ask the men they employed whether they belonged to a union or not'.<sup>198</sup>

Goodlet was a man with a reputation for honesty. He had a strong sense of honour and it was said of him that 'his word was his bond ... he believed that truth is always right, a lie is always wrong',<sup>199</sup> so it is fair to assume that what he said of his attitude to union labour was true. It is probable that in his opposition to the NSW Government's Industrial Arbitration Bill (1901), he was opposed to its provisions for the compulsory or preferential employment of union members, as were other

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<sup>194</sup> *The Argus (Melbourne, Vic)*, March 30, 1909. The Arbitration Award mentioned here should be the 1908 award.

<sup>195</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, January 23, 1914.

<sup>196</sup> *SMH*, March 23, 1909. Another report only gives 19 unionists of whom 9 were boys under the age of 21. *The Argus (Melbourne, Vic)*, March 30, 1909. *George Hudson & Sons* had 1 union member out of 73 machinists and *Davis Brothers* 12 out of 145 employed at their works.

<sup>197</sup> *SMH*, June 2, 1904.

<sup>198</sup> *SMH*, June 2, 1904.

<sup>199</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, January 23, 1914.

employers. Goodlet's character and reputation for fairness may have diminished the power differential between an employer and a non-unionised workplace, but the employers' principle of 'freedom of contract' removed the employees bargaining power and was unlikely to lead to economic justice.<sup>200</sup> In 1924, Goodlet was described by his second wife Elizabeth as one who 'would not tolerate any outside interference in the conduct of his business',<sup>201</sup> and so it was not likely that he would agree with the desire of unionism to have a closed shop. Goodlet, like other employers, was in favour of a bill but only in so far as it removed the problems of strikes and lockouts and provided a means of arbitration.<sup>202</sup> Some of the provisions of the bill, which allowed the court to decide on common conditions across an industry and the power to set a standard wage, would not have met with his approval. Once the bill was in operation, however, *Goodlet and Smith* took advantage of the flexibility of its provisions to seek exemptions and variations in some of the common conditions that the Court set,<sup>203</sup> and also sought to be the employer representative on both the Roofing Tile and the Cement Boards that made wage determinations.<sup>204</sup>

As a result of Goodlet's attitudes to industrial issues, he was well thought of by his workers and *Goodlet and Smith* enjoyed harmonious relationships between labour and management during his lifetime. Long-term relationships between Goodlet and many of his workers, particularly those that managed the various departments of the business, meant that when issues arose they were generally dealt with in a way that did not impede the business. He seems to have valued his workforce and attempted to maintain it during the 1890s, dealing effectively with the economic challenges of business conditions and increasing union demands. While it is not true that he never had any trouble with his workers, the impact of strikes from broader industrial issues of the period were ameliorated by the mutual loyalty that existed between employer and employees.

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<sup>200</sup> Shaw, *The Economic Development of Australia*, 96.

<sup>201</sup> EM Goodlet to Dr Burgess July 21, 1924 Ferguson Memorial Library. The bill when passed had the provision that when employing workers 'others things being equal' an employer shall give preference to union members. *SMH*, December 6, 1901.

<sup>202</sup> The speech by William McMillan to the Chamber of Commerce outlined such agreement and the commonly held objections to the proposed Bill. *SMH*, August 1, 1900.

<sup>203</sup> *Goodlet and Smith* was registered as an Employer Union with John and Alexander Goodlet as the registered delegates. *SMH*, March 21, 1902. That there are only two delegates indicates that at this time *Goodlet and Smith* had between 250 and 500 employees.

<sup>204</sup> Alexander Copeland was the representative on both. *SMH*, February 21, 1913; December 13, 1910.

Goodlet does not appear to have been actively opposed to unions in his workplace or to the growth of union influence, but he was concerned about the possibility of union power being used in a way that would dictate to employers. He was keen for employers to be as organised as the unions for he optimistically thought that, being on an equal footing, significant strikes could be avoided. While his employees may have had no particular issue with him, there were many other employers whom the unions considered were not so fair. Given the loyalty that Goodlet seemed to have enjoyed from his workforce, and the low uptake of union membership among his employees, perhaps he was not greatly concerned about the *Goodlet and Smith* workplace being unionised. Yet he was involved in the efforts of employers to seek improved business legislation, and gave his efforts to defend employers against unwanted government regulation and what he considered was, at times, unwarranted interference and unreasonable action by unions. Those unwarranted and unreasonable actions by the unions amounted to challenging 'freedom of contract' which the unions believed they needed to abolish in order to achieve economic justice.

The business life of Goodlet says much about his character and attitudes. To come alone to the colonies at 17 years of age, and later to commence a business in a city in which he had no connections, shows considerable personal confidence and courage. He had quickly learned from the Smiths the key elements involved in the timber trade and sought to emulate them in Sydney. But Goodlet was not prepared to be just a timber merchant; he was an entrepreneur and quickly expanded his business to involve controlling the supply of timber and the development of clay products. Goodlet showed a willingness to run risks in business by seeking to be first in the field of successful cement and tile production. From the 1890s, while the business was a Limited Company with a Board of Directors and shareholders, it was effectively Goodlet's personal company.

The courageous decision to expand *Goodlet and Smith's* expenditure during the recession of the 1890s and to redirect the life and production focus of the company into bricks, tiles and cement, was John's decision and demonstrated a confidence in his own understanding of the ebbs and flows of the colonial economy. The decision not to lay off staff was a reflection of his philanthropic outlook as well as an attempt to retain valuable staff, in contemporary terms, both 'human capital' and 'social capital', who would aid in the company's recovery. His good relationships with his staff through his fair treatment of them enabled *Goodlet and Smith* to ameliorate the

effects of industrial action. All that took place was Goodlet's doing and the credit for its success justly belongs to him. Its success was due in part to his vision and commitment, and it gave him great wealth and the means to engage in the philanthropy and community service that were to characterize his life. It is to this aspect of Goodlet's life that this thesis now turns.

## **CHAPTER 4 The Philanthropic Spectrum and The Philanthropic Spectrum: *Relief***

It was Kidd who considered that in seeking to understand philanthropy there was value in constructing charitable profiles.<sup>1</sup> Such a profile of the Goodlets will demonstrate that the range of their philanthropic interests was immense and both the length of time they maintained individual interests, and the degree to which they gave financial support, were considerable. It was said that John Goodlet never refused a request for assistance<sup>2</sup> which may be true, but he and Ann did make choices about the degree and nature of their support for various philanthropic activities. Their philanthropic interests were not all of the same type, intensity and commitment. For some activities the Goodlets simply gave money which was easy enough for such wealthy people, but to others they gave their personal attention through an involvement in a governance role. Some of these involvements were intense and long lasting, while others were more superficial and casual.

All philanthropy is not alike in its purpose and the principles on which it would appear to operate, and as such philanthropy falls upon a spectrum of purpose. The philanthropic spectrum as used in this thesis ranges from philanthropy as relief which seeks to alleviate human suffering, philanthropy as improvement which seeks to maximise individual human potential, philanthropy as civic engagement which seeks to build better community structures and services, philanthropy as reform which seeks to solve social problems,<sup>3</sup> and spiritual engagement which is philanthropy that seeks to advance humanity's happiness by encouraging in people the spiritual dimension.

In developing a charitable profile of the Goodlets it is helpful to locate their wide range of philanthropic interests upon this philanthropic spectrum. The categories of the spectrum are not mutually exclusive and any one charitable activity may fall on more than one point along the spectrum. Some of the Goodlets' activities, such as their financial support of the City Night Refuge and Soup Kitchen, are easily located on the spectrum as relief, John's work with the Glebe Penny Bank is on the spectrum as improvement, and their work in the Presbyterian Church is on the spectrum as spiritual philanthropy. Other activities, such as the Sydney City Mission (SCM) and

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<sup>1</sup> Kidd, 'Philanthropy and the 'social history' paradigm,' 190.

<sup>2</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW*, (Sydney, NSW) January 23, 1914.

<sup>3</sup> Lynn and Wisley, 'Four Traditions of Philanthropy,' 1, however, their idea of civic philanthropy has a different emphasis.

Sydney Female Refuge Society (SFRS) are less clear in their categorisation, falling in at least two or three places along the spectrum. These less straightforward examples will be categorised under the organisation's own self-understanding, even though one might make the judgement that such organisations were more effective on another part of the philanthropic spectrum.

To locate the Goodlets' philanthropy on the philanthropic spectrum, and to describe the activities and the outcomes of their philanthropy and thereby develop a philanthropic profile, does not address the question of motive and integrity. This will be addressed in a separate chapter (See Chapter 12) which will examine Kidd's proposition 'that there is no such thing as a free gift'. Also, an assessment of John Goodlet's integrity as a Christian businessman and philanthropist will be made in a separate chapter (See Chapter 10).

The Goodlet philanthropy, however, cannot be described in terms of just the activity of John Goodlet. Goodlet's first wife, Ann, and to a lesser extent his second wife, Elizabeth, are vital to understanding the overall Goodlet philanthropy. Their philanthropy was the result of a partnership. It was a partnership that reflected to some degree the traditional spheres of male and female of the time, John, predominantly in governance roles and his partner in a more 'hands on' domestic role. As such, John's charitable interests tended to fall in the areas of improvement and civic engagement while he supported his wife's involvement in relief philanthropy, and they both shared in spiritual philanthropy. Little of what they undertook can be described as philanthropy for reform. Ann was John's partner in philanthropic action for 43 years and this relationship set the tone of many of John's activities. Elizabeth, who was married to Goodlet for only 10 years, displayed many of Ann's charitable emphasises, although she was often involved in them prior to her marriage and she brought an intensification to some of the interests which John already held.

As has been previously noted, the range of philanthropic giving of the Goodlets was immense. It is doubtful, due to the lack of complete runs of society and organisational reports, that the full extent of the Goodlets' charitable interests has been uncovered. The emphasis in the following sections of the thesis will be on those organisations where the Goodlets maintained not just a financial philanthropy, but where John and/or Ann also gave of their time to assist in the governance of these organisations.

## **The Philanthropic Spectrum: *Relief***

The main aim of philanthropy as relief is that it is a philanthropy which primarily seeks to alleviate human suffering. A number of the Goodlets' charitable activities were of this sort, but their support of them varied in terms of the nature of their commitment.

John Goodlet was a founding member of the Home Visiting and Relief Society whose object was

visiting at their own homes such of the distressed inhabitants of Sydney, as belong to the Educated Classes and having seen better days, have been reduced to poverty – affording to them such relief as their circumstances need and aiding them in their effort to gain their own subsistence.<sup>4</sup>

For some time, Goodlet was a member of the organising committee and continued financial support for its work for at least 20 years.<sup>5</sup> Another charity of this type to attract John's support, but which was directed to a different section of society, was the City Night Refuge and Soup Kitchen. The name outlines its main function and Goodlet began his financial support in 1870 and this continued until his death. Even during the difficult days of the 1890s depression, although Goodlet reduced his level of support he continued to give. In the years prior to the depression he was a strong financial supporter of the Charity Organisation which gave 'assistance to the REALLY DESERVING POOR, after enquiry instead of without enquiry'.<sup>6</sup> He also gave financial support to the Destitute Children's Society from 1871 until the depression, but when his financial situation improved, he once again supported them until his death. Giving to the National Shipwreck Society, whose aim was to assist the families of those mariners lost at sea, began in 1880s and this also was discontinued with the onset of difficult financial circumstances, but not renewed when his prosperity returned. He made one-off donations to causes such as the Queen's Fund for Distressed Women in NSW<sup>7</sup> and for various emergency appeals such as flood and

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<sup>4</sup> Home Visiting and Relief Society, *First Annual Report*, (Sydney, 1863).

<sup>5</sup> It may well be that Goodlet continued his support for all of his life but the records of the society are fragmentary. He was a supporter at least from its founding until the mid 1880's. His last known donation was given in 1901.

<sup>6</sup> Charity Organisation Society, *1888 Annual Report*, (Sydney, 1888). Despite the similarity of name this charity was a relief charity and did not function as an organising and co-ordinating body as G. Ardill said 'a charity organisation society was very much needed in Sydney, for the society of that name which had been established there was simply a relief society.' *The Argus (Melbourne, Vic)*, November 17, 1890.

<sup>7</sup> He donated the significant amount of £20 in 1887 (over \$2,260 in 2008).

famine relief in Australia, India, China and The Lord Mayor's English Distress Fund. He also gave generously to the Bulli Colliery Disaster and Antarctic Disaster Fund.<sup>8</sup>

The Goodlets support of relief philanthropy was sometimes longstanding and regular and sometimes as the need arose, although much of this support required little more than a donation. The Goodlets most remarkable relief philanthropy, however, involved a great commitment of the Goodlets' financial resources and also the time and involvement of both John and Ann. This most significant philanthropy was their work for consumptive patients and it is this work which was the most widely recognised and praised. It was praise that was largely given to John, but upon closer inspection it becomes apparent that the motivation, planning and running of the consumptive home was probably largely due to Ann. John provided the funds, but it was Ann who planned and administered the Home.

### **The Consumptive Home**

In the colony of NSW during the late 1870s, tuberculosis was a considerable health problem and was perhaps the single greatest cause of death in that period.<sup>9</sup> In September 1877, the Goodlets began their work for consumptives in a leased property in Picton which was called 'Florence Villa',<sup>10</sup> and in 1886 expanded the charity with a new purpose-built facility in Thirlmere. [Photo page 96] These facilities were not hospitals but, as their name implied, a home to which sufferers could go for care and shelter. They were more sanatoria than hospital except that, unlike their overseas equivalent, they were not for the wealthy who could pay often considerable

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<sup>8</sup> This was a fund run by the Lord Mayor of Sydney which raised £7,000 to assist the families of those impacted by the loss of life in the Antarctic Expedition of Captain Robert Falcon Scott who died March 29, 1912. *SMH* June 3, 1913.

<sup>9</sup> J.B. Trivett, *Tuberculosis in NSW. A statistical analysis of the Mortality from Tubercular Disease during the last thirty three years* (Sydney: William Applegate Gullick, Government Printer, 1909). For works on the Colonial incidence see Robin Walker, 'The struggle against pulmonary tuberculosis in Australia, 1788-1950', *Australian Historical Studies* 20:80, 439-461, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10314618308682938> [accessed March 15, 2011]; A.J. Proust (ed) *History of Tuberculosis in Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea* (Canberra: Brolog Press, 1991); F.B. Smith, *Illness in Colonial Australia* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2011).

<sup>10</sup> Goodlet first took out a lease on a property called 'Florence Villa' in 1877 it had prior to this been the Terminus Hotel. R. Steel, 'Early days of Picton: 2,' *Journal Royal Historical Society*, IX, 1904, 172. The property was not renamed by Goodlet 'Florence Villa' (contra Jan Ross *District Reporter* April 6, 2001) nor was it named after Goodlet's sister Florence who died of Consumption as Goodlet had no such sister (contra Jan Ross *Queen Victoria Memorial Hospital* (nd) 2 and contra John Pearn 'The Queen Victoria Home for Consumptives Fund – a history of its origins, functions, and achievements' *Third National Conference on Medical History and Health in Australia* Adelaide, South Australia, 1986. H. Attwood & G. Kenny (editors). Parkville, Vic. : Medical History Unit, University of Melbourne and Medical History Society, AMA (Victorian Branch), c1987, 252. 'Florence Villa' was the property's name when Goodlet leased it. *SMH*, May 7, 1877. The building consisted of 14 rooms with a large room. The Goodlet's also had a country residence in Picton near Windmill Hill from which farm produce was supplied to the Picton Home. *SMH*, January 19, 1878.

sums, but for the poor who could not afford such amenities.<sup>11</sup> This institution was the only one in the colony of NSW dedicated to those who suffered from this disease until St Joseph's hospital was opened in 1886 in Parramatta.<sup>12</sup> These institutions remained the only ones dedicated to the care of consumptives until April 1897 when Lady Hampden decided, as a way to mark Queen Victoria's Jubilee, to raise funds in order to build a Queen Victoria Home for Consumptives.<sup>13</sup>

In one of his few recorded speeches, Goodlet put on record the reasons for the Home, and they underline the charitable motivation of caring for those in need and providing relief to sufferers:

It was only those who came in contact with the sufferers of consumption who could realise how much it [the Home] was needed. Many of the patients had contracted the disease here, but many were also arrivals [from] oversea[s]. Many poor creatures when they learned that no more could be done for them at home took the voyage out in hopes of being benefited, but as often as not they arrived in the colony in such a state of health that they could not work, and were without the means of living. He had often thought that the Government should take some steps to warn people on the other side from coming here. The unfortunate persons could hardly be blamed. They asked their doctors if coming to Australia would do them any good, and it was their last resource. There was no room for them in the general hospitals, where incurables were not admitted, and unless there was some place where they could stay permanently, they were compelled to go out into the world to die. No one could say to one of them: 'You have been here a month, and although you are no more able to earn your living than when you came, you must leave here.' No one with any feelings could do that.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Thomas Dormandy, *The White Death, A History of Tuberculosis* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 147-159 helpfully traces the nineteenth century European movement of 'rest and fresh air' in the sanatoria movement and the English equivalent is found in F.B. Smith, *The Retreat of Tuberculosis 1850-1950* (London: Croom Helm, 1988), 97-135.

<sup>12</sup> A.J. Proust 'Evolution of Treatment' in A.J. Proust (ed) *History of Tuberculosis in Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea* (Canberra: Brolga Press, 1991), 148-9.

<sup>13</sup> A preliminary meeting was held at Government House on April 28, 1897 and John Goodlet was in attendance. *SMH*, April 29, 1897.

<sup>14</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), September 23, 1893. Alison Bashford. 'Tuberculosis & Economy: Public Health & Labour in the Early Welfare State,' *Health and History* 4, 2, (2002), 19-40. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40111436> [accessed December 6, 2011] notes that in the twentieth century Tuberculosis was not seen in terms of a problem of immigration. It was, however, so seen in the nineteenth century, as Goodlet's comments show. Progressively there was less justification for this view as the disease took hold in the colonial born later in the century. See Appendix 1 for figures for incidence of overseas born and colonial born suffers at the Consumptive Homes.

**Consumptive Home**  
Thirlmere



Front of  
the Home



Entrance to  
the Home



**'Harmony'**  
The Goodlet  
country residence  
adjacent to the  
Consumptive Home

Although there was a clear need for a charitable institution for consumptives, given the popularity of the colony as a destination for those seeking relief, nineteenth century NSW also had many other pressing problems which could have engaged the Goodlet's charitable attention, but it is probable that there was a personal dimension to their motivation. The Goodlets were no strangers to consumption as Ann Goodlet and her first husband, John Dickson, had come to the colony of NSW in 1855, and they probably came as John had been suffering from consumption for many years. It was this disease which eventually took his life in 1859 after six years of marriage when he was only 36 years old. Also, from September 1876, some 12 months prior to the opening of the home, the four Copeland children were living with and being raised by the Goodlets as their mother, Elizabeth, had tragically died from consumption on the mission field. It is also likely that through their existing charitable work the Goodlets, and particularly Ann, were acutely aware of the plight of the poor consumptive immigrant.<sup>15</sup> It would appear that the Goodlets had this matter under consideration for some time for John, at a meeting of the Royal Society in 1868 to discuss the provision of hospitals for the colony, was asking questions about consumption and suitable places to site such institutions. On that occasion Dr Cox said

a consumptive hospital was much needed in this colony ... the distressing state of consumptive persons in New South Wales was most alarming. The whole present hospital accommodation would at once be taken up by patients of this class, and therefore the directors were compelled to refuse to admit this and other classes of incurable as well as contagious disease. He hoped that this subject would be seriously thought of, and that a remedy would soon be provided.<sup>16</sup>

When this work is recalled nowadays, it is John who receives most of the credit for the provision of a Home to meet this need. It is Ann, however, who appears to have been the more prominent figure in the building and maintenance of the Home. John's wealth may have provided the resources, but it was Ann who was a driving force in its success. This may be seen from comments made in various contemporary reports

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<sup>15</sup> Much later James Rae Dickson, a relative of Mrs Goodlet by her first marriage, who suffered from Consumption was nursed at Canterbury House. He died October 6, 1889 and was buried in the Goodlet family grave.

<sup>16</sup> *SMH*, August 17, 1868.

where she is specifically mentioned as being involved in erecting and designing the Home.<sup>17</sup> John Auld, the Goodlet family minister, commented at Ann's funeral that

the Consumptive Home at Thirlmere is itself an enduring monument of her Christian compassion for sufferers; but the time she devoted to the interests of the patients in that Home, and the thought and anxiety its efficient management cost her, is known only to a few.<sup>18</sup>

The first Home, opened in 1877 by the Goodlets, could accommodate 18 patients and in its nine years of operation '400 men and women found shelter there in their direst need'.<sup>19</sup> Admission to this Home, and later to the purpose-built one, was based on the fact that patients were not only consumptive but that they were 'poor', and no questions were asked as to the patient's creed. Residents were not required to contribute to their support, but were housed free of charge.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the charity that was extended was of the highest quality as one journalist noted, 'What a visitor can notice in passing in and out of the rooms that every article, as far as the labels can show it, is of the best. The same consideration for the inmates prevails throughout the home'.<sup>21</sup> Dr Camac Wilkinson,<sup>22</sup> who said he had had the opportunity to see the results of the Goodlets' work, noted that the institution sheltered persons who were absolutely unfit for any hospital, and who would otherwise be left to die of the terrible disease in the streets.<sup>23</sup> In this respect the Home was different from those in Europe which were for the financially well-off middle classes.

Patients were permitted to stay as long as their complaint lasted, one patient having been resident for six years. In the period 1877 to 1886, death claimed approximately

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<sup>17</sup> The author of the report of the opening is not named but it most likely was Joseph Copeland, the editor of *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness*, who was one of the few present at the occasion. *SMH*, September 20, 1886; *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, September 25, 1886. See also *The Sydney City Mission Herald*, January 15, 1903.

<sup>18</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, January 16, 1903.

<sup>19</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, September 25, 1886.

<sup>20</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, September 25, 1886.

<sup>21</sup> *The Telegraph (Sydney, NSW)*, August 26, 1893.

<sup>22</sup> Dr William Camac Wilkinson (1858 - 1946), was educated at the University of Sydney (BA 1877) and the University of London (MB 1882, MD 1884); studied at Strassbourg and Vienna. He was a physician in the throat, ear and skin departments of Sydney Hospitals. MLA in NSW from 1885-1889. Lecturer in principles and practice of medicine at University of Sydney from 1901. Honorary physician of the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital. He campaigned for registration and compulsory notification of tuberculosis. Went to London in 1910 and set up as a consultant in Harley Street. He championed 'tubuculine' as a cure for consumption.  
<http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/parlment/members.nsf/fe1657bcb0b25c9ca256df300077f63/e8156602bca84c1eca256e660001872d?OpenDocument> [accessed December 29, 2011].

<sup>23</sup> *SMH*, September 15, 1893.

25% of the patients admitted while the remaining 75% of the patients either improved and left or left to die elsewhere. The discharge rate of those admitted is not able to be calculated, but it was suggested that 'a good many left greatly improved in health'.<sup>24</sup> There was some general medical supervision by the visiting physician, but as the Home offered no curative treatment other than the provision of fresh air, good diet and care, those discharged were often greatly improved in general health but were not cured of the disease. The Home was not a hospital as such, but rather a combination of hospice and convalescent refuge.<sup>25</sup> [Appendix 1 has additional information on the Home]

The Home was managed for the 17 years that the Goodlets ran it by a Matron, a Mrs Isabella Price, for whom the Goodlets had nothing but praise and she was aided by a sub-matron, a cook, a wardsman and a man described as 'a generally useful'.<sup>26</sup> The inmates were not required to do any work and were encouraged to treat the place as their home. The Home was not just about physical healing as there was a spiritual dimension to the philanthropy and 'many got healing to the soul as well to the body.' Religious services were held within the Home each Sunday by visiting clergy such as the Anglican Samuel Fox and the various Presbyterian clergy of the district as well as other visitors.<sup>27</sup> Patients of a Roman Catholic persuasion were not permitted the ministrations of a priest within the Home, but those who wished were taken on the Sabbath 'in a vehicle of the Home to the Roman Catholic service'.<sup>28</sup> Cardinal Moran was later to unfairly and inaccurately accuse Goodlet of not recognising the Consumptive Home's 'Catholic patients as entitled to freedom of conscience'.<sup>29</sup> Goodlet strongly refuted these claims by publishing the facts of the instances Moran had raised and challenged Moran to publicly justify his allegations. Moran was unable to do so and was silenced.<sup>30</sup> Goodlet's refutation of Moran was restrained but firm. The press were not so restrained, criticising Moran's institution building and lack of effort in assisting the needy of his flock saying of Roman Catholicism that

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<sup>24</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), September 25, 1886.

<sup>25</sup> The observation of Catherine O'Carrigan that St Joseph's was a hospital for the treatment of salvageable tuberculosis patients and the Thirlmere Home a hospice for incurable advanced cases is a helpful distinction. A.J. Proust, *History of Tuberculosis in New South Wales*, 149.

<sup>26</sup> *The Telegraph* (Sydney, NSW), August 26, 1893. See Paul F Cooper, 'Price, Isabella, (1830-1920)' <http://webjournals.alphacrucis.edu.au/journals/adeb/p/price-isabella-1830-1920/> for the background of Isabella Price.

<sup>27</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), August 13, 1881; September 27, 1885.

<sup>28</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), December 11, 1886.

<sup>29</sup> *SMH*, December 6, 1886.

<sup>30</sup> *SMH*, December 11, 1886.

they have been liberal enough of late in building churches and schools, but it is the universal testimony with all those engaged in the distribution of charity that three-fourths of what is given to alleviate Roman Catholic distress comes out of Protestant pockets. If anyone builds a private hospital he must, of course be left to conduct it as he pleases; and if Cardinal Moran does not like the terms he should persuade some rich Roman Catholic to start a rival institution.<sup>31</sup>

The popularity of the first Home became such that it was unable to cope with the number of requests for admission, so the Goodlets decided to erect a larger and better building in the district. In 1882, Goodlet purchased a property of 327 acres of land between Picton and Thirlmere for £1,000 and which they called 'Harmony'.<sup>32</sup> Goodlet engaged Albert Bond of Sydney as an Architect who, in consultation with Ann Goodlet, designed the building to house 40 patients and it was opened on September 20, 1886. The Home was so designed that, as a contemporary account said, 'there is the most convincing evidence that very careful study has been given to secure the best means for the promotion of the inmates' health, their convenience, and comfort.'<sup>33</sup> So committed were the Goodlets to this work that, ignoring the common prejudice of residing near those suffering from consumption, a country residence for them was also constructed on the site of the Home,<sup>34</sup> and there was a farm attached which supplied milk, meat, eggs and vegetables.<sup>35</sup> [Photo page 96]

High hopes were held for a cure for tuberculosis. In March 1882, the German scientist Dr Robert Koch, demonstrated that the cause of tuberculosis was the tubercule bacillus, *Mycobacterium tuberculosis*. He later claimed in 1890 that 'tuberculine', a product of the tubercule grown in an artificial medium, had shown much promise in effecting such cures of consumption in its early stages.<sup>36</sup> The various Australian colonial governments sent envoys to Berlin to study these claims. The result of these studies was a cautious acceptance, with a significant number of

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<sup>31</sup> *The Argus (Melbourne, Vic)*, December 14, 1886. The article is somewhat unfair towards Moran and Roman Catholicism for on July 2, 1886 some six months earlier St Joseph's home for consumptives had been opened in Parramatta by the Sisters of Charity.

<sup>32</sup> It was purchased on January 16, 1882 from Septimus Alfred Stephen. *Land Records of the Queen Victoria Hospital* – courtesy of Jan L Ross, Thirlmere. The cost of purchase of £1,000 for 327 acres. *SMH*, December 3, 1881.

<sup>33</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, September 25, 1886.

<sup>34</sup> Albert Bond also designed this country residence for the Goodlets to be called 'Harmony'.

<sup>35</sup> It was run by the John's nephew, David Clark. The name of the farm from 1894 onwards was 'Malleny' after a place in Scotland where Goodlet had once lived. *The Queanbeyan Age (Queanbeyan, NSW)*, June 27, 1882.

<sup>36</sup> Heinrich Hermann Robert Koch 1843-1910, his life and contribution is summarised in Thomas M Daniel, *Pioneers of Medicine and their Impact on Tuberculosis* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2000), 62-97.

caveats, that 'the fluid is probably a valuable remedial agent'.<sup>37</sup> Dr Camac Wilkinson, who had studied for a time under Koch, received a quantity of 'tuberculine' and was confident it would be effective. Wilkinson indicated he would conduct trials at Sydney Hospital<sup>38</sup> however the Sydney Hospital did not share Wilkinson's confidence and quickly issued a denial that such trials would be run there.<sup>39</sup> Goodlet approached Wilkinson with the suggestion that the 'cure' be trialled at his Home,<sup>40</sup> but the initiative shown by Goodlet was not rewarded with a significant medical cure as Wilkinson was later to report:

My own experience in 1891 told me that in tuberculin we possessed a specific remedy of great value in suitable cases. My first experiments were made upon patients who were living in a country sanatorium, and were free from fever. But the general wave of condemnation overwhelmed me in its flood, and it was practically impossible to persuade anyone to undergo specific treatment – at any rate, until all other method and remedies had hopelessly failed. Then unfortunately the stage for tuberculin treatment had long passed.<sup>41</sup>

By 1893, Goodlet had come to the conclusion that he could no longer afford to fund the Consumptive Home as his personal charity. A provisional committee was formed to see if there was sufficient public support to continue the Home as a public institution,<sup>42</sup> and Goodlet indicated that he was only keeping the Home open until the result of the appeal was known.<sup>43</sup> The provisional committee wanted a swift answer for only three weeks were given in which to raise a sufficient level of subscriptions to warrant keeping the Home open<sup>44</sup> and it was estimated that £1,100 per annum was required. The matter was widely advertised and supported through numerous newspaper articles, and a special appeal was made to Scottish Presbyterians. Such appeals were successful, the financial support was promised, and the provisional committee decided to proceed. Goodlet had hoped that such support would only be

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<sup>37</sup> *Australasian Medical Gazette (Sydney, NSW)*, March 15, 1891.

<sup>38</sup> *The Telegraph (Sydney, NSW)*, February 21, 1891.

<sup>39</sup> *Australasian Medical Gazette (Sydney, NSW)*, March 15, 1891.

<sup>40</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, March 28, 1891. The trials began about a week after the Sydney Hospital had declined to be involved.

<sup>41</sup> W. Camac Wilkinson, 'Tuberculin as a specific Remedy for Pulmonary Tuberculosis,' in *Transactions of the Sixth Session of the Intercolonial Medical Congress of Australia*, Hobart, Tasmania, (February 1902): 128. For an assessment of both Koch and Wilkinson's work see A.J. Proust, 'Tuberculin and Some other Therapies used in the Treatment of Tuberculosis' in A.J. Proust, *The History of Tuberculosis*, 154-157.

<sup>42</sup> Letter Rev. James Cosh and Senator J.T. Walker to J. Walker, July 28, 1893. *Walker Papers* Ferguson Library.

<sup>43</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, August 19, 1893.

<sup>44</sup> Notice of Meeting of Provisional Committee, August 31, 1893. *Walker Papers* Ferguson Library.

needed for three years, so he gave the provisional committee a three year lease at a rental of one shilling per annum. He was hoping that at the end of the lease he would be able to resume operation of his private charity.

By 1896, when the lease to the committee expired, Goodlet's business interests had not yet recovered their former strength and Ann, the driving force behind the running of the Home, was now 74 and soon to begin the long decline in health which led to her death. Financial support for the Home was also in decline and subscriptions were less than half what was required to keep the Home open, so once again the Home was in danger of closure.

The committee approached the Government with the proposal that it should purchase the property for some £5,000 and endow the Home pound for pound on the amount received by the public.<sup>45</sup> The Government did support the Home but with only £300, and a more lasting solution was needed to keep it in operation. To exacerbate the situation, Lady Hampden started a fund to establish another Home in order to commemorate Queen Victoria's Jubilee Year. So actively was the whole colony canvassed for this fund that money rained in from all directions as subscribers transferred their benevolence, dealing a near-fatal blow to the Consumptive Home at Thirlmere. Many of those involved in encouraging the Queen Victoria Jubilee fund had been concerned with consumption well before Lady Hampden took up the cause, and had been involved with or deeply appreciated the work of Goodlet. It was through their influence that part of the Jubilee Fund was used to support the Home at Thirlmere.

In 1903 Ann Goodlet died, and in 1904 Goodlet remarried and gave the Home and the grounds surrounding it to the Queen Victoria Home (QVH) and he offered the rest of his estate to them for sale. The estate, consisting of a substantial brick cottage on 320 acres of land, was purchased in September 1905 by the QVH for a substantially discounted price of £3,000.<sup>46</sup> Goodlet's connection with the Home and with the area was greatly diminished, but he continued as a member of the QVH committee for some time and continued to agitate publicly for the government to be more active in providing for and dealing with the issue of consumption. He said of government and community inaction on consumption, in language borrowed from his military service, that

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<sup>45</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, September 26, 1896.

<sup>46</sup> Jan Ross, *A History of Queen Victoria Memorial Hospital, 1877-1994* (Picton, N.S.W.: Queen Victoria Memorial Hospital, [1994]), 5.

a great battle or a prolonged siege could not be more destructive, but the process is gradual, the victims are silent, and we seem to have tacitly agreed to keep the unpleasant subject in the background as far as may be possible ... we dealt firmly with the plague, but consumption, which is far more disastrous goes unchecked.<sup>47</sup>

### **The Benevolent Society and the Dorcas Society**

A second relief philanthropic interest of the Goodlets, which required of them more than the donation of money, was their support of the Benevolent Society of NSW (BS). On May 3, 1905, the first section of the Benevolent Society Royal Hospital for Women was opened. The new hospital had been partly furnished through the efforts of the Ladies' Committee of the Lying-in Department of the Benevolent Asylum, by individual donors and from the funds, some £1,321 19s 0d, of the defunct Dorcas Society (DS).<sup>48</sup> Rathbone identifies this society as the DS of the Presbyterian Church, but this is incorrect as the Presbyterian group was not formed until much later.<sup>49</sup> The Sydney DS, from which the funds came, was formed in 1830 and was a society controlled and largely funded by women. Its object was to 'relieve poor married women during the month of their confinement, with necessary clothing and other things, as the individual case may require'. The society would also see that a midwife was always provided, and in extreme cases would arrange for the attendance of a medical man with the expenses to be met by the society. Mrs Goodlet was the Secretary and Treasurer from at least 1866<sup>50</sup> and the leading light of this group and its most active member:

there are many energetic and charitable Christian ladies, some of whose names we see among the supporters of this society. The secretary and treasurer [Ann Goodlet] is "in herself a host".<sup>51</sup>

In 1855, the DS added to its function 'to relieve persons in distressed circumstances who are without friends capable of rendering the necessary help, but upon enquiry deserving of it'<sup>52</sup> and became known as the Dorcas and Stranger's Friend Society.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *SMH*, December 22, 1905.

<sup>48</sup> Benevolent Society, *Minutes Board of Directors*, January 17, 1903. John Goodlet and Dr Renwick were the Trustees of these Dorcas funds.

<sup>49</sup> Ron Rathborne, *A Very Present Help Caring for Australians Since 1813 - The History of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, 1994), 124.

<sup>50</sup> She possibly became Secretary on the marriage of Jane Foss to John Raymond in 1866. *SMH*, February 9, 1866.

<sup>51</sup> *SMH*, October 1, 1866.

<sup>52</sup> *SMH*, October 1, 1866.

Ann was involved in this work from at least 1862 until 1887, but it is not known when the society ceased to function.<sup>54</sup> Godden sees the demise of this group occurring because it utilized the 'Lady Bountiful' model of women's philanthropy where wealthy ladies visited destitute women who were known to them and dispensed aid. Godden suggests it ceased around 1879 and it did so because 'the work was no longer feasible because extensive personal knowledge of the destitute no longer existed among the wealthy ladies of Sydney'.<sup>55</sup>

Regretfully, the DS went about its task largely unheralded and unrecorded so it is difficult to assess the view of Godden on its demise. It was, however, actively in operation providing a mid-wife employed by the society for births at least up until 1881<sup>56</sup> and continued to function up to 1887 and possibly for somewhat longer. It is probably inaccurate to stress the 'personal knowledge' which as 'Lady Bountiful' members of the society the ladies supposedly possessed of the recipients of the charity they dispensed. The society advertised in the newspaper providing the names and addresses of the lady members of the committee, and requesting persons in need of help to contact them.<sup>57</sup> While there is merit in the argument of Godden concerning its demise it should be noted that the DS was not a pure form of the 'Lady Bountiful' model of philanthropy as visiting by its committee was only part of its function; an equally important part was the work of the paid mid-wife. In recognition of Ann's contribution both to the work of the BS and to pregnant women through the DS, the BS named one of the newly opened wards the 'Ann A. Goodlet Ward'. [Photo page 107]

The Goodlets had begun their connection with the BS in 1860 in the first year of their marriage with a donation of five guineas, the first recorded charitable act of their married life and a significant sum of money. John Goodlet was elected to membership of the Committee of the BS at the meeting of January 29, 1862, and he

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<sup>53</sup> *SMH*, March 12, 1855.

<sup>54</sup> She was possibly involved for a much longer period but there are no extant records so when it ceased to operate is unknown. It was active in 1882 for Ann was seeking a qualified mid wife for the Dorcas Society and she was acknowledging the receipt of funds until 1887. *SMH*, June 22, 1881; December 6, 1887. The Society had a balance of £350 in 1879 and collected £91.10.6 in 1880, £52.19.6 in 1885. *SMH*, March 2, 1880; December 5, 1885. It was still sufficiently active in 1887 to receive an allocation of £200 by the Trustees of the Estate of Thomas Walker. As some £1,300, the residual of its funds, were donated to the Benevolent Society in 1903 it would seem that it continued for some considerable time.

<sup>55</sup> Judith Godden, 'British models and colonial experience: Women's philanthropy in late nineteenth century Sydney,' *Journal of Australian Studies* 10:19, 44.

<sup>56</sup> *SMH*, June 22, 1881

<sup>57</sup> *SMH*, September 27, 1862.

continued in formal membership until 1870. In June 1879, some eight years after John had ceased to work directly in the governance of the Society, a Ladies Committee in connection with the Lying-in Department of the Asylum was formally recognised and Ann Goodlet was appointed a member, but it is probable that Ann and others informally carried out this task for some considerable period before this date.<sup>58</sup> Every week a group of Ladies devoted their time to the cases presenting themselves for admission to the Lying-in Department 'and who by their kind and Christian deportment to the unfortunates who seek admission during the time of their trouble' sought to be of assistance.<sup>59</sup>

In January 1862, the BS had received considerable newspaper and parliamentary comment on its administration. Less than a month after John was elected to membership of the Committee, the government acted to remove the responsibility for aged men and women from the work of the BS and it became in effect an obstetric hospital and a home for children in difficult circumstances. It is unknown whether public agitation was instrumental in causing Goodlet to stand for the Committee. The cause of pregnant women and abandoned children was more that of Ann than John for she frequently recommended a number of children be admitted to the care of the BS, perhaps because she came across a variety of cases in her role as Secretary of the SFRS.

The extant information suggests that of the Goodlets, John was the first involved with the BS, though this may only be an apparent precedence. Unfortunately, the sources do not give much indication as to what work was done by other than the all-male management committee. The fact that Ann maintained a concern for the work of the society, as she was listed as Superintendent of the Ladies Committee until the year of her death, is indicative of her interest and suggests it was more her charitable interest than that of her husband John. While John was a member of the Board of the BS he was also appointed to the membership of the 'Acting or House Committee' which met weekly and was responsible for the day-to-day running and admission of individuals to the facility. Goodlet's attendance on the committee from 1862 until 1870 was, in comparison to his other charitable interests, very poor as he attended only some 28% of meetings. This further supports the view that the charity was primarily Ann's interest.

Sir Arthur Renwick had said in the Annual Report of the BS for 1899

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<sup>58</sup> John Goodlet had advocated the formation of such a group as early as 1862. *SMH*, March 7, 1862.

<sup>59</sup> Benevolent Society, *1883 Annual Report*, (Sydney, 1882), 13.

It is painful to find young women entering the maternity wards for their second and third confinement yet these must receive succour on the broad ground of humanity. It is true that certain institutions of the city sternly refuse shelter to an unmarried girl who has erred for the second time, but if such a course were adopted by the Benevolent Asylum it would mean risk to human life, for if the applicants were turned from the doors of the Institution the alternative would inevitably be the street.<sup>60</sup>

The comment of Renwick alluded to the common nineteenth century distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor. This was a concept that restricted the provision of relief to those whom were deemed deserving as they were destitute or in trouble through no fault of their own. Those who were judged as undeserving through their own fault received little support. Such a distinction appears to modern ears moralistic, heartless and ill-informed, but the resources of charities were not endless and some criteria, however fallible, needed to be developed to see that their meagre resources were well used. The Goodlets, while they supported some charities that adopted this view such as the Charity Organisation, also supported charities such as the City Night Refuge and Soup Kitchen and the BS which did not. In their own private charity there was no discrimination towards deserving or undeserving nor to religious adherence as consumption itself was not discriminatory.

Renwick commented that in regard to those that others might consider undeserving the

Ladies Committee had done their utmost to counsel young women with regard to their sinful lives, and no doubt in many instances the seed has fallen upon fruitful soil.<sup>61</sup>

It was Ann Goodlet and her helpers who gave such counsel, no doubt, much as they did through the SFRS, but her efforts at this charity were more philanthropy as improvement which will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Philanthropy as relief was an important activity in the philanthropic spectrum of relief, improvement, civic engagement, reform and spiritual philanthropy that characterised the Goodlet philanthropy. John and Ann gave to periodic appeals, but

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<sup>60</sup> Benevolent Society, *1899 Annual Report*, (Sydney, 1900), 24.

<sup>61</sup> Benevolent Society, *1899 Annual Report*, (Sydney, 1900), 24.

## Organisations supported by Ann Goodlet



**Benevolent Asylum c1885**  
Central Square, Sydney



**Royal Hospital for Women Paddington**  
**Gynaecological Wing, 1905**

*Dorcas Society funds were used to furnish a ward named the 'Ann A Goodlet Ward'*

most of their efforts were of a longstanding and regular nature to various charitable organisations that gave relief. The Consumptive Home was a major and ground breaking personal philanthropic effort by them that particularly demonstrates the engagement of Ann in the Goodlet philanthropy as she, it is argued, was its driving force for starting and planning the Home and for its administration. The DS and the BS were also important Goodlet philanthropic activities, but again it was Ann who was the major Goodlet contributor of time and effort to these charities. In the Goodlet philanthropic profile it is Ann in particular who demonstrates a personal commitment to philanthropy as relief.

## **CHAPTER 5: The Philanthropic Spectrum: *Improvement***

Philanthropy as improvement seeks to maximise individual human potential and is seen in a number of the charities with which John and Ann Goodlet involved themselves. These ranged from local small scale improvement projects, such as the Glebe and Parramatta Street Penny Bank, to national schemes such as the Australian Mutual Provident Society. They also included support of various educational and training ventures covering a wide variety of social needs of the time in order to allow peoples of various situations to improve their situation in life. To assist the female casualties of sin, both sinned against and themselves sinning, there was the Sydney Female Refuge Society and the Sydney Female Mission Home and in the area of poverty there were the Ragged Schools. In the area of disability there was the Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution and in the area of education more generally their support of a universal state education system and of the Presbyterian Ladies College, and in the university sector John's work at St Andrews College. These activities were major areas of commitment for the Goodlets and constituted a significant proportion of their charitable work.

### **Glebe Penny Bank**

In 1862, John Goodlet was the founding secretary of the Glebe and Parramatta Street Penny Bank (GPSPB).<sup>1</sup> Penny Banks were a Scottish innovation being first formed in Greenock in 1815,<sup>2</sup> but did not become common place in Scotland until the 1860s. The aim of such organisations was to encourage the less well-off to save very small sums and place them with the Penny Bank. In turn, this money would be deposited by the Trustees in a Savings Bank which would pay interest that was passed on to the Penny Bank depositor. In the case of the GPSPB, all the costs were met by the Trustees and these banks sought to make banking and saving easily accessible to the less well-off and to encourage in them the virtue of saving and the provision for their future. They were often associated with churches and many churches took the opportunity to use their members to run these organisations. The GPSPB was not directly associated with a church, but deposits were received in the school room of St Barnabas Anglican Church and the Glebe Rifles Volunteer Office. The Rev Thomas Smith, a Director and Rector of St Barnabas, no doubt organised for

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<sup>1</sup> *SMH*, May 17, 1862.

<sup>2</sup> Duncan M. Ross, 'Penny banks' in Glasgow, 1850-1914,' *Financial History Review* 9,1, (2002): 25.

the church premises to be used as did Goodlet as Captain of the Glebe Volunteers their premises.<sup>3</sup> The GPSPB was a small scale operation. The first annual meeting reported that there were 800 depositors who made 9,000 deposits with a total of £777 9s 2d being banked and that this was earning an interest rate of 5 percent.<sup>4</sup> How long Goodlet remained involved with the GPSBP is unknown,<sup>5</sup> but he was to move to a provident activity that was of a different scale and intensity, the Australian Mutual Provident Society.

### **Australian Mutual Provident Society**

Goodlet's involvement with the Australian Mutual Provident Society (AMP) was charitable in that, though Goodlet was paid as a director, it was an involvement directed towards the encouragement of others to make some provision for their future. There was, it is true, considerable prestige associated with membership of the Board of Directors of the AMP. It was a sought after position, and the lengths to which Goodlet initially went to get elected, and his diligence in meeting attendance, may indicate more than a hint of self-interest. It was, however, essentially an act of community service for a man who did not otherwise seek or desire recognition and honours. It should be remembered that the AMP was initially not a business but a charity.<sup>6</sup> The work with the AMP absorbed an enormous amount of Goodlet's time with its regular meetings and one suspects that for Goodlet it was a challenging directorship which allowed him to use his manifest skills at business and also serve the community. That Goodlet was prepared to give this time in addition to his other charitable work indicates that his business life had to be running very smoothly and well.

A significant factor in the foundation of the AMP was, said Thomas Mort a leading figure in its formation, the need to provide for clergymen and their families in case of old age and death.<sup>7</sup> Indeed the three leading men in its formation, Walsh, Holt and Mort were all Christians of a protestant persuasion and Walsh was an Anglican

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<sup>3</sup> The directors were Messers W. T. Pinhey, W. Elphinstone, G.R. Harrison, S. Hawthorne, W. Rae, W. Sloman, the Rev T. Smith and J.H. Goodlet (Secretary).

<sup>4</sup> *SMH*, July 10, 1863.

<sup>5</sup> It is likely he relinquished his position when he went overseas in 1869. After 1870 the *SMH*, no longer reported on the GPSPB so it is possible that unlike the similar Pitt Street Penny Bank, associated with Pitt Street Congregational Church its life was short lived.

<sup>6</sup> Geoffrey Blainey, *A history of the AMP 1848-1998* (St Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 1999); Wilsie Short, *Benjamin Short, 1833-1912: a migrant with a mission: grandfather's story* (Kensington N.S.W.: N.S.W. University Press, 1994).

<sup>7</sup> Geoffrey Blainey, *A history of the AMP*, 3-4.

clergyman. It was a philanthropic activity of Protestantism although not connected to any particular denomination. Most of the early chairmen were strong Christians and office bearers of one of Sydney's congregations, and clergymen were often present at its annual meetings.<sup>8</sup>

The religious flavour of the Society was quietly and tactfully evangelical; it was a mirror of that Protestant view that people must accept responsibility for their own wellbeing and that individual responsibility was a form of godliness.<sup>9</sup>

This view was underlined with the employment in 1860 of Benjamin Short who was the first fulltime salesman for the AMP. Short, a strong evangelical who later joined with Goodlet in the foundation of the SCM, said that life insurance was a Christian duty that a husband owed to his family.<sup>10</sup> The purchase of an AMP policy was a Christian act and an expression of godliness. Not long before he married in 1860, Goodlet took out an insurance policy with the AMP for £1,000, no doubt for the purpose of providing for his wife Ann should he die unexpectedly.<sup>11</sup> Thus began Goodlet's long and devoted association with the AMP which concluded when he resigned the chairmanship in 1887.

Goodlet first came to prominence in the affairs of the AMP as a result of unrest concerning the performance of the Society and he ended his association with the AMP over the same issue. At a special meeting held on May 1, 1865, a committee, chaired by Alexander Campbell, was set up to 'investigate and report on the affairs of the Society'. Goodlet, though only 30 years old and in business in Sydney for just ten years, was of sufficient standing to be appointed to the committee. When the investigative Campbell Committee, which met 52 times in eight months and thoroughly examined the activities of the AMP, reported it expressed the view that 'the affairs of the Society are in a sound and prosperous condition,'<sup>12</sup> though its management had been lax and there were a significant number of issues that needed to be addressed.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Blainey, *A history of the AMP*, 32-33.

<sup>9</sup> Blainey, *A history of the AMP*, 33.

<sup>10</sup> Blainey, *A history of the AMP*, 34; Wilsie Short, *Benjamin Short*.

<sup>11</sup> AMP *Board Minutes*, November 4, 1859.

<sup>12</sup> It reported to a special meeting of the Society on December 18, 1865. AMP *Board Minutes*, April 23, 1866.

<sup>13</sup> Blainey, *A History of the AMP*, 40-42.

By 1866, as a result of his work on the Campbell Committee,<sup>14</sup> Goodlet had decided to take a direct interest in the affairs of the AMP and he was nominated in that year for the Board of Directors along with some high profile, prominent and experienced people. These were Samuel Aaron Joseph MP, who was the current AMP chairman, John Donald McLean MP, a Scottish-born squatter and member of the Queensland Parliament and its Treasurer, and Samuel Lyons, a wealthy and well-established colonial-born businessman and parliamentarian. Joseph complained that Lyons had been soliciting votes and that this was, in his view, a breach of the society's by-laws. Lyons had circulated a printed circular bearing his name and enclosing written voting papers and soliciting votes. Goodlet obviously thought he also needed to do something to improve his chances of election against such high profile and established candidates, for the chairman also drew attention to 'another form of solicitation from Mr. Goodlet,' but its nature was not specified. The chairman had a legal opinion read concerning what votes could not be accepted and the opinion, if accepted, would have disqualified those votes cast for Lyons and Goodlet.

A meeting of the Society disagreed with the advice obtained by the Chairman and Lyons was easily elected and Goodlet filled the second vacancy with a margin of 40 votes.<sup>15</sup> It would appear that the new members, Goodlet and Lyons, were disregarding the established approach of older members, such as Joseph, and were seeking to use innovative methods in order to gain the attention of the public and secure their election. Goodlet was not just innovative in his business practice, but in others areas of life as well. That he was elected over such men of community standing indicates both the effectiveness of his lobbying and also the high regard in which he was held. That Joseph had been chairman while the AMP had been guilty of 'lax management' would also have assisted in his unseating and in Goodlet's victory.

The directors met, usually weekly, to deal with the business of the society. Goodlet was very diligent in his attendance and, in the period up to Goodlet going overseas in 1869 the Directors held 157 meetings of which Goodlet attended 153. Because of his absence overseas he did not contest election in 1869, but did so again in March 1872 and was elected along with John Fairfax, the owner of the *Sydney Morning*

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<sup>14</sup> *SMH*, March 15, 1866.

<sup>15</sup> *AMP Board Minutes*, April 23, 1866.

*Herald*.<sup>16</sup> He remained on the Board until 1875 and did not seek and gain reappointment until 1877. At the 1880 election Goodlet topped the poll<sup>17</sup> and was elected deputy chairman,<sup>18</sup> becoming chairman at the end of 1881.<sup>19</sup> Goodlet relinquished the position when Professor John Smith returned to the board in 1883, but remained on the Board of Directors until 1887 only being absent from the board for a short period in 1883/4 as he was ineligible for election.<sup>20</sup> He was reappointed as soon as he was eligible and again became deputy chairman.<sup>21</sup> Upon the death of Professor Smith, Goodlet was elected chairman and remained so from October 1885 until his resignation in May 1887,<sup>22</sup> after regular service over 22 years.

It was during Goodlet's chairmanship that the board sought to implement three controversial measures which met with strong resistance from many of the members. In part, it was said that the opposition arose because of a lack of consultation with the membership. It was no doubt also true, and probably more relevant, that the members could not see the proposals of the board in the terms which the board saw them, namely that they would be to the long-term benefit of the members. The members feared a dilution of the value of their investments. Sir James R Fairfax and Sir John Hay resigned from the board over the criticisms and the chairman Goodlet and deputy chairman Ives would have done so too, but decided to stay as four resignations at the one time would have destabilized the board.<sup>23</sup> [Photo page 114]

The issues at question were the provision of a pension for Alexander Ralston<sup>24</sup> of £1,200 per annum, the implementation of a general pension scheme for employees, and the opening of an office in London. Goodlet and deputy chairman Ives felt that the opposition was such that they decided to resign from the board when the matters were finalized. The election to the board of those who were known to oppose the

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<sup>16</sup> AMP *Board Minutes*, March 28, 1872.

<sup>17</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, May 1, 1880.

<sup>18</sup> AMP *Board Minutes*, May 11, 1880.

<sup>19</sup> AMP *Board Minutes*, December 29, 1881.

<sup>20</sup> Notice of the AMP 34<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting April 25, 1883.

<sup>21</sup> Goodlet was re-appointed at annual meeting in 1884 and made deputy chairman April 29, 1884. AMP *Board Minutes*, April 29, 1884.

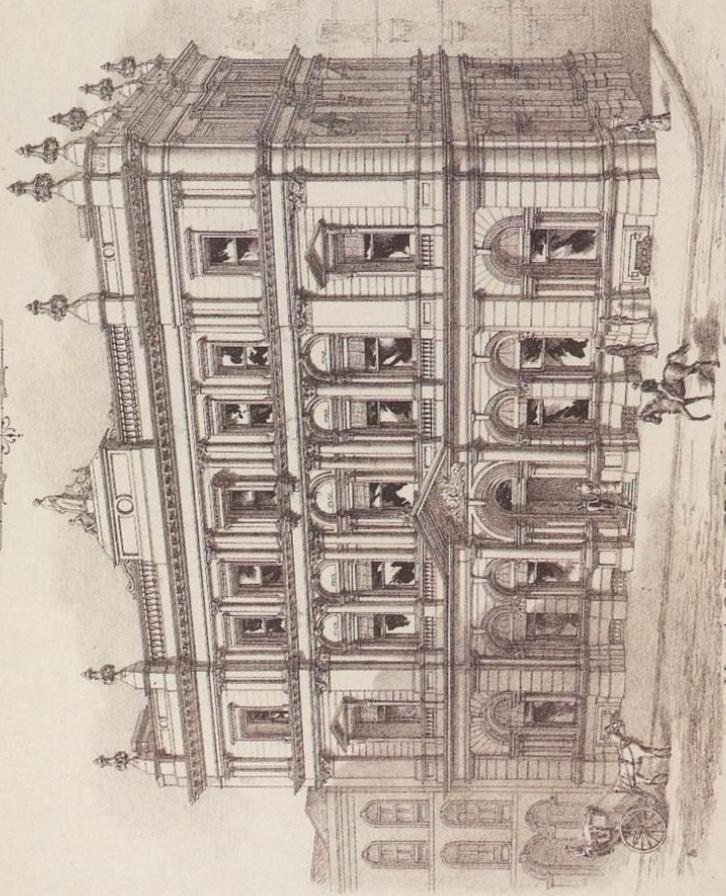
<sup>22</sup> AMP *Board Minutes*, October 20, 1885; May 6, 1887; May 10, 1887. Blainey, *A History of the AMP*, 338 is incorrect in listing Goodlet's period of service as ceasing in 1886.

<sup>23</sup> *SMH*, May 10, 1887.

<sup>24</sup> Alexander Ralston was the chief officer of the AMP from 1865-1886.

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Annual Income:  
**£1,250,000.**

AMP Advertising  
 in the time of Goodlet's chairmanship

board's proposals was taken by Goodlet and Ives as a vote of no confidence in their leadership, and the planned opening of a London office to sell Life Assurance in Great Britain was abandoned.<sup>25</sup>

In order to make employment at AMP more attractive so that experienced officers could be retained, the board proposed to implement a controversial retrospective pension scheme for its employees. It was in effect a deferred payment scheme which would keep down the annual wages, but attach efficient officers to the society.<sup>26</sup> It would appear that people like JT Walker were not unaware of the need for such a scheme, but considered a non-retrospective superannuation scheme, such as that used by the Bank of NSW of which Walker was a director, to be a better and more responsible idea.<sup>27</sup> The board's scheme attracted much heated criticism and the proposal was used by the competitors of AMP against it. The criticism was regarded by Goodlet as one reason for the fall off in business in the year, while another member publically described Goodlet's diagnosis as 'absolutely untrue'.<sup>28</sup> Such a reflection on his truthfulness was too much for Goodlet and as chairman he rebuked the member, whose apologetic explanation was met with hisses by the meeting.<sup>29</sup> The reaction of Goodlet demonstrates that his reputation for honesty was greatly prized by him both as a core value, but also in a pragmatic way as a businessman the value of having a good reputation for truthfulness was not just moral, but economic. Goodlet's business in part depended upon his reputation for honesty and fair dealing and he showed he would not allow his reputation to be tarnished.

The following speech by a member gives something of the feeling against the board of the time

Although he thought a great deal which might be of a reprehensible character had taken place in regard to management, he at the same time felt that there had been displayed on the part of some of the members a certain amount of heat and rancour which did not reflect great credit upon them. The operations

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<sup>25</sup> By a resolution of the Board on June 11, 1886. This proposed abandonment was endorsed by the meeting of members on June 15, 1886. *SMH*, April 26, 1887.

<sup>26</sup> *SMH*, April 26, 1887.

<sup>27</sup> *SMH*, April 27, 1887.

<sup>28</sup> *SMH*, April 26, 1887.

<sup>29</sup> *SMH*, April 26, 1887.

of the society were on a large scale of magnitude and it was necessary they should be conducted by gentlemen possessed of the highest ability. But if the directors were to be subjected to the intemperate language which had been used in the past, then he said no decent man in this community would accept the position of director. Those present were members, not a mob, but a society, in which they were mutually bound, and the obligation rested upon them in regard to whatever they might have to say of the management to say it in the most kindly and temperate and gentlemanly way possible. Everything they did should be thoroughly weighed, and they ought give the directors every possible opportunity of showing their view of a question. He thought that since the accusations were first brought against the directors a great change in their favour had taken place in public opinion. He thought that the directors were to blame for not having put before the members a statement in reply to the accusations made against them. He believed it was more against the application than the system of pensions that the opposition had been directed. Now, what possible interest could the directors have in concealing anything from the members of the society? The directorship of it was created by the purest and most popular system of suffrage, it was, the blue ribbon of directorships in this colony. But if members deprecated the position of a director, and made it appear that the holders of those responsible positions could not be trusted with the details of the society's work, then they would degrade the society, and would cause the best qualified gentlemen to decline to help in the management.<sup>30</sup>

On his resignation Goodlet said that 'in the light of all the circumstances that occurred in the past few months' he could not remain as chairman and retain his self-respect. He considered that the outgoing board had not been treated with sufficient consideration, and reminded the members that those elected to look after their interests were not infallible, but had a right to respect and consideration while they disinterestedly looked after the members. He reminded them that such respect was worth more to such persons than any pecuniary remuneration that is offered.<sup>31</sup> There were expressions of regret at Goodlet's resignation. It was said by Josiah Mullens, one of the unsuccessful candidates, that Mr Goodlet 'had not been treated

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<sup>30</sup> *SMH*, April 26, 1887. A 'Mr McMillan' made this speech.

<sup>31</sup> *SMH*, May 10, 1887.

as he should have been, considering his character and the long and arduous service he had rendered to the society,' to which the assembly responded 'Hear, hear'.<sup>32</sup>

At the time of the resignation of Goodlet and deputy chairman Ives, it was pointed out that the board's proposals had brought division among the members and that as much

as their severance from the board might weaken the management of the affairs of the society for some time, he was, nevertheless, satisfied that the chairman and the deputy-chairman, when they came to think over the matter, would be satisfied that their action in resigning was the only one consistent with their own good honour; and it would prove a blessing to the members of the society, in that it would bring its members once more into harmony with one another.<sup>33</sup>

Goodlet had the last word, saying

that he would be the last person to wish all men to see as he saw. He believed in difference of opinion, for out of that they got truth. He hoped that the day would be far distant when they would elect on their Board of Directors gentlemen all of one mind.<sup>34</sup>

These words go a long way to explaining Goodlet's approach to people both within and without the church. He had no difficulty working with those of differing views, even those with whom he had significant differences such as Roman Catholics. Within his own church he could be friends with those whose theological perspectives differed.

The election of Goodlet to the AMP and his continued reappointment whenever he stood for election, his appointment as deputy chairman and his appointment as chairman twice, indicates the growing esteem in which he was held. This high regard accorded to him did not, however, protect him from criticism. With the board of AMP Goodlet sought to break new ground, to implement a pension scheme, and to enter

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<sup>32</sup> *SMH*, May 10, 1887.

<sup>33</sup> *SMH*, May 10, 1887. A 'Robert Smith' made this speech.

<sup>34</sup> *SMH*, May 10, 1887.

the English commercial scene. Unlike his similar groundbreaking actions in business and in the Consumptive Home, he needed the support of those who appointed him. He believed that such actions were in the long-term best interests of the AMP, but the majority of the members of the AMP did not share his optimism. The failure of the board to convince the members was a failure of communication. The board had perhaps been overly confident that the members would concur with their judgement and perhaps Goodlet and the board members were not used to having to sell their commercial decisions.

Goodlet was a man with his own opinions and he acted upon them, but he did not believe it was necessary for all to think as he thought. He was in essence and at heart a humble man not afraid to act on his own convictions, and he was not just a leader, but a humble leader. He valued his word, his reputation and his integrity. When these were questioned and when he believed he had lost the confidence of the AMP subscribers, he resigned. A leader, Goodlet believed, could not be effective if he did not enjoy trust and support, and resignation preserved his sense of honour and duty.

### **Sydney Female Refuge Society**

Philanthropy as improvement through education and training was a strong emphasis for the Goodlets. No doubt this is a reflection of their Scottish background which placed a premium on education and was a natural interest in Ann's life as she had earned her living prior to marriage as a governess. The Sydney Female Refuge Society (SFRS) is an important and major example of Goodlet philanthropy which falls on at least three points of the spectrum being philanthropy as improvement, as relief and as spiritual engagement. The SFRS was formed on August 21, 1848, with the Motto 'GO, AND SIN NO MORE'.<sup>35</sup> Its formation, which was probably patterned on similar overseas institutions such as the Magdalene Society of Edinburgh, arose out of the concern

that some hundreds of unhappy females were crowding the streets and lanes of the populous city, the disgrace of their sex, the common pest of Society, and a reproach to the religion we profess, but which had not led us to attempt

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<sup>35</sup> This motto is derived from the incident in the Bible where a woman is accused of adultery and Jesus refuses to judge the woman and instead grants her forgiveness and calls upon her to leave her current lifestyle of sin. Gospel of John 8:1-11.

anything for their improvement.<sup>36</sup>

The SFRS objectives were

the reclaiming of unfortunate and abandoned Females, by providing them with a place of Refuge in the first instance, and, after a period of probation, restoring them to their friends, or obtaining suitable employment for them.<sup>37</sup>

The three aspects of this philanthropy are clearly seen in its objectives. Prostitutes and women who found themselves pregnant and abandoned were given a place of refuge (relief), restoration to friends, but importantly where at all possible also to God (spiritual), and they were also given employment such as washing and needlework, and positions with families found for them (improvement). Their labour while resident in the refuge was rated according to market value. A small proportion was deducted as a weekly charge for board with the balance, contingent upon good conduct, being handed over to them on quitting the institution. In contrast to its Scottish equivalent, there was no uniform, but simple appropriate clothing was provided by the Institution as necessary. Nor did the SFRS, unlike its Scottish equivalent, shave the heads of the inmates to discourage absconding<sup>38</sup> and the daily work schedule was less than the ten hours in the Scottish Asylums.<sup>39</sup> Strict privacy was to be maintained with the names of the inmates not passing beyond the committee and the matron and not being divulged to anyone unless they had a legal right to know.

The voluntary period of residence of each inmate was determined by the Ladies Committee after a full investigation of the inmate's circumstances, but was not to exceed beyond twelve months.<sup>40</sup> Upon leaving the inmates received a decent outfit and a portion of the money they had earned for their work, but only after they had conducted themselves satisfactorily for six months after leaving.<sup>41</sup> While within the

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<sup>36</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The First Annual Report*, (Sydney: Kemp and Fairfax, 1849), 7.

<sup>37</sup> Rules of the Sydney Female Refuge Society in Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The First Annual Report*, (Sydney: Kemp and Fairfax, 1849), 4.

<sup>38</sup> Olive Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1980), 238.

<sup>39</sup> Linda Mahood, *The Magdalenes – Prostitution in the nineteenth century* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 79-80.

<sup>40</sup> *SMH*, May 15, 1866. The Scottish Magdalene Asylums usually had probation period of three months before a decision was made to permit a women's continued stay in the Asylum. Linda Mahood, *The Magdalenes*, 78.

<sup>41</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Fourth Annual Report*, (1852), 10.

Institution inmates could receive no visitors whatsoever, except from those with a legal right to see them or from such persons as may receive special permission from the Ladies Committee, and then only on Tuesdays or Fridays in the presence of the Visiting Ladies. This was not always easy to monitor as various 'uncles' and 'brothers' appeared to see the inmates. The matron did attempt to police this rule, but it is obvious from the records of the SFRS that a suspicious 'uncle' or 'brother' rarely visited twice.

The Society was overtly Christian<sup>42</sup> but, true to its founding principles, it sought not to be sectarian or oppressive as far as religion and instruction were concerned. While an emphasis on the spiritual renewal of the women was certainly at the forefront of the minds of the SFRS as a solution to the issue of prostitution, they acknowledged the need for more to be addressed than the issue of salvation from sin.

In 1883, there was talk not just of employing a second female missionary to deal with the increasing problem of street women, but also of the need for legislation that 'should be sharp and decided in dealing with those moral pests the dancing saloons ... our factories also, where so many are employed of both sexes, need some public oversight and supervision'.<sup>43</sup> The understanding of the causes of prostitution which the philanthropists sought to address bears similarities to the analysis of their Scottish equivalents who saw the issue

in terms of individual character flaws: employment in the 'public' sphere; frequenting working-class entertainment; or greed, vanity, and love of finery. Only a passing acknowledgement was paid to contributing social factors like poverty, unemployment, and a lack of education.<sup>44</sup>

Godden is generally correct in noting that the SFRS Committee had a lack of understanding of the economic issues that gave rise to prostitution as they tended to see prostitution 'as a result of personal vanity, lack of discipline and order and the

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<sup>42</sup> The religious motivation of the self-consciously Christian Society was plain and overt. 'Let us, therefore, seek more diligently and faithfully to recover those for whom Christ died, and to whom He graciously sends His kindest invitations, that they, like Mary Magdalene, may bathe Christ's feet with their tears, and wash away their deep sins in His precious blood, and let us ever cherish that compassionate spirit which prompted Him to say, 'Go, and sin no more.' Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Tenth Annual Report*, (1858), 7. See page 307 for further comment on sectarianism in regard to the SFRS.

<sup>43</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Thirty Fifth Annual Report*, (1883), xv.

<sup>44</sup> Linda Mahood, *The Magdalenes*, 54-55.

corrupting influences of the city'.<sup>45</sup> She goes too far, however, when she says that the SFRS never 'referred to poverty or low wages as being relevant to the problem of prostitution'.<sup>46</sup> While it was not a prominent theme, reference was being made to poverty and the issue of poor housing that necessarily arose from it, as early as the 1860s.

It is to be feared that the evil we seek to combat is fearfully accelerated by the want of proper habitations for the people, so long as there is a disregard to decency in the construction of dwellings, and a neglect of proper sanitary regulations, we shall mourn over the prevalence of this crime among the children of our people: and we do well that if anything unfit for human food is liable to seizure, the hovels unfit for habitation, the slaughter-houses of virtue, should, if public good is to be the theory of government, be at once condemned and destroyed.<sup>47</sup>

The Governor Sir John Young expressed the view when chairing a SFRS annual meeting that 'he believed in a great majority of cases - they had yielded to the dire importunities of poverty'<sup>48</sup> and Alfred Stephen said that those they sought to reach were the 'victims of the most grievous poverty'.<sup>49</sup> The SFRS, however, did not see its main role as agitating for societal or governmental change, but rather sought to ameliorate suffering where they came across it, and to seek to give the necessary skills and encouragement for the inmates to change their ways and build a better future. By today's standards their approach may not have been broad enough to address the issue they faced, but at least they were trying to help through their practical compassion

to educate this unfortunate class, often more sinned against than sinning, in womanly attainments, so that when they leave the Refuge it may be with a training which will enable them to obtain a respectable livelihood.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Judith Godden, 'Sectarianism and Purity Within the Woman's Sphere: Sydney Refuges During the Late Nineteenth Century,' *Journal of Religious History* 14:3, 1987, 302.

<sup>46</sup> Judith Godden, 'Sectarianism and Purity,' 303.

<sup>47</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Sixteenth Annual Report*, (1864), 12.

<sup>48</sup> *SMH*, May 24, 1861.

<sup>49</sup> *SMH*, June 11, 1872.

<sup>50</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Twenty Eighth Annual Report*, (1877), 14.

The long involvement of John Goodlet with the SFRS probably began with his marriage to Ann in 1860. In 1856, the then Ann Dickson joined the SFRS,<sup>51</sup> an attachment which she was to maintain throughout her life.<sup>52</sup> As the Dicksons only arrived in Sydney in July of 1855, Ann clearly wasted no time in getting involved. She and her family had had a long association with the Dickson family in Scotland prior to her marriage and it is probably from John Dickson's mother that Ann gained an interest in this work. In Edinburgh, Mary Dickson (John's mother) had been involved as the Matron of the Edinburgh Magdalene Asylum, an organisation with similar aims to the SFRS.<sup>53</sup> That John's mother had such a significant role in the work of the Magdalene may go some way to explaining Ann's own strong commitment to this work.

In 1861, John Goodlet was appointed a member of the SFRS Committee of Management, while Ann Goodlet was the Secretary of the Ladies Visiting Committee.<sup>54</sup> As Secretary, Ann was closely involved in the running of the facility and in the first instance, she decided admissions, decisions which were then ratified at the next meeting of the Ladies Committee.<sup>55</sup> The matron, who often deferred to Ann and sought her advice,<sup>56</sup> was a key person in the Refuge and she was responsible for the day-to-day running of the establishment. Over a long period of time the SFRS was well served by a number of dedicated and sensible women who with tact, skill, firmness and some humour, dealt with the inmates and various challenging situations.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *Ladies Committee Book*, March 1903.

<sup>52</sup> 'The members of the Ladies Committee desire to place on record their sense of the great loss, sustained by them through the removal by death of their late secretary Mrs J. H. Goodlet. Her association with the institution dates from 1856 during which time she served the Institution with zeal and wisdom, and has left the stamp of her influence on all branches of the work. As secretary she conducted the business in a methodical and thorough manner and won for herself the respect of all who labored (sic) with her.' Sydney Female Refuge Society, *Ladies Committee Book*, March 1903.

<sup>53</sup> She held this position from at least 1831-1834, *Caledonian Mercury (Edinburgh, Scotland)*, January 27, 1834; February 13, 1832; February 26, 1831. A book from the Goodlet Library, *The Psalms of David in Metre according to the version approved by the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Sir D Hunter Blair and H.T. Bruce, 1832) is inscribed 'Presented to Mrs Mary Dickson by the inmates of the Edinburgh Magdalene Asylum, as a small token of their respect and gratitude.' It is now housed in the Ferguson Memorial Library, Sydney; *Edinburgh Almanack and Universal Scots and Imperial Register for 1833* (Edinburgh; Oliver and Boyd, 1833).

<sup>54</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Twelfth Annual Report*, (1860); Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Thirteenth Annual Report*, (1861), iii-iv.

<sup>55</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *Matron's Journal*, November 16, 1864.

<sup>56</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Seventeenth Annual Report*, (1865), 13; Sydney Female Refuge Society, *Matron's Journal*, December 7, 1864.

<sup>57</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *Matron's Journal*, March 6, 1868.

The work of the Ladies Committee was 'onerous and time-consuming'<sup>58</sup> and it is clear that the Ladies Committee was the 'mainstay and prop of the whole Society'. The all-male Committee of Management frankly confessed that had it not been for their well-directed efforts, and steady, plodding perseverance, the Institution would, long ago, have altogether ceased to exist.<sup>59</sup> In turn, Ann Goodlet was the mainstay of the Ladies Committee, and for this reason the Management Committee recorded 'their high estimation of the indefatigable zeal manifested by Mrs Goodlet, the Secretary of the Ladies Committee.'<sup>60</sup> This probably means that Ann, as the principal voluntary worker, exercised effective control of the charity's day-to-day functioning.

John's role within the SFRS was different to that of Ann. The Government had originally given the SFRS use of the Old House of Correction off Pitt Street, but the buildings were in a poor state. A new building was completed and the foundation stone laid by Lady Young on October 3, 1861. By 1865, however, there was a need for additional space to meet the increased demand on the Society<sup>61</sup> and it was more in this area of the maintenance and the development of the Society's facilities that John Goodlet gave his time and service.

In 1868, through a grant from the government of £1,000, the buildings were repaired and upgraded, debt cleared and finances put in a healthy state.<sup>62</sup> In that year, despite the improved facilities, there were fewer admissions to the Refuge than there had been in the year before. This was attributed to the zeal of the City Missionaries and the excellent working of the Destitute Children's Act which had removed children at risk who previously had often gone on to become prostitutes.<sup>63</sup> A new building was erected in 1871 which was 'a commodious structure ... plain, it is true, in appearance, but excellent in arrangement, and admirably adapted for the purpose for which it is required.'<sup>64</sup> For the new building to be completed, a loan of £500 had to be taken by the committee for which they were personally responsible.

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<sup>58</sup> Judith Godden, 'Sectarianism and Purity,' 294.

<sup>59</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Fourth Annual Report*, (1852), 18.

<sup>60</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Seventeenth Annual Report*, (1865), 13.

<sup>61</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Seventeenth Annual Report*, (1865), 14.

<sup>62</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Twentieth Annual Report*, (1868), 5.

<sup>63</sup> The SFRS applauded the Act, 'extensive powers .... [were] given therein to deal with the depraved, removing others from the control of vicious parents and the force of bad example. The law had stepped in to the rescue of such, and provided a place for their protection, where, absent from contaminating influences, and under better guidance, beneficial results may be expected.' *SMH*, July 22, 1869; Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Twentieth Annual Report*, (1868), 6.

<sup>64</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Twenty Third Annual Report*, (1871), 12.

The Refuge had been built in three phases: 1861, 1871, 1873, with a further enlargement being required in 1878,<sup>65</sup> for a total construction cost of £5,112 with the government paying £1,000 and the rest being raised by supporters and bank loans.<sup>66</sup> With John's practical knowledge of buildings, having him on its management committee no doubt assisted in the expansion of facilities.

In 1903, the Society moved to an enlarged and renovated premises in Glebe Point Road, Glebe, which was able to house 80 people. This relocation was possible due to the decision of the State Government in 1901 to demolish the buildings in Pitt Street occupied by the Refuge and to use the land for the railway. The Government handed £16,000 to the Management Committee to find a new house. After some difficulty the committee purchased, at considerable cost, 'a palatial building, standing in extensive grounds, and known as 'Rosebank' situated in Glebe Point Road'. John Goodlet supervised the additions to the building<sup>67</sup> which were designed by Albert Bond<sup>68</sup> and on July 7, 1903, the new refuge centre was opened.

The inmates came to the refuge from a variety of sources and with different problems: some from the jail, some prostitutes, others pregnant or escaping husbands, and others simply wandering the streets. They were referred by the female missionary employed by the refuge, ministers, family, or magistrates, and many simply came of their own volition. The members of the Society were under no illusion as to how difficult a task they had set themselves if they wished to achieve their aims:

The previous training of the Inmates, with habits sensual and debasing, and feelings blunted by the most demoralizing of lives, makes this work not only one of the most difficult of all philanthropic efforts, but one also where success is to be little expected; for in many instances these victims of misplaced confidence, deserted by betrayer and friends, and stung with a sense of wrong, harden their hearts against all influence for good.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Thirtieth Annual Report*, (1878), 13.

<sup>66</sup> *SMH*, April 19, 1880.

<sup>67</sup> Renovations of Sydney Female Refuge Society Rosebank cost £9,000 and accommodated 80. *The Sydney City Mission Herald*, November 16, 1903, 14.

<sup>68</sup> Bond was associated with Goodlet in the building of the Thirlmere Consumptive Home and the extensions to the Presbyterian Ladies College, Croydon.

<sup>69</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Thirty Second Annual Report*, (1880), 11.

Nevertheless, the Society tackled its task. Godden says that the Protestant refuge's failure rate was 72 percent,<sup>70</sup> however, when using the same criteria the figures of the SFRS for the period 1849 to 1912 indicate a failure rate ('left of their own accord' which probably meant absconded) of 41.8 percent.<sup>71</sup> [See Figure 6 page 125]

Though the SFRS had new premises, it had been experiencing significant financial difficulties since 1897. The total income of the SFRS had been declining for some time, but it did so quite markedly in the period 1891 to 1897.<sup>72</sup> This decline was due

**Figure 6: SFRS Outcomes, 1849 - 1912**

<b>Outcomes</b>	<b>Numbers</b>	<b>%</b>
Sent as Governess	4	0.1
Taken to Service	928	28.8
Taken home by friends	413	12.8
Left of own accord	1,347	41.8
Taken home by husbands	32	1.0
Died	3	0.1
Referred to other Institutions	492	15.2
<b>Total Women Received at the Refuge</b>	<b>3,219</b>	<b>99.8</b>

to the general depression and some keen competition from steam laundries,<sup>73</sup> as well as the existence of similar institutions that called upon the public for support. The financial situation of the SFRS had become so difficult by 1899 that, with much regret, the services of the female missionary (or 'Bible woman') were discontinued.<sup>74</sup> By 1905, during the chairmanship of John Goodlet, the SFRS was finding it difficult to survive, as were other Christian charitable organisations, and the withdrawal of Government subsidies of some £200 did not make the situation any easier.<sup>75</sup> As the

<sup>70</sup> Judith Godden, 'Sectarianism and Purity,' 305. Godden uses figures from the 1870 and 1876 Annual Reports which rate 'taken into service', 'taken home by friends' and 'taken home by husbands' as successes.

<sup>71</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Sixty Fourth Annual Report*, (1912), 11.

<sup>72</sup> Falling from £1,001 in 1891 to £458 in 1897.

<sup>73</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Forty Ninth Annual Report*, (1897), 12. The laundries referred to were commercial ventures which competed with the SFRS for laundry business.

<sup>74</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Fifty First Annual Report*, (1899), 11.

<sup>75</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, August 18, 1905.

Rev E Moore of the City Mission said

it was their duty to try and win some of the women from their evil ways. It had been a most difficult task for many years to get money in Sydney for Christian institutions. The trouble was that there were so many doing the same kind of work, and something should be done to prevent such multiplicity.<sup>76</sup>

O'Brien says that the function of the home of the SFRS was largely punitive and that of all the homes of this sort 'it seems colder and more horrible than most'.<sup>77</sup> Godden's assessment is that the Sydney refuges for the prostitutes run by the Roman Catholics and the Evangelicals were repressive and harsh, but that

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 and not name.<sup>78</sup>

Such claims made about the functioning of the SFRS home do not seem to be justified by the evidence. In terms of the buildings, the rebuilding and renovating that had occurred to the premises given to the society in 1848 was considerable with a new building constructed in 1871 with further additions in 1873 and 1878. These improvements prompted RG Reading, a committee member, to comment that the improvements since 1870 had in fact changed the character of the buildings for 'he remembered the chilling effect the different parts of the building of that time had upon a visitor. They were in a very dilapidated condition. Since then a great change had taken place' it was now, as its name implied, a refuge where 'formerly it seemed more like a prison'.<sup>79</sup> The new buildings of 1903, required because the government had resumed their former building, were not prison-like either. The committee had purchased and renovated existing premises in Glebe that stood within substantial grounds and this had been done at considerable cost.<sup>80</sup> The new laundry facilities

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<sup>76</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, April 14, 1905.

<sup>77</sup> Anne O'Brien, *Poverty's Prison*, 203.

<sup>78</sup> Godden 'Philanthropy and the Women's Sphere,' 346.

<sup>79</sup> *SMH*, April 19, 1880.

<sup>80</sup> In excess of £8,949 15s (over \$1 Million, 2008 value) was spent on the upgrade and renovation. *SMH*, July 21, 1903.

had the most up-to-date equipment<sup>81</sup> and all this was done when the SFRS was facing considerable financial challenge with falling subscriptions and income.<sup>82</sup>

As to the regime being harsh it was certainly less so than its Scottish equivalent. Inmates were given employment such as washing and needlework and it is suggested by O'Brien that they were paid 'very little' for this work. As recorded by the SFRS their labour was rated according to market value, with a small proportion deducted as a weekly charge for board, the balance to be handed over to them on quitting the institution contingent upon good conduct. There are no records about the levels of payment made to those who had left the home, apart from 1854 when £18 pounds was paid to an undisclosed number who left, and so there is no evidence to support or contest the contention that they were paid very little. If they were paid very little, and they may well have been, it would not seem to be due to mean spiritedness on behalf of the SFRS, but rather more likely due to the parlous financial situation of the home. For most of the SFRS's life it struggled financially to deal with recurrent expenses, let alone the cost of building new buildings for which the government provided little help. Furthermore, the contention that the main function of the SFRS was punitive is not supported by the stated aims of the society which was to reclaim and restore,<sup>83</sup> nor is it supported by the existence of the educational program pursued within the SFRS. Those who could not read or write were given instruction to improve their literacy, a singing teacher was engaged,<sup>84</sup> and 2pm to 5pm each day was dedicated to teaching the residents while at night they could read and do needlework for themselves.<sup>85</sup> In contrast to its Scottish equivalent, upon which the SFRS was modelled, there was no uniform, but simple appropriate clothing provided by the Institution as necessary. Nor did the SFRS, unlike its Scottish equivalent, shave the heads of the inmates to discourage absconding.<sup>86</sup>

Strict privacy, which was a benefit to the inmates as well as their families, was to be maintained with the names of the inmates not passing beyond the committee and the matron, and not being divulged to anyone unless they had a legal right to know.

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<sup>81</sup> *SMH*, July 21, 1903.

<sup>82</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, August 18, 1905.

<sup>83</sup> Rules of the Sydney Female Refuge Society in Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The First Annual Report*, (Sydney: Kemp and Fairfax, 1849), 4.

<sup>84</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *Twenty Fifth Annual Report*, (1873).

<sup>85</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *Thirtieth Annual Report*, (1878).

<sup>86</sup> Olive Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland*, 238.

Godden points to the rules of the SFRS requiring the use of numbers instead of names within the Refuge as an example of its harshness. There is, however, no evidence that the practice of using numbers was ever adhered to within the Refuge<sup>87</sup> and in the only evidence as to what took place in the Refuge, the matron's journals and the minutes of the Ladies Visiting Committee, only names were ever used.

Many inmates found the SFRS premises and its approach not to their liking and left, but numerous others left to go to a job or married and had families and regarded the Refuge as a very positive step in helping them move forward in their lives. While these were the successes, their testimony is not one of harshness and repression:

I have been married for three months. My husband is kind to me, we are very happy; we have a nice little house and a bit of ground of our own, and he is in work constant, and we have got a few pounds in the bank put by for a rainy day, and I don't think we could wish for more, &c. &c. I think it was a lucky day that I went in the Refuge, for it has made a good girl of me all my life time. Give my best love to all the girls, and tell them for me that I hope they will do good.<sup>88</sup>

I am now nearly six years a wife, and have a kind and good husband, and am the happy mother of two dear children, and all this I owe to the Refuge. I found kind friends while I was there, who not only studied my interests then, but never lost sight of me since I left ... My kind friends, I could mention many cases of girls who were in the Refuge while I was there, who are now happy wives and mothers ... mention this to you, to let you know there has been more good done in the Refuge than comes to your notice.<sup>89</sup>

Such expressions of regard for the work of the SFRS were selected by the committee to encourage their subscribers that the work, despite its difficulty, did have some successes. These views were certainly not the views of all the former residents, but they must not be disregarded as irrelevant in assessing the nature of activities of the SFRS. Godden, who is generally critical of the practice and limited social views of the

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<sup>87</sup> Rule 7, Rules of the *Sydney Female Refuge Society* in Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The First Annual Report*, (Sydney: Kemp and Fairfax, 1849), 6.

<sup>88</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Twenty Third Annual Report*, (1871), 12.

<sup>89</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Twenty Seventh Annual Report*, (1875), 14.

female philanthropists of the SFRS, says that

there is an aspect of women's philanthropy, particularly applicable to the Refuges, that should not be forgotten. No matter how self-interested, how repressive philanthropists were, they invariably offered services and help that were in great demand and otherwise unavailable. Refuge life was harsh but neither institution experienced any shortage of inmates. Inmates judged that life outside the Refuge, without the guarantees of food and shelter was even harsher.<sup>90</sup>

Godden further notes that the

Refuge Ladies championed the cause of prostitutes as did few others. To the public and many philanthropists, prostitutes were not considered 'deserving' because the commonly accepted theory was that once a woman 'fell' she was corrupted forever' ... the Refuge Ladies sought to counteract such views.<sup>91</sup>

Ann Goodlet was the leading committee member of the SFRS who, in such a role, must have set the tone for the interaction of the members of the committee with staff and inmates of the Refuge. The description of the SFRS as 'colder and more horrible than most' and the philanthropists as 'self-interested' and 'repressive' does not fit well with what is known of the actions and attitudes of Ann in other contexts. When she died it was said of her, and of her work at the SFRS, that 'she discharged her duties in a manner which won for her the respect and love of all the officers' and far from being cold and repressive it was said of her attitudes and actions towards to the inmates that 'she was ever kind and sympathetic, wise in counselling, and gentle in reproof.'<sup>92</sup> What view those inmates who 'left of their own accord', and for whom the SFRS was not a positive experience, had of Ann is not recorded. It may well not have been as positive as Ann's obituary was about her for they did not see their own situation in the same terms as the philanthropic women of the SFRS. By modern standards the SFRS was limited in its social vision and restrictive and did, unintentionally perhaps, perpetuate society's double standard on sexual morality that dealt more disapprovingly with prostitutes than with their clients. On the evidence

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<sup>90</sup> Godden 'Philanthropy and the Women's Sphere,' 126.

<sup>91</sup> Godden 'Philanthropy and the Women's Sphere,' 127.

<sup>92</sup> *SMH*, July 2, 1903.

available, however, it does not deserve to be regarded as punitive, repressive, self-serving, cold and horrible.

At the time of John Goodlet's death in 1914, he had been connected with the SFRS for over 50 years.<sup>93</sup> He no doubt initially adopted this charity because it was his wife's interest before their marriage, but his own commitment to this work remained to the end when he left a bequest of 2,000 Goodlet and Smith shares to the Society so that their income might be applied to its work.<sup>94</sup> While John was involved in the SFRS for this length of time, it was his wife Ann who the Society publicly honoured on her death.<sup>95</sup> A decision was made to hang a large photograph of her in the newly opened premises at Glebe, the renovation of which John Goodlet had supervised. Goodlet's contribution to the work of the Society was in terms of his social and commercial standing, his financial support and his attending to the fabric and material aspects of the SFRS. John assisted in providing the physical framework and financial support through which the Society sought to achieve its aims, but it was Ann who provided the day-to-day organisation and interacted with the residents of the Refuge and with the Matron.<sup>96</sup>

### **The Sydney Female Mission Home**

The Sydney Female Mission Home (SFMH), not to be confused with the SFRS,<sup>97</sup> was commenced on November 17, 1873, in rented premises overlooking Hyde Park.<sup>98</sup> Like the SFRS, this charity falls in a number of places on the philanthropic spectrum being both relief and improvement. It was a protestant organisation providing short-

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<sup>93</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The Sixty Fifth Annual Report*, (1913), 13.

<sup>94</sup> The shares at the time of his death were valued at 15/- a share giving a value of £1,500.

<sup>95</sup> Sydney Female Refuge, *Ladies Committee Book*, March 1903.

<sup>96</sup> Ann involved her sister in law Annie Goodlet and her 'adopted' niece Isabella Copeland in the work. After Ann's death John continued his interest and his second wife, Elizabeth, became the President of the Ladies Committee in 1907. Sydney Female Refuge Society, *Ladies Committee Book 3*, December 1907. With the Society finding it harder to attract members, John and Elizabeth, enlisted the support of Ann Goodlet's nephew Alfred, the Secretary of Goodlet and Smith, and his wife, who lived close to the Refuge in Glebe. Mrs MacFarlan was appointed a member in October 1908, Alfred became Treasurer in 1913.

<sup>97</sup> O'Brien, *Poverty's Prison* shows an understanding that the organisations are different but the index of the work confuses and conflates them.

<sup>98</sup> It was at 265 Elizabeth Street Sydney. *SMH*, October 10, 1873; Planning had commenced in August 1873. *SMH*, April 22, 1875. When in January 1885 the property was sold (*SMH*, January 24, 1885) the SFMH moved to Darlington House on the Newtown Road; *SMH*, May 14, 1885. After 10 years at this location SFMH moved to 59 Mount Vernon Street, Forest Lodge; *SMH*, May 11, 1895. In 1895 the Committee was having difficulty with finances and did not renew the lease and moved to 'The Willows', Bridge Road, Glebe around 1895. *SMH*, May 11, 1895; May 20, 1897.

term accommodation for pregnant unmarried women and it had a non-sectarian admission policy.<sup>99</sup> It was said that the 'necessity of such a Home has been strongly felt by several ladies and gentlemen, in consequence of facts which frequently come under their notice.'<sup>100</sup> The Home was entirely run and governed by women and Ann Goodlet was a founding member of the governance committee, maintaining her involvement for at least 26 years up until 1900.<sup>101</sup> Of the 14 members of the founding committee no fewer than seven were involved with the SFRS so it is likely that, from this experience, they understood the need for an organisation with a different intake and policy than that of the SFRS.

While the task of the SFRS was to provide a refuge for prostitutes, the purpose of the SFMH was to provide temporary accommodation 'for women who either had fallen, or were in danger of falling from virtue'.<sup>102</sup> The initial focus of the work was to be on those young women who found themselves pregnant and abandoned, most of whom were 'women who have only taken one serious wrong step, and have not been hardened in sin'. In the assessment of the committee an institution such as the SFMH met 'a great social necessity' and was 'an unspeakable blessing to weak women who have fallen prey to the cunning devices of unprincipled men'.<sup>103</sup>

The needs that were presented to the committee shortly after the home opened caused them to change the Admission Policy. It was changed to include not only pregnant unmarried women, but some unmarried mothers with their infants, many of whom were in a state of destitution.<sup>104</sup> In the first year of its operation the home had 115 admissions which included 11 infants, and by the end of 1874 it was thought that a larger house, which could accommodate more than 12 residents, was required to meet the needs, as many young women with babies had to be turned away.<sup>105</sup> For those admitted attempts were made to locate the fathers of the children so that they could 'feel their responsibility to make some provision for the

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<sup>99</sup> *SMH*, March 11, 1880. Many of the inmates were Roman Catholic and were admitted when the committee was convinced they could obtain no assistance from their own communion. *SMH*, February 27, 1877.

<sup>100</sup> *SMH*, October 10, 1873.

<sup>101</sup> *SMH*, October 18, 1900.

<sup>102</sup> *SMH*, July 4, 1874.

<sup>103</sup> *SMH*, October 19, 1876.

<sup>104</sup> *SMH*, July 4, 1874; April 22, 1875.

<sup>105</sup> *SMH*, December 18, 1874; April 28, 1875.

maintenance of their offspring'.<sup>106</sup> These attempts rarely met with success and as a result the committee lamented that 'the seduced, and less guilty, has to bear the whole burden'.<sup>107</sup> They also made efforts to ensure that either the young women returned to their families or, if this was not possible, they sought to gain employment situations for the women where they could keep and nurture their children. A fundamental principle of the SFMH was to 'avoid, if possible, separating mother and child'<sup>108</sup> and the committee

being decidedly of [the] opinion that the mother is the natural and fittest guardian of the infant ... used their utmost endeavours in all cases to induce the mothers to faithfully fulfil their maternal duties, and not, under any circumstances, to give up their babes to the care of strangers.<sup>109</sup>

The Home was funded by donations and was without any form of Government assistance until the 1890s. The supporters of the home were largely women, both married and single, who constituted 86% of the donors in 1880 and 89% in 1890. The Home struggled financially, and by 1886 had an accumulated deficit of over £100. So difficult was the financial situation at this time that Ann Goodlet placed an advertisement in the paper personally asking for donations which she would be happy to pass on.<sup>110</sup> The SFMH's financial difficulties continued. By 1891 it had an overdraft of some £50 and, except for some Government assistance in the late 1890s, would probably not have survived. The residents did the housework and, where they were able, paid whatever they could for their upkeep, but this never exceeded more than 18% of the SFMH's income. The matron worked without pay and was provided with accommodation.

The Committee membership tried to act in the same spirit as Jesus who, when dealing with the woman caught in adultery, did not censure her but did recognise her behaviour as sinful,<sup>111</sup> and said that their decision to help them was 'the outcome of

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<sup>106</sup> SMH, April 22, 1875.

<sup>107</sup> SMH, February 22, 1877.

<sup>108</sup> SMH, April 16, 1887.

<sup>109</sup> SMH, February 22, 1877.

<sup>110</sup> SMH, December 17, 1886.

<sup>111</sup> John 8: 11 'Then neither do I condemn you,' Jesus declared. 'Go now and leave your life of sin'. This verse was also the motto of the Sydney Female Refuge Society.

Christian women's sympathy and sorrow for women beguiled, betrayed, forsaken and forlorn.<sup>112</sup>

The Committee, without desiring to make little of the folly and sin of such girls, cannot but state their conviction that many of them have been so cruelly betrayed that they are as much deserving of pity as censure. Such are often, in their hour of need, abandoned by all - even by parents - and were it not for the Home, would be without shelter or friendly counsel of any kind.<sup>113</sup>

As Christians, the SFMH Committee did view the girls' actions as sinful, and saw the need for the 'constant inculcation of true principles of religion and of morality, founded upon the Gospel of Christ, to restore [the residents] ... to purity of life, and steadfastness in the paths of rectitude.'<sup>114</sup> The committee were 'persuaded that nothing short of these principles will prove sufficient to guard them in the hour of temptation'.<sup>115</sup> While not approving of the behaviour of the women they were sympathetic to them and to 'the distressing and heart-breaking cases of seduction' that came to their notice. This was a sympathy that they did not extend to the men who were responsible for the women being in difficulty, referring pointedly to 'the cold and cruel treatment which those who have been the victims of unbridled lust receive from those who have led them astray.'<sup>116</sup>

The SFMH was well patronised and well appreciated by many who availed themselves of its services. Former residents wrote, 'I shall never forget your kindnesses in time of trouble, when most needed'; 'I wish to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt gratitude to you all for your kindness to me, and the interest you have taken in me and my dear little son' and 'although I have not expressed my gratitude as I might, it is not because I have not felt grateful. I cannot find words to express my thanks as I would wish'.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> *The Clarence and Richmond Examiner (Grafton, NSW)*, September 23, 1893.

<sup>113</sup> Sydney Female Mission Home, *Annual Report*, 1880.

<sup>114</sup> *SMH*, March 11, 1880.

<sup>115</sup> *SMH*, March 11, 1880.

<sup>116</sup> *SMH*, March 11, 1880.

<sup>117</sup> *SMH*, March 11, 1880.

O'Brien notes that the treatment of women in homes such as the SFMH reflected the classification of inmates according to whether they were 'hardened', as defined according to sexuality and temperance.<sup>118</sup> This is certainly true for the SFMH in terms of the issue of sexual experience. As was pointed out in the SFMH aims and objectives,<sup>119</sup> there already existed the refuge and reformatory facilities for prostitutes and the founders saw the SFMH as meeting the needs of a different group of women who had a different life experience. They hoped by such a classification to better effect the reform of the young women, most under 20 years of age, and many between the ages of 15 and 18 years.<sup>120</sup> They sought to reduce the possibility of one false step becoming a way of life and in this they regarded themselves as largely successful as

during the eleven years the home has been open the committee has not heard of a single instance of a girl who, after being some time an inmate, has gone to a life of sin and shame; but in very many cases there has been abundant evidence of continuance in reformed and useful life.<sup>121</sup>

Such success was in stark contrast to the success rate of the SFRS and so the ladies of the SFMH no doubt believed, as did their financial supporters, that the classification along the lines of sexual and life experience was justified.

In referring to the various homes that admitted women, including those for the 'less wicked' (presumably a reference to SFMH), O'Brien observes that 'the homes were mostly intended to punish, and were run on austere lines with rigid daily routines'.<sup>122</sup> The tone of the attitudes expressed towards the pregnant women within the SFMH, as recorded in newspaper and annual reports, throws some doubt upon this assessment. The attitudes expressed in letters from the inmates are also not consistent with such an outlook. While these letters were chosen to give a positive view to the subscribers, and it is not known how representative they are of the attitudes of all inmates, they cannot be summarily dismissed as fabrications or distortions. The evidence that is available suggests that many of those who accessed

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<sup>118</sup> O'Brien, *Poverty's Prison*, 120.

<sup>119</sup> Sydney Female Mission Home, *Annual Report*, 1884.

<sup>120</sup> *The Clarence and Richmond Examiner (Grafton, NSW)*, September 23, 1893.

<sup>121</sup> Sydney Female Mission Home, *Annual Report*, 1884. This report is misquoted in *SMH*, May 14, 1885.

<sup>122</sup> O'Brien, *Poverty's Prison*, 121.

the SFMH were most grateful for the care and shelter they received. There is no doubt that the SFMH was run on austere lines for it was a charity dependent upon public support, unfunded by Government until the 1890s, and they had no other option but to operate within a tight budget. While it is also probable that the SFMH had rigid daily routines, there is no evidence available about its internal functioning.

The motivation for this work was stated as Christian sympathy, pity and as a response to situations that the committee women found.<sup>123</sup> The SFMH sought to give relief to young women in difficulty and hoped that through such provision and that of employment or restoration to their families to bring about an improvement in their lives. In order to elicit financial support, reference is commonly made in the Annual Reports to 'the distressing and heart-breaking cases of seduction' that came to their notice.<sup>124</sup> Not a great deal of detail is given about these cases, but what is given is moving and indicates that the women of the SFMH Committee, who chose to publish these accounts, were themselves moved and shocked by them. This was sufficient motivation for women like Ann to be involved.

### **Education**

Another significant area of the Goodlet activity which was clearly philanthropy as improvement involved education across a broad range of needs and social settings. Ann showed an interest in Animal Welfare Education of Children and disability education and John was, according to the Rev Robert McGowan, minister of Ashfield, intensely interested in education.<sup>125</sup> This interest was seen in a tangible way by his involvement in the education of the very poorest, those with disabilities as well as the more advantaged seekers of secondary and tertiary education in the building of Presbyterian educational institutions such as the Presbyterian Ladies College and St Andrews College.

### **Animal Welfare Education: WRSPCA**

Ann Goodlet was a founding member of a Ladies' Committee for the Royal Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) which was formed with the formal name of the 'Women's Branch of the Royal Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals'

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<sup>123</sup> *The Clarence and Richmond Examiner (Grafton, NSW)*, September 23, 1893.

<sup>124</sup> *SMH*, March 11, 1880.

<sup>125</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, January 23, 1914.

(WRSPCA) on December 16, 1886, and remained active until 1898.<sup>126</sup> She was also President of a *Band of Mercy* formed at Ashfield in September 1887,<sup>127</sup> the objects of which were to take under its auspices the *Bands of Mercy* that had previously commenced in the colony under the influence of Frances Levvy.<sup>128</sup> They were the result of a movement that began in England in 1875 for the purpose of 'preventing cruelty by inducing the members to study the nature and habits of animals and by showing the affection and devotion of which animals are capable'.<sup>129</sup> This was to be achieved by 'gathering children together, and, by pleasant recitations and songs illustrative of mercy and benevolence, train them into the practice of kindness'.<sup>130</sup> In England membership was said to be between 40,000 and 50,000 and in America about 90,000, and through the work of Frances Levvy, who founded branches in Sydney in 1884, some 2,000 in Sydney and through the work of Mrs JC Ellis<sup>131</sup> some 1,500 in the Newcastle district.<sup>132</sup> The bands were largely based in schools and had a good degree of independence, but all joining members in NSW took the following pledge 'I promise to protect the animal creation with all my power. When I am compelled to take the life of any creature I will spare all needless pain'.<sup>133</sup> The *Bands of Mercy* were therefore moderate in their views such that even a butcher, who slaughtered in the 'most expeditious manner'<sup>134</sup> could be a member.

The purpose of the women's committee was to undertake the educational and moral training of children and young persons, and to teach them the blessings of tenderness and mercy to all living creatures. Bands were often formed in schools by

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<sup>126</sup> Membership of the Committee was the Lady Mayoress (Sydney) for the time being as President, Lady Martin, Louisa Barry (wife of Archbishop Barry), Miss Frances Levvy (Hon Treasurer), Mrs Onslow, Mrs Chadwick, Miss Young, Mrs J Whitton, Ann Goodlet, Miss Fanny Allwood (daughter of Canon Robert Allwood), Mrs TL Mort, (Mrs J C) Marie Ellis, Mrs Stiles, Mrs Shannon, (Mrs WH) Elizabeth Sybil Wilkinson (mother of Dr Camac Wilkinson) and Mrs Docker with Mr John Sidney (Hon Secretary). *SMH*, December 21, 1886; February 28, 1891; January 8, 1902. *Band of Mercy and Humane Journal of New South Wales (Sydney, NSW)* January 20, 1898.

<sup>127</sup> *Band of Mercy Advocate (Newcastle, NSW)*, 1, 1, January 4, 1888.

<sup>128</sup> Frances Deborah Levvy (1831-1924) was raised in the Jewish faith but became devoutly Christian. Jennifer MacCulloch, 'Levy, Frances Deborah (1831-1924),' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/levvy-frances-deborah-13044/text23587>, [accessed October 19, 2011]. Frances Levvy, 'Report of the Woman's SPCA of New South Wales, Australia,' *Human Advocate* (Illinois, USA), VI, 10, August 1911.

<sup>129</sup> *SMH*, February 25, 1885.

<sup>130</sup> *SMH*, February 25, 1885.

<sup>131</sup> Marie Ellis (nee Kramer) married James C. Ellis and settled in Newcastle where she was prominent in arts and humanitarian circles. *Argus*, June 10, 1864. She was later to move to Ashfield.

<sup>132</sup> *SMH*, February 25, 1885; December 21, 1886.

<sup>133</sup> *SMH*, February 25, 1885.

<sup>134</sup> *SMH*, February 25, 1885.

local school teachers, who sought to inculcate the values of kindness and care towards those of the animal kingdom. Essay competitions were set and marked by committee members and cash prizes and medals were awarded for the best entries.<sup>135</sup> The essays were set

with the view to awaken interest in the minds of teachers and children in their duties towards animals, the committee decided to again invite competition in essay writing, as the composition or compilation of an essay cannot be accomplished without reading or thinking, and is seldom undertaken without more or less conversation on the subject with all the members of the writer's family. The subject this time will be 'to describe what is meant by the words "cruelty to animals", select two animals, and state how to make them happy in a domestic state'.<sup>136</sup>

The question set in 1890 was 'Our duty towards the animal creation, especially to those animals under the care of man.'<sup>137</sup> There was also a *Band of Mercy and Humane Journal*, edited by Frances Levvy, and a *Band of Mercy Advocate*, edited by Marie Ellis in Newcastle and circulated in a format that was attractive to children.

In NSW neither the RSPCA nor the *Bands of Mercy* that were incorporated were noted in the newspapers of the day as having any particularly strong articulated religious motive for their activity. Compared to their English counterparts that had begun in the early 1820s, these organisations dedicated to the cause of animals had come late to the colony of NSW. In England they had developed a Christian discourse as part of the motivation for the movement. In general terms this discourse was

that God had entrusted human dominion over all living creatures on earth and it therefore was humans' duty to be kind and merciful to the animal creation just as God was to human beings. Under this theological frame, the superiority of the human over the brute creation and humans' almost godlike

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<sup>135</sup> *SMH*, September 24, 1887.

<sup>136</sup> *SMH*, March 2, 1889.

<sup>137</sup> *SMH*, March 4, 1890.

status were accentuated in order to underscore the great trust imposed upon men by the divine design.<sup>138</sup>

It was just such a theological underpinning of the movement that Archbishop Barry, whose wife Louisa was a founding member of the WRSPCA, gave in St Andrews Cathedral, Sydney in a sermon in 1885.<sup>139</sup> Over the course of the nineteenth century the movement in England began to lose its exclusive Christian emphasis. While ever the Christian overtones of Victorian Society remained the *Bands of Mercy* were exhorted to exercise humanity to animals but

without the previous devotion to Christian principles that earlier might have excluded other equally beneficial elements to the cause such as evolutionary science, philosophy, natural history, and literature.<sup>140</sup>

So it was that in the second half of the nineteenth century 'mercy and kindness, though gradually losing their religious resonance, remained the watchwords as well as the guiding spirits of the movement.'<sup>141</sup> The NSW expressions of these organisations seem to have adopted a less overtly Christian approach to animal welfare rhetoric while its members, such as Frances Levvy, Ann Goodlet, Fanny Allwood and Louisa Barry, remained personally and devoutly Christian.

### **Disadvantaged Education: The Ragged Schools**

There were two responses which emerged among colonial philanthropists as to how the issue of child destitution and distress should be addressed. One was pursued by the Society for the Relief of Destitute Children and the other by the Ragged School (RS) movement. The Society for the Relief of Destitute Children was

to use the old paternal method of earlier colonial days and remove children completely from what was seen as scenes of corruptive influences to an all-protecting asylum cut off from the outside social world. But this was to be on

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<sup>138</sup> Chien-hui Li, 'A Union of Christianity, Humanity, and Philanthropy: The Christian Tradition and the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in Nineteenth Century England,' *Society & Animals* 8:3, (2000), 273.

<sup>139</sup> *SMH*, October 26, 1885. The sermon was preached in support of the work of the Animal's Protection Society. This was a kindred organisation to the RSPCA but had a role in seeing Government Legislation on the issue was observed. They paid rewards to the public for information given that led to convictions. *SMH*, May 2, 1877.

<sup>140</sup> Li, 'A Union of Christianity, Humanity, and Philanthropy,' 277.

<sup>141</sup> Li, 'A Union of Christianity, Humanity, and Philanthropy,' 279.

a much larger scale than ever attempted before.<sup>142</sup>

The RS movement on the other hand was

much more idealistic and had a much less pessimistic view of lower-class culture and its capacity for self-improvement. The Ragged School movement did not attempt to remove the children from their environment at all but rather tried to reform, change and improve lower-class society itself and the children more especially, in the context of their natural family or neighbourhood social life.<sup>143</sup>

The Goodlets were financially supportive of both groups and were so over long periods of time. It was to the RS movement and not to the Society for the Relief of Destitute Children, however, that John gave not just his money but his time. While he faithfully gave financial support to both organisations he gave larger donations to the RS, and he also served on the RS committee in Sydney for nearly 40 years. The more positive approach of this movement, with its self-improving emphasis, and its 'optimistic view that the moral and social conditions of the slum areas could be improved and that human nature could triumph over adversity'<sup>144</sup> was more in tune with the personal values of the Goodlets. [Photo page 143]

The provision of the Bible and basic educational instruction to meet the needs of the street children of Sydney was not a colonial innovation. As with so many of the colonial efforts at philanthropy, much inspiration was taken from what happened in Britain where the RS movement began in the 1840s. In his support of the movement Adam Thomson, the Goodlets' minister, indicated that many in NSW were well aware of this work. [Photo page 258] He said of Edward Joy, Sydney's leading light in the movement, that 'what Dr Guthrie had been to the Ragged Schools of Edinburgh, and what the Earl of Shaftesbury had been to the Ragged Schools of London, Mr Joy had been and still was to the Ragged Schools of Sydney.'<sup>145</sup> So by the time the concerned citizens of Sydney sought to address this problem the RS movement was

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<sup>142</sup> John Ramsland, *Children of the Back Lanes* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 1986), 70.

<sup>143</sup> Ramsland, *Children of the Back Lanes*, 71.

<sup>144</sup> John Ramsland, 'The Sydney Ragged Schools. A 19th Century Voluntary Approach to Child Welfare and Education', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 68, 3, December 1982, 227.

<sup>145</sup> Sussex Street Ragged and Industrial School, *Fourth Annual Report*, (1864); Thomas Guthrie, *A Plea for the Ragged Schools* (Glasgow: Collins, 1847).

a familiar concept and had met with considerable success and support in both England and Scotland. The idea was thus adopted as a solution to similar perceived problems of the street children of Sydney.<sup>146</sup>

A Ragged School was commenced in Sussex Street on April 2, 1860, in response to statements made before a committee appointed by the NSW Legislative Assembly to inquire into the condition of the working classes. This testimony convinced some of 'the imperative necessity of adopting some measures to rescue the young from the fearful evils by which they are surrounded, and to train them to be virtuous, good, and useful citizens'.<sup>147</sup> Testimony was heard of children who, 'behind their childish faces are wiles and wickedness, and a hideous precocity of artifice. Quite in their early lives they are polluted in heart and imagination, and corrupt and wicked of tongue'.<sup>148</sup> The Ragged Schools were an overtly Christian ministry which in its reports expressed their desire to 'devoutly thank Almighty God for the measure of success attending their effort'.<sup>149</sup> The intent of the schools was to 'provide free education and Christian training to very poor and neglected children'.<sup>150</sup> They drew inspiration from both their English and Scottish equivalents, but the colonial situation required adjustments to those models as

the task of caring for and educating ragged school children was not as grave and expensive as it was in the mother country with its much colder and less fruitful climate. There the children had to be fed thrice a day, as well as educated; here their mental requirements only had to be attended to. This was a matter for our encouragement and for congratulation, as it rendered the task comparatively an easy one. Dr Guthrie found that the great inducement to bring to school the boys of Edinburgh was to promise them food if they were attentive and orderly. Here no physical appeal was made to the children; nothing but moral suasion was either used or required.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> For a helpful account of the RS movement in Sydney see Ramsland, *Children of the Back Lanes*, 90-103.

<sup>147</sup> *SMH*, May 14, 1861.

<sup>148</sup> Sussex Street Ragged and Industrial School, *First Annual Report* (1861), 7.

<sup>149</sup> Sussex Street Ragged and Industrial School, *Twenty Second Annual Report*, (1882), 7.

<sup>150</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), October 21, 1893.

<sup>151</sup> *SMH*, August 12, 1873. The English Ragged schools rarely provided food which was a feature of the Scottish schools. The Scottish schools did not house children which some English schools did and the NSW schools did neither. K. Heasman, *Evangelicals in Action*, 75, 77.

Education and reformation were sought in the children and the committee asserted that no course of instruction from which the Holy Scriptures were excluded could have any effect in bringing about a moral reformation in the character of these children.<sup>152</sup> Robert Steel, Minister of St Stephen's, Sydney, expressed the commonly held view that the movement had grown out of the great effort

to teach the young not the "three R's" only but the glorious Gospel also. The "three R's were very important ... but we felt that there was something more than that was required to save to society so many who were surrounded by influences of evil. We must teach "That sweet only story of when Jesus was here among men."<sup>153</sup>

Along with a program of instruction in Bible knowledge there was instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic with games, worship and genuine care and they even had an annual picnic with a trip on the harbour.<sup>154</sup>

Goodlet began giving financial aid to the schools in 1862 and this continued for the rest of his life, and even after he died his second wife Elizabeth continued this support.<sup>155</sup> In some years, notably 1880 to 1884, Goodlet gave over £6 per annum which was a substantial sum and in excess of what he normally gave to individual charities, even those in which they had a special interest (such as the SFRS and the DDBI £4 each and the BS, Society for Destitute Children and the Soup Kitchen £2 each). Though information is fragmentary it appears that he continued to support the Ragged Schools through the depression of the 1890s albeit at a reduced level. While John commenced his active involvement in the scheme in 1867, Ann was a collector for the Ragged Schools as early as 1864.<sup>156</sup> She was probably part of a group of benevolent ladies who began a school in Glebe in July 1862 and who handed over control of the school to the RS movement in early 1864.<sup>157</sup> If so, then Ann showed

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<sup>152</sup> Sussex Street Ragged and Industrial School, *Twenty Third Annual Report*, (1883), 14.

<sup>153</sup> *SMH*, September 17, 1872.

<sup>154</sup> *SMH*, October 30, 1862.

<sup>155</sup> The annual subscription £1-1-0 which Goodlet made to the Ragged Schools was continued by his wife after his death until at least 1922.

<sup>156</sup> Sussex Street Ragged and Industrial School, *Fourth Annual Report*, (1864).

<sup>157</sup> Sussex Street Ragged and Industrial School, *Fourth Annual Report*, (1864). Miss Bowie was the teacher of the Glebe Ragged School. She was one of four sisters who spent most of their lives as teachers in the Sydney Ragged Schools. It was the Goodlets who introduced Jessie Bowie to the work of the Ragged Schools. Sussex Street Ragged and Industrial School, *Sixty Second Annual Report*, (1922), 6-7.

the initial interest in this charity with John first giving financial support, later joining the committee in 1867,<sup>158</sup> then continuing in this role until his death in 1914.<sup>159</sup> While Goodlet took an active interest and found suitable teachers for the schools,<sup>160</sup> his main contribution was his business and financial acumen. Upon his death it was said of Goodlet that 'his interest in the children and teachers was very great, and his sound judgement carried much weight in the management of affairs'.<sup>161</sup>

Murray says that

in the early years of the Sydney Ragged Schools (1860-1867), their work displayed a social reformist approach, which put the schools and their supporters to the forefront of efforts to help these types of children. In the years of consolidation and expansion (1868-1889), there developed a strong emphasis on evangelism as the chief means of reclaiming these children, so that the schools became little more than missionary agencies. Finally in their latter years (1890-1924), influenced by the physical suffering of the depression, there was a return, in part, to the social concerns of earlier years.<sup>162</sup>

Murray sees the change in emphasis from social reform to evangelism as a result of Edward Joy's departure from active involvement in the work. It does seem to be true that the loss of the dynamism of Edward Joy from the RS did reduce the scope and creativity of the RS activity. It is also true that at the time of Joy's exit from the work, the schools were facing closure due to financial pressure and this may also have had an impact on the scope of their activities. Murray does concede that such a dichotomy between philanthropists who were primarily guided by an evangelistic motive and those whose dominant concern was to help reform society, needs to be seriously qualified as there was considerable overlap between the two motives.<sup>163</sup>

Goodlet, who commenced service when Edward Joy resigned, was probably elected

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<sup>158</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, November 25, 1867.

<sup>159</sup> Sussex Street Ragged and Industrial School, *Fifty Fourth Annual Report*, (1914), 9.

<sup>160</sup> Sussex Street Ragged and Industrial School, *Sixty Second Annual Report*, (1922), 6-7.

<sup>161</sup> Sussex Street Ragged and Industrial School, *Fifty Fourth Annual Report*, (1914), 9.

<sup>162</sup> Chris Murray, 'The Ragged School Movement in New South Wales, 1860-1924.' (MA Thesis, Macquarie University, Sydney, 1979), (i), 144-147.

<sup>163</sup> Murray, *The Ragged School Movement*, 144.

**The Goodlets supported these organisations**



**Ragged School**  
Harrington Street, Sydney



**Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution**  
City Road, Sydney

at that time not because of any difference with Joy over the social reform function of the RS, but simply because they were in deep financial trouble and in danger of closing.<sup>164</sup> Goodlet was one such who had overlapping motives as he had a high view of the value of education as a means of advancement, but he also highly valued teaching the Christian faith as a means by which an individual can change and have a better life. He was convinced of the efficacy of the RS from personal experience as

he knew that there were numbers of respectable men and women in this colony who owed their present positions to the action of the Ragged schools. They were constantly having instances brought before them of the good work which the schools were doing. He was sure that if the Bible was not made use of, the schools would cease to be the power of good which they were.<sup>165</sup>

He reminded the public that 'the ragged schools reached those children not amenable to the influences of public, private or religious schools.'<sup>166</sup> Goodlet was an active member of the committee and a strong financial supporter for 47 years.<sup>167</sup> This charity probably attracted the support of the Goodlets as it concerned children, education, the poor and the propagation of the Christian faith. John was, in the words of Ramsland, one of the 'industrious small businessmen and merchants of the evangelical persuasion who were motivated by a deep sense of Christian duty and love towards impoverished humanity and a strong religious zeal to reform what was, in their view, a corrupt, harsh and unfeeling society'.<sup>168</sup>

### **Disability Education: Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution**

Education and training in the area of those with disabilities engaged both the Goodlets in the work of the NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution (DDBI). This institution permitted the Goodlets to work together in this area and as such it engaged the personal attention of both John and Ann much more than that of the RS movement. [Photo page 143]

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<sup>164</sup> *SMH*, November 29, 1867.

<sup>165</sup> *SMH*, September 28, 1886.

<sup>166</sup> *SMH*, September 19, 1899.

<sup>167</sup> Sussex Street Ragged and Industrial School, *Fifty Fourth Annual Report*, (1914), 9.

<sup>168</sup> Ramsland, *Children of the Back Lanes*, 71.

The DDBI dated its origin from October 1861. It was to be a charitable body designed to educate and, if necessary, to maintain Deaf and Dumb persons above five years of age. It was only around 1869 that the education of the blind was included in its work.<sup>169</sup> From the outset the DDBI was an organization with a strongly Christian character and ethos. It was non-denominational, protestant and saw itself as carrying out the mission of Christ.<sup>170</sup> Though the DDBI had an evangelical and protestant orientation,<sup>171</sup> it was non-sectarian. No clergyman, nor anyone else, was allowed to use the premises of the Institution to inculcate their denominational distinctives. The Christianity that was taught and modelled by the staff, and the Superintendent in particular, was what the board would have regarded as common Christianity. The board tried very hard to accommodate the inmates of a Roman Catholic persuasion allowing and encouraging children of that tradition, where their parents agreed, to go to mass and religious instruction that was held outside the walls of the Institution. Nevertheless, the Roman Catholic authorities, particularly Cardinal Moran every so often unfairly criticised this government funded organization for proselytism.<sup>172</sup> Typical of the board's proactive stance on providing for Roman Catholic children, however, was their writing to Moran asking him to take steps to have the children of his faith taken to church on Sundays.<sup>173</sup>

Whatever the board members' personal views on Roman Catholicism, they apparently sought to ensure that the Institution was non-sectarian. The board was constituted by members of the protestant churches and it would seem they maintained a Protestant employment policy, but accepted students without regard to creed and encouraged all to attend Sunday worship in local churches of their parent's choice. While this is all true, the DDBI was protestant Christian in mindset and ethos and this cannot but have influenced the students. The fears of Moran who was

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<sup>169</sup> Barbara Lee Crickmore, *Education of the Deaf and Hearing Impaired: A Brief History* (Mayfield, NSW: Education Management Systems, 1990), 69-74 gives a good overview of the history of the DDBI.

<sup>170</sup> Its first President was a Christian minister, the Rev. George King of the Church of England, and the Presbyterian Rev. Dr John Dunmore Lang was an active Vice President.

<sup>171</sup> NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Minutes*, May 11, 1896.

<sup>172</sup> The Institution did receive government funding and it was responsive to Moran's various criticisms although they did not always respond publicly. On the occasion of Moran's criticism in 1884 Watson the Superintendent was called into the Board and questioned 'he as well as other officers regretted very much that they [the RC children] did not go to church as the Sundays hung heavily on their hands' and there were at that stage nine catholic children in the Institution. NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Minutes*, November 17, 1884.

<sup>173</sup> NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Minutes*, February 9, 1885.

seeking to maintain and assert the identity of Catholicism probably had some justification even if his specific charges were in error. It was not until 1875 that the Waratah Deaf and Dumb Institution at the Rosary Convent was established at Waratah near Newcastle to educate those of the Roman Catholic faith.<sup>174</sup>

The Goodlets were in sympathy with the approach to Christianity within the DDBI and, as with so many of their charitable works, they were content to work within this non-sectarian, albeit a protestant-flavoured context. John and Ann maintained a similar approach even in the private charitable work in their Consumptive Home. They had a non-discriminatory admission policy and made provision for Roman Catholic patients to attend mass at the local church. They did however, unlike the DDBI board, discriminate between protestant and Roman Catholic clergy and the propagation of their faith. Whereas they would not allow Roman Catholic priests to enter the Consumptive Home, ministers of a protestant persuasion could do so to visit patients and conduct religious services.

At the commencement of the DDBI its government was vested in a group of gentlemen, the directors, who were to be elected at an annual meeting of subscribers. The directors had overall responsibility for the financing, staffing, policy and fabric of the Institution. Six ladies who were appointed visitors to the Institution and called the Ladies Visiting Committee (LVC), were vital to the day-to-day management of this boarding and teaching facility. The LVC had the power to demand entrance to any part of the premises at such times as they deemed appropriate.<sup>175</sup> Their task was to superintend the domestic arrangements of the Institution, to meet monthly or more frequently, and report in writing to the Committee of Management any suggestions for the benefit of the Institution. The first members of the LVC were appointed in 1862 and were all wives of the directors.<sup>176</sup> The following year Mrs John Hay Goodlet, whose husband was not a director, was appointed to the committee.<sup>177</sup>

No records of the LVC have survived, but the scope of their activities can be seen in

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<sup>174</sup>Barbara Lee Crickmore, *Education of the Deaf and Hearing Impaired*, 64.

<sup>175</sup> NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Minutes*, February 3, 1862.

<sup>176</sup> The first Ladies Visiting Committee appointed was Mrs. King, Mrs. Selby, Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. Lentz, Mrs. Caldwell and Mrs. Love. NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Minutes*, February 3, 1862.

<sup>177</sup> NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Minutes*, April 7, 1863.

their correspondence with the Gentleman's Committee and the requests made by the directors for the LVC's assistance. Ann Goodlet was appointed secretary of the LVC in 1873 and it is evident from the director's minutes that she was most energetic in the pursuit of her duties.<sup>178</sup> In this role, to which later was added that of president, Ann exercised great influence in the operations of the DDBI. The LVC was concerned with the selection and monitoring of the performance of the domestic staff. This included, most importantly, the appointment of the matron, but it would appear to have even extended, on occasions, to the engagement of some of the teaching staff. The actual appointments were made by the directors, but on the advice and recommendation of the LVC. Matrons seemed to have resigned to the LVC and such resignations were then forwarded to the directors. The views of the LVC, which were probably largely those of their Secretary Mrs Goodlet, carried great weight, and they carried even greater weight on occasions than the judgement of their respected Superintendent, Samuel Watson.<sup>179</sup> [Photo page 150]

The breadth of the concerns of the LVC was considerable, varying from the mundane to the significant and they were also involved in difficult issues which needed to be raised with parents. One such issue concerned an incident between some female pupils and a male pupil. The exact nature of the incident is unclear, but it was sufficiently serious that the girls' mothers needed to be told and were requested to attend the Institution where the vice-president, the honorary secretary, and Mrs Goodlet explained to them what had happened. That Ann, rather than one of the female staff, was involved demonstrates both the seriousness of the incident and the vital role played by the LVC and by Ann in particular, in the running of the Institution.<sup>180</sup>

The support given by the Goodlets to the Institution was Ann Goodlet's initiative when she was appointed to the LVC in 1863. Ann remained actively involved until her retirement in 1898 and maintained her interest in the Institution until her death in 1903.<sup>181</sup> Due to failing health she was forced to resign her position as secretary and president of the LVC in 1898, a dual position which she had, in the estimation of

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<sup>178</sup> NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Minutes*, February 10, 1873.

<sup>179</sup> NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Minutes*, August 19, 1885; April 19, 1886.

<sup>180</sup> NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Minutes*, November 14, 1892.

<sup>181</sup> Even after her retirement the annual reports record that Mrs. Goodlet kept on giving prizes, cakes, buns and oranges, pears and other treats for the children.

the directors, most ably filled for many years. After 35 years of involvement Ann was, for her special and distinguished service, unanimously appointed a life director of the Institution.<sup>182</sup> The directors commented that they had gladly retained her name on the Ladies Committee and expressed the hope to again have her valuable cooperation on her restoration to health, but such a hope was never fulfilled as Ann never regained her health. Her appointment as a life director provided the directors with something of a dilemma, given the feelings of the time in regard to the public role of women, but as Sir Arthur Renwick so carefully put it to the annual meeting:

The directors have taken steps to acknowledge the great services of this good lady, and, without wishing to recognise the views which many now hold with regard to the position of women in public matters, they have determined that they will interpret the rules as regards gentlemen being placed on the roll of this Society as life Directors in such a way that Mrs Goodlet shall be placed on this roll, and shall be the first lady recognised in this capacity.<sup>183</sup>

It was an honour long overdue, her husband had been publicly recognised for his service to the Institution when in 1891, after a mere 13 years as a board member, he was appointed a life member,<sup>184</sup> then made a vice-president in 1893<sup>185</sup> and a trustee in 1899. Though slow in coming, the recognition of Ann's contribution to the welfare of the children of the DDBI was heartfelt. On her death some five years later the annual report said

It is with feelings of the deepest regret that the Directors have to report the death of one who had for very many years rendered splendid service to this and other Institutions. We refer to the late Mrs J.H. Goodlet, who passed away to her reward on the 3<sup>rd</sup> January last. Mrs Goodlet was a member of the Ladies' Visiting Committee of this Institution for nearly 40 years, during the greater part of which time she filled in a most efficient manner the position of president and secretary of that Committee ... In further perpetuation of the

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<sup>182</sup> The date was October 17, 1898 from an annotation in Ellis Robertson's copy of the NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Thirty Sixth Annual Report*, (1897). The official report of the appointment is in the NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Thirty Seventh Annual Report*, (1898).

<sup>183</sup> NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Thirty Seventh Annual Report*, (1898).

<sup>184</sup> NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Minutes*, November 5, 1891.

<sup>185</sup> The date of the appointment was December 11, 1893. Notation in Ellis Robertson's copy of NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Thirty Second Annual Report*, (1893).

memory of Mrs Goodlet, and as a permanent record of her devotion to the sacred cause of charity, it has been decided by the Board to erect a marble tablet, with a suitable inscription, in the entrance hall of the Institution.<sup>186</sup>

Sir Arthur Renwick [Photo page 150], president of the Institution, said

I need scarcely refer, to this audience, or to the public at large in the State of New South Wales, to the large and valuable services rendered by that lady, connected as she was, not only with this Institution, but with most of the leading charities. We will miss her very much.<sup>187</sup>

The influence of the Goodlets was seen in the day-to-day running of the DDBI through Ann's role in the LVC and through John's role in the overall management of the Institution. Their influence was also seen through the appointments of the superintendents and matrons. In 1870 a new matron, Mrs Ashton, and a new superintendent, Mr. Samuel Watson, were appointed:

Both of these people were carefully selected by the Ladies Visiting Committee, one of the ladies having visited England to choose Mr. Watson. Both of these people were to loyally serve the Institution for long periods.<sup>188</sup>

The member of the LCV referred to here was Ann Goodlet who, with John, was visiting England and Scotland in 1869. While it may be overstating Ann's role in the appointment, she does seem to have had important input into the decision<sup>189</sup> to appoint Samuel Watson from the Derby and Raphoe Institution as a teacher.<sup>190</sup> The appointment of Watson, who did so much to shape the teaching role of the DDBI and its success, was an enduring legacy of the Goodlet's advice to the board. According to John Goodlet, Watson was

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<sup>186</sup> NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Forty Second Annual Report*, (1903). Regretfully the Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children, when it moved from Darlington to North Rocks left behind all the memorials erected to mark the service of people like Mrs. Goodlet. This has resulted in the loss of knowledge of the contribution Mrs. Goodlet and others made to the education and welfare of Deaf and Blind Children in NSW. The University of Sydney after purchasing the Institute Building has fortunately preserved the memorial and has it in a store.

<sup>187</sup> NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Forty Second Annual Report*, (1903).

<sup>188</sup> Jennifer Plowman, *We Grew Up Together – a brief history of the Royal New South Wales Institute for Deaf and Blind Children from 1860-1985* (North Rocks Sydney: North Rocks Press, 1985), 9.

<sup>189</sup> NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Minutes*, November 1, 1869.

<sup>190</sup> NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Fiftieth Annual Report*, (1911), 30.

## Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution



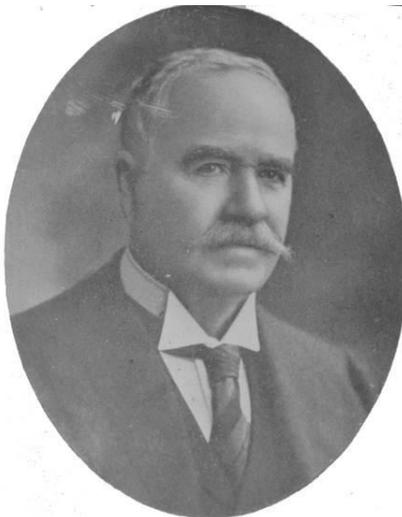
**Samuel Watson**

Superintendent  
1879-1911



**Harold Earlam**

Superintendent  
1911-1947



**Sir Arthur Renwick**

President  
1881-1908

a man, Christian to the backbone, loved by the oldest and the youngest, looked upon as a father, as he took such an interest in them. You could hardly imagine that any man could have taken such an interest in the school as he did. He looked not merely after their ordinary education and general knowledge, but also their spiritual education; and many adults in this community and in the country, will ever bless the day they came under his influence.<sup>191</sup>

It is not surprising that such a man would be supported strongly by John and Ann as he was a devout Christian who imparted not just a knowledge of this world, but also of the world to come. In the year before Ann's death Watson expressed his thanks to the Goodlets indicating that 'few have more reason than I have to thank God for the warm true and strong friendship it has been my great privilege to enjoy through you and Mr. Goodlet during the past 32 years'.<sup>192</sup>

It would appear that the Goodlets took an interest in the personal welfare of Watson who, on a number of occasions, was unwell and required leave to recuperate. The Minutes of the Board note that Mr Watson often recuperated and spent his holidays at Picton and it is highly likely that he stayed at the Goodlet's Picton residence 'Harmony'. Watson was to influence the direction of the DDBI from the time of his appointment in 1870 until his retirement in 1909, and during this time he was instrumental in setting the direction and trend of Deaf and Blind education in NSW. Watson's influence and work was a direct product of the Goodlets' advice to the board and their support during his time as superintendent.

When Watson retired Ann Goodlet had already died, but John was still involved in the Institute and had, on the death of Renwick in 1908, become its third president.<sup>193</sup> As it happened, Goodlet was again overseas in 1910 and was instrumental in the selection of Watson's successor. Goodlet had interviewed all the candidates while in England and had written to the board giving his proposal concerning who would be the most appropriate appointment. The board considered the applications and Mr Goodlet's recommendation and duly appointed Mr Harold Earlam who was Goodlet's

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<sup>191</sup> NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Fiftieth Annual Report*, (1911), 48.

<sup>192</sup> Letter from Samuel Watson to Mrs. Goodlet dated September 17, 1902 Ferguson Memorial Library, Goodlet File.

<sup>193</sup> Sir Arthur Renwick died November 23, 1908. NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Minutes*, December 14, 1908.

recommended candidate.<sup>194</sup> [Photo page 150] As was reported to the board, Goodlet was 'pleased with what he saw of him and thinks he is likely to suit.'<sup>195</sup>

On Goodlet's return to Australia the board expressed its gratitude 'to him for the valuable services he had rendered while in England in selecting a new Superintendent for the Institution' in place of Samuel Watson,<sup>196</sup> and it was noted that 'It is a unique fact, and worthy of record, that Mr. Goodlet, who selected Mr. Earlam, also selected Mr. Watson over forty years previously.'<sup>197</sup> The influence of the Goodlets in the Institution was felt through their recommendations for the post of Superintendent as Mr Earlam continued in his position until 1947. In this way they had a significant influence on the welfare and education of Deaf and Blind children in NSW for over 70 years.

### **Secondary Education: Presbyterian Ladies College**

John Goodlet was the leading spirit in the movement which culminated in the establishment of the Presbyterian Ladies' College, Sydney (PLC).<sup>198</sup> By July 1887, the council of the college had advertised for a principal, and Goodlet took a lead in the selection of John Marden, a science master from the Methodist Ladies' College in Melbourne. [Photo page 259] Goodlet made a special trip to Melbourne to confer with him and to visit the Girl's Colleges there with a view to advising the committee in shaping the policy of the new school.<sup>199</sup> The council received Goodlet's recommendation and unanimously selected John Marden 'because of his high academic standing, his experience and success in teaching and his high Christian character'.<sup>200</sup> Thus began a long, fruitful and close partnership between Marden, the college and John Goodlet.

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<sup>194</sup> 'To consider an important communication from Mr. Goodlet, President, the candidates for the position of Superintendent. Mr. Goodlet's letter was read and eight applications forwarded therewith were submitted...It was decided to appoint Mr. Earlam and Mr. Goodlet was to be sent a cable message to that effect'. NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Minutes*, October 11, 1910.

<sup>195</sup> NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Minutes*, December 12, 1910.

<sup>196</sup> NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Fiftieth Annual Report*, (1911), 13.

<sup>197</sup> NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Fiftieth Annual Report*, (1911), 13.

<sup>198</sup> An account of the Presbyterian Ladies College is to be found in John McFarlane, *The Golden Hope – Presbyterian Ladies College Sydney 1888-1988* (Sydney, The College, 1988) and is acknowledged as the background for this section.

<sup>199</sup> Memorial Minute drawn up by John Marden, Presbyterian Ladies College, *Minutes of Executive Committee*, December 7, 1914.

<sup>200</sup> McFarlane, *The Golden Hope*, 9.

The PLC was opened on January 7, 1888, with 39 girls at 'Fernlea', a fourteen-roomed gentleman's residence in Victoria Street, Ashfield. The site was chosen no doubt for its healthy outlook, but it was also not far from Canterbury House, and Goodlet, together with Alexander Dean and the Principal, arranged for the furnishing of the newly acquired building.<sup>201</sup> Among the 39 enrolments were the Goodlet's 'adopted' nieces Josephine, Isabella and Agnes Copeland, and it is possible that the Goodlets met their fees.<sup>202</sup>

By late 1888, it was obvious that the Ashfield site was too small and the search was conducted for a new location. Goodlet was heavily involved in this practical undertaking and brought to the attention of the college council a place in Croydon. The council<sup>203</sup> authorised Goodlet to negotiate over the land,<sup>204</sup> but in the end it was considered unsuitable.<sup>205</sup> In 1889, Goodlet advised that a most suitable site, the 'Hordern' property at Croydon known as 'Shubra Hall', was for sale and Goodlet urged the council to purchase it. The council authorised him to bid for the site, and he secured it for £7,500.<sup>206</sup>

Goodlet, Elphinstone and Marden were appointed to draw up the design of the new college.<sup>207</sup> The architect appointed to design the building was Albert Bond, but most of the ideas were said to be those of Marden, based on what he had seen at PLC, Melbourne.<sup>208</sup> It is likely, however, that the architect was recommended by Goodlet as he had worked closely with him before.<sup>209</sup> The new college building was opened in March 1891. [Photo page 158]

Goodlet gave unfailing loyalty to the best interests of the college. In Marden's words 'no trouble was too great to advance its material well-being, or to add to its fame

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<sup>201</sup> Memorial Minute drawn up by John Marden Presbyterian Ladies College, *Minutes of Executive Committee*, December 7, 1914.

<sup>202</sup> Presbyterian Ladies College, *Fee Register*, 1888, 1889, 1890,

<sup>203</sup> Presbyterian Ladies College, *Minutes of Executive Committee*, August 9, 1888.

<sup>204</sup> Presbyterian Ladies College, *Minutes of Executive Committee*, August 23, 1888.

<sup>205</sup> Presbyterian Ladies College, *Minutes of Executive Committee*, December 14, 1888.

<sup>206</sup> Presbyterian Ladies College, *Minutes of Executive Committee*, September 5, 1889.

<sup>207</sup> Presbyterian Ladies College, *Minutes of Executive Committee*, January 26, 1889.

<sup>208</sup> McFarlane, *The Golden Hope*, 30.

<sup>209</sup> In the construction of Ragged School Classrooms, the Consumptive Home and later in the refurbishment of the Sydney Female Refuge in 1901.

and lustre.’<sup>210</sup> This Goodlet did in a number of ways, but primarily through his practical advice, financial strength and commercial skills. At the commencement of the College he provided his financial weight in order to be one of those providing a deed of security for the College overdraft and he was the vendor for the College debentures.<sup>211</sup> While *Goodlet and Smith* occasionally sold building materials to the college,<sup>212</sup> they did provide the services of their staff gratis to assist the college in matters such as administration of the debenture issue,<sup>213</sup> boiler inspection,<sup>214</sup> and accounting assistance when Marden was unwell and absent from the college.<sup>215</sup> Goodlet also chaired the college finance committee<sup>216</sup> from the commencement of the college until his death, acting as its advisor and in Marden’s legal expression, ‘Amicus curiae’ to the college.<sup>217</sup> He was, according to Marden, ‘indefatigable in his attendance at council’s meetings,’ and over a period of 25 years attended 101 out of 123 (82%) of all council meetings. Given that Goodlet was absent for the whole of 1910 this is a remarkable achievement and a strong indication of his commitment to the welfare of the college.<sup>218</sup>

Goodlet and Marden worked together closely and seemed to have had a close friendship. In 1910, when Marden was ill and needed a good rest, Goodlet took him with him on his trip to Europe. When visiting Scotland on this trip Goodlet took the opportunity to make inquiries as to the lines on which girls’ educational institutions were conducted. He was particularly pleased with St Leonard’s College at St Andrews and thought that if another college was started in Sydney it might be along the same lines.<sup>219</sup>

Marden was deeply indebted to Goodlet for his support and friendship and expressed this in Goodlet’s memorial minute in the college records:

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<sup>210</sup> Memorial Minute drawn up by John Marden Presbyterian Ladies College, *Minutes of Executive Committee*, December 7, 1914.

<sup>211</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), April 9, 1892.

<sup>212</sup> Presbyterian Ladies College, *Minutes of Executive Committee*, August 29, 1891.

<sup>213</sup> Presbyterian Ladies College, *Minutes of Executive Committee*, February 1, 1893.

<sup>214</sup> Presbyterian Ladies College, *Minutes of Executive Committee*, June 14, 1898.

<sup>215</sup> Letter from Marden to Council January 22, 1910, *Minutes of Executive Committee*.

<sup>216</sup> Presbyterian Ladies College, *Minutes of Executive Committee*, February 9, 1888.

<sup>217</sup> Presbyterian Ladies College, *Minutes of Executive Committee*, December 7, 1914.

<sup>218</sup> It is also an indication of the perceived worth of Goodlet to the College that up to 1909 all Council Meetings were held in his office at Goodlet and Smith which allowed him to be present much more than might otherwise have been possible.

<sup>219</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW* (Sydney, NSW), August 13, 1926.

The Principal who had worked with him in the utmost harmony through a long and trying period of twenty six years of College History, wishes also to record his high appreciation of the untiring help, deep sympathy, and constant encouragement given without stint and without grudging to him by the late John Hay Goodlet.<sup>220</sup>

That Marden should draw up such a minute for the College Council was hardly surprising, but when the Ashfield Session sought to do the same they called on Marden to draft the minute.<sup>221</sup> That Marden should do so rather than the Session Clerk is indicative of the close relationship that Marden and Goodlet shared.

On his trip to Scotland in 1910, Goodlet gave some thought to the commencement of another college. The purchase of 50 acres at Pymble in 1914, as the basis for the Presbyterian Ladies College Pymble, was largely due to Goodlet.<sup>222</sup> Towards the end of his life Goodlet was determined to commence a Boys College in the then Western Suburbs of Sydney. Soon after Goodlet's death his widow wrote to the Trustees and informed them that Goodlet had arranged to have his will altered to reflect this thinking; he had been due to sign it the day before he died but was unable to do so.<sup>223</sup> When Goodlet was involved in seeking land to commence PLC Pymble, he had become aware of the difficulty of acquiring suitable land for schools. In late 1913, the Methodists approached Goodlet seeking to purchase part of the Canterbury House estate for a Methodist College. Goodlet declined to sell, expressing to them his desire for his land at Canterbury House to go to the Presbyterian Church for a school. Just prior to his illness he negotiated the purchase of additional land adjacent to the Canterbury Estate (then leased to the Golf Club) thus increasing his land holding around Canterbury House from 80 to 149 acres. His purpose in doing so was to further his 'last and great wish', the formation of a Boys School on the Canterbury House site.<sup>224</sup> Goodlet died full of schemes for the future, but his desire for a Boys

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<sup>220</sup> Memorial Minute drawn up by John Marden. Presbyterian Ladies College, *Minutes of Executive Committee*, December 7, 1914.

<sup>221</sup> Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes*, April 1, 1914.

<sup>222</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, January 23, 1914.

<sup>223</sup> Letter EM Goodlet to the Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales, April 7, 1914. Ferguson Library, Sydney.

<sup>224</sup> Letter EM Goodlet to the Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales, April 7, 1914. Ferguson Library, Sydney.

School on the Canterbury House site was never fulfilled.

### **Tertiary Education: St Andrews College**

Goodlet's great interest in education extended to tertiary and theological education in his support of the development of St Andrews College (StAC).<sup>225</sup> [Photo page 158] At a meeting of the subscribers on November 7, 1870, to elect the initial council of StAC, John Hay Goodlet was elected in sixth place with 515 votes, polling the highest number for a non-minister.<sup>226</sup> This gives some idea of the standing in which Goodlet was held within the church and community after only some 15 years of business in Sydney. Thus began Goodlet's devoted service to StAC, which he continued until his death in 1914. Goodlet was reasonably diligent in his attention to StAC business and had an attendance record of 62% of meetings over 44 years. Between 1877 and 1883 most of the meetings of the council were held on the same day as those of the AMP, so Goodlet often found it impossible to be present at both. He invariably attended the AMP meetings and attended the StAC meetings when he could. At the end of 1881, he was appointed chairman of the AMP and by mid-1882 he had not attended any meetings of StAC.<sup>227</sup>

In Goodlet's second term as AMP chairman, between 1884 and 1887, there were fewer clashes of meeting dates and a leave of absence was not necessary. Thus, while Goodlet was a keen supporter of the college, he regarded his role with the AMP as having a higher call upon his time. Upon relinquishing his AMP chairmanship, his attendance at StAC meetings improved, and only the onset of adverse economic conditions in the 1890s reduced his attendance, but even then his attendance was good. In 1901, he attended every meeting of the council, but from then on his interest in attending meetings seem to be in decline and after his return from overseas in 1910, he seems to have had a reduced interest in council business.

Goodlet was generous to StAC in terms of his time and his expertise and also in endowing scholarships and supporting the building fund. In terms of financial support he made available a scholarship for three years at £50 per annum as a Scholarship

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<sup>225</sup> For a history of St Andrews College see R. Ian Jack, *The Andrews Book* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed, (Sydney: St Andrews College, 1989) and R. Ian Jack, *St Andrews College 1870-1995 the first 125 years in photographs* (Sydney: St Andrews, 1995).

<sup>226</sup> Meeting of Subscribers to Elect Council of St Andrews, November 7, 1870.

<sup>227</sup> St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, June 20, 1882; September 19, 1882.

or Theological Studies,<sup>228</sup> donated £1,000 to the building fund, and left a bequest to StAC of 2,000 shares in *Goodlet and Smith*. Goodlet's contribution to the StAC Council consisted in not only attending meetings and taking part in the various decisions, but in attending to various practical matters in connection with the fabric of StAC. The council minutes are sprinkled with jobs that John undertook and are indicative of his practical assistance to the college.<sup>229</sup> He did not, however, restrict himself to just practical matters of buildings and finance for he also took an active interest and involvement in the appointment of principals and council members, even opposing the appointment of the Rev John Dunmore Lang as principal. He signed a petition to the assembly to this effect,<sup>230</sup> and supported instead the Rev Peter Menzies of Scots Church, Melbourne.<sup>231</sup> The council had decided to seek a principal from 'Home,' but Goodlet was opposed to this and sought to persuade the Council to appoint Lang acting principal.<sup>232</sup> He then sought to have the Rev John Kinross appointed to the position and this was eventually successful.<sup>233</sup> [Photo page 259] Lang protested the legality of the election and while Lang's protest was dismissed, Kinross decided to withdraw his acceptance of the position on other grounds.

Lang and the Rev Adam Thomson, who was minister of Philip Street Presbyterian Church, were nominated and Thomson was elected. Goodlet no doubt voted for Thomson as he had previously opposed the appointment of Lang. Lang was a divisive figure and Goodlet, who tended to get on with a wide range of people of diverse views, probably did not think this a good thing for the fledgling college, besides

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<sup>228</sup> St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, September 15, 1874.

<sup>229</sup> He was appointed to the Finance Committee with the aim of getting in unpaid subscriptions, St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, January 17, 1871; appointed to a committee to invest receipts, St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, January 23, 1872; nominated Mr. Munro as architect, St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, July 22, 1873; appointed a member of the building committee, St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, February 17, 1874; appointed with the Rev. Dr Fullerton and Principal to revise bylaws and report, St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, April 15, 1885; with the Principal, Rev. Dr Steel and Captain Smith to make arrangements for a new provedore, St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, October 21, 1885; with the Principal to select tables for dining hall, St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, September 19, 1876; with Paxton to investigate the present condition of closets and urinals St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, April 20, 1880; with the Principal to arrange for work to be done at the College by the 'unemployed' now being utilised by the Government, St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, April 20, 1887; with the Principal and Mr. Dodds to investigate improvements to the sewerage, St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, December 19, 1888; supervise with the Treasurer the erection of brick cottages on land in St Peters owned by college, St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, April 30, 1890; a member of the Works committee, St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, August 15, 1894; and not long before his death with the Treasurer, Principal and Dr Jarvie Hood formed a subcommittee to inspect and report on Eastern Wing plans and specifications and site, St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, June 16, 1913.

<sup>230</sup> St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, September 19, 1871.

<sup>231</sup> St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, October 17, 1871.

<sup>232</sup> St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, January 23, 1872.

<sup>233</sup> St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, February 20, 1872.

**Organisations supported by John Goodlet**



**Presbyterian Ladies College**  
Sydney



**St Andrews College**  
Sydney

which he had a great respect for Thomson as his minister. Lang took the matter to the civil courts but lost and so Thomson was appointed the first principal in 1873. Regretfully, Thomson died in November 1874 and in April 1875 Andrew Brown and John Goodlet proposed Kinross as principal who was elected unopposed.<sup>234</sup>

The death of Colonel John Hay Goodlet was reported with extreme regret and it was resolved that the principal and professor Macintyre prepare a memorial minute to be forwarded to the widow of the late councillor.<sup>235</sup> There is no memorial minute within the minutes of the StAC council which is a departure from the usual practice and every other member of council, who had died up to that point in time, had had such a minute. There is no letter of acknowledgement of receipt of a memorial minute from Mrs Goodlet, and as such acknowledgements were commonly recorded in the minutes, it would appear that no memorial minute was drawn up. No doubt these were oversights and Goodlet himself may not have cared, but it is strange that the memory of a man who did so much to further the work of StAC could be so easily overlooked.

### **Primary Education: Public Schools League**

The Goodlets clearly placed a high value on education and gave a considerable amount of time, effort and finance in support of the building of educational facilities and organisations for disadvantaged, secondary, disability and tertiary education. These organisations were examples of private, non-government educational activities, though they were often supported with some government aid.

At a meeting in 1874 to consider the erection of a new public school at Ashfield, Goodlet listened as Henry Parkes extolled the virtues of the schooling system that he had ushered in through the Public Schools Act (1866), and which had commenced January 1, 1867. Parkes pointed out the great improvement that this had brought to the education of children, with improved teaching standards and increased numbers of schools.<sup>236</sup> While not disputing Parkes' assessment of the improvement in the education provided in the Colony, Goodlet was clearly not satisfied for the next day he attended a meeting to found a Burwood branch of the Public Schools League (PSL). The PSL came into existence because of the educational issues raised by the

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<sup>234</sup> St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, April 20, 1875.

<sup>235</sup> St Andrews College, *Council Minutes*, March 16, 1914.

<sup>236</sup> *SMH*, November 17, 1874.

great increase in population that had taken place in the colony during the 1870s and 1880s. Despite Parkes' efforts, this population increase, and its dispersion across the colony, had revealed the complete inadequacy of the school system.<sup>237</sup> There was, therefore, considerable public agitation for an improvement in the provision of schooling, for it was evident that the spread of a mix of denominational schools and public schools throughout the colony was not sufficient to provide a universal education system. The State's financial support of denominational schools weakened the system and Goodlet was among those who, through the PSL, agitated for a 'national, secular, compulsory and free' primary education system.<sup>238</sup>

That an educational system was national and compulsory was what mattered to Goodlet. He had reservations about the meaning of the word 'secular' and said at the founding of the Burwood Branch of the PSL that

he admitted that he had been opposed to the word 'secular' at first, until he heard it defined by the League. At the same time he thought the word had been unfortunately adopted, and if the word 'non-sectarian' were used it would materially strengthen the league.<sup>239</sup>

In its manifesto, the PSL was at pains to spell out its understanding of 'secular' so as to not alienate the support of those like Goodlet. It said that

the League does not seek in any way to depreciate or hinder [religious] instruction, but simply maintains that in a community of various religious faiths, the State cannot justly be the religious teacher of its people. We can have no religious tests of citizenship ... and consequently, Denominational education ought not to be supported out of public funds.<sup>240</sup>

Such a position, however, was only acceptable to those like Goodlet if there was still an opportunity for religious instruction within the public secular education system. Aware of this fact the PSL affirmed that

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<sup>237</sup> A. G. Austin, *Australian Education 1788-1900, Church, State and Public Education in Colonial Australia* (Melbourne: Pitman and Sons, 1961), 174.

<sup>238</sup> Goodlet was financial supporter of the Public Schools League giving in 1874 a £10 donation which is the equivalent of \$1,050 (2008 value).

<sup>239</sup> *SMH*, November 18, 1874.

<sup>240</sup> *SMH*, September 22, 1874.

to the Scripture lessons and other class books, now generally used in our Public Schools, the League has no objection to urge. Nor does it object to special religious instruction being given, provided this can be done without cost to the State, without interfering with the ordinary course of secular instruction, and without favour to any one section of the people in preference to any other.<sup>241</sup>

Goodlet continued his support for a national education system, successfully moving at the General Assembly of NSW (GANSW) that 'in the opinion of this Assembly, no system of education will be satisfactory that is not purely national, and as far as practicable, compulsory.'<sup>242</sup>

John Goodlet was probably one 'who preferred the denominational system as a matter of principle, or interest, but accepted the compromise of non-sectarian religious instruction.'<sup>243</sup> As a practical man he would have realised, as others did, that the churches simply could not, with their limited resources, provide a truly national educational schooling system. He was content that the system of education proposed by the PSL would be such that religion would have a place.

In the Public School Act of 1880, the colonial Government owned its responsibility to implement a universal education system and the fact that 'the State alone was capable of doing this, for neither the local communities, nor the Churches, nor the existing boards of education appeared to be capable of discharging this national duty.'<sup>244</sup> So the Government placed education in the hands of a department of the State under a Minister of the Crown. Such primary school education was to be 'free, compulsory and secular'. The Roman Catholic Bishops strenuously opposed these secularising views of education. Pope Pius IX in *Quanta Cura*, with its attached *Syllabus of Errors* (1864), had condemned views that included the belief that education should be 'subjected to the civil and political power', and that Catholics could approve of a 'system of educating youth unconnected with Catholic faith and

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<sup>241</sup> *SMH*, September 22, 1874. A good account of the views of the Public Schools League is to be found in this article. See also *SMH*, October 3, 1874.

<sup>242</sup> BB GANSW 1874 Min 48, 16.

<sup>243</sup> Austin, *Australian Education*, 180; 190-193.

<sup>244</sup> Austin, *Australian Education*, 177.

the power of the Church.<sup>245</sup> It has been suggested by Austin that the final form in which the secular Act finally passed into law in NSW was designed

not to drive religion out of the State schools, but to prevent the Roman Catholic Church from continuing its assault upon the liberal, secular State with the aid of the State's own resources.<sup>246</sup>

Whether or not Goodlet supported the Act for these reasons is unknown. He was strongly opposed to Roman Catholicism as was shown by his refusal to admit Roman Catholic priests to minister at the Consumptive Home and so it would not have been out of character for him to support the Act, in part, for such a reason. His stated reasons were, however, that the colony needed a compulsory universal system of education so that all primary school aged children could receive an education. That Goodlet, as a devout Christian, supported this object illustrates the truth of Bollen's view that

the controversies over 'free, secular and compulsory' education which engaged the Australian colonies in the sixties and seventies were not set-piece battles in which agnosticism and secularism drove religion from the field. The failings of the denominational system and a positive ideal of liberal education counted for much more than anti-religious influences.<sup>247</sup>

### **Adult Education: Ashfield School of Arts**

In 1872, it was decided to form a School of Arts or a Mechanics' Institute in Ashfield (ASA) to provide 'aids to the social and intellectual improvement of its members, viz., library, reading-room, classes for debate and instruction, chess and draughts club etc.'<sup>248</sup> Though not present at the meeting, Goodlet was elected a vice-president, and while the project seems to have lapsed, the residents of Ashfield were spurred on by the success of their suburban neighbour Burwood and so, in 1879, the matter was again raised and Goodlet promised £100 towards the building.<sup>249</sup> In July

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<sup>245</sup> Austin, *Australian Education*, 195.

<sup>246</sup> Austin, *Australian Education*, 197.

<sup>247</sup> J. D. Bollen, *Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales, 1890-1910* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1972), 2.

<sup>248</sup> *SMH*, April 19, 1872.

<sup>249</sup> *SMH*, December 23, 1879.

1880, a block of land was purchased and Goodlet was appointed a Trustee.<sup>250</sup> In December 1880, in recognition of the Goodlets' interest in adult education and their standing in the Ashfield community, Ann Goodlet was invited to lay the foundation stone of the ASA.<sup>251</sup> Dr Badham<sup>252</sup> spoke on the occasion and said that

he looked upon a School of Arts as essentially an intellectual movement. Every book which made a man feel, every book which opened his heart, and which enlarged the sphere of his sense of obligation was a good book: every book which set a man thinking was a good book. Why? Because, what was education? ... It was simply that which was to make a man feel and think a little more clearly, for just in proportion as a man thought clearly and methodically was he educated in that proportion.<sup>253</sup>

Goodlet, who was now the president of the ASA, presided at the opening of the building in September 1881, and while he spoke without the eloquence of Badham, he spoke in much the same vein when he expressed the hope that the hall

would be used not alone for the purposes of innocent amusements but for instructive lectures, &c. he concluded by exhorting the young men of Ashfield to use the institution as a means of higher education, whereby they might be enabled to advance in any profession or occupation they engaged in.<sup>254</sup>

A lecture series was commenced and was initially well received with good attendances. It would appear that Goodlet utilized his social capital to enlist various of his associates to speak at the ASA. Rev Dr Kellynack spoke on the 'Path to Power' (October 1881), Rev G Grimm on 'Australian Explorers' (October 1882), and again on 'Australian Navigators' (November 1883), and Dr Steel on the Highlands of Scotland with views (1881). Other cultural activities took place such as the Western Suburbs Horticultural Rose Show (October 1881), Handel's Messiah (September 1881),<sup>255</sup> Art and Singing Classes, Council and Lodge Meetings and political gatherings. There was

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<sup>250</sup> *SMH*, July 16, 1880.

<sup>251</sup> *SMH*, December 13, 1880.

<sup>252</sup> Charles Badham (1813-1884), Professor of Classics at the University of Sydney (1867-1884).

<sup>253</sup> *SMH*, December 13, 1880.

<sup>254</sup> *SMH*, September 6, 1881.

<sup>255</sup> *SMH*, November 1, 1881; September 24, 1881.

much energetic activity in the early years of the ASA during Goodlet's presidency, but by 1883 the ASA had begun to decline and was in financial trouble due to a lack of support by the residents of Ashfield. Goodlet said that

the schools of art would not be a very great success in any of the suburbs of Sydney on account of the facilities which the railway offered to the residents, in consequence of which the people preferred to attend a concert or a lecture in the metropolis.<sup>256</sup>

Goodlet's analysis of the problem was inadequate as it was contradicted by the fact that the neighbouring Burwood School of Arts was doing well and by 1889 was seeking to expand its accommodation.<sup>257</sup> The Ashfield venture was indeed not a great success, and its failure left its three trustees, of which Goodlet was one, liable for the mortgage of £3,000 with an interest rate of 6% per annum. In 1887, unsuccessful attempts were made to sell the building and contents to the Ashfield Council.<sup>258</sup> The organisation closed as the ASA in 1889<sup>259</sup> and became the Ashfield Hall, eventually being purchased by the Baptist Church in 1903.

Philanthropy as improvement was a very important aspect of John and Ann Goodlets' philanthropy. It encapsulated improvement through: financial provision (AMP and the Penny Banks), providing skills, employment and protection (SFRS), and the advancement of all sections of the community through disability, primary, secondary, tertiary and adult education (DDBI, PSL, PLC, StAC, ASA). In supporting philanthropy as improvement, the Goodlets were reflecting the nineteenth century ethic of improvement, believing that improving an individual's financial situation, skills and education resources would lead to happier lives. As they gave so much time, energy and money to this type of philanthropy, this was an investment made in people that the Goodlets no doubt believed was of great value. John and Ann did not share the views of the late nineteenth century American scientific philanthropists, such as Andrew Carnegie, who believed that the giving of alms was of little value (See Chapter 10 on Comparative Philanthropic Profiles). What they did agree with, however, was that improvement philanthropy was the way to improve the individual and society and that it ought to be the focus of philanthropy.

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<sup>256</sup> *SMH*, March 19, 1885.

<sup>257</sup> *SMH*, February 6, 1889.

<sup>258</sup> *SMH*, September 1, 1887.

<sup>259</sup> *SMH*, June 13, 1889; September 30, 1889.

## **CHAPTER 6 The Philanthropic Spectrum: *Civic Engagement***

Philanthropy as civic engagement seeks to build better community structures and services and is directed by a notion of civic responsibility. The focus of John Goodlet during a significant part of his life was to do his civic duty and in doing so he gave a great deal of his time and effort in order to develop, for the defense of the colony, an effective citizen's defense force. Ann's civic engagement was different as she saw the need for safe women's accommodation in an unfamiliar environment. She took a great interest in those girls just 'off the boat' from 'Home', those seeking employment or those looking for somewhere safe to stay in Sydney. Ann sought to develop appropriate accommodation for such women. These activities are an example of the Goodlets' displaying philanthropy as civic engagement.

### **Colonial Defence**

In the late 1850s, not long after John Goodlet had settled in Sydney, the population of Sydney was concerned about its security and believed that in order to protect the colony it was necessary to raise a force of men. As in many things, Britain provided the colony with the model for a solution to its defence problem. In 1794, Pitt and Dundas had founded the Volunteer Movement which at its peak in 1804, with 400,000 men and 4,600 individual corps, contained about 18% of all men of military age in England, Scotland and Wales. The Volunteers were an auxiliary military force distinct from county militias, the fencibles and the regular army. Unlike the other military groups, they elected their own officers and were bound by no property qualifications.<sup>1</sup> In joining, volunteers were primarily motivated by fear of a French invasion and were an example of patriotism expressed as national defence.<sup>2</sup> These volunteer groups are not to be compared to the Irish Volunteers and radical clubs, but rather to the associated charities and voluntary societies so prominent in eighteenth century British life.<sup>3</sup> There were, of course, other reasons for joining such as a spirit of adventure, the pay, and the vanity and social value of a uniform.

In the early 1850s, war between Britain and France had seemed likely and by 1854 tensions with Russia came to a head and war with Russia was declared. An echo of those tensions was to be heard in the colony of NSW in the 1855 recommencing of

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<sup>1</sup> Austin Gee, *The British Volunteer Movement, 1794-1814* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). Review by James J. Sack, *Journal of British Studies* 44, 2, (April 2005): 384-5.

<sup>2</sup> John E. Cookson, *The British Armed Nation, 1793-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1997), 19; Gee, *The British Volunteer Movement*, 384.

<sup>3</sup> Gee, *The British Volunteer Movement*, 385.

the construction of Fort Denison to defend the colony from Russian attack. There were several 'Russian scares' throughout 1854 with rumours of Russian ships concentrating in the China seas. Despite assurances by the commander of the Royal Fleet in the eastern seas Sir James Stirling, himself a former colonial governor of Western Australia, that a careful watch was being kept on the Russians, the rumours continued.<sup>4</sup> They culminated towards the end of the year in the 'battle of Melbourne', a 'battle' between an imagined Russian ship and the colonial batteries. In reality, it was a friendly vessel out of quarantine setting off rockets to celebrate, and in accord with naval courtesy, other ships reciprocated,<sup>5</sup> but the reaction of the population to the event was indicative of the tense atmosphere.

In NSW in 1851, approval had been given for the formation of a NSW Volunteer Rifle Corps and in 1854, at the time of local concerns about the Crimean War, an Act of Council authorising the formation of the Volunteer Corps received assent. The number of volunteers in 1854 was 389, but had dwindled to nothing by 1857.<sup>6</sup> This lack of enthusiasm was partly due to the improving world situation as peace with Russia had been established in 1856. Nevertheless, there were still concerns for the safety of the colony from the French with the possibility of war with Napoleon and with French ships reported in the vicinity of French occupied New Caledonia.<sup>7</sup> The colony was isolated and a long way from England whose help would be needed in the event of conflict. Thus the idea of the 'Volunteer Movement', which was current in England, began to generate colonial discussion and to gain wide acceptance in Sydney's thinking. In December of 1859, Henry Parkes successfully moved in the Legislative Assembly resolutions noting that 'it is impolitic and unsafe to neglect the means of preparation at our command for protecting the Colony in the event of it being attacked by an enemy'. He proposed that the colony should be protected by a national militia, composed of citizens.<sup>8</sup> Little was done at this time but in April 1860, 125 men of the 12<sup>th</sup> Regiment and 40 of the Artillery, who were part of the regular British forces protecting NSW, left the colony to assist in the 'Maori Wars' in New Zealand (NZ) leaving only 382 infantry and 66 artillery to defend the colony of

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<sup>4</sup> *The Argus (Melbourne, Vic)*, June 1, 1854.

<sup>5</sup> Bob Nicholls, *The Colonial Volunteers – the defence forces of the Australian colonies 1836-1901* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1988), 14.

<sup>6</sup> J.K. Haken, 'One Hundred Years Ago-Development of the Colonial Military Forces in New South Wales 1854-1903,' *Sabretache* XLII ,(December 2001): 23.

<sup>7</sup> Nicholls, *The Colonial Volunteers*, 21.

<sup>8</sup> Laurel Burge, *The New South Wales Military Volunteer Land Grant* (Kensington, N.S.W.: Council of the New South Wales Military Historical Society, 1976), 2-3.

NSW.<sup>9</sup> This departure tended to increase the desire of the public for a citizen's militia as they realised that they had no defence force to assist the colony in the event of hostile action towards it.

Since 1854 there had existed a volunteer corps in NSW, but it had been a failure and was discontinued in October 1860 for the purpose of its reorganisation, emerging as the reorganized 'Volunteer Service, in the Colony of NSW'.<sup>10</sup> The parsimonious attitude of the government had been blamed for the failure of the original corps as it refused to equip the corps adequately, but attitudes had now changed.<sup>11</sup> It was well known that there was a war close-by in NZ as there were constant reports about the war made by the newspapers of the period. The commercial opportunity the war presented was also known as the colony of NSW, among others, profited from supplying the NZ Government with horses and supplies.<sup>12</sup> Goodlet was aware of the hostilities and in 1859 had contributed to the Taranaki Relief fund.<sup>13</sup> Ann Goodlet had a cousin Beatrice with whom she corresponded, married to the Rev Henry Maunsell who was actively involved in seeking to promote a peaceful resolution to the Maori and settler difficulties of the 1860s.<sup>14</sup>

NZ had found that it was a benefit to have a strong body of volunteers<sup>15</sup> as did the colony of Victoria, whose volunteers did duty when its regular soldiers were in NZ. Wider threats were also invoked as justification for the formation of such a force. William Dean, addressing a volunteer meeting at Paddington, referred to the present time when 'there was one individual who held a sway over the whole world, which no man ought to possess. They should arm themselves that they might be prepared to repel this despot, should his attention be directed to this country.'<sup>16</sup> Distant despots were not the only fear, however, for it was said that Sydney was a prosperous but defenceless city should a privateer seek to ransack it.<sup>17</sup> The resolution of a volunteer

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<sup>9</sup> F. Prudy, 'The Expenditure of the United Kingdom for Colonial Purpose,' *Journal of Statistical Society of London* 26, no.4. (Dec 1863): 359-383. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2338432> [accessed January 24, 2011].

<sup>10</sup> NSW Government Gazette 187, (Friday October 1860), 1937.

<sup>11</sup> Mr Broughton, *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, August 25, 1860.

<sup>12</sup> J. Hopkins-Weise, 'New Zealand's Colonial Defence Force (Cavalry) and its Australian context, 1863-66,' *Sabretache* 43, 3, (Sept 2002): 23-39.

<sup>13</sup> *SMH*, October 13, 1860.

<sup>14</sup> Judith Morrell Nathan, 'Maunsell, Robert 1810 – 1894,' *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated April 7, 2006 URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

<sup>15</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, August 31, 1860.

<sup>16</sup> William Dean, *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, August 25, 1860.

<sup>17</sup> Dr Berncastle, *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, August 31, 1860.

meeting at Paddington was typical of the time in that it outlined a commonly held rationale for a volunteer force 'looking at the present unsettled state of Europe, and the growing importance of this colony, it is incumbent upon us, as a people, to arm ourselves, in order that we may be able to meet any hostile invasion'.<sup>18</sup>

Some fears were expressed that the volunteer movement would give rise to 'vanity and conceit', as such values often used to characterize these movements in Europe. Personal distinction, except that gained in the field, should be eschewed and the best commanders would be shown, not by their own self-esteem, but would be shown in the working of the force.<sup>19</sup> This view was all very well in theory, but was effectively denied by the necessity of electing the first officers by popular vote. Promotion by merit would only arise later in the history of the volunteers when merit had had an opportunity to show itself. Not all were in favour of recruiting a volunteer force, however, and sought a justification for the formation of such groups as so few had enrolled (a mere 220).<sup>20</sup> The majority view suggested that each section of the community needed to bear responsibility for the colony's security as there was much to fight for, such as

the laws of a free Constitution ...; freedom of thought and action; houses and families; the freedom of their sons and the chastity of their daughters. The richer classes had all this, and also their property to defend. When the working men were called to bear their burden in defense of the colony, the rich ought to bear the expense. There should be a property tax to bear the expense of the volunteer corps.<sup>21</sup>

Not all were convinced by the argument, and at one meeting an Irish-sounding interjector asked, with a scepticism possibly arising from his experiences of the militia in Ireland, 'Will the successful volunteer get a section of land?', followed by, 'I should recommend every man to remain neutral [in the event of an invasion], and see whether the enemy would give us land. We are bound to get the land anyhow by friend or foe'.<sup>22</sup> But sentiments such as 'no land, no rifle' and 'no job, no rifle' were in

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<sup>18</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, August 25, 1860.

<sup>19</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, August 28, 1860.

<sup>20</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, September 1, 1860.

<sup>21</sup> Mr. Hawthorne, *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, September 1, 1860.

<sup>22</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, September 1, 1860.

the minority<sup>23</sup> and land for military service was an idea of the future.

The Governor-General<sup>24</sup> issued a proclamation calling upon loyal and faithful subjects in the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland and 'in the vicinity of the sea port towns of Grafton and Eden'<sup>25</sup> to enrol themselves for the defense of the country. There were to be 22 companies of Rifles and three of Artillery and Sydney proper, which included Glebe, was to have nine companies and all commissioned officers would be appointed by the Governor with clothing, arms, ammunition and accoutrements being issued by the Government. At Glebe, Goodlet and 12 others had requested the Chairman of the Municipality of Glebe, George Wigram Allen, to call a meeting for the purpose of forming a Volunteer Rifle Corps.<sup>26</sup> Allen, who was later to be associated with Goodlet in various charitable associations, duly called the meeting. Goodlet, like many others, had had no previous military experience and seems to have been, as others were, motivated by community spirit and patriotic fervour interacting with concerns about the safety of the colony.

The Glebe meeting was well attended. It was decided to form a Volunteer Rifle Corps at Glebe and Goodlet was elected to the organising committee. As Goodlet was both one of those requesting the original meeting calling for the formation of the Glebe Volunteers, and was elected to the organizing Committee and subsequently elected the captain, this suggests that he was a leading influence in the movement seeking the formation of the Glebe Volunteers.

The Glebe Volunteer Rifles commenced operation on September 10, 1860, on the Forest Lodge Estate with drill in the mornings from 6 to 7:30am and in the evenings, (Wednesdays excepted), from 7:30 to 9pm in front of the Sydney University.<sup>27</sup> It was the policy of the volunteer forces that the members of the company would elect their own officers. The Glebe Company was therefore required to meet and nominate and then select by ballot a member to be recommended to the Governor-General for

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<sup>23</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, September 4, 1860.

<sup>24</sup> *SMH*, January 13, 1855 quoting the *London Gazette*, September 19, 1854, 'The Queen has been pleased to appoint Sir William Thomas Denison, Knight, Captain in the Corps of Royal Engineers, to be Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the colony of New South Wales, and Governor-General in and over the colonies of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia.'

<sup>25</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, September 1, 1860.

<sup>26</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, August 31, 1860.

<sup>27</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, October 23, 1860.

appointment as captain.<sup>28</sup> By December 4, 1860, Goodlet had been appointed to the unpaid position of captain.<sup>29</sup>

In December 1860, Goodlet ordered the company to assemble at Toxteth Park, Glebe Point, for the purpose of the presentation of the Camp Colours by the Hon George Allen MLC on behalf of the ladies of Glebe.<sup>30</sup> For the occasion the Directors of the Pyrmont Bridge Company had agreed to allow all volunteers in uniform to pass free over the Bridge.<sup>31</sup> It would appear that at the last moment higher authority decided on a change of venue, as the Adjutant requested that the presentation take place at the University Paddocks instead.<sup>32</sup> The band of the 12<sup>th</sup> Regiment was to attend as were the central companies of the NSW Volunteer Rifles, the Paddington, Surrey Hills and South Sydney Volunteer Rifle Companies as well as the Volunteer Mounted Rifles.<sup>33</sup> Captain Goodlet put his 50 men through their drill, the 12<sup>th</sup> Regiment arrived late, but the sight and display of 500 uniformed men, who together with the other companies swelled the numbers to over 700, was impressive. The military display was deemed superior to other recent military demonstrations and the day was deemed a great success and an impressive spectacle.

George Allen expressed the prayer of the Ladies of Glebe who had made the camp colours, that the volunteers 'exertions may never be required for the purpose of saving the country' which they had volunteered with 'promptitude' to defend. Goodlet gave a gracious speech in accepting the colours, indicating that they would serve as a reminder to them of the sacred duty they had undertaken for the defence of our 'common country'. It was a speech that was not heard by many of the volunteers, however, as crowd control measures had broken down and visitors had poured around the presentation site, excluding the participants from view and from being heard. Nevertheless, the public military life of Goodlet had begun.<sup>34</sup> That Goodlet's speech was not heard, but the effect of his leadership was seen by the display of the Glebe rifles, was a rather appropriate symbol of his public life. He was to prove himself in life as a man of action rather than words.

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<sup>28</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, October 14, 1860.

<sup>29</sup> *NSW Government Gazette* (December 4, 1860), 2380; *New South Wales Blue Book for the Year 1862*, 27.

<sup>30</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, December 18, 1860; the colours were five in number, of red silk, with the letters G.V.R. (Glebe Volunteer Rifles) embroidered upon them. *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, December 24, 1860. Goodlet himself provided the plumes for their hats. *The Illustrated Sydney News (Sydney, NSW)*, July 1, 1893.

<sup>31</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, December 20, 1860.

<sup>32</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, December 22, 1860.

<sup>33</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, December 22, 1860.

<sup>34</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, December 24, 1860.

For a period of time the recruitment of the volunteer force was strong and interest was high. With the passing of time, and the disappearance of the threat of war, interest in the volunteers began to wane and it appeared that for a second time the volunteer movement would expire. In order to prevent this happening the Government introduced the Volunteer Act of 1867 and the Land Order System came into operation. This system provided that the volunteers, on completion of five years of efficient service, would be rewarded with a grant of land. Before applying for the grant the volunteer had to obtain a certificate of efficiency from the commanding officer. Volunteers could be deemed 'non-efficient' if they had completed insufficient musketry exercises, failed inspections, not attended at inspection parades and there were breaks in continuity of their service.<sup>35</sup> As the Act prescribed and required a standard of efficiency and attendance on the part of volunteers, the activity of the volunteer movement once again revived. From the Government's point of view the Land Order System was designed not just to revive the volunteer movement, but also to give men a chance to obtain their own land and further the advancement of the country. Recruitment did improve as did the activity of the volunteer forces, but the Land Order System did not see many men settled on the land. Goodlet received a grant under this system in 1869, receiving 50 acres in Casino,<sup>36</sup> but many volunteers, after receiving their grant, promptly sold the land and so the system was abolished in 1878.

For a number of years there was no Regimental or Battalion Organisation. In 1868, the Sydney and Suburban Battalions were formed out of the various companies and the Suburban Battalion consisted of Glebe, Balmain, St. Leonards, Paddington, Surry Hills and South Sydney.<sup>37</sup> Of all the Captains of these companies it was Goodlet who was appointed to command the Suburban Battalion with the rank of Major in 1868.<sup>38</sup> This promotion and increase of responsibility initially attracted no remuneration, although he was provided with forage for a horse, but by 1872 he was being paid £100 per annum.<sup>39</sup> Goodlet was appointed a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Suburban Battalion on December 16, 1875<sup>40</sup> and in March 1878, he expressed the desire to

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<sup>35</sup> Burge. *The New South Wales Military Volunteer*, 7.

<sup>36</sup> Major John H. Goodlet of the Glebe Rifles who enrolled on September 28, 1860 was granted 50 acres at Casino. Parish Yulgilbar, County Drake, portion 8. Burge, *The New South Wales Military Volunteer Land Grants*, 10. What Goodlet did with this land is unknown.

<sup>37</sup> W.A. Longfield, 'Early Colonial Volunteering; reminiscences of Lieut. Colonel Longfield,' *Ashfield and District Historical Society Journal* 12, (1997): 39. Newtown and Pyrmont had been disbanded.

<sup>38</sup> *NSW Government Gazette* (May 1, 1868). The appointment was effective from April 30, 1868. *NSW Blue Book* (1870), 34.

<sup>39</sup> *NSW Blue Book*, (1871), 34.

<sup>40</sup> *NSW Government Gazette* (December 17, 1875), 4043.

retire from the military. The Colonel-Commandant persuaded him to remain,<sup>41</sup> however, and on November 4, 1878, John was made Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment Infantry. This seems to be little more than a name change, but all officers were now paid and Goodlet's position attracted a payment of £100 per annum.<sup>42</sup> He was appointed a Brevet-Colonel in 1886,<sup>43</sup> did not serve in the Sudan campaign, and retired as commanding officer of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment Volunteer Infantry in 1893 after 33 years of service.<sup>44</sup> Pressing claims of business had already caused him to retire from other positions and pursuits and he desired to retire from the Regiment in 1891, but a serious accident to Major WF Longfield, whom Goodlet hoped would take command, postponed his plans. In a display of loyalty to both the Regiment and Longfield, Goodlet waited another two years in the hope that Longfield would recover from his injuries. This did not happen and when Longfield retired from the Infantry so did Goodlet,<sup>45</sup> withdrawing from its command.

It would appear that Goodlet had good leadership skills and was well respected and even liked by his troops. His initial election as Captain was perhaps simply a popularity vote or an acknowledgement of his role in helping commence the Glebe Volunteers. He was 25 years of age and a quiet man, but he was over six feet tall and must have displayed some sense of authority which commended him to his fellow volunteers. His promotion from that point on, where he is the preferred choice for the command of the Battalion in 1868 and the Suburban Regiment in 1875, would have been more likely on the basis of merit. The report of the second annual dinner of the Ashfield Company, 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment Volunteer Infantry held in the drill Hall, Liverpool Road, is revealing:

After full justice had been done to a most excellent repast, and the usual loyal toasts honoured with due enthusiasm, Captain Mallarky proposed 'The Field Officers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment.' Their regimental motto was one that indicated that they were 'second to none' and he certainly thought that could be said with justice to their field officers. In Colonel Goodlet they had an officer who was certainly second to none (applause), indeed he stood in the first rank

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<sup>41</sup> *The Australian Town and Country Journal* (Sydney, NSW), March 9, 1878

<sup>42</sup> *NSW Blue Book* 1878, 40. Lt Col £100, Majors £50; Captains £40; 1<sup>st</sup> Lieut £30 and 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieut £25; Goodlet continued to be paid £100 throughout the remainder of his time of service.

<sup>43</sup> *NSW Government Gazette* (April 9, 1886), 2586, 2675.

<sup>44</sup> He was given the honorary rank of Colonel with permission to wear the uniform of the Regiment. *NSW Government Gazette* (July 14, 1893), 5441.

<sup>45</sup> Longfield retired with the rank of Lieut. Colonel in July 1893. Longfield, 'Early Colonial Volunteering,' 41.

amongst the New South Wales forces. As a man he was head and shoulders above all other men, and notwithstanding his high commercial position he was as humble as a child, and a man and an officer whom they all loved and respected.<sup>46</sup>

Even given that on such occasions a captain of the Company might give excessive praise to a superior officer, the words he chose were unusual. Of all the comments that might have been made, to describe a superior officer 'as humble as a child' was, on the occasion, an unusual thing to say of a military man and therefore the more striking. Goodlet was, in Mallarky's words, not just respected by all, but one 'whom they all loved and respected'. Others on the occasion who rose to praise Goodlet, described him as 'the best officer in New South Wales' while his ability was undoubted, reference is made to the fact that he gave the volunteer force standing. His high commercial and social position in the colony helped, for when the general public saw a gentleman like Colonel Goodlet with them they felt sure there must be something special about their Regiment.<sup>47</sup> In return, Goodlet's time in the volunteer infantry gave him a title with the right to be addressed as Colonel. Perhaps, for a man described as having child-like humility, this was of no real consequence to him, but his presence in the volunteers was a help in their gaining public respect and recognition.

Goodlet's attitude to the use of his military title of 'Colonel' is unknown. He did not, it would appear, dissuade people from using it outside the military context for if it were known that he disliked such a usage it would not have occurred as frequently as it did. From the limited non-military correspondence available in which Goodlet signs his name he did not personally use the title Colonel as he invariably simply signed, 'John H. Goodlet'. When he retired from the military and the newspaper wished to publish a picture of him in military uniform no such picture could be found and a civilian picture was published instead.<sup>48</sup> No photo of him in uniform at any rank has been found among those photos of him held in his family's collections. While Goodlet may well have had, and probably did have, a personal pride in the achievement of the rank of colonel he appears to have done little to promote the usage of this title. While the title was used of Goodlet increasingly over time, it is only from around the turn of the century that colonel becomes the usual designation attached to his name.

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<sup>46</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, April 18, 1891.

<sup>47</sup> Major Burnett in *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, April 18, 1891.

<sup>48</sup> *The Sydney Mail (Sydney, NSW)*, July 15, 1893.

Goodlet, it was said, had shown himself in eminent degree to be a true type of citizen soldier. He had displayed those characteristics that were prized in a good citizen soldier for he was a success in the business world and a devoted military man. For years he had carried on a large commercial business with honour and distinction, and whilst doing that, had found time to take a leading part in the defence of his country. There was genuine regret at his retirement in part because the military had lost from its ranks one whose commercial and social standing enhanced the reputation of the volunteers but also, as is shown by the almost unanimous subscription of his men to his memento, he was well regarded by his soldiers.<sup>49</sup> As Major General Hutton remarked in making a presentation to Goodlet, the great quality for success as a leader of men, whether as a commanding officer or a politician, was to be in sympathy with his followers. He could see that their old commanding officer had the sympathy of everyone present.

In his military career, Goodlet was well served by the prayers of the Glebe ladies for he was never required to command that a shot be fired at the enemy in defence of NSW. The fears of the 1860s, which caused the volunteers to be formed, never materialised. Goodlet did not go to the Sudan though some of his men did. On that occasion the practical Goodlet presented gifts to his departing officers such as field glasses and a metallic matchbox to the non-commissioned officers and men.<sup>50</sup> When his men returned from Sudan, Goodlet demonstrated his leadership skills and his understanding of his role as colonel of the regiment. He made use of the occasion to deal with a significant issue that had arisen since the men had left for Egypt. In the short time the troops had been away an enormous recruitment had taken place which was no doubt in response to the excitement generated by the formation of the contingent for the Sudan campaign. This recruitment meant that the size of the regiment had more than doubled to become an enlistment of 1,000 men. This was a pleasing trend for the volunteers, but it presented Goodlet, as colonel of the regiment, with the problem of melding so many recruits into the regiment in order to produce an efficient and effective body. Goodlet, therefore, used the occasion of the return of the volunteers to praise them and to point them to the responsibility that their prestige had bestowed upon them. He said to them that you

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<sup>49</sup> Lieutenant Col. Waddell in *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), December 30, 1893.

<sup>50</sup> *SMH*, March 3, 1885.

came back amongst us with a service prestige, and I trust you will remember that that carries responsibilities as well as honour. You will have great influence either for good or evil in your brother Volunteers, whose eyes will be ever upon you. I believe it will be for good, for I feel confident your ready obedience to all constituted authority will be such as to influence the whole regiment, so that its discipline may be an acknowledged fact ... therefore I appeal to you, as also to all the other members of the regiment, for a willing and ready support to all the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, so that we may get the regiment efficient as soon as possible.<sup>51</sup>

Goodlet had been retired from the Regiment for eight years when he farewelled his namesake, John Hay Goodlet Auld,<sup>52</sup> on his way to the Boer War. On this occasion he opined, on the basis of reports of the South African churches, that

England had not been free from mistakes, but that the war had been forced upon her and was a just fight on England's part. The Boers wanted a republic in South Africa, so that they could put the whole of the blacks under complete subjection and slavery of the worst type. The war would mean the permanent uplifting of these black people.<sup>53</sup>

Such a war for Goodlet, though a patriot and a loyal subject of the Sovereign, was not so much a defence of Britain and its interests as a question of justice and freedom for the native South Africans. Goodlet would have believed what he said even if the war did not achieve what he had hoped.

When Goodlet retired from the military in 1893, he was presented with a memento of his service by 'All Ranks of the NSW 2<sup>nd</sup> Volunteer Infantry Regiment'. [Photo page 176] It was a book of hand-painted scenes of things connected with his military career and on the front page of the book was an introductory collage of scenes interconnected by flags and flora which not only introduced what followed, but summarised Goodlet's voluntary military career as a citizen soldier. On the right are indications of Goodlet's Scottish character. He was born in Scotland and approximately one third of the total picture is occupied by Scottish motifs, the Lion

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<sup>51</sup> *The Illustrated Sydney News (Sydney, NSW)*, August 29, 1885.

<sup>52</sup> Auld was the son of the Rev John Auld, minister of Ashfield Presbyterian Church. The Aulds lived with the Goodlets for some time and John Hay Goodlet Auld was born in the Goodlet home.

<sup>53</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, February 24, 1900.

**John Hay Goodlet**  
Colonel of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Volunteer Infantry Regiment



**Front page from a Memento Booklet to John Hay Goodlet**  
on his retirement as Colonel from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Volunteer Infantry Regiment in 1893



The inscription reads:  
*VIR (Volunteer Infantry Regiment)*  
*Colonel JH Goodlet 2<sup>nd</sup> INF REG*  
*1883-1893*



The inscription reads:  
*NSWRA Company Challenge Bugle*  
*For the highest score in shooting*  
*among all volunteers*  
*Won by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment 1877*  
*Lieut Col Goodlet*

(The NSWRA was the New South Wales Rifle Association)

Rampant, and the Royal Coat of Arms combined with the floral decoration of a rather unattractive non-flowering Scottish thistle. More picturesque is the scene of a loch and an island which is designated 'In the Trossochs'. Its presence is an indication of the ancestral home of the Goodlets, who were probably a sept of the Clan Stirling who occupied these lands. The remaining two thirds of the scene are appropriately, as one strongly committed to the welfare and advancement of his adopted land, Australian in theme. Underneath the badge of the Second Volunteer Infantry, an infantry man stands at attention before a grove of gum trees and draped behind him is what appears to be the immensely popular NSW Ensign which was also known as the Australian Federal flag, a flag of the Federation movement of the 1890s. In contrast to the lifeless looking thistle is a colourful wattle interconnecting the Australian scenes. Included is a military portrait of Goodlet, the only known picture of Goodlet in uniform, and an expansive representation of his residence Canterbury House set in its extensive grounds. This presentation is an accurate summary of Goodlet for he was an immigrant Scot who made his home and life in Australia, prospered, and served his adopted country with distinction.

In summary, it may be said that Goodlet's involvement with the military as a citizen soldier bore a number of the characteristics that his involvement with other organisations displayed: leadership, service and sacrificial long-term commitment. In the military Goodlet displayed leadership that was recognised by his being awarded command and he remained in the volunteers, and committed to their cause, for almost 33 years. His military service was service not of a charitable cause, but that of the nation he had adopted and from which he had gained great wealth and to which he returned so much. Goodlet, as a citizen soldier, was seeking to serve the interests of the community just as he did through his presence on the various boards of community charitable organisations. That he obtained the distinction of high rank in the Volunteer Movement was recognition of his ability and dedication.

### **The Young Women's Christian Association**

The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) is one of the Goodlet philanthropic activities which is difficult to categorise in terms of the philanthropic spectrum. It was a self-conscious spiritual activity, but it sought to provide for the particular needs of a section of society. The needs were not acute like a lack of food or care in times of chronic sickness, but they were needs nevertheless. In this instance it was the need for safe and supportive accommodation in an unfamiliar environment. Through the YWCA, Ann Goodlet sought to build a community organisation which

provided such support for those girls just 'off the boat' from 'Home', those seeking employment or those looking for somewhere safe to stay in Sydney. This was not the first time that Ann had been involved in seeking to provide suitable accommodation for young women. In 1858 as Mrs Dickson, herself a former governess, she had agreed to be involved in raising funds to commence a 'Female Home' which was later to be called the 'Governesses and Servants Home' (GSH) so that it would not be confused with the SFRS.<sup>54</sup> One of the donors she approached was John Goodlet who donated a £1.<sup>55</sup>

The purpose of the GSH was

to provide a home for women out of employment, where they may be protected – where they may have subsistence at a reasonable price, and where facilities may be afforded them for obtaining engagements in their different callings.<sup>56</sup>

The 'Home' was both a safe refuge and an employment agency, and an educational facility, a formula Ann was later to reproduce in the formation of a 'Home' for young women under the auspices of the YWCA. She enthusiastically applied herself to the work of the GSH committee and soon became its treasurer. It was said of her at the first annual meeting of the society that

Mrs Dickson has kindly consented to undertake the duties of treasurer, and from the great interest she has evinced in the institution, as well as the regularity with which she has attend at the 'Home' her services in this capacity will proved a most valuable assistance to the society.<sup>57</sup>

Through the whole of her life Ann was a capable leader who gave considerable time to her charitable activities, but it also may be that at this time, with the death of her husband, such work was a welcome distraction. After her marriage to John Goodlet she chose to resign the position, but did not choose not to resign from the SFRS nor from her other committee work in which she was engaged. Her loss to the GSH was acutely felt as the society was

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<sup>54</sup> *SMH*, November 21, 1859; November 9, 1860.

<sup>55</sup> *SMH*, August 7, 1858.

<sup>56</sup> *SMH*, August 10, 1858.

<sup>57</sup> *SMH*, July 26, 1859.

deeply indebted to Mrs Goodlet for her indefatigable exertions in carrying out the duties of honorary treasurer during the past year, and it is with much regret that the committee have to announce the resignation of one whose disinterested services have been zealously devoted to the best interests of the institution.<sup>58</sup>

By the end of 1861, without Ann's 'indefatigable' efforts, the 'Home' was struggling to continue.<sup>59</sup> Godden says of the 'Home' that its primary aim was the production of servants and that the 'Home' was one of the purest manifestations of the use of philanthropic institutions to make available more and better trained servants.<sup>60</sup> While the organisation did facilitate a supply of servants such a judgment is too sweeping and ignores the fact that the organisations' own stated primary aim was to provide

respectable single females, of every degree, but more especially nursery governesses and female servants, when out of employment, with all the comforts of a well-ordered home at a most moderate cost'.<sup>61</sup>

It is difficult to believe, given the wide range of philanthropic interests over her lifetime, that Ann Goodlet, herself a former governess, was ever interested in the GSH for the primary purpose of producing a supply of trained servants either for herself or for her class. It is much more likely that Ann and women like her were involved for 'spiritual' and compassionate reasons. It is more probable that they saw such a ministry as meeting a need to provide accommodation for unemployed women that gave them, as it said in the annual report, 'all the security, protection and comfort of a well order home, with every facility for procuring from thence occupation suitable to their respective callings'.<sup>62</sup> The order of the words 'security, protection, comfort' and 'procuring', are indicative of the motives of the philanthropists for, as the order indicates, security and protection were their prime objectives.

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<sup>58</sup> *SMH*, November 9, 1860.

<sup>59</sup> The highly publicised suicide death of the Secretary of the Home, Mary Loftus, cannot have assisted the cause of the Home. *SMH*, December 13, 1861.

<sup>60</sup> Godden 'Philanthropy and the Women's Sphere,' 63.

<sup>61</sup> *SMH*, January 17, 1867.

<sup>62</sup> Sydney Home, *Annual Report*, 1874.

The provision of servants, in the case of the GSH, should be seen more as a way of funding the project for providing protection from moral danger than as being the reason for its existence. Funding was difficult for charities to obtain in order to pursue their charitable objectives. Then, as now, an appeal to the public was used. In the case of the GSH the subscriptions which allowed the subscriber to get servants from the home was a clever means of fundraising so that they were able to run the home and provide shelter for women in such need. Women like Ann were more likely to be much more interested in rescuing women from potential moral danger than they were in providing a service to their class or themselves through supplying servants.

This organisation was not a charity in the usual sense as the residents paid board and subscribers paid and gained the right to seek to employ some of the residents. It was the provision of civic service yet it was still charitable as many of the subscribers gave much more than the £1 per annum needed to gain employment privileges.<sup>63</sup> The GSH is more correctly understood as a residence with an employment agency function, for it served the interests of the residents in terms of shelter and employment opportunities as much as that of the potential employers. As the first report of the GSH said 'every member and inmate of the Home is an independent promoter of her own interest, as well as that of her fellow servants.'<sup>64</sup> The provision of servants was not the primary motivation for Ann who had herself, only some five years before, ceased to be a governess. Rather, her concern was the care of young women through the provision of suitable accommodation. That this was her concern is shown when she used this model, in other attempts over the next two decades, to provide shelter for young women, culminating in the formation of the YWCA.

Ann may have withdrawn from the ministry of the GSH, but she did not forget the experience. In April 1874, a letter was published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* calling for a Christian lady to emulate what had taken place in London and establish a 'Young Women's Christian Association'<sup>65</sup> and Ann, and several others, took up the challenge. In October 1875, the association was launched to 'improve the spiritual, moral, and social condition of young women', primarily through the 'provision of free rooms supplied with books and periodicals of suitable character, pens, paper etc' the

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<sup>63</sup> Godden 'Philanthropy and the Women's Sphere,' 63.

<sup>64</sup> Godden 'Philanthropy and the Women's Sphere,' 63.

<sup>65</sup> *SMH*, April 14, 1874.

rooms being open during the day 10am to 10pm in Bathurst Street.<sup>66</sup> Yet this organisation also soon failed<sup>67</sup> as it probably did not meet the real need for suitable and secure accommodation, being only a place to meet and not a place to live. When in leadership of the YWCA in the 1880s, Ann guided the development of such safe and secure accommodation in a Christian environment in a 'Home' which sought to provide the same sort of service as that of the GSH. The GSH and the first attempt to form a YWCA may have failed, but they provided Ann with the template and valuable lessons for success in the future work of the YWCA.

The YWCA was largely an activity of Ann and the role of John was quite minor, although he did give his assistance in its financial affairs. The YWCA had not just a social interest providing housing, but also had a deep and avowedly Christian component to it. Ann enthusiastically supported the aims of the YWCA, desiring an organisation that was non-denominational and yet distinctly Christian in its character and government. The aims and objects of the YWCA included, among other things, the 'promotion of the religious, moral, social, and intellectual welfare of young women by association on a Christian basis'; 'the rendering of all possible assistance to such young women as are strangers in the city, and directing them to suitable homes and useful employment wherever practicable', and 'the provision of cheap and respectable lodging for young women coming to town in search of employment, or changing their situations'. Ann was encouraging and supportive of such a self-consciously Christian orientation of the YWCA, and expressions of thanks to God for the progress of the work were characteristic of the time of Ann's presidency.<sup>68</sup>

Although Ann was not present at the foundation meeting of the YWCA, she was invited to join the founding group and to become the treasurer,<sup>69</sup> a request she refused,<sup>70</sup> but she joined the group and attended their second meeting on April 22, 1880. This was an active involvement that Ann maintained for over 20 years, right up until the time of her death in 1903. The minutes of the meetings record numerous initiatives and encouragements by Ann to expand and improve the work of the

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<sup>66</sup> *SMH*, October 7, 1875.

<sup>67</sup> *SMH*, June 21, 1882.

<sup>68</sup> 'This Committee in meeting for the last time in 1893 desire to place on record their deep sense of gratitude to God for His blessing and guidance so clearly given in answer to prayer during the latter half of the year and for the way in which He has so graciously and fully supplied all the needs of the YWCA and relieved them of their difficulties.' YWCA, *Minutes*, December 7, 1893.

<sup>69</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, March 25, 1880.

<sup>70</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, April 22, 1880.

YWCA. She encouraged the employment of a paid male collector to gain funds,<sup>71</sup> the expansion of their boarding capacity,<sup>72</sup> and the approaching of the Colonial Secretary to get permission to visit ships with the thought of ameliorating the condition of the immigrant women who were arriving in Sydney.<sup>73</sup> She proposed that the YWCA missionary go on board all Orient Steamers and visit the 3<sup>rd</sup> class passengers<sup>74</sup> and when Miss Fox, the paid secretary, did not have time to visit Darlinghurst Gaol she proposed that the members of the Committee visit. Her sister-in-law, Annie Charlotte Goodlet, undertook to take the monthly visit to the gaol and continued to do so for many years.<sup>75</sup> Ann and Lady Manning met with Sir Henry Parkes to ask if Government land could be made available for the YWCA<sup>76</sup> and she advocated that that branches of the YWCA should be opened in major towns. In order that this expansion might be facilitated, Ann arranged for a free pass for Miss Fox, as secretary of the YWCA, to travel on the railways.<sup>77</sup> Later, she was encouraging the YWCA to open more suburban branches.<sup>78</sup>

During the economic depression of the 1890s the YWCA, as with other charities, found that they faced a grave financial situation which threatened their existence. While the Goodlets were seeking to reduce their charitable expenditure Ann, who was often the most generous of the YWCA financial supporters, was reminding the committee of their personal responsibility to meet the existing debt of over £60 to the extent of about £3 to £10 each.<sup>79</sup> Ann's exhortations were persuasive for the 18 members of the committee agreed to do so, and the YWCA also sought successfully to reduce expenditure by leasing cheaper premises.<sup>80</sup>

At her death, a portrait of Ann was placed in the Library of the newly opened YWCA building that she had done so much to bring about. While the inscription on the portrait read, 'In loving memory of Mrs. J.H. Goodlet, First President of the YWCA Sydney 1880-1903', the inscription was in error for Ann was not the first president.

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<sup>71</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, February 23, 1882.

<sup>72</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, August 2, 1883.

<sup>73</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, March 23, 1886.

<sup>74</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, May 20, 1886.

<sup>75</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, May 6, 1886.

<sup>76</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, May 10, 1888.

<sup>77</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, October 4, 1888.

<sup>78</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, December 5, 1889.

<sup>79</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, May 18, 1893.

<sup>80</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, June 6, 1893. These were obtained at 49 Philip Street and possession was taken on June 12, 1893.

Initially, the YWCA structure did not have a president and the Treasurer presided at meetings, and it would be some time before the formal public organisation of YWCA was crystallised. The ladies requested the Bishop of Sydney to be president, but he suggested that a woman would be more appropriate, and that he would prefer to be appointed to the Board of Advice. Mrs Barry, the bishop's wife, was invited and accepted the position of first president in July 1884, serving until April 1885. She was replaced by Lady Stuart and one year later Ann became the third president of the YWCA on June 3, 1886, remaining so for 17 years until her death in 1903.

Ann and the other members of the Goodlet family were to have a significant impact on the organisation. Ann involved her sister-in-law Annie, who joined the group in March 1882 and served diligently for 23 years on the General Committee, the House Committee, and by visiting inmates in Darlinghurst Gaol. The Goodlet men were also involved on the Board of Advice with Alexander being involved from 1884 and John from 1888. Alexander acted as auditor and was often consulted on general commercial advice and practice. John was prominent among those seeking a new site for the YWCA building and both John and Ann were also by far the most generous and long-term contributors to the YWCA across this time. When Ann became ill in June 1897, she was granted leave of absence and when it became apparent to her that she could not return within that time she offered to resign. The ladies would not countenance such a thing and they altered the constitution to allow for the election of vice-presidents to carry out Mrs Goodlet's functions while Ann remained as a figurehead president until her death. The esteem in which she was held, and the debt to the guidance of her leadership (1886 to 1897), was to be seen at the laying of the foundation stone which Ann was too ill to attend. At the long-desired commencement of the YWCA building, after Lady Rawson had laid the foundation stone, the following resolution was carried, 'That this meeting sends its hearty congratulations to Mrs. J. H. Goodlet, the revered President of the YWCA that this stone-laying has occurred during her term of office.'

Some two months later Ann died and the YWCA noted, in fitting Christian language, that

the shadow of great loss has this year fallen upon the Association in the removal to the heavenly home in January of Mrs. JH Goodlet, who had from the beginning filled the office of President, and whose death caused great sorrow to those who had the honour and privilege of being her fellow-

labourers, and watching with her the growth of the Association's work in which she had ever taken the keenest interest.<sup>81</sup>

Tribute was also paid to her memory and her Christian influence on the direction and administration of the YWCA when the following resolution was placed on its minutes:

That this Committee wish to place on record their very deep regret at the loss sustained by the community, and especially by the YWCA in the death of Mrs. JH Goodlet, their beloved and revered President, who has held so large a place in their affectionate esteem, and their heartfelt sympathy with Colonel Goodlet in his sorrow. The Committee recognise with gratitude to God, her far-reaching Christian influence, her benevolence, her wise and tactful administration of the affairs of the Association, and her whole-hearted activity in its service during the twenty-three years she held the position of President, and they realise that the 'Well done, good and faithful servant' has indeed been earned by her whose removal from among them they so deeply mourn.<sup>82</sup>

During Ann's presidency the YWCA had grown from a group running a small boarding house to a significant organisation seeking to address both the temporal and spiritual issues affecting young women. Godden correctly identifies the YWCA as an autonomous women's organization and as such did not operate under the control of a male board of management.<sup>83</sup> Such independence was a recognition that there were some activities for which women were more suited and in such they operated in an autonomous women's sphere. That the YWCA was so was, in part, a result of Ann's urging for it was she who had proposed that the members of the YWCA should have a committee to manage their own business.<sup>84</sup>

### **Destitute Children**

For most of the nineteenth century, the use of asylums to house destitute children was the favoured method of dealing with the problems posed by such children, and the Randwick Destitute Children's Asylum was opened in 1852. The Goodlets were financially supportive of this charity, but also they were supportive of reform and

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<sup>81</sup> New South Wales Young Women's Christian Association and Institute Union, *Twenty Third Annual Report* (1902-03), 11-12.

<sup>82</sup> New South Wales Young Women's Christian Association and Institute Union, *Twenty Third Annual Report* (1902-03), 11-12.

<sup>83</sup> Godden, 'Philanthropy and the Women's Sphere,' 159.

<sup>84</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, March 6, 1884.

Ann Goodlet was involved in administering a new approach to the care of destitute children through the State Children's Relief Board (SCRB). Her involvement helped to build a structure of child care and support that has lasted to the present day.

The formation of the SCRB came about through the initial agitation caused by the visit to the colony of the Hill Sisters<sup>85</sup> combined with the support of William Windeyer. Windeyer headed a Royal Commission on Public Charities and in its two reports of 1873 and 1874 he advocated a 'boarding-out' system in preference to the large orphanages of the day such as the Randwick Asylum for Destitute Children. Due to the unsettled political situation nothing was done until the arrival of the Rev James Jefferis and his wife at the Pitt Street Congregational Church who, together with the Windeyers and the Garrans, began to stir the issue in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. The Parkes government legislated and in 1881 the SCRB, funded by the government, was established.<sup>86</sup>

Dr Arthur Renwick, president of the SCRB, explained the initial concept of boarding-out:

Children of any age under twelve years are selected from all institutions wholly or in part subsidized by the State, and placed - or 'boarded-out' as the process is termed - with respectable families, who are paid a certain sum quarterly for their maintenance.<sup>87</sup>

The Board, however, moved beyond this approach and developed three styles of boarding-out, as initially the bulk of children were boarded out, or fostered, with families who had applied for them. Commencing in 1885, other children, seen by authorities as in need of a special style of care, were placed in smaller 'cottage style' institutions in Mittagong and Parramatta. Finally, in 1896, amendments were made to the SCRB Act enabling the payment of a small allowance, less than was paid to foster families, to 'deserving' widowed mothers in difficult circumstances in order to support the keeping of children at home.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Rosamond and Florence Hill were British social reformers who visited Australia from April 1873 to February 1874 and published a book on their observations entitled *What we saw in Australia* (London: Macmillan, 1875).

<sup>86</sup> Brian Dickey, *No Charity There. A Short History of Social Welfare in Australia* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1980), 83-4.

<sup>87</sup> State Children's Relief Board, *Annual Report* (1883), 'Report of the President', 86.

<sup>88</sup> Maree Murray, *Working Boarders: The Boarding Out Scheme in New South Wales, 1880-1920* (Wollongong: University of Wollongong Department of Economics Working Paper Series, 1999), 1.

The Board had been in operation for some six years before Ann Goodlet was appointed to it in 1887, but her appointment pointed to three things. These were firstly her acknowledged interest and expertise in public philanthropy, secondly her support for the ideal behind the formation of the SCRB, and lastly her connections with those who decided the appointments to such government boards.<sup>89</sup> That she should be appointed was not a great surprise since she was a woman of significant social capital in philanthropic circles. She was well-known to Renwick, its chairman, as she had worked with him in the BS, the DDBI, in conjunction with their Consumptive Home, and with his wife in the YWCA. Ann was also known to Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of NSW, not just through her charity work, but because of her husband's connections with the Free Trade movement and the Military. Moreover, she had a reputation as a person who had a record of sympathy towards the plight of poor children, the Goodlets having been strong and consistent financial supporters of the Destitute Children's Asylum from as early as 1860, support that continued until not long before the Randwick Asylum was finally closed in 1915. Those who appointed Ann would not have been disappointed as she gave herself conscientiously to the task and was very diligent in her attendance at meetings of the board attending some 76% of their meetings. In the period of the last two years of her appointment, when her health was beginning to decline, meeting frequency increased significantly and she reluctantly felt the need to relinquish her position.<sup>90</sup>

Her worth to the board was expressed when it said in a unanimous resolution that it

desires to place on record its recognition of the long-continued and valuable services, since April 13, 1887, by Mrs Goodlet as a member of the board. Her regular attendance at the meetings, her deep interest in the proceedings, and her practical sympathy with the work of the department in all its various branches are well known to the board. The occasion of Mrs. Goodlet's resignation - her state of health - is a source of deep regret. In accepting Mrs. Goodlet's resignation, the board desires to express its regret at the loss of her valuable services to the public and to the department.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> The State Children's Relief Act of 1881. She was appointed on April 13, 1887 and retired on July 20, 1898. *NSW Votes and Proceedings for 1899*, 5, 425.

<sup>90</sup> *SMH*, September 1, 1898.

<sup>91</sup> *SMH*, September 1, 1898.

The work of this board, to which Ann Goodlet attended with such diligence and sympathy, was to place children from government institutions in foster care. As part of this process lady visitors were recruited and appointed to regularly visit these foster care placements and to ensure that good standards were maintained. The members of the board visited the cottage homes to ensure that they were functioning in accord with the board's requirements. As part of its function the board decided on which applicants would be approved to be foster carers, and they also processed applications from families who sought the adoption of children.

In short, the task of the board was to empty the asylums of children. The Board's Act was clearly drafted by people intent on emptying the 'barracks' of children and to have them placed in family situations.<sup>92</sup> The provision of small cottage homes under a 'mother', and the payment of an allowance to widows in order to keep the family together, were innovations that were to change the nature of child services in NSW. Such reforms were not suggested by Ann. They were largely the policies of Renwick responding to and giving a lead to changing attitudes about children, but they were policies which Ann Goodlet was happy to support. Through her work on the board she helped to build a structure of child care and support that has lasted to the present day.

Philanthropy as civic engagement in order to build better community structures was a significant feature of the philanthropy of both John and Ann Goodlet. John gave himself to the service of the colony in helping to form and maintain a defense force to protect the colony. He did so with his customary dedication and with a long and humble commitment to the Volunteers. His leadership abilities were recognized as he rose from the rank of Captain to that of Brevet-Colonel. Ann devoted herself to the work of providing community support for young women, firstly through the attempts of the GSH and later, much more successfully, through the YWCA. She also was of sufficient standing in the eyes of the government to be invited to assist, through membership of the SCRB, in the change that had been implemented to deal with the issue of destitute children. Ann was supportive of not dealing with destitute children through institutional care, but through boarding out the children among members of the community. The legacy of the philanthropy of civic engagement by the Goodlets remains as the structures they helped put in place have continued to provide, to this day, for the perceived needs of the community.

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<sup>92</sup> Dickey, *No Charity There*, 84.



## CHAPTER 7 The Philanthropic Spectrum: *Reform*

Philanthropy as reform is that which seeks to solve social problems and the Goodlets did have an interest in the reform of society, more particularly John whose interest concerned the economy and society's attitude to issues concerning alcohol. Ann had very little public profile in such matters and her views are largely unknown, although what public comment she did make concerned issues that impacted young women. It was through John's public political interest that the Goodlets sought to use the political process as a way of contributing to society, but in this he was neither very successful nor very dedicated. As the Rev John Walker, a close friend of the Goodlets and perhaps, therefore, not the most objective of observers, said of Goodlet's political endeavours:

we take this opportunity of expressing amazement that the political party which Mr Goodlet has so long helped should not have honoured itself, by appointing Mr Goodlet to the Upper House.<sup>1</sup>

Walker was not alone in this view for WGJ Mann, a Barrister and Anglican layman, said, no doubt to promote Goodlet's chance of election to parliament, that

Mr Goodlet had always been a good citizen but a most retiring one, for he could have had a title or a seat in the Upper House long ago if he had chosen.<sup>2</sup>

Goodlet was not a man to seek favours and he abhorred self-promotion and unnecessary public notice. In such attitudes probably lay the answer as to why, despite his service, he did not seek political position separated from the ballot box. John also may have been passed over because, though interested in politics, he was not sufficiently interested to give it much of his attention and time, nor would he be one who would simply agree to a 'party line'. What was this political party which Goodlet had 'so long helped', and how had he helped it? It is one of the ironies of history that even though politics was a minor interest of Goodlet's, there are more direct sources on him expressing his political thought than on any other subject relating to him. Goodlet was a man of few words and despite his presidency and

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<sup>1</sup> Cutting from *The Woollahra Presbyterian Messenger (Sydney, NSW)*, July 1892-93, 168-9 to be found in *Goodlet file*, Ferguson Library.

<sup>2</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

chairmanship of many organisations there are few surviving addresses on any subject. His nomination for Parliament in the election of 1895, however, forced him to speak publicly in a way that allowed his views to be recorded. Yet even though Goodlet had political views, he devoted very little time to their propagation and they are far from his most important contribution to the colony of NSW. The three primary political interests of Goodlet were the Local Option, Free Trade and Federation.

### **Local Option**

The NSW Local Option League (NSWLOL) was an outcome of the influence of the temperance movement which began to be felt in the Colony as early as 1832, and which was about the same time as the movement began in the United States and Britain.<sup>3</sup> Calls were made for the establishment of a temperance society in NSW in order to abate the 'intolerable and evil influence of intemperance in the colony'<sup>4</sup> and such a society was established in October 1833. Its prospects were not thought to be very great, however, as 'the crop of drunkards is too plentiful, and grog too tempting to be easily forsaken for water.'<sup>5</sup>

Drink was seen by many as a significant problem in the nineteenth century colonial society and the impact of inebriation was certainly felt in families and in society in general. The problem, though significant, was no greater than in Britain for while the inhabitants of the Australian colonies were at times<sup>6</sup> heavy drinkers, compared to British standards in the nineteenth century they were rather abstemious. Regardless of whether the volume of alcoholic liquor or the quantity of proof spirit is used as a measure, they were drinking less. By the 1880s and 1890s the inhabitants of NSW were spending, on average, a little less than 9% of their total incomes on drink while people in Britain were spending 12-13%.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless the impact of drunkenness upon families and colonial society was significant and its effects were encountered by charity workers such as the Goodlets.

The issue of drink and inebriates was largely seen as a moral one and for several decades efforts were focused on securing temperance pledges, on mutual help, and

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<sup>3</sup> Ross Fitzgerald and Trevor L. Jordan, *Under the influence: A history of alcohol in Australia* (Sydney: HarperCollins ABC Books, 2009), 146-149.

<sup>4</sup> *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (Sydney, NSW), June 5, 1832.

<sup>5</sup> *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (Sydney, NSW), October 26, 1833.

<sup>6</sup> In NSW before the depression of 1840's and in Victoria and Western Australia during their gold rushes.

<sup>7</sup> Anthony Edward Dingle, 'The truly magnificent thirst: an historical survey of Australian drinking habits,' *Australian Historical Studies* 19:75, (1980): 243-4.

on persuasion. The view of Sir Alfred Stephen, Chief Justice of NSW, in his evidence to the 1854-5 Legislative Council Select *Committee enquiry on Intemperance* reflected the commonly held view when he said of drunkenness, 'I would deal with it as a crime ... because it is not a visitation of Providence but one self-inflicted'.<sup>8</sup>

The quest for tighter regulation on the liquor traffic was regarded by those concerned with the issue as highly desirable and in 1867 a 'Political Association for the Suppression of Intemperance' was formed in order to agitate for better regulation for

this meeting regards with profound grief the drunkenness which prevails throughout the colony, with the crime, disease; and premature death which result there from, and believing that such a state of things is greatly influenced by the facilities legalised for the supply of intoxicating liquor, resolves to use every legitimate means to produce such a change in the laws affecting the liquor traffic as is necessary to secure the social and sanitary well-being of the country.<sup>9</sup>

The temperance movement, however, exercised little appeal for most colonists before the 1870s and 1880s.<sup>10</sup> It was during this period, and among those who enthusiastically espoused the evangelical protestant faith, the ideal of a settled family life and suburban living, that the movement flourished. The churches were growing strongly and the temperance movement, with its calls for drink traffic regulation, grew with it. Regulation, however, was not the only approach that reformers took for there was an unsuccessful attempt to establish an Inebriate Asylum in the early 1870s.<sup>11</sup> This effort was strongly supported by Goodlet with his finance and his time. In the 1880s temperance advocates 'realised that the public house performed a crucial service in providing food, accommodation and recreation as well as alcohol, and if they were to attract clients away from the pub they had to

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<sup>8</sup> A. W. Martin, 'Drink and Deviance in Sydney: investigating intemperance 1854-5,' *Australian Historical Studies* 17:68, (1977): 351. For Stephen's views on temperance see J.M. Bennett, *Sir Alfred Stephen - Third Chief Justice of New South Wales 1844-1873* (Sydney: Federation Press, 2009), 414-418.

<sup>9</sup> *SMH*, March 27, 1867. This group was to become the NSW Alliance for the Suppression of Intemperance and seems to have ceased in around 1872. The Local Option League adopted a similar name in 1898.

<sup>10</sup> Dingle, 'The truly magnificent thirst,' 239.

<sup>11</sup> The Drunkards Reformatory Committee sought to set up an Inebriates Asylum. *SMH*, July 30, 1872; August 8, 1873. The initial chairman was the mover of the motion to set up NSW Alliance for the Suppression of Intemperance the Anglican Rev Thomas Johnson minister of St Barnabas Broadway. Goodlet gave funds to this project and was on the Committee for the Asylum's establishment. When the project failed the donated funds were given to the Sydney City Mission to employ missionaries who would in the course of their duties deal with many situations involving the inebriated. This transfer of funds to the Sydney City Mission to employ missionaries indicated the strong community view that the issue was largely a moral one.

provide alternative venues for such needs.<sup>12</sup> Some enterprising individuals and groups opened 'Coffee Palaces' or hotels such as the Grand Central Coffee Palace, Clarence Street which opened in 1889,<sup>13</sup> and they were intended as grandiose and profitable competitors to taverns, but it became clear that they were neither effective competition nor profitable.<sup>14</sup> In the 1880s and 1890s temperance activism became directed not only at mutual help and persuasion but also at political action.

The temperance measures that were pursued were fuelled by an underlying understanding of the problem. In the 1870s and 1880s, the views about inebriety were similar among doctors, philanthropists, clergy, and social reformers, for they regarded inebriety as being due to a combination of moral failure and poison.<sup>15</sup> Inebriety as a result of moral weakness needed correction before it degenerated into an incurable disease. For those without brain damage the best solution was rest and reform within an asylum. In such views there was no specific role for the medical practitioner other than restoring the physical health of the inebriate. The vital process of moral reform, however, could be administered by philanthropists and clergy. As one correspondent said 'the main point lies in Christian treatment by truly spiritual officials, who have 'power with God and with men' and 'prevail'. Medical treatment, and all other treatment, must proceed in connexion with this.'<sup>16</sup>

Late in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, within the medical profession both in Australia and overseas, the notion of predisposition gained a hold and this provided a basis for belief in the efficacy of medical intervention. Doctors believed they could intervene to offset an heredity disposition and cure inebriety. The favoured approaches were the use of antitoxins to counter the physical effects of alcohol and/or hypnosis to remedy the psychic craving for the alcohol.<sup>17</sup> These 'developments in medical theory clarified the medical perception of drunkenness and led to a growing division between doctors and philanthropic reformers over the treatments prescribed for inebriates.'<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Fitzgerald and Jordan, *Under the influence*, 173.

<sup>13</sup> *SMH*, August 5, 1889.

<sup>14</sup> Robin Room, 'The Long reaction against the wowser: the prehistory of alcohol regulation,' *Australian Health Sociology Review* 19, 2, (2010 ):154.

<sup>15</sup> Stephen Garton, 'Once a Drunkard Always a Drunkard': Social Reform and the Problem of 'Habitual Drunkenness' in Australia 1880-1914,' *Labour History* 53, (Nov 1987): 48.

<sup>16</sup> *SMH*, March 16, 1874.

<sup>17</sup> Garton, 'Once a Drunkard,' 48.

<sup>18</sup> Garton, 'Once a Drunkard,' 46.

While the medical profession was moving away from the moral cause discourse towards a medical discourse, temperance advocates like FB Boyce, Anglican minister at St Paul's in Redfern and philanthropists like John Goodlet, President of the Temperance Alliance from 1882-1888,<sup>19</sup> continued to pursue the older moral reform remedies and sought to curb the availability of alcohol. Such campaigners argued that drink was a sin which could only be combated by two measures 'moral suasion and Legislative enactment'.<sup>20</sup> Boyce campaigned for the legislative reform in order to restrict the supply of alcohol and was for this purpose a founding member, along with Goodlet, of the NSWLOL.

In 1883, Goodlet chaired the inaugural meeting of the NSWLOL in the Protestant Hall and became its first president.<sup>21</sup> The object of the meeting was to form an alliance of abstainers and non-abstainers for the 'promotion of progressive legislation re: the liquor traffic'.<sup>22</sup> There were indications that the Government was contemplating changes in the Licensing Act and the Rev Dr Robert Steel considered that if 'all temperance organisations would unite along with non-abstainers, the people's voice would be obeyed at Macquarie Street'.<sup>23</sup> Such a view showed a faith in local democracy which ran counter to the growing power of the lobbies and the parties and was fuelled, in part, by a faith in the strength of a lingering Christian vision among 'the people'. Such progressive legislation as envisaged by the NSWLOL involved the granting of the 'Local Option' which entailed giving the local community the option of the support of the granting, renewal, transfer or the closure of licensed premises by a vote of the rate payers in municipal wards. The formation of such a league brought together sections of the fragmented temperance movement. It involved the Sons of Temperance, the Blue Ribbon Army, the Good Templars both English and American orders, the Rechabites, the Church of England Temperance Society, The NSW Alliance, The Salvation Army, the various societies attached to the Congregational, Wesleyan and Presbyterian Churches and abstainers and non-abstainers alike unconnected with any society.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Gar Dillon, *A Delusion of the Australian Culture: A Brief History of the Clash with Alcohol in New South Wales 1788-1983* (Sydney: NSW Temperance Alliance, 1985), 6.

<sup>20</sup> Garton, 'Once a Drunkard,' 49; see also Francis Bertie Boyce, *The drink problem in Australia, or, The plagues of alcohol and the remedies* (London: National Temperance League Publication Depot, 1893), 98-109.

<sup>21</sup> The date of formation was January 29, 1883.

<sup>22</sup> *SMH*, January 30, 1883.

<sup>23</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), February 3, 1883.

<sup>24</sup> *The NSW Independent* (Sydney, NSW), August 15, 1883.

In the first six months of its operation the NSWLOL managed to successfully lobby the parliament to maintain Sunday closing. It was determined to pursue the granting of the full Local Option as the current Liquor licensing law only allowed a partial Local Option and as such did not allow a vote on renewing existing liquor licenses. As Goodlet said, 'We should be thankful – and we are thankful for the portion of the Local Option we have. But we desire to have more ... we desire to have the principle applied to the renewal of licences as well as to the original granting of the licences.'<sup>25</sup>

Goodlet's interest in the Local Option was primarily an outworking of his support of the temperance movement and he involved himself at a colonial, local and church level. Goodlet was moderate in his temperance views and temperance for him meant neither teetotalism nor prohibition, but the restriction of the liquor traffic with compensation provided to the publicans who were deprived of their livelihood. In May 1884, as President of the NSWLOL, he addressed a meeting estimated at between 5,000 to 6,000 people, which marked the closing of the Richard T Booth Mission. Here he expressed his views which were contrary to those of Booth the rally's main speaker. Booth, a reformed drunkard and Blue Ribbon Army advocate, was a temperance zealot who sought the abolition of the liquor trade with no compensation for the publicans because he said their trade was morally wrong.<sup>26</sup>

In May 1888, in order to mark the Centenary of British settlement in Australia, celebrations were held and an Inter-colonial Centennial Temperance Congress, under the auspices of the various temperance organisations, was organised in Sydney. The Congress was to be held over four days and was to be convened in the Temperance Hall under the presidencies of Sir Alfred Stephen, His Honour Mr Justice Foster, the Venerable Archdeacon Gunther, the Reverend John Auld and John H. Goodlet.<sup>27</sup> Goodlet's prominence in the temperance movement was shown by the fact that he chaired the first day of the conference.<sup>28</sup> The Goodlets were also involved in the movement at the local level where Goodlet was a vice president<sup>29</sup> of the Ashfield Presbyterian Temperance Society and his wife, sister-in-law and Miss Forbes, his future second wife, were all members of the Committee.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *SMH*, May 20, 1884.

<sup>26</sup> *SMH*, May 20, 1884.

<sup>27</sup> It commenced on May 14, 1888. *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), May 12, 1888.

<sup>28</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), May 19, 1888.

<sup>29</sup> *The Advertiser* (Ashfield, NSW), November 2, 1889.

<sup>30</sup> *The Advertiser* (Ashfield, NSW), November 2, 1889.

Yet this appears to be the only involvement of Ann in the temperance movement and this involvement was a very local and quite minor commitment. She was not a member of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) which was formed in NSW in August 21, 1882.<sup>31</sup> When the WCTU in 1885, in conjunction with the YWCA and the Women's Prayer Union, supported the gospel temperance mission of Mary Clement Leavitt, a member of the WCTU of America, the Goodlets are not recorded as being involved in any of the meetings.<sup>32</sup> In 1886, the YWCA received an invitation from the Local Option League inviting the Association to a conference. Ann expressed the view that the YWCA in attending such a conference would send the wrong message about the aims of the YWCA, and that the Local Option League was not part of the work of the Association. Subsequently, individual members who had gone to the conference confirmed the view that it would be undesirable for the Association to join in this work.<sup>33</sup>

While Ann was president of the YWCA it did not involve itself directly in the temperance movement and preferred to concentrate on other issues which impacted young women, such as lobbying the government for an increase of the age of consent to 18 years.<sup>34</sup> Unusually for Ann she wrote a letter to the newspaper, as President of the YWCA, on the issue of the age of consent. She had used the occasion of the remarks of the Chief Justice, Sir Alfred Stephen and Mr Justice Henry Cohen on a case before them which they regarded as 'shocking'.<sup>35</sup> So appalled were the judges that it caused them to comment on the need for the government to raise the age of consent from 16 to 18 as it was in England. As the judge said, such a law was needed for 'if that were the law here this man could be prosecuted, and he might be in gaol, where he ought now to be'.<sup>36</sup> Ann's letter supported the judge's comments pointing out that all who worked among young women were agreed on this point. There is evident frustration in her letter at the intransigence of the legislature and at their refusal to enact 'the greatly desired alteration' that had been 'urged again and again upon the authorities by deputation, but unsuccessfully.'<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> *SMH*, March 28, 1932.

<sup>32</sup> *SMH*, August 11, 1885. These meetings were not without their critics. *The Brisbane Courier (Brisbane, Qld)*, September 1, 1885.

<sup>33</sup> YWCA, *Minutes* September, 2 1886.

<sup>34</sup> At the 7<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Local Option League in 1890 the YWCA is described as an affiliated organisation but the YWCA does not appear to have given any active support to the movement at this time. *SMH*, January 21, 1890. On the age of consent campaign see *SMH*, March 27, 1896; May 5, 1898.

<sup>35</sup> *SMH*, April 27, 1898.

<sup>36</sup> *SMH*, April 27, 1898.

<sup>37</sup> *SMH*, May 5, 1898.

John Goodlet involved himself in debates on the issue of temperance at the GANSW, though he never sought to be appointed to the Church's Temperance Committee. Goodlet, though supportive of the Church's stand on temperance and its promotion of the Local Option, was critical of its stance on compensation. Consistently, the Assembly Committee on Temperance had advocated, and the Assembly had supported the view that, should a Local Option vote be such as to remove a license then the publican should receive no compensation for this suspension of his livelihood. Just as consistently, such a view was opposed by Goodlet. He argued that a lack of compensation was unjust and there was precedent for compensation as, 'England was glad to get rid of the slave trade by paying compensation to slave owners.'<sup>38</sup> This reference to the work of Wilberforce perhaps indicates something about the source of Goodlet's inspiration in seeking to express his philanthropy as reform and endeavouring to secure a more Christian society.

What is certain is that the lack of compensation offended Goodlet's sense of fairness. While he was genuinely a full Local Optionist he thought that justice demanded compensation. Goodlet was a businessman and he knew that publicans had made an investment in order to conduct their business. If they were to be deprived of their livelihood they ought to receive some small compensation. He said his view on compensation was also based on good economics for while the reduction of the supply of alcohol would reduce government revenues, such reduction would be more than balanced out by a greatly diminished government expenditure. A reduction in the supply of alcohol would lower the incidence of crime and thereby the need for gaols, police and judges would be reduced. There would also be health benefits in the community for many colonists would reduce alcohol intake, enjoy better health and be more productive, and this would in turn reduce the need for subsidised immigration to bolster the workforce.<sup>39</sup>

Goodlet was of the view that if the temperance bodies would consent to a time compensation and be moderate in their demands they would accomplish their object, but they would never do so as long as their demands were excessive.<sup>40</sup> Prohibition and total abstinence were never public options in Goodlet's mind, for he understood in a way that other churchmen and reformers did not, that the working man would not accept such views.

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<sup>38</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, March 17, 1894.

<sup>39</sup> *SMH*, May 20, 1884.

<sup>40</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

Goodlet's views on the Local Option were thus a mixture of pragmatism and principle and they placed him in a curious position when he stood for election to the seat of Ashfield in the NSW Legislative Assembly in 1895. Thomas Bavister, his opponent, was the trade unionist who had been secretary of the Bricklayers Union and was standing as an independent Labor candidate who supported the Local Option without compensation.<sup>41</sup> As a Wesleyan, Bavister's view was more in line with the views of the Christian community, and his stance had the curious effect of making Goodlet the candidate supported by the publicans. The publicans in their political advertising, unknown to Goodlet, supported his candidacy regarding him as the lesser of two evils. This support probably cost Goodlet votes and it was considered by FB Boyce as part of the reason that he was not elected.<sup>42</sup> Goodlet, however, did receive the support of the Ashfield Temperance Political Council and the Central Committee of the NSW Local Option League.<sup>43</sup> He had taken a different line on compensation to the NSWLOL and, as a letter to the local Ashfield newspaper pointed out, such support seemed strange

as the league had selected Mr Goodlet, who declared for time compensation, and who is the advertised publicans' candidate, while Mr Bavister, who is a total abstainer, and who had always given a straight vote against the liquor traffic, is passed over.<sup>44</sup>

If voters supported Bavister over Goodlet on the issue of compensation then they were misled. It would appear that when the matter came to a vote in parliament Bavister, despite his election pledges, voted the way Goodlet would have voted if he had been elected. In 1897, one elector complained that Bavister did not keep his commitments to the Local Option League and the I.O.G.T.<sup>45</sup> in that he voted for time compensation:

Mr Bavister was pledged to vote for a bill to 'prohibit the traffic,' and he did not vote at all. He was pledged against compensation, and he voted for it.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Bede Nairn, 'Bavister, Thomas (1850 - 1923),' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol 7, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1979), 216-217; *SMH*, January 4, 1923; January 5, 1923.

<sup>42</sup> *SMH*, August 8, 1895.

<sup>43</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>44</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>45</sup> Independent Order of Good Templars.

<sup>46</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, October 16, 1897.

At the time of the 1895 election, local editorials were glowing in their coverage of Goodlet's character, and one correspondent protested that such praise

seems to imply that, judged from that standpoint he is superior to Mr. Bavister; but without reflecting in any way on Mr. Goodlet, the assumption is unwarrantable. It is true that the latter's wealth has enabled him to exercise his benevolent instincts more profusely and publicly, but let us remember that the greatest teacher of ethics the world has known chose the donor of the smallest coin in circulation, as the most perfect example of charity, in preference to others whose means enabled them to give more munificently.<sup>47</sup>

While the point was worth weighing, with Goodlet his word was his bond, not a trait for which successful politicians (then or now) have been known, whereas it would appear that Bavister was more ambivalent in keeping his undertakings.

### **Free Trade and Federation**

The two other issues of reform that interested Goodlet were Free Trade and Federation. Revenue was a prime concern for colonial governments and was raised by export taxes, import taxes, and land sales, leases and taxes. NSW with large steady flows of land revenues<sup>48</sup> was able to favour lower tariff rates which were largely revenue raising rather than protective,<sup>49</sup> and was in favour of free trade which reduced the cost of imported goods, but gave less protection to local industry against cheap overseas imports. In contrast to this attitude was a 'Protectionist' movement which sought to protect local industry against competition from other colonies and countries by the maintenance and introduction of tariffs on imported goods. Those who coalesced around the banners of Free Trade and Protectionism were a disparate collection of individuals with a range of views on the various associated issues.<sup>50</sup> The protectionist party tended to have a strong country flavour, united in its desire to preserve the duties which protected agriculture, but it also included many land holders who were also anxious to prevent direct taxation while

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<sup>47</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>48</sup> Jonathan Pincus, 'Evolution and Political Economy of Australian Trade Policies,' in *Australia's Trade Policies* edited by Richard Pomfret (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1995), 57.

<sup>49</sup> Gordon D. Patterson, *The Tariff in the Australian Colonies 1856-1900* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1968), 101.

<sup>50</sup> A.W. Martin, 'Free Trade and protectionist parties in New South Wales,' *Australian Historical Studies* 6:23: 315-323; David Clune and Gareth Griffith, *Decision and Deliberation, The Parliament of New South Wales 1856-2003* (Sydney: Federation Press, 2006), 24.

the free trade party tended to be city-based with mercantile interests.<sup>51</sup> The issue of revenue-raising through direct taxation which spread the burden among rich and poor alike, rather than through the indirect taxation of customs duties, began to gain prominence among the Labour Party and some Free Traders.<sup>52</sup> George Reid, the incumbent Premier, skilfully exploited the issue of taxation, protectionism and free trade portraying the 1895 election as a 'contest between rich and poor, democracy and privilege' and easily won this election.<sup>53</sup> Goodlet, though painted by Reid as one of the rich, was essentially a progressive Free Trader as he advocated 'a program of free trade, direct taxation and reformist legislation.'<sup>54</sup> Goodlet regarded himself, in contrast he thought to Reid, as a 'reasonable' free trader.

At a meeting of the council of the Free Trade and Liberal Association on February 24, 1891, Goodlet was in the chair and the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

that in order to [further] the efficient future working of the Free Trade and Liberal Association this council deems it necessary to affirm that in all proposals respecting a federal constitution the principles of free trade should, as far as NSW is concerned, be carefully considered and facilities afforded for their true and complete development.<sup>55</sup>

This view was also that of Goodlet, as Federation and Free Trade went hand in hand for him.

In the 1891 election Goodlet, as chairman of the Free Trade and Federation Committee, was called upon to help decide which of several candidates who supported Free Trade and Federation ought to stand for Canterbury in the NSW Parliament.<sup>56</sup> By 1895, however, Goodlet had decided that he could no longer afford to remain in the background of the colony's politics and he offered himself as a candidate for the Ashfield electorate.<sup>57</sup> Goodlet's supporters, drawn at this initial

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<sup>51</sup> Martin, 'Free Trade and protectionist parties in New South Wales,' 318.

<sup>52</sup> Martin, 'Free Trade and protectionist parties in New South Wales,' 319.

<sup>53</sup> Clune and Griffith, *Decision and Deliberation*, 27.

<sup>54</sup> P. Loveday, A. Martin and P. Weller, 'New South Wales,' in *The Emergence of the Australian Party System*, edited by P. Loveday, A. Martin and R. Parker, 33 (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1977).

<sup>55</sup> *The Telegraph* (Sydney, NSW), February 25, 1891.

<sup>56</sup> *The Advertiser* (Ashfield, NSW), Special Parliamentary Edition, June 16, 1891.

<sup>57</sup> *The Presbyterian* (Sydney, NSW), July 13, 1895.

stage mostly from the Ashfield Presbyterian Church, formed a committee to see him elected. They consisted of Dr Marden, Principal of PLC as Chairman; Alderman WG Crane, a fellow Elder at the Ashfield Presbyterian Church; and Messrs JA Aitken, Law Agent of the Presbyterian Church and Elder at Ashfield, and J Graham Nixon, who was involved with Goodlet in the YMCA as joint honorary secretaries. But much more influential support was forthcoming for Goodlet.

A large requisition was signed by all classes of politicians, protectionists, freetraders, income taxers, Upper House reformers, local optionists, woman's suffragers, and all sorts and conditions of people to request Sir Henry Parkes to stand for the electorate. Believing that the chances of the seat being a certainty for Mr Goodlet, the ex-member of St. Leonards retired in his favour, saying of Goodlet

your excellent fellow-citizen Mr. J.H. Goodlet, is a candidate as an advocate for federation and freetrade and in opposition to the Government nominee. Mr. Goodlet is known to all as a man who has given his time, his services, and a liberal share of his wealth to alleviate the distress and suffering of his less fortunate fellow-men; and he is a citizen of whom all good men must be proud - more valuable to a country than gold or silver. On no consideration can I place myself in opposition to Mr. Goodlet.<sup>58</sup>

Sir Henry expressed his willingness to come to Ashfield and speak in support of Goodlet's candidature if desired, and he wrote letters to several of his friends in Ashfield 'bearing graceful testimony to the high qualifications' possessed by Mr Goodlet.<sup>59</sup>

Why did Goodlet choose to seek public office at this time? He had been asked to stand before, but had declined as he did not have the time to spare.<sup>60</sup> It was in the midst of the economic depression and he had relinquished a number of offices in order to concentrate on his business interests. In 1891, he resigned his long-held position as Superintendent of the Ashfield Sunday School and in 1893, after 33 years of service, he retired from the command of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment of the Volunteers. *Goodlet and Smith*, in common with many other companies, was facing very tough

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<sup>58</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 13, 1895.

<sup>59</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 13, 1895.

<sup>60</sup> *SMH*, July 13, 1895.

economic conditions and had posted significant losses for the last three financial years. The current year was about to be the worst they were to face.

Goodlet's account of his entry into the political race implies that he saw the current circumstances that faced the colony of NSW as a crisis, and that the election would have an influence, extending over many years, on the future welfare of NSW. At short notice he had decided to stand, having announced his candidature on the 13<sup>th</sup> for a poll on the 24<sup>th</sup> of July. He was spurred into action by the announced intentions of the Reid government:

a month ago he had no idea of coming forward, but when he saw the revolutionary programme of Mr. Reid he thought it behoved everyone to make a sacrifice and wither retard or stop his reckless proposals. If they were adopted the country would suffer immensely. Times were bad enough now, but they would be infinitely worse if such proposals were carried. This colony was still in its infancy and had a great future before it.<sup>61</sup>

Goodlet's motivations were essentially, according to him, for the good of the colony and that good required him to oppose the uncertain policies of Reid on Federation, Free Trade and Upper House reform. He was, however, also of the view that the prosperity of NSW would be his prosperity and his best interest lay in whatever was in the best interests of the nation, 'the interests of which were identical to his own.'<sup>62</sup> His decision to stand for Parliament was an intersection of civic responsibility and personal economic preservation. The key issue of the election for Goodlet was Federation for in his view the successful consummation of that union would produce the necessary economic stimulus to bring NSW out of its depression. It would produce a single Australia-wide market and customs union within Australia with Free Trade between States and a common external tariff.<sup>63</sup>

I place Federation of the Australian Colonies as the most important of the questions which are now before the electors of New South Wales. Towards the attainment of this object I shall devote myself, and will support no Government which will not make this one of the chief-if not the chief-item of their policy. I am convinced that if we could attain Federation an impetus

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<sup>61</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>62</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>63</sup> Pincus, 'Evolution and Political Economy of Australian Trade Policies,' 58.

would be given to trade, manufacture, and business, and the present depressed times and unsettled state of feeling would speedily pass away.<sup>64</sup>

Goodlet was critical of Reid on the Federation issue claiming that he had 'made great blow, but has done absolutely nothing. Federation was wanted and wanted at once'.<sup>65</sup> This was hardly fair to Reid and does not reflect what Reid had done nor the difficulties he had faced. At the Conference of Premiers in Hobart January 1895, Reid had carried a proposal 'recognizing Federation as the great question of the day and proposing a popularly elected Convention to prepare a draft Federal Constitution Bill for public discussion and referendum vote in each Colony'.<sup>66</sup> While he had not yet put this legislation to the NSW Parliament he would do so by the end of the year, and in this action was only a few days behind South Australia in being the first colony to do so.<sup>67</sup> Reid would go on to be instrumental in giving the federated colonies a constitution. He would be greatly criticised for his slowness and caution by many who, like Goodlet, did not appreciate Reid's astute insights into what would be best for the new nation. Crisp's verdict on Reid's contribution is appropriate for he says, 'It is to Reid in particular that Australia owes the more democratic, and also in some ways the more truly national and more viable, Constitution of 1900'.<sup>68</sup> It is fortunate for Australia that Reid's slow and deliberative process won the day on the Federation issue rather than that of the enthusiasts who certainly would have rested content with a lesser outcome.<sup>69</sup>

For Goodlet, as for many, Federation seemed to be the solution to the difficult economic times they faced so that it was for them the primary issue and the financial reforms being pursued by Reid for NSW were secondary and an unnecessary obstacle in the movement for nation unity. Goodlet's view was that there should be a 'leaving the question as to Free trade or Protection to be fought out in the Federal Parliament by the united people of Australia'.<sup>70</sup> Reid differed in that while Federation was an important issue, the NSW fiscal policy involving Free Trade, Taxation and Local Government reform needed to be attended to as a priority and 'that access to New

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<sup>64</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>65</sup> *SMH*, July 19, 1895.

<sup>66</sup> Finlay Leslie Crisp, *Federation Fathers* (Melbourne: Melbourne University, 1990), 12.

<sup>67</sup> The South Australian enabling legislation was given assent on December 20, 1895 and the NSW legislation three days later.

<sup>68</sup> Crisp, *Federation Fathers*, 21.

<sup>69</sup> Crisp, *Federation Fathers*, 21.

<sup>70</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

South Wales markets which his policy offered was, above all, an earnest of the 'spirit of brotherhood and affection' without which no federation would be possible.<sup>71</sup>

On the issue of Free Trade Goodlet differentiated himself from the Reid Government in that he would not support their approach, but would in parliament support the principle of 'reasonable' Free Trade:

I am an Independent Freetrader, and believe in Customs Duties for revenue purposes only; but so strongly do I feel that the constant tinkering with the Tariff, and the uncertainty caused thereby, is absolutely fatal to a settled state of trade, that I should not favour interference with the present duties, but do support Federation.<sup>72</sup>

Goodlet was extremely critical of Reid's attitude to Free Trade for Reid had, in Goodlet's mind, given his own party away to the Labor League in return for their support. He had sold out the whole free trade party<sup>73</sup> and such a criticism had the added spice that Bavister, his local opponent, was a Labor man. In Goodlet's estimation Reid was a theoretical and extreme free trader, 'one not in touch with the mercantile and trading community, and ignorant of how his views would affect the community.'<sup>74</sup> Goodlet supported tariffs for revenue-raising, but opposed their use for protectionist purposes. Because of the difficult times which the colony now faced this was not, he said, the time to implement such radical changes in tariffs as Reid proposed. Reid sought their abolition and would, when returned to office, remove all ad valorem duties on December 31, 1895, and then the bulk of specific duties were to cease six months later.<sup>75</sup>

The rejection of Reid's Land and Income Tax Assessment Bill by the Legislative Council had let Reid go to an election even though there had been an election only 12 months prior. The opposition of the council meant that Reid made the council's reform part of his re-election platform. While Goodlet was opposed to the abolition of the Upper House he was not opposed to its reform, and agreed with Reid that it

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<sup>71</sup> McMinn, *George Reid* (Melbourne: Melbourne University, 1989), 108.

<sup>72</sup> *The Advertiser* (Ashfield, NSW), July 20, 1895.

<sup>73</sup> *The Advertiser* (Ashfield, NSW), July 20, 1895.

<sup>74</sup> *SMH*, July 13, 1895.

<sup>75</sup> Gordon D. Patterson, *The Tariff in the Australian Colonies 1856-1900* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1968), 151. An 'ad valorem' tax (Latin for 'according to value') is a tax based on the value of an item. A specific duty, is a tax based on the quantity of an item, such as pence per super feet of timber, regardless of value or price.

needed a 'radical reformation'.<sup>76</sup> Goodlet did not think, however, that the proposals of the Reid Government were the right approach:

I am of the opinion that the Upper House must be reformed to bring it more in touch with the views of the people. To have an Upper House which would be incapable of exercising any control over legislation, and be under the thumb of any Premier who happened for the time being to have a majority in the other House, would to my thinking, be highly undesirable. For this reason I am opposed to Mr. Reid's proposal in its entirety.<sup>77</sup>

In his autobiography Reid says that

The changes we proposed, shortly described, abolished life tenure, limited the number of Councillors to 60, one-fifth to retire annually, and substituted a term of five years. Appropriation Bills were neither to be amended nor rejected. If not returned to the Assembly within one month they could, on resolution, be presented by the Speaker for the Royal Assent. Other Money Bills could be amended, but not rejected, by the Council. If amended, the Assembly was given power finally to determine the shape of the Bill. If not returned within one month such Bills could also, on motion, be presented for the Royal Assent. Ordinary Bills, if rejected in two consecutive sessions, could be submitted to the electors.<sup>78</sup>

Much in what Reid proposed Goodlet could support, but what Reid does not mention is that which was an important issue for Goodlet namely, who carries out the appointment of the dozen to be appointed each year. Goodlet pointed out that Reid had often complained of the actions of Parkes and Dibbs in regard to the Upper House, but in Goodlet's view Reid's proposals were much worse. For under these proposals if Reid (or any other) were in power for any length of time then the Upper House would, within a five year period, be filled with his appointments. Should Reid then lose government he would still for some time be able to maintain control of the Upper House and no-one other than Reid could get legislation through it. Reid's proposed reforms would require, according to Goodlet, the Legislative Council 'to be on their good behaviour as far as the wishes of the Government of the day were

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<sup>76</sup> *SMH*, July 22, 1895.

<sup>77</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>78</sup> George Houstoun Reid, *My Reminiscences* (London: Cassell, 1917), 119.

concerned.<sup>79</sup> This would result in a lowering of the quality of those who sat in the Legislative Council, for men of self-respect could not sit in such a House as they would be brought immediately under the patronage of the Ministry of the day.<sup>80</sup> Any reform should make the Upper House an elected house and the electors should be placed in the position to dictate to the Upper House and not the Government.<sup>81</sup>

Given the context of the times, Reid had little hope of implementing his reforms and it is unlikely, though he wanted curbs on the Upper House's power, that he seriously meant these proposals. 'They were a political weapon, and a very effective one: by winning the election with them included in the issues would place the Council in a hopeless position to resist him on the vital question, direct taxation.'<sup>82</sup> Such political guile as was necessary to deal with complexities of NSW government was foreign to Goodlet.

As someone supported by the local government Alderman, WG Crane, Goodlet espoused a strong and important role for local government being in favour of

a Local Government Bill giving powers to shires and municipalities to rate the land for making of bridges and roads and maintenance thereof. The money raised in the different shires would be locally spent for the benefit of the shires or municipalities. This would relieve the Central Government of a great deal of labour and the great outlay it now has to provide for the construction and maintenance of roads, bridges, etc.<sup>83</sup>

Goodlet was scathing about the recent action of Reid in connection with the Local Government Bill. After a political lifetime of its advocacy, Reid had dropped the bill because of the action of the Labor Party, which wanted to introduce a principle that was altogether foreign to municipal Government. Goodlet hoped that the bill would be introduced again as soon as Parliament assembled, as he thoroughly and

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<sup>79</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>80</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>81</sup> Goodlet thought that the colony should be apportioned into large constituencies, and that the Legislative Council should have its powers defined. There were many bills which the Legislative Council should have the power to amend that it had not the power to do so now. He regarded the system of simply negating bills as depriving the Legislative Council of the opportunity to express their opinions, and hence the people were in the dark. If the Councils were permitted to amend certain bills, any such amendments need not be accepted by the Assembly, and then the decision of the colony might, if necessary, be asked for. *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>82</sup> McMinn, *George Reid*, 112.

<sup>83</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

conscientiously believed in Local Government. Under such a system Goodlet believed the landowners of the country should pay their fair share to the taxation of the colony. It was manifestly unfair that the city and suburbs should pay for all the roads and bridges in the country districts and a proper system of Local Government would alter this state of things. He was in favour of a moderate Land Tax, without exemption for the purposes of local government.<sup>84</sup>

Yet his criticism of Reid on the issue of local government was harsh and did not take into account the difficult situation in which the Reid government found itself. The presence of Labor was a fact of parliamentary life and Reid's government could not continue without its support. Reid was 'not prepared to be a Labor puppet, but he was realist enough to see that Labor was a factor in politics which could neither be ignored nor eliminated and that its support would be invaluable in the wide areas of policy which they had in common.'<sup>85</sup> According to Reid,<sup>86</sup> who largely agreed with Goodlet's views on local government, he had dropped the Local Government Bill only after the Labor member JC Watson managed to get inserted into it, at the last moment, the provision for the abolition of the system of plural voting for property owners and give a vote to each occupier. Such a provision was far in advance of other colonies and Reid judged that it would never get through the Upper House and when the Opposition, seeing an opportunity to disrupt the Government's plans for direct taxation combined with the Labor Party to reaffirm the provision, Reid withdrew the bill. Inside the Parliament Reid had to deal with the realities of the political situation while Goodlet, an amateur armchair politician who was now seeking election, could afford to be idealistic. One wonders how a man of such firm principle whose word was his bond, would have fared if he were elected and whether he would have been sufficiently flexible in his views to achieve any significant political advances and reform.

Goodlet also favoured an income tax with a £200 exemption, asserting that Reid's proposal of an exemption level of £300 was designed to exempt politicians.<sup>87</sup> He was strongly in favour of a 'City' Railway for passengers as he had been involved on the original committee appointed to secure this.<sup>88</sup> He believed that in the management

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<sup>84</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>85</sup> McMinn, *George Reid*, 74.

<sup>86</sup> McMinn, *George Reid*, 106; Reid, *My Reminiscences*, 193-5.

<sup>87</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 13, 1895; July 20, 1895.

<sup>88</sup> Goodlet was made a City Railway Commissioner on the March 19, 1890 and the Commission ceased on the September 19, 1891, NSW Blue Book (1891), 56.

of State affairs judicious economy should be exercised, and that he would seek to prevent extravagant or unnecessary expenditure.

Goodlet took the high moral ground in refusing to sign any pledges as to how he would vote; if elected the electorate would just need to trust his character:

He had been in Sydney for 40 years, had come here penniless and had worked himself up to his present position, and, during the whole of his business career, his word had never been impugned. If any elector would not take his word now he did not want his vote. He would sign a pledge for no man. (Loud applause) <sup>89</sup>

Reid criticised Goodlet for this position, describing him as a 'dark horse' for no-one knew how far he would side with the government.<sup>90</sup> Reid understood, as Goodlet perhaps did not, that Goodlet's stance was becoming increasingly problematical in the political circumstances which prevailed in NSW. In 1891, the Labor Party had a significant representation elected and since then, and almost certainly Reid knew after the current election, any government needed to take considerable notice of their views as they would probably hold the balance of power. Reid's chances of success in government would depend on keeping a significant portion of the labour members in support of his government. Since Labour's election, 'platform, pledge, caucusing and outside control all mattered intensely',<sup>91</sup> and Reid needed the supporters of Free Trade who were to be elected to be solidly behind the government. Goodlet's high-minded position as an independent Free Trader was impractical and unrealistic in the current parliamentary climate, and reflected a view of the parliament of a previous time before the emergence of 'parties' in the late 1880s.

Reid sought to counter Goodlet's appeal by painting him both as run by the protectionists and as only being interested in election because Reid's proposals would touch his pocket. Unfairly, but in conformity with Reid's re-election strategy, he portrayed Goodlet as one of the wealthy who were seeking to secure their own personal interests and were opposing his government because 'his Government had

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<sup>89</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>90</sup> *SMH*, July 24, 1895.

<sup>91</sup> Dickey, *Politics in New South Wales 1856-1900*, 153.

determined that some of the burdens of the country should be paid out of the big purses instead of the small ones.<sup>92</sup>

Probably with more justification, Reid claimed that had he, 'left cement on the tariff Colonel Goodlet would not have been filled with an ardent desire to leave his fireside for the irregular hours of Macquarie-street'.<sup>93</sup> Goodlet had good reason to be concerned for he had only just commenced production of cement<sup>94</sup> and the duty which had been present for 24 years was, under Reid's proposals, to be lifted. *Goodlet and Smith* had made commercial decisions on the basis of a continuing tariff and had invested a good deal of capital to commence production. Goodlet consistently claimed he was prepared to pay a fair duty and was supportive of duty for revenue raising even though duty on things like timber was to his personal disadvantage. As a Free Trader he said he was opposed to duty for all other purposes. In consistency with such a position he should not have opposed Reid's proposal to remove the duty on cement. His argument was, however, that at the present time, in view of the economic difficulties, tariffs should not be tinkered with. But the reality was that this duty was protectionist and *Goodlet and Smith* could not produce cement profitably without it being in place.

When the duty on cement was eventually lifted in June 1896, *Goodlet and Smith* had to cease production. These events reluctantly caused Goodlet to change his mind on protectionism, as least as far as cement was concerned. He realised that he could not compete with overseas competition for it cost one shilling per cask to transport cement from the UK as ballast, whereas it cost him six pence per cask simply to transport it by train from Granville to Sydney. Free Trade, which he had spent a life time advocating, was destroying his cement business.<sup>95</sup> In words with a biblical ring about them, Goodlet was reported as saying

he was a freetrader once, but his eyes had been opened. He could tell them free-trade was not going to build them up. The adoption of free-trade meant that wages must come down. If goods were permitted to come into the colony duty free they could not be manufactured here and allow the employers to

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<sup>92</sup> *SMH*, July 24, 1895.

<sup>93</sup> *SMH*, July 17, 1895.

<sup>94</sup> Rock Brand Cement went on sale June 21, 1895. *SMH*, June 21, 1895.

<sup>95</sup> *SMH*, April 16, 1896; April 17, 1896.

pay their workmen good wages.<sup>96</sup>

As one newspaper reported, Goodlet had been 'converted' to protectionism.<sup>97</sup> Somewhat triumphantly Reid noted that a mere two months after *Goodlet and Smith* had closed its cement works with 'melodramatic suddenness' that it was now in operation again. He said that at the time of the closure he had been 'perfectly sure it would only be for a short time.'<sup>98</sup> Reid had said that local industries were like young dogs: the only way to teach them to swim was to throw them into the water.<sup>99</sup> Reid believed that the 'cement pup' had done just that, yet Goodlet was right in terms of the economics of cement production for the pup continued to struggle. *Goodlet and Smith* was never able to make this part of its business profitable without a tariff or even with a tariff. In the year of Goodlet's death, *Goodlet and Smith* was still arguing that it could not make a reasonable profit without a tariff,<sup>100</sup> and the truth of the company's claims was demonstrated in 1919 when *Goodlet and Smith* ceased manufacturing cement altogether.<sup>101</sup>

Goodlet was a strong and formidable candidate. Bavister obviously thought so, as he enlisted not just the Premier, the Hon George Reid, but also the Hon JH Caruthers and Hon WR Campbell to campaign on his behalf.<sup>102</sup> Reid was a big bonus as an experienced politician, and as the incumbent premier he knew how to handle with humour the unruly crowd that his position sometimes attracted. When he came to speak in support of Bavister

the usual rowdy element was present, and rotten eggs and tomatoes were flying. When struck by one of these missiles, Mr. Reid looked at the crowd in the street, and in his usual drawling voice exercised his ready repartee with the words 'I don't mind you throwing your eggs and tomatoes, but don't you begin to throw any of Mr. Goodlet's cement or any of Mr. Crane's lead at me.' Mr. Goodlet of course was a partner in the firm of Goodlet and Smith, which dealt in tiles, cement, and other building requirements, and Mr. Crane, his

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<sup>96</sup> *The Adelaide Advertiser (Adelaide, SA)*, March 27, 1896.

<sup>97</sup> *The Clarence and Richmond Examiner (Grafton, NSW)*, March 31, 1896.

<sup>98</sup> *SMH*, August 28, 1896.

<sup>99</sup> McMinn, George Reid, 123.

<sup>100</sup> *SMH*, August 1, 1914.

<sup>101</sup> Goodlet and Smith, *Annual Report* (1919).

<sup>102</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

chief supporter, was a member of the firm of Crane and Sons, one of whose commodities was lead.<sup>103</sup>

Bavister positioned himself as a supporter of the Reid Government and as the genuine Free Trade candidate endorsed by Free Trade and Liberal Council, whereas Goodlet was an independent Free Trader. On the local option Bavister portrayed himself as the friend of Temperance and Goodlet as the candidate supported by the Brewers and License-holders.<sup>104</sup> At some stage in the short campaign someone asserted that Goodlet 'had ground down his employees' wages'.<sup>105</sup> Goodlet indignantly refuted the claim:

If he had been in the habit of grinding down wages, his employees would not have remained with him. During the present year he had followed to the grave three of his employees, whose continued service with him totalled 102 years, or an average of 34 years each. (Loud applause) Many more had been with him over a quarter of a century. One of them came to him as a lad, and was now foreman of a department. He had been with him for 37 years. (Cheers) This didn't look like grinding down wages. If he had done that they wouldn't have stayed. (Immense applause)<sup>106</sup>

Others put pen to paper to support Goodlet, one such calling himself 'A Worker', perhaps conscious that Goodlet was a capitalist brick maker and his opponent was a worker brick layer. He wrote to encourage fellow workers who may have been tempted to support a Labor candidate to vote for Goodlet:

I trust that all workers will decide to vote for Mr. Goodlet. It is surely time that differences of creed, party, and classes were dropped, and the good of all sought by the election of a good man from our midst, who is not extreme in his views and whose virtues are known to us. In Mr. Goodlet these virtues are pre-eminently found, therefore I intend to support him, and I trust others will do likewise.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> *The NSW Presbyterian (Sydney, NSW)*, September 9, 1949.

<sup>104</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 13, 1895.

<sup>105</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>106</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>107</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

Bavister put far more effort into the campaign than Goodlet, beginning sooner and marshalling support. He spoke seven times to assembled groups, whereas Goodlet spoke only three times and did not avail himself of Parkes' support nor that of anyone else. Goodlet seems to have had the support of the local paper, but it was published only twice during the short campaign and he had the support of letters that were sent to the paper extolling his virtues.<sup>108</sup>

Bavister was not above being critical of Goodlet and sought to distinguish himself and his positions from those of Goodlet. Goodlet never once mentioned Bavister nor his views, but contented himself to criticise Reid and his policies. Reputation and standing, however, were not sufficient to gain the seat for Goodlet and he lost to Bavister by a margin of 165 votes. Goodlet was gracious in defeat and at the declaration of the poll:

Mr. Goodlet, whose appearance was the signal for a great ovation, thanked the electors who had recorded their votes in his favour. His only interest was in the progress of the country, and he trusted that the colony would yet prosper, and the affairs be guided by wise counsels. (Cheers)<sup>109</sup>

In standing for Parliament, Goodlet had done so as an act of citizenship. His attempted entry into politics was largely motivated by what he regarded as the need of the times. Such an attitude was not entirely altruistic, however, as Goodlet saw his business interests and the best interests of the colony as intimately connected. He never sought office again and with the improvement of the economy and the achievement of Federation, he saw no need to do so.

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<sup>108</sup> 'Mr. Goodlet comes forward as a freetrader and a federationist, and his candidature has been hailed with great satisfaction by a large section of the community. It would probably be difficult to find another man in New South Wales who would be a greater honour to the parliament of his country than Mr. Goodlet. His life has been one unbroken career of unsullied generosity, and his innumerable good deeds, his far reaching benevolence, and his patriotism have rendered his name familiar to every household. Therefore he would be an honour to any constituency.' *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 13, 1895 'I trust you will give me an opportunity in your valuable journal to state publicly my reasons for choosing Mr. Goodlet as my candidate. In the first place I looked at his virtues in a negative sense, viz., he is not a blatant orator, or an upstart, or a self-seeker, or a man that we know nothing of, or an oppressor of the poor, or an extremist, or a faddist, or a man depending on Parliamentary screw, or a man that could be led by the nose by any leader, or a man who wishes ('Houston') Reid knighted. Then, Sir, I sought for positive reasons why the voters of Ashfield should support him and I find that he is one of the men this country had been languishing for, he is one of our best citizens, a man that fears 'God,' a man that holds his substance as a steward for the good of others, a man who will not sign pledges, but whose word is better than some others men's bond, a man who has 'labored' for the good of the community at large, a man that is moderate, just, and true. Will the 'electors' of Ashfield reject him? I 'trow' not. I am, yours truly, Mark Smith.' *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>109</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 27, 1895.

## Influences upon Goodlet's economic and social views

The early nineteenth century in Britain saw the rise of evangelicalism and its influence on social, economic and political thought. It is of interest to consider how such thought may have influenced John Goodlet. Hilton, in his work *Age of Atonement*, seeks to determine which aspects of the ideology of nineteenth century British individualism, involving the doctrines of self-help, laissez-faire, and Free Trade, can be attributed to the evangelical ethos.<sup>110</sup> There existed among evangelicals what is termed 'providentialism', the belief that 'all human affairs are regulated directly or indirectly by divine agency for human good'.<sup>111</sup> A difference of opinion existed, however, as to the matter of regulation whether by a 'general operation of providence through divinely ordained natural laws, to a belief in miraculous 'special' visitations to punish or correct individuals or nations.'<sup>112</sup> These views were linked to different eschatologies (pre-millenarian and post-millenarian)<sup>113</sup> which led to different social theories and attitudes to events and economic policy.<sup>114</sup> Those of

an interventionist view of providence, (predominately pre-millenarian) who saw God as constantly directing earthly affairs by special warnings and judgments, also believed that governments on earth should take an intervention approach to social and economic problems.<sup>115</sup>

On the other hand, those who had a 'neutral conception of providence (predominately post-millenarian) ... wished to make society operate as closely to 'nature' as possible' so 'governments should interfere with men's lives as little as possible so that men can exercise self-help'.<sup>116</sup> Hilton points out that

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<sup>110</sup> Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement. The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1875-1865*, 7.

<sup>111</sup> Peter Gray, 'Potatoes and Providence': British Government Responses to the Great Famine'. *The Old Limerick Journal*, 85, reprint of *Bullán An Irish Studies Journal*, 1, 1, Spring 1994.

<sup>112</sup> Peter Gray, 'Potatoes and Providence' 85.

<sup>113</sup> Eschatology refers to the end of the world and the literal and physical return of Christ to the earth to inaugurate a thousand year reign of Godliness. Pre-millenarians believe Christ's return will take place before the millennium and conditions will deteriorate and sin will increase until his return. Post-millenarians believe Christ will return after a thousand year period of improving world conditions.

<sup>114</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 14-15.

<sup>115</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 16.

<sup>116</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 16.

since pre-millennialists hold that improvement can only take place after the Second Coming, which itself must be preceded by chaos and deterioration, there is no incentive (and some disincentive) to set about repairs. Post-millennialists, on the other hand, see the need as well as the possibility of building towards the New Jerusalem by human agency, and therefore take a more interventionist approach towards social problems. Yet in the early nineteenth century these roles seem to have been reversed for it was the post-millenarian moderates who wished to leave economic relationships alone, and the pre-millenarians ... who called for paternalistic intervention.<sup>117</sup>

This paradox is resolved when it is understood that 'improvement' was generally envisaged in moral rather than material terms, and that

the post-millenarian moderates, however callous their economic attitudes may appear to modern eyes were actually more paternalist in this other sense of wishing to control the morals of the nations. Indeed they supported laissez-faire economic and social policies precisely because these would best nurture individual morality. God runs the material world on laissez-faire lines, ... he doesn't often meddle in his own mechanism, and so man should not meddle either. On the other hand the moral world does require man's intervention - hence the numerous Bible and Missionary Societies they sponsored.<sup>118</sup>

The post millenarians agreed their rivals were paternalists and despised them for it and believed that their 'Bible Societies and the like were devices of impotent but presumptuous men, attempting to do the Almighty's work for him, and so to no avail'.<sup>119</sup>

One of those deeply interested in ideas of Christian political economy was Thomas Chalmers whom Hilton describes as the 'second most influential Scotsman of his generation'.<sup>120</sup> Through their University posts Chalmers and others had a 'profound influence on the upper echelons of a society saturated in the ideas of evangelical

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<sup>117</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 16-17.

<sup>118</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 17.

<sup>119</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 17.

<sup>120</sup> Thomas Chalmers (1780 – 1847) Scottish minister, Professor and Free Church leader. See Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 55-70, 79-89 for an outline of his place in nineteenth century social thought. For a brief outline of his ecclesiastical career see J. H.S Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 316-328.

Protestantism'<sup>121</sup> in both England and Scotland. Chalmers was an 'out-and-out Free Trader'<sup>122</sup> and was a strong critic of the 'Poor Laws', seeking to demonstrate that even the poorest communities, if sufficiently 'godly', could be self-supporting without resorting to institutionalized philanthropy. His views on voluntary parochial contributions, and basing relief on the work of the church, were rendered unworkable by the events of the 1843 Disruption which rent the church in Scotland.<sup>123</sup>

How much did Goodlet reflect the views of Chalmers on political economy and, if he did, were these views motivated by the theoretical underpinnings which undergirded Chalmers' teaching? Goodlet was a boy of 12 when Chalmers died in 1847 and though no direct connection with Goodlet and the works of Chalmers is known, the Goodlets were of the Free Church persuasion and Chalmers was a revered figure in those circles. It is reasonable to assume that, at the very least, John would have been aware of some of Chalmers' views.

A book given to John by his sister Jane on his departure to the colony of Victoria in 1852 was inscribed 'John Hay Goodlet with sincere & affectionate prayers for his spiritual and temporal prosperity'.<sup>124</sup> The book was written to young men to encourage the view that 'success in life mainly depends with every man on his industry, perseverance, and moral rectitude' and makes the point that 'wealth in the hands of a good man is the great instrument of benevolence, philanthropy, and generous Christian zeal'.<sup>125</sup> The work contains many examples of godly men enjoying business success and through these examples advocates self-help, discipline, perseverance, integrity, benevolence and moral rectitude and has, in its prescription for success, several long quotations from Chalmers concerning the need for the young man of business to have spiritual life and integrity.

Later in life Goodlet received from Robert Rainy a copy of his book on the Church of Scotland. Goodlet appears to have carefully read and marked the text and one passage in particular, written about Chalmers, is singled out by him:

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<sup>121</sup> Peter Gray, 'Potatoes and Providence', 85.

<sup>122</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 66.

<sup>123</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 58, 63.

<sup>124</sup> Anon, *Success in life: A Book for Young Men* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1852). It is held in the Ferguson Library, Sydney,

<sup>125</sup> Anon, *Success in life: A Book for Young Men*. iii-iv.

in Dr. Chalmers' case, as in many another, a glow of earnest sentiment and high enthusiasm gathered around the great ideas of the Divine power and omnipresence. They were true thoughts, and worthy to be realised with such a glow of feeling; and this perception of truth he ascribed to the Author of all good gifts. But it was his deliberate and most assured judgment that this kind of religion, in his own case, was the religion of one who had not returned to God, who had not bowed to God's will, who had never realised his own relation to God, who was not at peace with God. It was his deliberate judgment that this religion had not made him a man of God, and that by and by it proved every way a failure. And that completeness of delighted sentiment, that thorough entrancement in the great thought he spoke of, was possible, just because the feeling never touched the real question between God and him, never revealed to him his true self nor the true God. A change came. The great question of sin arose in its simple reality, the question of salvation. The revelation came of a Saviour, of an atonement, of grace, of the divine, omnipotent love that saves the lost, of holiness that thrilled his heart with a sorrow and a longing he had never known before. Thenceforth he lived in a new world.<sup>126</sup>

It would appear that where Goodlet was interested in Chalmers was in Chalmers' religious views and experience. It was this that engaged Goodlet rather than any views on political economy that Chalmers may have held.

Chalmers' formula of 'mitigating distress by the simple expedient of compelling pauperized city populations to stand on their own feet'<sup>127</sup> no doubt would have harmonized to some degree with Goodlet's own self-help progress in the colony of NSW. It is also true that the Scottish-educated Goodlet was in his time in the colony of NSW an evangelical and was for a large part of his commercial life, like Chalmers, an advocate for Free Trade. He was also a moral and welfare paternalist in his participation in various moral and charitable activities. Goodlet was a strong supporter of Bible and Missionary Societies and did not seek to greatly involve himself in any significant way, apart from his support of Free Trade, in economic issues that particularly concerned Chalmers. His attitude to the idea of Poor Laws is not known but in any case they did not operate within the colonies which had as its

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<sup>126</sup> Robert Rainy, *Three Lectures on the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Maclaren, 1872), 62. The Rev Robert Rainy, (1826 – 1906) was the Principal of the Free Church College, Edinburgh and a leader of the Free Church.

<sup>127</sup> Owen, *English Philanthropy*, 225.

approach to relief, which Goodlet supported, a combination of private and government funded philanthropy. His millennial views are not known and his position on 'providentialism' is similarly unknown. He certainly was, by his actions of coming to the colonies at 17 years of age and building a significant commercial enterprise, an advocate of the self-help philosophy.

Many of the values which Goodlet reflected such as Free Trade, Bible and Missions support, self-help, moral and welfare paternalism, were those advocated by Chalmers and those like him. There is, however, no evidence that Goodlet had read Chalmers or was directly influenced by him. Those things which reflected Chalmers' values were most probably generic views imbibed in Goodlet's Scottish upbringing and/or accepted by him in his adult life in the colony of NSW.

It would be surprising if Goodlet, who in spiritual matters seemed to be a pragmatist, was particularly ideological in his views on other issues and it is his views on the economic issue of Free Trade about which most is known. For Goodlet it would seem the issue of Free Trade was essentially a practical matter and not driven by any ideological underpinning. As a businessman and manufacturer he believed that Free Trade delivered to the community and to his pursuits a better return for effort, allowing for a wider and cheaper access to colonial and other markets. That this was his principal reason for being a Free Trade supporter is shown by his later 'conversion' to protectionism. When he realised that Free Trade was destroying his cement business Goodlet changed his view on the issue. He had come to the conclusion that his cement business was dependent on the protectionism of the tariff and to save his business he advocated a limited form of protectionism. Goodlet was never an 'out-and-out Free Trader' like Chalmers and was, even in his own words, a moderate Free Trader which was in reality a protectionist view.

While Goodlet did not continue to pursue political office he did continue his association with the temperance movement and was a supporter of its general aims to restrict the availability of alcohol. Why was Goodlet a keen supporter of this movement? It has been observed that the temperance movement was the first movement in colonial politics to mobilise the interest of women because it deeply and directly affected them. As Fitzgerald and Jordan note:

in working class families especially, men's drinking was often a source of women's anger. If men spent their wages on drink, the wife and children often

went without food, clothing and other basic needs. Also, alcoholic drinking quite often led to violence, much of which was directed at wives. Before the day of equal pay, women could not support their children on their own so were totally dependent on their husbands' earning and spending. A husband's alcohol abuse too often meant a wife's desperate suffering in a situation from which she could not escape.<sup>128</sup>

These observations of the effect of alcohol on the lives of women give a sufficient reason for the involvement of women in the temperance cause. As Fitzgerald and Jordan conclude:

this explains why the campaign to restrict hotels was the first political movement in Australia to involve large numbers of women and, indeed the first instance of women uniting to effect legal reform and assert their rights.<sup>129</sup>

One might also see in this the reason why philanthropists such as the Goodlets, albeit primarily John, were involved in the temperance movement. While they may not have personally experienced the adverse effects of alcohol in their families, nevertheless, as philanthropists who took a 'hands on' approach to charity, they saw the great toll that alcohol took in their work within the charities such as the BS, the SFRS and the SCM. That which motivated the involvement of women was also, in part, their motivation.

Reflecting upon the Goodlets involvement in philanthropy as reform it may be observed that this was not a great emphasis with either Ann or John. They were socially conservative and reflected a view of philanthropy that sought to alleviate and assist rather than to seek great changes in the structure of their society.

In regard to women like Ann, Godden observes that

Sydney women who were involved in autonomous women's philanthropic organizations tended to be attracted to issues of women's rights. Many therefore supported women's suffrage. Many also, particularly evangelicals,

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<sup>128</sup> Fitzgerald and Jordan, *Under the Influence*, 162.

<sup>129</sup> Fitzgerald and Jordan, *Under the Influence*, 162.

hoped for a purification of society through mass conversion and /or temperance.<sup>130</sup>

Ann was involved in what Godden deems 'autonomous women's philanthropic organisations' such as the YWCA and the PWMU,<sup>131</sup> of which she was president, and as the leading personality and worker in the SFRS and DDBI which were effectively autonomous female run organisations,<sup>132</sup> and yet Ann showed no attraction in her activities towards the issues of women's rights or women's suffrage. As a Christian, she certainly would have hoped for the purification of society through mass conversion. Ann is, however, better characterised as one of the group who

supported limited measures of state intervention ... their solutions to poverty and distress were strictly solutions which improved whilst it preserved the current order; none of the Sydney women philanthropists envisaged or supported a radical re-distribution of wealth or power.<sup>133</sup>

Godden is right to observe that the likelihood of women being moved from their philanthropic actions to radical action diminished with age. Those involved in philanthropy were generally 'middle aged to old and were not likely candidates for drastic upheavals in social and political philosophy'.<sup>134</sup>

By the time the issues of women's suffrage became prominent and organisations such as the WCTU (1887) and Australian Women's Suffrage Society (1889) were formed Ann was in her mid-sixties and had about a further ten years of good health remaining. She was heavily committed to their personal charity, the Consumptive Home as well as absorbed in the work of the YWCA, PWMU, BS, DDBI and SFRS. Given her age and her commitments it is hardly surprising, even if she were of a mind to do so, that she did not involve herself in such issues. When the YWCA was approached to send a representative to attend a meeting of delegates to discuss the holding of a great public demonstration in favour of women's suffrage, they refused

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<sup>130</sup> Judith Godden, 'British models and colonial experience': Women's philanthropy in late nineteenth century Sydney,' *Journal of Australian Studies* 10:19, 50.

<sup>131</sup> Ann was the president during the time that Godden regards the PWMU (Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union) as a women's organisation operating relatively independently in the women's sphere before it later became a more subordinate organisation with a broader role. Judith Godden, 'Containment and control: presbyterian women and the missionary impulse in New South Wales, 1891-1914,' *Women's History Review* 6:1, 89.

<sup>132</sup> Godden, 'British models and colonial experience,' 46.

<sup>133</sup> Godden, 'British models and colonial experience,' 50.

<sup>134</sup> Godden, 'British models and colonial experience,' 53.

to do so. The committee 'unanimously decided that as an association we could not identify ourselves with any political movement.'<sup>135</sup>

Ann showed little interest in philanthropy as reform and John's philanthropy as reform centred around the issues of Temperance, Free Trade and Federation. His attitudes to temperance were moderate as he did not advocate total abstinence and he supported the Local Option, but did so with the view that compensation needed to be given to publicans. Such a position, which was contrary to that of his own church and the general Christian public, was a reflection of his fairness. He appreciated that the publican was a businessman who had made an investment and if he was to be deprived of his livelihood justice demanded that he be compensated for the deprivation. In 1894, due to his opposition to the policies of George Reid and his concern for the colony, John stood for parliament and advocated a moderate Free Trade position together with strong support for Federation. His lack of success was hardly surprising as he did not put much effort into the attempt to enter parliament and he did not appear to appreciate the complexities that Reid faced in seeking to govern the colony. Eventually, due to the difficulties caused for his cement business through the removal of the cement tariff, Goodlet realised that some form of protectionism was of value and he abandoned his long-held free trade views.

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<sup>135</sup>YWCA, *Minutes*, August 6, 1896.



## **CHAPTER 6 The Philanthropic Spectrum: *Civic Engagement***

Philanthropy as civic engagement seeks to build better community structures and services and is directed by a notion of civic responsibility. The focus of John Goodlet during a significant part of his life was to do his civic duty and in doing so he gave a great deal of his time and effort in order to develop, for the defense of the colony, an effective citizen's defense force. Ann's civic engagement was different as she saw the need for safe women's accommodation in an unfamiliar environment. She took a great interest in those girls just 'off the boat' from 'Home', those seeking employment or those looking for somewhere safe to stay in Sydney. Ann sought to develop appropriate accommodation for such women. These activities are an example of the Goodlets' displaying philanthropy as civic engagement.

### **Colonial Defence**

In the late 1850s, not long after John Goodlet had settled in Sydney, the population of Sydney was concerned about its security and believed that in order to protect the colony it was necessary to raise a force of men. As in many things, Britain provided the colony with the model for a solution to its defence problem. In 1794, Pitt and Dundas had founded the Volunteer Movement which at its peak in 1804, with 400,000 men and 4,600 individual corps, contained about 18% of all men of military age in England, Scotland and Wales. The Volunteers were an auxiliary military force distinct from county militias, the fencibles and the regular army. Unlike the other military groups, they elected their own officers and were bound by no property qualifications.<sup>1</sup> In joining, volunteers were primarily motivated by fear of a French invasion and were an example of patriotism expressed as national defence.<sup>2</sup> These volunteer groups are not to be compared to the Irish Volunteers and radical clubs, but rather to the associated charities and voluntary societies so prominent in eighteenth century British life.<sup>3</sup> There were, of course, other reasons for joining such as a spirit of adventure, the pay, and the vanity and social value of a uniform.

In the early 1850s, war between Britain and France had seemed likely and by 1854 tensions with Russia came to a head and war with Russia was declared. An echo of those tensions was to be heard in the colony of NSW in the 1855 recommencing of

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<sup>1</sup> Austin Gee, *The British Volunteer Movement, 1794-1814* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). Review by James J. Sack, *Journal of British Studies* 44, 2, (April 2005): 384-5.

<sup>2</sup> John E. Cookson, *The British Armed Nation, 1793-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1997), 19; Gee, *The British Volunteer Movement*, 384.

<sup>3</sup> Gee, *The British Volunteer Movement*, 385.

the construction of Fort Denison to defend the colony from Russian attack. There were several 'Russian scares' throughout 1854 with rumours of Russian ships concentrating in the China seas. Despite assurances by the commander of the Royal Fleet in the eastern seas Sir James Stirling, himself a former colonial governor of Western Australia, that a careful watch was being kept on the Russians, the rumours continued.<sup>4</sup> They culminated towards the end of the year in the 'battle of Melbourne', a 'battle' between an imagined Russian ship and the colonial batteries. In reality, it was a friendly vessel out of quarantine setting off rockets to celebrate, and in accord with naval courtesy, other ships reciprocated,<sup>5</sup> but the reaction of the population to the event was indicative of the tense atmosphere.

In NSW in 1851, approval had been given for the formation of a NSW Volunteer Rifle Corps and in 1854, at the time of local concerns about the Crimean War, an Act of Council authorising the formation of the Volunteer Corps received assent. The number of volunteers in 1854 was 389, but had dwindled to nothing by 1857.<sup>6</sup> This lack of enthusiasm was partly due to the improving world situation as peace with Russia had been established in 1856. Nevertheless, there were still concerns for the safety of the colony from the French with the possibility of war with Napoleon and with French ships reported in the vicinity of French occupied New Caledonia.<sup>7</sup> The colony was isolated and a long way from England whose help would be needed in the event of conflict. Thus the idea of the 'Volunteer Movement', which was current in England, began to generate colonial discussion and to gain wide acceptance in Sydney's thinking. In December of 1859, Henry Parkes successfully moved in the Legislative Assembly resolutions noting that 'it is impolitic and unsafe to neglect the means of preparation at our command for protecting the Colony in the event of it being attacked by an enemy'. He proposed that the colony should be protected by a national militia, composed of citizens.<sup>8</sup> Little was done at this time but in April 1860, 125 men of the 12<sup>th</sup> Regiment and 40 of the Artillery, who were part of the regular British forces protecting NSW, left the colony to assist in the 'Maori Wars' in New Zealand (NZ) leaving only 382 infantry and 66 artillery to defend the colony of

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<sup>4</sup> *The Argus (Melbourne, Vic)*, June 1, 1854.

<sup>5</sup> Bob Nicholls, *The Colonial Volunteers – the defence forces of the Australian colonies 1836-1901* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1988), 14.

<sup>6</sup> J.K. Haken, 'One Hundred Years Ago-Development of the Colonial Military Forces in New South Wales 1854-1903,' *Sabretache* XLII ,(December 2001): 23.

<sup>7</sup> Nicholls, *The Colonial Volunteers*, 21.

<sup>8</sup> Laurel Burge, *The New South Wales Military Volunteer Land Grant* (Kensington, N.S.W.: Council of the New South Wales Military Historical Society, 1976), 2-3.

NSW.<sup>9</sup> This departure tended to increase the desire of the public for a citizen's militia as they realised that they had no defence force to assist the colony in the event of hostile action towards it.

Since 1854 there had existed a volunteer corps in NSW, but it had been a failure and was discontinued in October 1860 for the purpose of its reorganisation, emerging as the reorganized 'Volunteer Service, in the Colony of NSW'.<sup>10</sup> The parsimonious attitude of the government had been blamed for the failure of the original corps as it refused to equip the corps adequately, but attitudes had now changed.<sup>11</sup> It was well known that there was a war close-by in NZ as there were constant reports about the war made by the newspapers of the period. The commercial opportunity the war presented was also known as the colony of NSW, among others, profited from supplying the NZ Government with horses and supplies.<sup>12</sup> Goodlet was aware of the hostilities and in 1859 had contributed to the Taranaki Relief fund.<sup>13</sup> Ann Goodlet had a cousin Beatrice with whom she corresponded, married to the Rev Henry Maunsell who was actively involved in seeking to promote a peaceful resolution to the Maori and settler difficulties of the 1860s.<sup>14</sup>

NZ had found that it was a benefit to have a strong body of volunteers<sup>15</sup> as did the colony of Victoria, whose volunteers did duty when its regular soldiers were in NZ. Wider threats were also invoked as justification for the formation of such a force. William Dean, addressing a volunteer meeting at Paddington, referred to the present time when 'there was one individual who held a sway over the whole world, which no man ought to possess. They should arm themselves that they might be prepared to repel this despot, should his attention be directed to this country.'<sup>16</sup> Distant despots were not the only fear, however, for it was said that Sydney was a prosperous but defenceless city should a privateer seek to ransack it.<sup>17</sup> The resolution of a volunteer

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<sup>9</sup> F. Prudy, 'The Expenditure of the United Kingdom for Colonial Purpose,' *Journal of Statistical Society of London* 26, no.4. (Dec 1863): 359-383. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2338432> [accessed January 24, 2011].

<sup>10</sup> NSW Government Gazette 187, (Friday October 1860), 1937.

<sup>11</sup> Mr Broughton, *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, August 25, 1860.

<sup>12</sup> J. Hopkins-Weise, 'New Zealand's Colonial Defence Force (Cavalry) and its Australian context, 1863-66,' *Sabretache* 43, 3, (Sept 2002): 23-39.

<sup>13</sup> *SMH*, October 13, 1860.

<sup>14</sup> Judith Morrell Nathan, 'Maunsell, Robert 1810 – 1894,' *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated April 7, 2006 URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

<sup>15</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, August 31, 1860.

<sup>16</sup> William Dean, *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, August 25, 1860.

<sup>17</sup> Dr Berncastle, *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, August 31, 1860.

meeting at Paddington was typical of the time in that it outlined a commonly held rationale for a volunteer force 'looking at the present unsettled state of Europe, and the growing importance of this colony, it is incumbent upon us, as a people, to arm ourselves, in order that we may be able to meet any hostile invasion'.<sup>18</sup>

Some fears were expressed that the volunteer movement would give rise to 'vanity and conceit', as such values often used to characterize these movements in Europe. Personal distinction, except that gained in the field, should be eschewed and the best commanders would be shown, not by their own self-esteem, but would be shown in the working of the force.<sup>19</sup> This view was all very well in theory, but was effectively denied by the necessity of electing the first officers by popular vote. Promotion by merit would only arise later in the history of the volunteers when merit had had an opportunity to show itself. Not all were in favour of recruiting a volunteer force, however, and sought a justification for the formation of such groups as so few had enrolled (a mere 220).<sup>20</sup> The majority view suggested that each section of the community needed to bear responsibility for the colony's security as there was much to fight for, such as

the laws of a free Constitution ...; freedom of thought and action; houses and families; the freedom of their sons and the chastity of their daughters. The richer classes had all this, and also their property to defend. When the working men were called to bear their burden in defense of the colony, the rich ought to bear the expense. There should be a property tax to bear the expense of the volunteer corps.<sup>21</sup>

Not all were convinced by the argument, and at one meeting an Irish-sounding interjector asked, with a scepticism possibly arising from his experiences of the militia in Ireland, 'Will the successful volunteer get a section of land?', followed by, 'I should recommend every man to remain neutral [in the event of an invasion], and see whether the enemy would give us land. We are bound to get the land anyhow by friend or foe'.<sup>22</sup> But sentiments such as 'no land, no rifle' and 'no job, no rifle' were in

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<sup>18</sup>*The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, August 25, 1860.

<sup>19</sup>*The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, August 28, 1860.

<sup>20</sup>*The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, September 1, 1860.

<sup>21</sup>Mr. Hawthorne, *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, September 1, 1860.

<sup>22</sup>*The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, September 1, 1860.

the minority<sup>23</sup> and land for military service was an idea of the future.

The Governor-General<sup>24</sup> issued a proclamation calling upon loyal and faithful subjects in the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland and 'in the vicinity of the sea port towns of Grafton and Eden'<sup>25</sup> to enrol themselves for the defense of the country. There were to be 22 companies of Rifles and three of Artillery and Sydney proper, which included Glebe, was to have nine companies and all commissioned officers would be appointed by the Governor with clothing, arms, ammunition and accoutrements being issued by the Government. At Glebe, Goodlet and 12 others had requested the Chairman of the Municipality of Glebe, George Wigram Allen, to call a meeting for the purpose of forming a Volunteer Rifle Corps.<sup>26</sup> Allen, who was later to be associated with Goodlet in various charitable associations, duly called the meeting. Goodlet, like many others, had had no previous military experience and seems to have been, as others were, motivated by community spirit and patriotic fervour interacting with concerns about the safety of the colony.

The Glebe meeting was well attended. It was decided to form a Volunteer Rifle Corps at Glebe and Goodlet was elected to the organising committee. As Goodlet was both one of those requesting the original meeting calling for the formation of the Glebe Volunteers, and was elected to the organizing Committee and subsequently elected the captain, this suggests that he was a leading influence in the movement seeking the formation of the Glebe Volunteers.

The Glebe Volunteer Rifles commenced operation on September 10, 1860, on the Forest Lodge Estate with drill in the mornings from 6 to 7:30am and in the evenings, (Wednesdays excepted), from 7:30 to 9pm in front of the Sydney University.<sup>27</sup> It was the policy of the volunteer forces that the members of the company would elect their own officers. The Glebe Company was therefore required to meet and nominate and then select by ballot a member to be recommended to the Governor-General for

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<sup>23</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, September 4, 1860.

<sup>24</sup> *SMH*, January 13, 1855 quoting the *London Gazette*, September 19, 1854, 'The Queen has been pleased to appoint Sir William Thomas Denison, Knight, Captain in the Corps of Royal Engineers, to be Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the colony of New South Wales, and Governor-General in and over the colonies of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia.'

<sup>25</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, September 1, 1860.

<sup>26</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, August 31, 1860.

<sup>27</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, October 23, 1860.

appointment as captain.<sup>28</sup> By December 4, 1860, Goodlet had been appointed to the unpaid position of captain.<sup>29</sup>

In December 1860, Goodlet ordered the company to assemble at Toxteth Park, Glebe Point, for the purpose of the presentation of the Camp Colours by the Hon George Allen MLC on behalf of the ladies of Glebe.<sup>30</sup> For the occasion the Directors of the Pyrmont Bridge Company had agreed to allow all volunteers in uniform to pass free over the Bridge.<sup>31</sup> It would appear that at the last moment higher authority decided on a change of venue, as the Adjutant requested that the presentation take place at the University Paddocks instead.<sup>32</sup> The band of the 12<sup>th</sup> Regiment was to attend as were the central companies of the NSW Volunteer Rifles, the Paddington, Surrey Hills and South Sydney Volunteer Rifle Companies as well as the Volunteer Mounted Rifles.<sup>33</sup> Captain Goodlet put his 50 men through their drill, the 12<sup>th</sup> Regiment arrived late, but the sight and display of 500 uniformed men, who together with the other companies swelled the numbers to over 700, was impressive. The military display was deemed superior to other recent military demonstrations and the day was deemed a great success and an impressive spectacle.

George Allen expressed the prayer of the Ladies of Glebe who had made the camp colours, that the volunteers 'exertions may never be required for the purpose of saving the country' which they had volunteered with 'promptitude' to defend. Goodlet gave a gracious speech in accepting the colours, indicating that they would serve as a reminder to them of the sacred duty they had undertaken for the defence of our 'common country'. It was a speech that was not heard by many of the volunteers, however, as crowd control measures had broken down and visitors had poured around the presentation site, excluding the participants from view and from being heard. Nevertheless, the public military life of Goodlet had begun.<sup>34</sup> That Goodlet's speech was not heard, but the effect of his leadership was seen by the display of the Glebe rifles, was a rather appropriate symbol of his public life. He was to prove himself in life as a man of action rather than words.

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<sup>28</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, October 14, 1860.

<sup>29</sup> *NSW Government Gazette* (December 4, 1860), 2380; *New South Wales Blue Book for the Year 1862*, 27.

<sup>30</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, December 18, 1860; the colours were five in number, of red silk, with the letters G.V.R. (Glebe Volunteer Rifles) embroidered upon them. *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, December 24, 1860. Goodlet himself provided the plumes for their hats. *The Illustrated Sydney News (Sydney, NSW)*, July 1, 1893.

<sup>31</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, December 20, 1860.

<sup>32</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, December 22, 1860.

<sup>33</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, December 22, 1860.

<sup>34</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, December 24, 1860.

For a period of time the recruitment of the volunteer force was strong and interest was high. With the passing of time, and the disappearance of the threat of war, interest in the volunteers began to wane and it appeared that for a second time the volunteer movement would expire. In order to prevent this happening the Government introduced the Volunteer Act of 1867 and the Land Order System came into operation. This system provided that the volunteers, on completion of five years of efficient service, would be rewarded with a grant of land. Before applying for the grant the volunteer had to obtain a certificate of efficiency from the commanding officer. Volunteers could be deemed 'non-efficient' if they had completed insufficient musketry exercises, failed inspections, not attended at inspection parades and there were breaks in continuity of their service.<sup>35</sup> As the Act prescribed and required a standard of efficiency and attendance on the part of volunteers, the activity of the volunteer movement once again revived. From the Government's point of view the Land Order System was designed not just to revive the volunteer movement, but also to give men a chance to obtain their own land and further the advancement of the country. Recruitment did improve as did the activity of the volunteer forces, but the Land Order System did not see many men settled on the land. Goodlet received a grant under this system in 1869, receiving 50 acres in Casino,<sup>36</sup> but many volunteers, after receiving their grant, promptly sold the land and so the system was abolished in 1878.

For a number of years there was no Regimental or Battalion Organisation. In 1868, the Sydney and Suburban Battalions were formed out of the various companies and the Suburban Battalion consisted of Glebe, Balmain, St. Leonards, Paddington, Surry Hills and South Sydney.<sup>37</sup> Of all the Captains of these companies it was Goodlet who was appointed to command the Suburban Battalion with the rank of Major in 1868.<sup>38</sup> This promotion and increase of responsibility initially attracted no remuneration, although he was provided with forage for a horse, but by 1872 he was being paid £100 per annum.<sup>39</sup> Goodlet was appointed a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Suburban Battalion on December 16, 1875<sup>40</sup> and in March 1878, he expressed the desire to

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<sup>35</sup> Burge. *The New South Wales Military Volunteer*, 7.

<sup>36</sup> Major John H. Goodlet of the Glebe Rifles who enrolled on September 28, 1860 was granted 50 acres at Casino. Parish Yulgilbar, County Drake, portion 8. Burge, *The New South Wales Military Volunteer Land Grants*, 10. What Goodlet did with this land is unknown.

<sup>37</sup> W.A. Longfield, 'Early Colonial Volunteering; reminiscences of Lieut. Colonel Longfield,' *Ashfield and District Historical Society Journal* 12, (1997): 39. Newtown and Pyrmont had been disbanded.

<sup>38</sup> *NSW Government Gazette* (May 1, 1868). The appointment was effective from April 30, 1868. *NSW Blue Book* (1870), 34.

<sup>39</sup> *NSW Blue Book*, (1871), 34.

<sup>40</sup> *NSW Government Gazette* (December 17, 1875), 4043.

retire from the military. The Colonel-Commandant persuaded him to remain,<sup>41</sup> however, and on November 4, 1878, John was made Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment Infantry. This seems to be little more than a name change, but all officers were now paid and Goodlet's position attracted a payment of £100 per annum.<sup>42</sup> He was appointed a Brevet-Colonel in 1886,<sup>43</sup> did not serve in the Sudan campaign, and retired as commanding officer of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment Volunteer Infantry in 1893 after 33 years of service.<sup>44</sup> Pressing claims of business had already caused him to retire from other positions and pursuits and he desired to retire from the Regiment in 1891, but a serious accident to Major WF Longfield, whom Goodlet hoped would take command, postponed his plans. In a display of loyalty to both the Regiment and Longfield, Goodlet waited another two years in the hope that Longfield would recover from his injuries. This did not happen and when Longfield retired from the Infantry so did Goodlet,<sup>45</sup> withdrawing from its command.

It would appear that Goodlet had good leadership skills and was well respected and even liked by his troops. His initial election as Captain was perhaps simply a popularity vote or an acknowledgement of his role in helping commence the Glebe Volunteers. He was 25 years of age and a quiet man, but he was over six feet tall and must have displayed some sense of authority which commended him to his fellow volunteers. His promotion from that point on, where he is the preferred choice for the command of the Battalion in 1868 and the Suburban Regiment in 1875, would have been more likely on the basis of merit. The report of the second annual dinner of the Ashfield Company, 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment Volunteer Infantry held in the drill Hall, Liverpool Road, is revealing:

After full justice had been done to a most excellent repast, and the usual loyal toasts honoured with due enthusiasm, Captain Mallarky proposed 'The Field Officers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment.' Their regimental motto was one that indicated that they were 'second to none' and he certainly thought that could be said with justice to their field officers. In Colonel Goodlet they had an officer who was certainly second to none (applause), indeed he stood in the first rank

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<sup>41</sup> *The Australian Town and Country Journal* (Sydney, NSW), March 9, 1878

<sup>42</sup> *NSW Blue Book* 1878, 40. Lt Col £100, Majors £50; Captains £40; 1<sup>st</sup> Lieut £30 and 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieut £25; Goodlet continued to be paid £100 throughout the remainder of his time of service.

<sup>43</sup> *NSW Government Gazette* (April 9, 1886), 2586, 2675.

<sup>44</sup> He was given the honorary rank of Colonel with permission to wear the uniform of the Regiment. *NSW Government Gazette* (July 14, 1893), 5441.

<sup>45</sup> Longfield retired with the rank of Lieut. Colonel in July 1893. Longfield, 'Early Colonial Volunteering,' 41.

amongst the New South Wales forces. As a man he was head and shoulders above all other men, and notwithstanding his high commercial position he was as humble as a child, and a man and an officer whom they all loved and respected.<sup>46</sup>

Even given that on such occasions a captain of the Company might give excessive praise to a superior officer, the words he chose were unusual. Of all the comments that might have been made, to describe a superior officer 'as humble as a child' was, on the occasion, an unusual thing to say of a military man and therefore the more striking. Goodlet was, in Mallarky's words, not just respected by all, but one 'whom they all loved and respected'. Others on the occasion who rose to praise Goodlet, described him as 'the best officer in New South Wales' while his ability was undoubted, reference is made to the fact that he gave the volunteer force standing. His high commercial and social position in the colony helped, for when the general public saw a gentleman like Colonel Goodlet with them they felt sure there must be something special about their Regiment.<sup>47</sup> In return, Goodlet's time in the volunteer infantry gave him a title with the right to be addressed as Colonel. Perhaps, for a man described as having child-like humility, this was of no real consequence to him, but his presence in the volunteers was a help in their gaining public respect and recognition.

Goodlet's attitude to the use of his military title of 'Colonel' is unknown. He did not, it would appear, dissuade people from using it outside the military context for if it were known that he disliked such a usage it would not have occurred as frequently as it did. From the limited non-military correspondence available in which Goodlet signs his name he did not personally use the title Colonel as he invariably simply signed, 'John H. Goodlet'. When he retired from the military and the newspaper wished to publish a picture of him in military uniform no such picture could be found and a civilian picture was published instead.<sup>48</sup> No photo of him in uniform at any rank has been found among those photos of him held in his family's collections. While Goodlet may well have had, and probably did have, a personal pride in the achievement of the rank of colonel he appears to have done little to promote the usage of this title. While the title was used of Goodlet increasingly over time, it is only from around the turn of the century that colonel becomes the usual designation attached to his name.

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<sup>46</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, April 18, 1891.

<sup>47</sup> Major Burnett in *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, April 18, 1891.

<sup>48</sup> *The Sydney Mail (Sydney, NSW)*, July 15, 1893.

Goodlet, it was said, had shown himself in eminent degree to be a true type of citizen soldier. He had displayed those characteristics that were prized in a good citizen soldier for he was a success in the business world and a devoted military man. For years he had carried on a large commercial business with honour and distinction, and whilst doing that, had found time to take a leading part in the defence of his country. There was genuine regret at his retirement in part because the military had lost from its ranks one whose commercial and social standing enhanced the reputation of the volunteers but also, as is shown by the almost unanimous subscription of his men to his memento, he was well regarded by his soldiers.<sup>49</sup> As Major General Hutton remarked in making a presentation to Goodlet, the great quality for success as a leader of men, whether as a commanding officer or a politician, was to be in sympathy with his followers. He could see that their old commanding officer had the sympathy of everyone present.

In his military career, Goodlet was well served by the prayers of the Glebe ladies for he was never required to command that a shot be fired at the enemy in defence of NSW. The fears of the 1860s, which caused the volunteers to be formed, never materialised. Goodlet did not go to the Sudan though some of his men did. On that occasion the practical Goodlet presented gifts to his departing officers such as field glasses and a metallic matchbox to the non-commissioned officers and men.<sup>50</sup> When his men returned from Sudan, Goodlet demonstrated his leadership skills and his understanding of his role as colonel of the regiment. He made use of the occasion to deal with a significant issue that had arisen since the men had left for Egypt. In the short time the troops had been away an enormous recruitment had taken place which was no doubt in response to the excitement generated by the formation of the contingent for the Sudan campaign. This recruitment meant that the size of the regiment had more than doubled to become an enlistment of 1,000 men. This was a pleasing trend for the volunteers, but it presented Goodlet, as colonel of the regiment, with the problem of melding so many recruits into the regiment in order to produce an efficient and effective body. Goodlet, therefore, used the occasion of the return of the volunteers to praise them and to point them to the responsibility that their prestige had bestowed upon them. He said to them that you

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<sup>49</sup> Lieutenant Col. Waddell in *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), December 30, 1893.

<sup>50</sup> *SMH*, March 3, 1885.

came back amongst us with a service prestige, and I trust you will remember that that carries responsibilities as well as honour. You will have great influence either for good or evil in your brother Volunteers, whose eyes will be ever upon you. I believe it will be for good, for I feel confident your ready obedience to all constituted authority will be such as to influence the whole regiment, so that its discipline may be an acknowledged fact ... therefore I appeal to you, as also to all the other members of the regiment, for a willing and ready support to all the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, so that we may get the regiment efficient as soon as possible.<sup>51</sup>

Goodlet had been retired from the Regiment for eight years when he farewelled his namesake, John Hay Goodlet Auld,<sup>52</sup> on his way to the Boer War. On this occasion he opined, on the basis of reports of the South African churches, that

England had not been free from mistakes, but that the war had been forced upon her and was a just fight on England's part. The Boers wanted a republic in South Africa, so that they could put the whole of the blacks under complete subjection and slavery of the worst type. The war would mean the permanent uplifting of these black people.<sup>53</sup>

Such a war for Goodlet, though a patriot and a loyal subject of the Sovereign, was not so much a defence of Britain and its interests as a question of justice and freedom for the native South Africans. Goodlet would have believed what he said even if the war did not achieve what he had hoped.

When Goodlet retired from the military in 1893, he was presented with a memento of his service by 'All Ranks of the NSW 2<sup>nd</sup> Volunteer Infantry Regiment'. [Photo page 176] It was a book of hand-painted scenes of things connected with his military career and on the front page of the book was an introductory collage of scenes interconnected by flags and flora which not only introduced what followed, but summarised Goodlet's voluntary military career as a citizen soldier. On the right are indications of Goodlet's Scottish character. He was born in Scotland and approximately one third of the total picture is occupied by Scottish motifs, the Lion

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<sup>51</sup> *The Illustrated Sydney News (Sydney, NSW)*, August 29, 1885.

<sup>52</sup> Auld was the son of the Rev John Auld, minister of Ashfield Presbyterian Church. The Aulds lived with the Goodlets for some time and John Hay Goodlet Auld was born in the Goodlet home.

<sup>53</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, February 24, 1900.

**John Hay Goodlet**  
Colonel of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Volunteer Infantry Regiment



**Front page from a Memento Booklet to John Hay Goodlet**  
on his retirement as Colonel from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Volunteer Infantry Regiment in 1893



The inscription reads:  
*VIR (Volunteer Infantry Regiment)*  
*Colonel JH Goodlet 2<sup>nd</sup> INF REG*  
*1883-1893*



The inscription reads:  
*NSWRA Company Challenge Bugle*  
*For the highest score in shooting*  
*among all volunteers*  
*Won by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment 1877*  
*Lieut Col Goodlet*

(The NSWRA was the New South Wales Rifle Association)

Rampant, and the Royal Coat of Arms combined with the floral decoration of a rather unattractive non-flowering Scottish thistle. More picturesque is the scene of a loch and an island which is designated 'In the Trossochs'. Its presence is an indication of the ancestral home of the Goodlets, who were probably a sept of the Clan Stirling who occupied these lands. The remaining two thirds of the scene are appropriately, as one strongly committed to the welfare and advancement of his adopted land, Australian in theme. Underneath the badge of the Second Volunteer Infantry, an infantry man stands at attention before a grove of gum trees and draped behind him is what appears to be the immensely popular NSW Ensign which was also known as the Australian Federal flag, a flag of the Federation movement of the 1890s. In contrast to the lifeless looking thistle is a colourful wattle interconnecting the Australian scenes. Included is a military portrait of Goodlet, the only known picture of Goodlet in uniform, and an expansive representation of his residence Canterbury House set in its extensive grounds. This presentation is an accurate summary of Goodlet for he was an immigrant Scot who made his home and life in Australia, prospered, and served his adopted country with distinction.

In summary, it may be said that Goodlet's involvement with the military as a citizen soldier bore a number of the characteristics that his involvement with other organisations displayed: leadership, service and sacrificial long-term commitment. In the military Goodlet displayed leadership that was recognised by his being awarded command and he remained in the volunteers, and committed to their cause, for almost 33 years. His military service was service not of a charitable cause, but that of the nation he had adopted and from which he had gained great wealth and to which he returned so much. Goodlet, as a citizen soldier, was seeking to serve the interests of the community just as he did through his presence on the various boards of community charitable organisations. That he obtained the distinction of high rank in the Volunteer Movement was recognition of his ability and dedication.

### **The Young Women's Christian Association**

The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) is one of the Goodlet philanthropic activities which is difficult to categorise in terms of the philanthropic spectrum. It was a self-conscious spiritual activity, but it sought to provide for the particular needs of a section of society. The needs were not acute like a lack of food or care in times of chronic sickness, but they were needs nevertheless. In this instance it was the need for safe and supportive accommodation in an unfamiliar environment. Through the YWCA, Ann Goodlet sought to build a community organisation which

provided such support for those girls just 'off the boat' from 'Home', those seeking employment or those looking for somewhere safe to stay in Sydney. This was not the first time that Ann had been involved in seeking to provide suitable accommodation for young women. In 1858 as Mrs Dickson, herself a former governess, she had agreed to be involved in raising funds to commence a 'Female Home' which was later to be called the 'Governesses and Servants Home' (GSH) so that it would not be confused with the SFRS.<sup>54</sup> One of the donors she approached was John Goodlet who donated a £1.<sup>55</sup>

The purpose of the GSH was

to provide a home for women out of employment, where they may be protected – where they may have subsistence at a reasonable price, and where facilities may be afforded them for obtaining engagements in their different callings.<sup>56</sup>

The 'Home' was both a safe refuge and an employment agency, and an educational facility, a formula Ann was later to reproduce in the formation of a 'Home' for young women under the auspices of the YWCA. She enthusiastically applied herself to the work of the GSH committee and soon became its treasurer. It was said of her at the first annual meeting of the society that

Mrs Dickson has kindly consented to undertake the duties of treasurer, and from the great interest she has evinced in the institution, as well as the regularity with which she has attend at the 'Home' her services in this capacity will proved a most valuable assistance to the society.<sup>57</sup>

Through the whole of her life Ann was a capable leader who gave considerable time to her charitable activities, but it also may be that at this time, with the death of her husband, such work was a welcome distraction. After her marriage to John Goodlet she chose to resign the position, but did not choose not to resign from the SFRS nor from her other committee work in which she was engaged. Her loss to the GSH was acutely felt as the society was

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<sup>54</sup> *SMH*, November 21, 1859; November 9, 1860.

<sup>55</sup> *SMH*, August 7, 1858.

<sup>56</sup> *SMH*, August 10, 1858.

<sup>57</sup> *SMH*, July 26, 1859.

deeply indebted to Mrs Goodlet for her indefatigable exertions in carrying out the duties of honorary treasurer during the past year, and it is with much regret that the committee have to announce the resignation of one whose disinterested services have been zealously devoted to the best interests of the institution.<sup>58</sup>

By the end of 1861, without Ann's 'indefatigable' efforts, the 'Home' was struggling to continue.<sup>59</sup> Godden says of the 'Home' that its primary aim was the production of servants and that the 'Home' was one of the purest manifestations of the use of philanthropic institutions to make available more and better trained servants.<sup>60</sup> While the organisation did facilitate a supply of servants such a judgment is too sweeping and ignores the fact that the organisations' own stated primary aim was to provide

respectable single females, of every degree, but more especially nursery governesses and female servants, when out of employment, with all the comforts of a well-ordered home at a most moderate cost'.<sup>61</sup>

It is difficult to believe, given the wide range of philanthropic interests over her lifetime, that Ann Goodlet, herself a former governess, was ever interested in the GSH for the primary purpose of producing a supply of trained servants either for herself or for her class. It is much more likely that Ann and women like her were involved for 'spiritual' and compassionate reasons. It is more probable that they saw such a ministry as meeting a need to provide accommodation for unemployed women that gave them, as it said in the annual report, 'all the security, protection and comfort of a well order home, with every facility for procuring from thence occupation suitable to their respective callings'.<sup>62</sup> The order of the words 'security, protection, comfort' and 'procuring', are indicative of the motives of the philanthropists for, as the order indicates, security and protection were their prime objectives.

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<sup>58</sup> *SMH*, November 9, 1860.

<sup>59</sup> The highly publicised suicide death of the Secretary of the Home, Mary Loftus, cannot have assisted the cause of the Home. *SMH*, December 13, 1861.

<sup>60</sup> Godden 'Philanthropy and the Women's Sphere,' 63.

<sup>61</sup> *SMH*, January 17, 1867.

<sup>62</sup> Sydney Home, *Annual Report*, 1874.

The provision of servants, in the case of the GSH, should be seen more as a way of funding the project for providing protection from moral danger than as being the reason for its existence. Funding was difficult for charities to obtain in order to pursue their charitable objectives. Then, as now, an appeal to the public was used. In the case of the GSH the subscriptions which allowed the subscriber to get servants from the home was a clever means of fundraising so that they were able to run the home and provide shelter for women in such need. Women like Ann were more likely to be much more interested in rescuing women from potential moral danger than they were in providing a service to their class or themselves through supplying servants.

This organisation was not a charity in the usual sense as the residents paid board and subscribers paid and gained the right to seek to employ some of the residents. It was the provision of civic service yet it was still charitable as many of the subscribers gave much more than the £1 per annum needed to gain employment privileges.<sup>63</sup> The GSH is more correctly understood as a residence with an employment agency function, for it served the interests of the residents in terms of shelter and employment opportunities as much as that of the potential employers. As the first report of the GSH said 'every member and inmate of the Home is an independent promoter of her own interest, as well as that of her fellow servants.'<sup>64</sup> The provision of servants was not the primary motivation for Ann who had herself, only some five years before, ceased to be a governess. Rather, her concern was the care of young women through the provision of suitable accommodation. That this was her concern is shown when she used this model, in other attempts over the next two decades, to provide shelter for young women, culminating in the formation of the YWCA.

Ann may have withdrawn from the ministry of the GSH, but she did not forget the experience. In April 1874, a letter was published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* calling for a Christian lady to emulate what had taken place in London and establish a 'Young Women's Christian Association'<sup>65</sup> and Ann, and several others, took up the challenge. In October 1875, the association was launched to 'improve the spiritual, moral, and social condition of young women', primarily through the 'provision of free rooms supplied with books and periodicals of suitable character, pens, paper etc' the

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<sup>63</sup> Godden 'Philanthropy and the Women's Sphere,' 63.

<sup>64</sup> Godden 'Philanthropy and the Women's Sphere,' 63.

<sup>65</sup> *SMH*, April 14, 1874.

rooms being open during the day 10am to 10pm in Bathurst Street.<sup>66</sup> Yet this organisation also soon failed<sup>67</sup> as it probably did not meet the real need for suitable and secure accommodation, being only a place to meet and not a place to live. When in leadership of the YWCA in the 1880s, Ann guided the development of such safe and secure accommodation in a Christian environment in a 'Home' which sought to provide the same sort of service as that of the GSH. The GSH and the first attempt to form a YWCA may have failed, but they provided Ann with the template and valuable lessons for success in the future work of the YWCA.

The YWCA was largely an activity of Ann and the role of John was quite minor, although he did give his assistance in its financial affairs. The YWCA had not just a social interest providing housing, but also had a deep and avowedly Christian component to it. Ann enthusiastically supported the aims of the YWCA, desiring an organisation that was non-denominational and yet distinctly Christian in its character and government. The aims and objects of the YWCA included, among other things, the 'promotion of the religious, moral, social, and intellectual welfare of young women by association on a Christian basis'; 'the rendering of all possible assistance to such young women as are strangers in the city, and directing them to suitable homes and useful employment wherever practicable', and 'the provision of cheap and respectable lodging for young women coming to town in search of employment, or changing their situations'. Ann was encouraging and supportive of such a self-consciously Christian orientation of the YWCA, and expressions of thanks to God for the progress of the work were characteristic of the time of Ann's presidency.<sup>68</sup>

Although Ann was not present at the foundation meeting of the YWCA, she was invited to join the founding group and to become the treasurer,<sup>69</sup> a request she refused,<sup>70</sup> but she joined the group and attended their second meeting on April 22, 1880. This was an active involvement that Ann maintained for over 20 years, right up until the time of her death in 1903. The minutes of the meetings record numerous initiatives and encouragements by Ann to expand and improve the work of the

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<sup>66</sup> *SMH*, October 7, 1875.

<sup>67</sup> *SMH*, June 21, 1882.

<sup>68</sup> 'This Committee in meeting for the last time in 1893 desire to place on record their deep sense of gratitude to God for His blessing and guidance so clearly given in answer to prayer during the latter half of the year and for the way in which He has so graciously and fully supplied all the needs of the YWCA and relieved them of their difficulties.' YWCA, *Minutes*, December 7, 1893.

<sup>69</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, March 25, 1880.

<sup>70</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, April 22, 1880.

YWCA. She encouraged the employment of a paid male collector to gain funds,<sup>71</sup> the expansion of their boarding capacity,<sup>72</sup> and the approaching of the Colonial Secretary to get permission to visit ships with the thought of ameliorating the condition of the immigrant women who were arriving in Sydney.<sup>73</sup> She proposed that the YWCA missionary go on board all Orient Steamers and visit the 3<sup>rd</sup> class passengers<sup>74</sup> and when Miss Fox, the paid secretary, did not have time to visit Darlinghurst Gaol she proposed that the members of the Committee visit. Her sister-in-law, Annie Charlotte Goodlet, undertook to take the monthly visit to the gaol and continued to do so for many years.<sup>75</sup> Ann and Lady Manning met with Sir Henry Parkes to ask if Government land could be made available for the YWCA<sup>76</sup> and she advocated that that branches of the YWCA should be opened in major towns. In order that this expansion might be facilitated, Ann arranged for a free pass for Miss Fox, as secretary of the YWCA, to travel on the railways.<sup>77</sup> Later, she was encouraging the YWCA to open more suburban branches.<sup>78</sup>

During the economic depression of the 1890s the YWCA, as with other charities, found that they faced a grave financial situation which threatened their existence. While the Goodlets were seeking to reduce their charitable expenditure Ann, who was often the most generous of the YWCA financial supporters, was reminding the committee of their personal responsibility to meet the existing debt of over £60 to the extent of about £3 to £10 each.<sup>79</sup> Ann's exhortations were persuasive for the 18 members of the committee agreed to do so, and the YWCA also sought successfully to reduce expenditure by leasing cheaper premises.<sup>80</sup>

At her death, a portrait of Ann was placed in the Library of the newly opened YWCA building that she had done so much to bring about. While the inscription on the portrait read, 'In loving memory of Mrs. J.H. Goodlet, First President of the YWCA Sydney 1880-1903', the inscription was in error for Ann was not the first president.

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<sup>71</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, February 23, 1882.

<sup>72</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, August 2, 1883.

<sup>73</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, March 23, 1886.

<sup>74</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, May 20, 1886.

<sup>75</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, May 6, 1886.

<sup>76</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, May 10, 1888.

<sup>77</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, October 4, 1888.

<sup>78</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, December 5, 1889.

<sup>79</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, May 18, 1893.

<sup>80</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, June 6, 1893. These were obtained at 49 Philip Street and possession was taken on June 12, 1893.

Initially, the YWCA structure did not have a president and the Treasurer presided at meetings, and it would be some time before the formal public organisation of YWCA was crystallised. The ladies requested the Bishop of Sydney to be president, but he suggested that a woman would be more appropriate, and that he would prefer to be appointed to the Board of Advice. Mrs Barry, the bishop's wife, was invited and accepted the position of first president in July 1884, serving until April 1885. She was replaced by Lady Stuart and one year later Ann became the third president of the YWCA on June 3, 1886, remaining so for 17 years until her death in 1903.

Ann and the other members of the Goodlet family were to have a significant impact on the organisation. Ann involved her sister-in-law Annie, who joined the group in March 1882 and served diligently for 23 years on the General Committee, the House Committee, and by visiting inmates in Darlinghurst Gaol. The Goodlet men were also involved on the Board of Advice with Alexander being involved from 1884 and John from 1888. Alexander acted as auditor and was often consulted on general commercial advice and practice. John was prominent among those seeking a new site for the YWCA building and both John and Ann were also by far the most generous and long-term contributors to the YWCA across this time. When Ann became ill in June 1897, she was granted leave of absence and when it became apparent to her that she could not return within that time she offered to resign. The ladies would not countenance such a thing and they altered the constitution to allow for the election of vice-presidents to carry out Mrs Goodlet's functions while Ann remained as a figurehead president until her death. The esteem in which she was held, and the debt to the guidance of her leadership (1886 to 1897), was to be seen at the laying of the foundation stone which Ann was too ill to attend. At the long-desired commencement of the YWCA building, after Lady Rawson had laid the foundation stone, the following resolution was carried, 'That this meeting sends its hearty congratulations to Mrs. J. H. Goodlet, the revered President of the YWCA that this stone-laying has occurred during her term of office.'

Some two months later Ann died and the YWCA noted, in fitting Christian language, that

the shadow of great loss has this year fallen upon the Association in the removal to the heavenly home in January of Mrs. JH Goodlet, who had from the beginning filled the office of President, and whose death caused great sorrow to those who had the honour and privilege of being her fellow-

labourers, and watching with her the growth of the Association's work in which she had ever taken the keenest interest.<sup>81</sup>

Tribute was also paid to her memory and her Christian influence on the direction and administration of the YWCA when the following resolution was placed on its minutes:

That this Committee wish to place on record their very deep regret at the loss sustained by the community, and especially by the YWCA in the death of Mrs. JH Goodlet, their beloved and revered President, who has held so large a place in their affectionate esteem, and their heartfelt sympathy with Colonel Goodlet in his sorrow. The Committee recognise with gratitude to God, her far-reaching Christian influence, her benevolence, her wise and tactful administration of the affairs of the Association, and her whole-hearted activity in its service during the twenty-three years she held the position of President, and they realise that the 'Well done, good and faithful servant' has indeed been earned by her whose removal from among them they so deeply mourn.<sup>82</sup>

During Ann's presidency the YWCA had grown from a group running a small boarding house to a significant organisation seeking to address both the temporal and spiritual issues affecting young women. Godden correctly identifies the YWCA as an autonomous women's organization and as such did not operate under the control of a male board of management.<sup>83</sup> Such independence was a recognition that there were some activities for which women were more suited and in such they operated in an autonomous women's sphere. That the YWCA was so was, in part, a result of Ann's urging for it was she who had proposed that the members of the YWCA should have a committee to manage their own business.<sup>84</sup>

### **Destitute Children**

For most of the nineteenth century, the use of asylums to house destitute children was the favoured method of dealing with the problems posed by such children, and the Randwick Destitute Children's Asylum was opened in 1852. The Goodlets were financially supportive of this charity, but also they were supportive of reform and

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<sup>81</sup> New South Wales Young Women's Christian Association and Institute Union, *Twenty Third Annual Report* (1902-03), 11-12.

<sup>82</sup> New South Wales Young Women's Christian Association and Institute Union, *Twenty Third Annual Report* (1902-03), 11-12.

<sup>83</sup> Godden, 'Philanthropy and the Women's Sphere,' 159.

<sup>84</sup> YWCA, *Minutes*, March 6, 1884.

Ann Goodlet was involved in administering a new approach to the care of destitute children through the State Children's Relief Board (SCRB). Her involvement helped to build a structure of child care and support that has lasted to the present day.

The formation of the SCRB came about through the initial agitation caused by the visit to the colony of the Hill Sisters<sup>85</sup> combined with the support of William Windeyer. Windeyer headed a Royal Commission on Public Charities and in its two reports of 1873 and 1874 he advocated a 'boarding-out' system in preference to the large orphanages of the day such as the Randwick Asylum for Destitute Children. Due to the unsettled political situation nothing was done until the arrival of the Rev James Jefferis and his wife at the Pitt Street Congregational Church who, together with the Windeyers and the Garrans, began to stir the issue in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. The Parkes government legislated and in 1881 the SCRB, funded by the government, was established.<sup>86</sup>

Dr Arthur Renwick, president of the SCRB, explained the initial concept of boarding-out:

Children of any age under twelve years are selected from all institutions wholly or in part subsidized by the State, and placed - or 'boarded-out' as the process is termed - with respectable families, who are paid a certain sum quarterly for their maintenance.<sup>87</sup>

The Board, however, moved beyond this approach and developed three styles of boarding-out, as initially the bulk of children were boarded out, or fostered, with families who had applied for them. Commencing in 1885, other children, seen by authorities as in need of a special style of care, were placed in smaller 'cottage style' institutions in Mittagong and Parramatta. Finally, in 1896, amendments were made to the SCRB Act enabling the payment of a small allowance, less than was paid to foster families, to 'deserving' widowed mothers in difficult circumstances in order to support the keeping of children at home.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Rosamond and Florence Hill were British social reformers who visited Australia from April 1873 to February 1874 and published a book on their observations entitled *What we saw in Australia* (London: Macmillan, 1875).

<sup>86</sup> Brian Dickey, *No Charity There. A Short History of Social Welfare in Australia* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1980), 83-4.

<sup>87</sup> State Children's Relief Board, *Annual Report* (1883), 'Report of the President', 86.

<sup>88</sup> Maree Murray, *Working Boarders: The Boarding Out Scheme in New South Wales, 1880-1920* (Wollongong: University of Wollongong Department of Economics Working Paper Series, 1999), 1.

The Board had been in operation for some six years before Ann Goodlet was appointed to it in 1887, but her appointment pointed to three things. These were firstly her acknowledged interest and expertise in public philanthropy, secondly her support for the ideal behind the formation of the SCRB, and lastly her connections with those who decided the appointments to such government boards.<sup>89</sup> That she should be appointed was not a great surprise since she was a woman of significant social capital in philanthropic circles. She was well-known to Renwick, its chairman, as she had worked with him in the BS, the DDBI, in conjunction with their Consumptive Home, and with his wife in the YWCA. Ann was also known to Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of NSW, not just through her charity work, but because of her husband's connections with the Free Trade movement and the Military. Moreover, she had a reputation as a person who had a record of sympathy towards the plight of poor children, the Goodlets having been strong and consistent financial supporters of the Destitute Children's Asylum from as early as 1860, support that continued until not long before the Randwick Asylum was finally closed in 1915. Those who appointed Ann would not have been disappointed as she gave herself conscientiously to the task and was very diligent in her attendance at meetings of the board attending some 76% of their meetings. In the period of the last two years of her appointment, when her health was beginning to decline, meeting frequency increased significantly and she reluctantly felt the need to relinquish her position.<sup>90</sup>

Her worth to the board was expressed when it said in a unanimous resolution that it

desires to place on record its recognition of the long-continued and valuable services, since April 13, 1887, by Mrs Goodlet as a member of the board. Her regular attendance at the meetings, her deep interest in the proceedings, and her practical sympathy with the work of the department in all its various branches are well known to the board. The occasion of Mrs. Goodlet's resignation - her state of health - is a source of deep regret. In accepting Mrs. Goodlet's resignation, the board desires to express its regret at the loss of her valuable services to the public and to the department.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> The State Children's Relief Act of 1881. She was appointed on April 13, 1887 and retired on July 20, 1898. *NSW Votes and Proceedings for 1899*, 5, 425.

<sup>90</sup> *SMH*, September 1, 1898.

<sup>91</sup> *SMH*, September 1, 1898.

The work of this board, to which Ann Goodlet attended with such diligence and sympathy, was to place children from government institutions in foster care. As part of this process lady visitors were recruited and appointed to regularly visit these foster care placements and to ensure that good standards were maintained. The members of the board visited the cottage homes to ensure that they were functioning in accord with the board's requirements. As part of its function the board decided on which applicants would be approved to be foster carers, and they also processed applications from families who sought the adoption of children.

In short, the task of the board was to empty the asylums of children. The Board's Act was clearly drafted by people intent on emptying the 'barracks' of children and to have them placed in family situations.<sup>92</sup> The provision of small cottage homes under a 'mother', and the payment of an allowance to widows in order to keep the family together, were innovations that were to change the nature of child services in NSW. Such reforms were not suggested by Ann. They were largely the policies of Renwick responding to and giving a lead to changing attitudes about children, but they were policies which Ann Goodlet was happy to support. Through her work on the board she helped to build a structure of child care and support that has lasted to the present day.

Philanthropy as civic engagement in order to build better community structures was a significant feature of the philanthropy of both John and Ann Goodlet. John gave himself to the service of the colony in helping to form and maintain a defense force to protect the colony. He did so with his customary dedication and with a long and humble commitment to the Volunteers. His leadership abilities were recognized as he rose from the rank of Captain to that of Brevet-Colonel. Ann devoted herself to the work of providing community support for young women, firstly through the attempts of the GSH and later, much more successfully, through the YWCA. She also was of sufficient standing in the eyes of the government to be invited to assist, through membership of the SCRB, in the change that had been implemented to deal with the issue of destitute children. Ann was supportive of not dealing with destitute children through institutional care, but through boarding out the children among members of the community. The legacy of the philanthropy of civic engagement by the Goodlets remains as the structures they helped put in place have continued to provide, to this day, for the perceived needs of the community.

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<sup>92</sup> Dickey, *No Charity There*, 84.



## CHAPTER 7 The Philanthropic Spectrum: *Reform*

Philanthropy as reform is that which seeks to solve social problems and the Goodlets did have an interest in the reform of society, more particularly John whose interest concerned the economy and society's attitude to issues concerning alcohol. Ann had very little public profile in such matters and her views are largely unknown, although what public comment she did make concerned issues that impacted young women. It was through John's public political interest that the Goodlets sought to use the political process as a way of contributing to society, but in this he was neither very successful nor very dedicated. As the Rev John Walker, a close friend of the Goodlets and perhaps, therefore, not the most objective of observers, said of Goodlet's political endeavours:

we take this opportunity of expressing amazement that the political party which Mr Goodlet has so long helped should not have honoured itself, by appointing Mr Goodlet to the Upper House.<sup>1</sup>

Walker was not alone in this view for WGJ Mann, a Barrister and Anglican layman, said, no doubt to promote Goodlet's chance of election to parliament, that

Mr Goodlet had always been a good citizen but a most retiring one, for he could have had a title or a seat in the Upper House long ago if he had chosen.<sup>2</sup>

Goodlet was not a man to seek favours and he abhorred self-promotion and unnecessary public notice. In such attitudes probably lay the answer as to why, despite his service, he did not seek political position separated from the ballot box. John also may have been passed over because, though interested in politics, he was not sufficiently interested to give it much of his attention and time, nor would he be one who would simply agree to a 'party line'. What was this political party which Goodlet had 'so long helped', and how had he helped it? It is one of the ironies of history that even though politics was a minor interest of Goodlet's, there are more direct sources on him expressing his political thought than on any other subject relating to him. Goodlet was a man of few words and despite his presidency and

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<sup>1</sup> Cutting from *The Woollahra Presbyterian Messenger (Sydney, NSW)*, July 1892-93, 168-9 to be found in *Goodlet file*, Ferguson Library.

<sup>2</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

chairmanship of many organisations there are few surviving addresses on any subject. His nomination for Parliament in the election of 1895, however, forced him to speak publicly in a way that allowed his views to be recorded. Yet even though Goodlet had political views, he devoted very little time to their propagation and they are far from his most important contribution to the colony of NSW. The three primary political interests of Goodlet were the Local Option, Free Trade and Federation.

### **Local Option**

The NSW Local Option League (NSWLOL) was an outcome of the influence of the temperance movement which began to be felt in the Colony as early as 1832, and which was about the same time as the movement began in the United States and Britain.<sup>3</sup> Calls were made for the establishment of a temperance society in NSW in order to abate the 'intolerable and evil influence of intemperance in the colony'<sup>4</sup> and such a society was established in October 1833. Its prospects were not thought to be very great, however, as 'the crop of drunkards is too plentiful, and grog too tempting to be easily forsaken for water.'<sup>5</sup>

Drink was seen by many as a significant problem in the nineteenth century colonial society and the impact of inebriation was certainly felt in families and in society in general. The problem, though significant, was no greater than in Britain for while the inhabitants of the Australian colonies were at times<sup>6</sup> heavy drinkers, compared to British standards in the nineteenth century they were rather abstemious. Regardless of whether the volume of alcoholic liquor or the quantity of proof spirit is used as a measure, they were drinking less. By the 1880s and 1890s the inhabitants of NSW were spending, on average, a little less than 9% of their total incomes on drink while people in Britain were spending 12-13%.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless the impact of drunkenness upon families and colonial society was significant and its effects were encountered by charity workers such as the Goodlets.

The issue of drink and inebriates was largely seen as a moral one and for several decades efforts were focused on securing temperance pledges, on mutual help, and

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<sup>3</sup> Ross Fitzgerald and Trevor L. Jordan, *Under the influence: A history of alcohol in Australia* (Sydney: HarperCollins ABC Books, 2009), 146-149.

<sup>4</sup> *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (Sydney, NSW), June 5, 1832.

<sup>5</sup> *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (Sydney, NSW), October 26, 1833.

<sup>6</sup> In NSW before the depression of 1840's and in Victoria and Western Australia during their gold rushes.

<sup>7</sup> Anthony Edward Dingle, 'The truly magnificent thirst: an historical survey of Australian drinking habits,' *Australian Historical Studies* 19:75, (1980): 243-4.

on persuasion. The view of Sir Alfred Stephen, Chief Justice of NSW, in his evidence to the 1854-5 Legislative Council Select *Committee enquiry on Intemperance* reflected the commonly held view when he said of drunkenness, 'I would deal with it as a crime ... because it is not a visitation of Providence but one self-inflicted'.<sup>8</sup>

The quest for tighter regulation on the liquor traffic was regarded by those concerned with the issue as highly desirable and in 1867 a 'Political Association for the Suppression of Intemperance' was formed in order to agitate for better regulation for

this meeting regards with profound grief the drunkenness which prevails throughout the colony, with the crime, disease; and premature death which result there from, and believing that such a state of things is greatly influenced by the facilities legalised for the supply of intoxicating liquor, resolves to use every legitimate means to produce such a change in the laws affecting the liquor traffic as is necessary to secure the social and sanitary well-being of the country.<sup>9</sup>

The temperance movement, however, exercised little appeal for most colonists before the 1870s and 1880s.<sup>10</sup> It was during this period, and among those who enthusiastically espoused the evangelical protestant faith, the ideal of a settled family life and suburban living, that the movement flourished. The churches were growing strongly and the temperance movement, with its calls for drink traffic regulation, grew with it. Regulation, however, was not the only approach that reformers took for there was an unsuccessful attempt to establish an Inebriate Asylum in the early 1870s.<sup>11</sup> This effort was strongly supported by Goodlet with his finance and his time. In the 1880s temperance advocates 'realised that the public house performed a crucial service in providing food, accommodation and recreation as well as alcohol, and if they were to attract clients away from the pub they had to

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<sup>8</sup> A. W. Martin, 'Drink and Deviance in Sydney: investigating intemperance 1854-5,' *Australian Historical Studies* 17:68, (1977): 351. For Stephen's views on temperance see J.M. Bennett, *Sir Alfred Stephen - Third Chief Justice of New South Wales 1844-1873* (Sydney: Federation Press, 2009), 414-418.

<sup>9</sup> *SMH*, March 27, 1867. This group was to become the NSW Alliance for the Suppression of Intemperance and seems to have ceased in around 1872. The Local Option League adopted a similar name in 1898.

<sup>10</sup> Dingle, 'The truly magnificent thirst,' 239.

<sup>11</sup> The Drunkards Reformatory Committee sought to set up an Inebriates Asylum. *SMH*, July 30, 1872; August 8, 1873. The initial chairman was the mover of the motion to set up NSW Alliance for the Suppression of Intemperance the Anglican Rev Thomas Johnson minister of St Barnabas Broadway. Goodlet gave funds to this project and was on the Committee for the Asylum's establishment. When the project failed the donated funds were given to the Sydney City Mission to employ missionaries who would in the course of their duties deal with many situations involving the inebriated. This transfer of funds to the Sydney City Mission to employ missionaries indicated the strong community view that the issue was largely a moral one.

provide alternative venues for such needs.<sup>12</sup> Some enterprising individuals and groups opened 'Coffee Palaces' or hotels such as the Grand Central Coffee Palace, Clarence Street which opened in 1889,<sup>13</sup> and they were intended as grandiose and profitable competitors to taverns, but it became clear that they were neither effective competition nor profitable.<sup>14</sup> In the 1880s and 1890s temperance activism became directed not only at mutual help and persuasion but also at political action.

The temperance measures that were pursued were fuelled by an underlying understanding of the problem. In the 1870s and 1880s, the views about inebriety were similar among doctors, philanthropists, clergy, and social reformers, for they regarded inebriety as being due to a combination of moral failure and poison.<sup>15</sup> Inebriety as a result of moral weakness needed correction before it degenerated into an incurable disease. For those without brain damage the best solution was rest and reform within an asylum. In such views there was no specific role for the medical practitioner other than restoring the physical health of the inebriate. The vital process of moral reform, however, could be administered by philanthropists and clergy. As one correspondent said 'the main point lies in Christian treatment by truly spiritual officials, who have 'power with God and with men' and 'prevail'. Medical treatment, and all other treatment, must proceed in connexion with this.'<sup>16</sup>

Late in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, within the medical profession both in Australia and overseas, the notion of predisposition gained a hold and this provided a basis for belief in the efficacy of medical intervention. Doctors believed they could intervene to offset an heredity disposition and cure inebriety. The favoured approaches were the use of antitoxins to counter the physical effects of alcohol and/or hypnosis to remedy the psychic craving for the alcohol.<sup>17</sup> These 'developments in medical theory clarified the medical perception of drunkenness and led to a growing division between doctors and philanthropic reformers over the treatments prescribed for inebriates.'<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Fitzgerald and Jordan, *Under the influence*, 173.

<sup>13</sup> *SMH*, August 5, 1889.

<sup>14</sup> Robin Room, 'The Long reaction against the wowser: the prehistory of alcohol regulation,' *Australian Health Sociology Review* 19, 2, (2010 ):154.

<sup>15</sup> Stephen Garton, 'Once a Drunkard Always a Drunkard': Social Reform and the Problem of 'Habitual Drunkenness' in Australia 1880-1914,' *Labour History* 53, (Nov 1987): 48.

<sup>16</sup> *SMH*, March 16, 1874.

<sup>17</sup> Garton, 'Once a Drunkard,' 48.

<sup>18</sup> Garton, 'Once a Drunkard,' 46.

While the medical profession was moving away from the moral cause discourse towards a medical discourse, temperance advocates like FB Boyce, Anglican minister at St Paul's in Redfern and philanthropists like John Goodlet, President of the Temperance Alliance from 1882-1888,<sup>19</sup> continued to pursue the older moral reform remedies and sought to curb the availability of alcohol. Such campaigners argued that drink was a sin which could only be combated by two measures 'moral suasion and Legislative enactment'.<sup>20</sup> Boyce campaigned for the legislative reform in order to restrict the supply of alcohol and was for this purpose a founding member, along with Goodlet, of the NSWLOL.

In 1883, Goodlet chaired the inaugural meeting of the NSWLOL in the Protestant Hall and became its first president.<sup>21</sup> The object of the meeting was to form an alliance of abstainers and non-abstainers for the 'promotion of progressive legislation re: the liquor traffic'.<sup>22</sup> There were indications that the Government was contemplating changes in the Licensing Act and the Rev Dr Robert Steel considered that if 'all temperance organisations would unite along with non-abstainers, the people's voice would be obeyed at Macquarie Street'.<sup>23</sup> Such a view showed a faith in local democracy which ran counter to the growing power of the lobbies and the parties and was fuelled, in part, by a faith in the strength of a lingering Christian vision among 'the people'. Such progressive legislation as envisaged by the NSWLOL involved the granting of the 'Local Option' which entailed giving the local community the option of the support of the granting, renewal, transfer or the closure of licensed premises by a vote of the rate payers in municipal wards. The formation of such a league brought together sections of the fragmented temperance movement. It involved the Sons of Temperance, the Blue Ribbon Army, the Good Templars both English and American orders, the Rechabites, the Church of England Temperance Society, The NSW Alliance, The Salvation Army, the various societies attached to the Congregational, Wesleyan and Presbyterian Churches and abstainers and non-abstainers alike unconnected with any society.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Gar Dillon, *A Delusion of the Australian Culture: A Brief History of the Clash with Alcohol in New South Wales 1788-1983* (Sydney: NSW Temperance Alliance, 1985), 6.

<sup>20</sup> Garton, 'Once a Drunkard,' 49; see also Francis Bertie Boyce, *The drink problem in Australia, or, The plagues of alcohol and the remedies* (London: National Temperance League Publication Depot, 1893), 98-109.

<sup>21</sup> The date of formation was January 29, 1883.

<sup>22</sup> *SMH*, January 30, 1883.

<sup>23</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), February 3, 1883.

<sup>24</sup> *The NSW Independent* (Sydney, NSW), August 15, 1883.

In the first six months of its operation the NSWLOL managed to successfully lobby the parliament to maintain Sunday closing. It was determined to pursue the granting of the full Local Option as the current Liquor licensing law only allowed a partial Local Option and as such did not allow a vote on renewing existing liquor licenses. As Goodlet said, 'We should be thankful – and we are thankful for the portion of the Local Option we have. But we desire to have more ... we desire to have the principle applied to the renewal of licences as well as to the original granting of the licences.'<sup>25</sup>

Goodlet's interest in the Local Option was primarily an outworking of his support of the temperance movement and he involved himself at a colonial, local and church level. Goodlet was moderate in his temperance views and temperance for him meant neither teetotalism nor prohibition, but the restriction of the liquor traffic with compensation provided to the publicans who were deprived of their livelihood. In May 1884, as President of the NSWLOL, he addressed a meeting estimated at between 5,000 to 6,000 people, which marked the closing of the Richard T Booth Mission. Here he expressed his views which were contrary to those of Booth the rally's main speaker. Booth, a reformed drunkard and Blue Ribbon Army advocate, was a temperance zealot who sought the abolition of the liquor trade with no compensation for the publicans because he said their trade was morally wrong.<sup>26</sup>

In May 1888, in order to mark the Centenary of British settlement in Australia, celebrations were held and an Inter-colonial Centennial Temperance Congress, under the auspices of the various temperance organisations, was organised in Sydney. The Congress was to be held over four days and was to be convened in the Temperance Hall under the presidencies of Sir Alfred Stephen, His Honour Mr Justice Foster, the Venerable Archdeacon Gunther, the Reverend John Auld and John H. Goodlet.<sup>27</sup> Goodlet's prominence in the temperance movement was shown by the fact that he chaired the first day of the conference.<sup>28</sup> The Goodlets were also involved in the movement at the local level where Goodlet was a vice president<sup>29</sup> of the Ashfield Presbyterian Temperance Society and his wife, sister-in-law and Miss Forbes, his future second wife, were all members of the Committee.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *SMH*, May 20, 1884.

<sup>26</sup> *SMH*, May 20, 1884.

<sup>27</sup> It commenced on May 14, 1888. *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), May 12, 1888.

<sup>28</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), May 19, 1888.

<sup>29</sup> *The Advertiser* (Ashfield, NSW), November 2, 1889.

<sup>30</sup> *The Advertiser* (Ashfield, NSW), November 2, 1889.

Yet this appears to be the only involvement of Ann in the temperance movement and this involvement was a very local and quite minor commitment. She was not a member of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) which was formed in NSW in August 21, 1882.<sup>31</sup> When the WCTU in 1885, in conjunction with the YWCA and the Women's Prayer Union, supported the gospel temperance mission of Mary Clement Leavitt, a member of the WCTU of America, the Goodlets are not recorded as being involved in any of the meetings.<sup>32</sup> In 1886, the YWCA received an invitation from the Local Option League inviting the Association to a conference. Ann expressed the view that the YWCA in attending such a conference would send the wrong message about the aims of the YWCA, and that the Local Option League was not part of the work of the Association. Subsequently, individual members who had gone to the conference confirmed the view that it would be undesirable for the Association to join in this work.<sup>33</sup>

While Ann was president of the YWCA it did not involve itself directly in the temperance movement and preferred to concentrate on other issues which impacted young women, such as lobbying the government for an increase of the age of consent to 18 years.<sup>34</sup> Unusually for Ann she wrote a letter to the newspaper, as President of the YWCA, on the issue of the age of consent. She had used the occasion of the remarks of the Chief Justice, Sir Alfred Stephen and Mr Justice Henry Cohen on a case before them which they regarded as 'shocking'.<sup>35</sup> So appalled were the judges that it caused them to comment on the need for the government to raise the age of consent from 16 to 18 as it was in England. As the judge said, such a law was needed for 'if that were the law here this man could be prosecuted, and he might be in gaol, where he ought now to be'.<sup>36</sup> Ann's letter supported the judge's comments pointing out that all who worked among young women were agreed on this point. There is evident frustration in her letter at the intransigence of the legislature and at their refusal to enact 'the greatly desired alteration' that had been 'urged again and again upon the authorities by deputation, but unsuccessfully.'<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> *SMH*, March 28, 1932.

<sup>32</sup> *SMH*, August 11, 1885. These meetings were not without their critics. *The Brisbane Courier (Brisbane, Qld)*, September 1, 1885.

<sup>33</sup> YWCA, *Minutes* September, 2 1886.

<sup>34</sup> At the 7<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Local Option League in 1890 the YWCA is described as an affiliated organisation but the YWCA does not appear to have given any active support to the movement at this time. *SMH*, January 21, 1890. On the age of consent campaign see *SMH*, March 27, 1896; May 5, 1898.

<sup>35</sup> *SMH*, April 27, 1898.

<sup>36</sup> *SMH*, April 27, 1898.

<sup>37</sup> *SMH*, May 5, 1898.

John Goodlet involved himself in debates on the issue of temperance at the GANSW, though he never sought to be appointed to the Church's Temperance Committee. Goodlet, though supportive of the Church's stand on temperance and its promotion of the Local Option, was critical of its stance on compensation. Consistently, the Assembly Committee on Temperance had advocated, and the Assembly had supported the view that, should a Local Option vote be such as to remove a license then the publican should receive no compensation for this suspension of his livelihood. Just as consistently, such a view was opposed by Goodlet. He argued that a lack of compensation was unjust and there was precedent for compensation as, 'England was glad to get rid of the slave trade by paying compensation to slave owners.'<sup>38</sup> This reference to the work of Wilberforce perhaps indicates something about the source of Goodlet's inspiration in seeking to express his philanthropy as reform and endeavouring to secure a more Christian society.

What is certain is that the lack of compensation offended Goodlet's sense of fairness. While he was genuinely a full Local Optionist he thought that justice demanded compensation. Goodlet was a businessman and he knew that publicans had made an investment in order to conduct their business. If they were to be deprived of their livelihood they ought to receive some small compensation. He said his view on compensation was also based on good economics for while the reduction of the supply of alcohol would reduce government revenues, such reduction would be more than balanced out by a greatly diminished government expenditure. A reduction in the supply of alcohol would lower the incidence of crime and thereby the need for gaols, police and judges would be reduced. There would also be health benefits in the community for many colonists would reduce alcohol intake, enjoy better health and be more productive, and this would in turn reduce the need for subsidised immigration to bolster the workforce.<sup>39</sup>

Goodlet was of the view that if the temperance bodies would consent to a time compensation and be moderate in their demands they would accomplish their object, but they would never do so as long as their demands were excessive.<sup>40</sup> Prohibition and total abstinence were never public options in Goodlet's mind, for he understood in a way that other churchmen and reformers did not, that the working man would not accept such views.

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<sup>38</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, March 17, 1894.

<sup>39</sup> *SMH*, May 20, 1884.

<sup>40</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

Goodlet's views on the Local Option were thus a mixture of pragmatism and principle and they placed him in a curious position when he stood for election to the seat of Ashfield in the NSW Legislative Assembly in 1895. Thomas Bavister, his opponent, was the trade unionist who had been secretary of the Bricklayers Union and was standing as an independent Labor candidate who supported the Local Option without compensation.<sup>41</sup> As a Wesleyan, Bavister's view was more in line with the views of the Christian community, and his stance had the curious effect of making Goodlet the candidate supported by the publicans. The publicans in their political advertising, unknown to Goodlet, supported his candidacy regarding him as the lesser of two evils. This support probably cost Goodlet votes and it was considered by FB Boyce as part of the reason that he was not elected.<sup>42</sup> Goodlet, however, did receive the support of the Ashfield Temperance Political Council and the Central Committee of the NSW Local Option League.<sup>43</sup> He had taken a different line on compensation to the NSWLOL and, as a letter to the local Ashfield newspaper pointed out, such support seemed strange

as the league had selected Mr Goodlet, who declared for time compensation, and who is the advertised publicans' candidate, while Mr Bavister, who is a total abstainer, and who had always given a straight vote against the liquor traffic, is passed over.<sup>44</sup>

If voters supported Bavister over Goodlet on the issue of compensation then they were misled. It would appear that when the matter came to a vote in parliament Bavister, despite his election pledges, voted the way Goodlet would have voted if he had been elected. In 1897, one elector complained that Bavister did not keep his commitments to the Local Option League and the I.O.G.T.<sup>45</sup> in that he voted for time compensation:

Mr Bavister was pledged to vote for a bill to 'prohibit the traffic,' and he did not vote at all. He was pledged against compensation, and he voted for it.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Bede Nairn, 'Bavister, Thomas (1850 - 1923),' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol 7, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1979), 216-217; *SMH*, January 4, 1923; January 5, 1923.

<sup>42</sup> *SMH*, August 8, 1895.

<sup>43</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>44</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>45</sup> Independent Order of Good Templars.

<sup>46</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, October 16, 1897.

At the time of the 1895 election, local editorials were glowing in their coverage of Goodlet's character, and one correspondent protested that such praise

seems to imply that, judged from that standpoint he is superior to Mr. Bavister; but without reflecting in any way on Mr. Goodlet, the assumption is unwarrantable. It is true that the latter's wealth has enabled him to exercise his benevolent instincts more profusely and publicly, but let us remember that the greatest teacher of ethics the world has known chose the donor of the smallest coin in circulation, as the most perfect example of charity, in preference to others whose means enabled them to give more munificently.<sup>47</sup>

While the point was worth weighing, with Goodlet his word was his bond, not a trait for which successful politicians (then or now) have been known, whereas it would appear that Bavister was more ambivalent in keeping his undertakings.

### **Free Trade and Federation**

The two other issues of reform that interested Goodlet were Free Trade and Federation. Revenue was a prime concern for colonial governments and was raised by export taxes, import taxes, and land sales, leases and taxes. NSW with large steady flows of land revenues<sup>48</sup> was able to favour lower tariff rates which were largely revenue raising rather than protective,<sup>49</sup> and was in favour of free trade which reduced the cost of imported goods, but gave less protection to local industry against cheap overseas imports. In contrast to this attitude was a 'Protectionist' movement which sought to protect local industry against competition from other colonies and countries by the maintenance and introduction of tariffs on imported goods. Those who coalesced around the banners of Free Trade and Protectionism were a disparate collection of individuals with a range of views on the various associated issues.<sup>50</sup> The protectionist party tended to have a strong country flavour, united in its desire to preserve the duties which protected agriculture, but it also included many land holders who were also anxious to prevent direct taxation while

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<sup>47</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>48</sup> Jonathan Pincus, 'Evolution and Political Economy of Australian Trade Policies,' in *Australia's Trade Policies* edited by Richard Pomfret (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1995), 57.

<sup>49</sup> Gordon D. Patterson, *The Tariff in the Australian Colonies 1856-1900* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1968), 101.

<sup>50</sup> A.W. Martin, 'Free Trade and protectionist parties in New South Wales,' *Australian Historical Studies* 6:23: 315-323; David Clune and Gareth Griffith, *Decision and Deliberation, The Parliament of New South Wales 1856-2003* (Sydney: Federation Press, 2006), 24.

the free trade party tended to be city-based with mercantile interests.<sup>51</sup> The issue of revenue-raising through direct taxation which spread the burden among rich and poor alike, rather than through the indirect taxation of customs duties, began to gain prominence among the Labour Party and some Free Traders.<sup>52</sup> George Reid, the incumbent Premier, skilfully exploited the issue of taxation, protectionism and free trade portraying the 1895 election as a 'contest between rich and poor, democracy and privilege' and easily won this election.<sup>53</sup> Goodlet, though painted by Reid as one of the rich, was essentially a progressive Free Trader as he advocated 'a program of free trade, direct taxation and reformist legislation.'<sup>54</sup> Goodlet regarded himself, in contrast he thought to Reid, as a 'reasonable' free trader.

At a meeting of the council of the Free Trade and Liberal Association on February 24, 1891, Goodlet was in the chair and the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

that in order to [further] the efficient future working of the Free Trade and Liberal Association this council deems it necessary to affirm that in all proposals respecting a federal constitution the principles of free trade should, as far as NSW is concerned, be carefully considered and facilities afforded for their true and complete development.<sup>55</sup>

This view was also that of Goodlet, as Federation and Free Trade went hand in hand for him.

In the 1891 election Goodlet, as chairman of the Free Trade and Federation Committee, was called upon to help decide which of several candidates who supported Free Trade and Federation ought to stand for Canterbury in the NSW Parliament.<sup>56</sup> By 1895, however, Goodlet had decided that he could no longer afford to remain in the background of the colony's politics and he offered himself as a candidate for the Ashfield electorate.<sup>57</sup> Goodlet's supporters, drawn at this initial

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<sup>51</sup> Martin, 'Free Trade and protectionist parties in New South Wales,' 318.

<sup>52</sup> Martin, 'Free Trade and protectionist parties in New South Wales,' 319.

<sup>53</sup> Clune and Griffith, *Decision and Deliberation*, 27.

<sup>54</sup> P. Loveday, A. Martin and P. Weller, 'New South Wales,' in *The Emergence of the Australian Party System*, edited by P. Loveday, A. Martin and R. Parker, 33 (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1977).

<sup>55</sup> *The Telegraph* (Sydney, NSW), February 25, 1891.

<sup>56</sup> *The Advertiser* (Ashfield, NSW), Special Parliamentary Edition, June 16, 1891.

<sup>57</sup> *The Presbyterian* (Sydney, NSW), July 13, 1895.

stage mostly from the Ashfield Presbyterian Church, formed a committee to see him elected. They consisted of Dr Marden, Principal of PLC as Chairman; Alderman WG Crane, a fellow Elder at the Ashfield Presbyterian Church; and Messrs JA Aitken, Law Agent of the Presbyterian Church and Elder at Ashfield, and J Graham Nixon, who was involved with Goodlet in the YMCA as joint honorary secretaries. But much more influential support was forthcoming for Goodlet.

A large requisition was signed by all classes of politicians, protectionists, freetraders, income taxers, Upper House reformers, local optionists, woman's suffragers, and all sorts and conditions of people to request Sir Henry Parkes to stand for the electorate. Believing that the chances of the seat being a certainty for Mr Goodlet, the ex-member of St. Leonards retired in his favour, saying of Goodlet

your excellent fellow-citizen Mr. J.H. Goodlet, is a candidate as an advocate for federation and freetrade and in opposition to the Government nominee. Mr. Goodlet is known to all as a man who has given his time, his services, and a liberal share of his wealth to alleviate the distress and suffering of his less fortunate fellow-men; and he is a citizen of whom all good men must be proud - more valuable to a country than gold or silver. On no consideration can I place myself in opposition to Mr. Goodlet.<sup>58</sup>

Sir Henry expressed his willingness to come to Ashfield and speak in support of Goodlet's candidature if desired, and he wrote letters to several of his friends in Ashfield 'bearing graceful testimony to the high qualifications' possessed by Mr Goodlet.<sup>59</sup>

Why did Goodlet choose to seek public office at this time? He had been asked to stand before, but had declined as he did not have the time to spare.<sup>60</sup> It was in the midst of the economic depression and he had relinquished a number of offices in order to concentrate on his business interests. In 1891, he resigned his long-held position as Superintendent of the Ashfield Sunday School and in 1893, after 33 years of service, he retired from the command of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment of the Volunteers. *Goodlet and Smith*, in common with many other companies, was facing very tough

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<sup>58</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 13, 1895.

<sup>59</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 13, 1895.

<sup>60</sup> *SMH*, July 13, 1895.

economic conditions and had posted significant losses for the last three financial years. The current year was about to be the worst they were to face.

Goodlet's account of his entry into the political race implies that he saw the current circumstances that faced the colony of NSW as a crisis, and that the election would have an influence, extending over many years, on the future welfare of NSW. At short notice he had decided to stand, having announced his candidature on the 13<sup>th</sup> for a poll on the 24<sup>th</sup> of July. He was spurred into action by the announced intentions of the Reid government:

a month ago he had no idea of coming forward, but when he saw the revolutionary programme of Mr. Reid he thought it behoved everyone to make a sacrifice and wither retard or stop his reckless proposals. If they were adopted the country would suffer immensely. Times were bad enough now, but they would be infinitely worse if such proposals were carried. This colony was still in its infancy and had a great future before it.<sup>61</sup>

Goodlet's motivations were essentially, according to him, for the good of the colony and that good required him to oppose the uncertain policies of Reid on Federation, Free Trade and Upper House reform. He was, however, also of the view that the prosperity of NSW would be his prosperity and his best interest lay in whatever was in the best interests of the nation, 'the interests of which were identical to his own.'<sup>62</sup> His decision to stand for Parliament was an intersection of civic responsibility and personal economic preservation. The key issue of the election for Goodlet was Federation for in his view the successful consummation of that union would produce the necessary economic stimulus to bring NSW out of its depression. It would produce a single Australia-wide market and customs union within Australia with Free Trade between States and a common external tariff.<sup>63</sup>

I place Federation of the Australian Colonies as the most important of the questions which are now before the electors of New South Wales. Towards the attainment of this object I shall devote myself, and will support no Government which will not make this one of the chief-if not the chief-item of their policy. I am convinced that if we could attain Federation an impetus

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<sup>61</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>62</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>63</sup> Pincus, 'Evolution and Political Economy of Australian Trade Policies,' 58.

would be given to trade, manufacture, and business, and the present depressed times and unsettled state of feeling would speedily pass away.<sup>64</sup>

Goodlet was critical of Reid on the Federation issue claiming that he had 'made great blow, but has done absolutely nothing. Federation was wanted and wanted at once'.<sup>65</sup> This was hardly fair to Reid and does not reflect what Reid had done nor the difficulties he had faced. At the Conference of Premiers in Hobart January 1895, Reid had carried a proposal 'recognizing Federation as the great question of the day and proposing a popularly elected Convention to prepare a draft Federal Constitution Bill for public discussion and referendum vote in each Colony'.<sup>66</sup> While he had not yet put this legislation to the NSW Parliament he would do so by the end of the year, and in this action was only a few days behind South Australia in being the first colony to do so.<sup>67</sup> Reid would go on to be instrumental in giving the federated colonies a constitution. He would be greatly criticised for his slowness and caution by many who, like Goodlet, did not appreciate Reid's astute insights into what would be best for the new nation. Crisp's verdict on Reid's contribution is appropriate for he says, 'It is to Reid in particular that Australia owes the more democratic, and also in some ways the more truly national and more viable, Constitution of 1900'.<sup>68</sup> It is fortunate for Australia that Reid's slow and deliberative process won the day on the Federation issue rather than that of the enthusiasts who certainly would have rested content with a lesser outcome.<sup>69</sup>

For Goodlet, as for many, Federation seemed to be the solution to the difficult economic times they faced so that it was for them the primary issue and the financial reforms being pursued by Reid for NSW were secondary and an unnecessary obstacle in the movement for nation unity. Goodlet's view was that there should be a 'leaving the question as to Free trade or Protection to be fought out in the Federal Parliament by the united people of Australia'.<sup>70</sup> Reid differed in that while Federation was an important issue, the NSW fiscal policy involving Free Trade, Taxation and Local Government reform needed to be attended to as a priority and 'that access to New

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<sup>64</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>65</sup> *SMH*, July 19, 1895.

<sup>66</sup> Finlay Leslie Crisp, *Federation Fathers* (Melbourne: Melbourne University, 1990), 12.

<sup>67</sup> The South Australian enabling legislation was given assent on December 20, 1895 and the NSW legislation three days later.

<sup>68</sup> Crisp, *Federation Fathers*, 21.

<sup>69</sup> Crisp, *Federation Fathers*, 21.

<sup>70</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

South Wales markets which his policy offered was, above all, an earnest of the 'spirit of brotherhood and affection' without which no federation would be possible.<sup>71</sup>

On the issue of Free Trade Goodlet differentiated himself from the Reid Government in that he would not support their approach, but would in parliament support the principle of 'reasonable' Free Trade:

I am an Independent Freetrader, and believe in Customs Duties for revenue purposes only; but so strongly do I feel that the constant tinkering with the Tariff, and the uncertainty caused thereby, is absolutely fatal to a settled state of trade, that I should not favour interference with the present duties, but do support Federation.<sup>72</sup>

Goodlet was extremely critical of Reid's attitude to Free Trade for Reid had, in Goodlet's mind, given his own party away to the Labor League in return for their support. He had sold out the whole free trade party<sup>73</sup> and such a criticism had the added spice that Bavister, his local opponent, was a Labor man. In Goodlet's estimation Reid was a theoretical and extreme free trader, 'one not in touch with the mercantile and trading community, and ignorant of how his views would affect the community.'<sup>74</sup> Goodlet supported tariffs for revenue-raising, but opposed their use for protectionist purposes. Because of the difficult times which the colony now faced this was not, he said, the time to implement such radical changes in tariffs as Reid proposed. Reid sought their abolition and would, when returned to office, remove all ad valorem duties on December 31, 1895, and then the bulk of specific duties were to cease six months later.<sup>75</sup>

The rejection of Reid's Land and Income Tax Assessment Bill by the Legislative Council had let Reid go to an election even though there had been an election only 12 months prior. The opposition of the council meant that Reid made the council's reform part of his re-election platform. While Goodlet was opposed to the abolition of the Upper House he was not opposed to its reform, and agreed with Reid that it

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<sup>71</sup> McMinn, *George Reid* (Melbourne: Melbourne University, 1989), 108.

<sup>72</sup> *The Advertiser* (Ashfield, NSW), July 20, 1895.

<sup>73</sup> *The Advertiser* (Ashfield, NSW), July 20, 1895.

<sup>74</sup> *SMH*, July 13, 1895.

<sup>75</sup> Gordon D. Patterson, *The Tariff in the Australian Colonies 1856-1900* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1968), 151. An 'ad valorem' tax (Latin for 'according to value') is a tax based on the value of an item. A specific duty, is a tax based on the quantity of an item, such as pence per super feet of timber, regardless of value or price.

needed a 'radical reformation'.<sup>76</sup> Goodlet did not think, however, that the proposals of the Reid Government were the right approach:

I am of the opinion that the Upper House must be reformed to bring it more in touch with the views of the people. To have an Upper House which would be incapable of exercising any control over legislation, and be under the thumb of any Premier who happened for the time being to have a majority in the other House, would to my thinking, be highly undesirable. For this reason I am opposed to Mr. Reid's proposal in its entirety.<sup>77</sup>

In his autobiography Reid says that

The changes we proposed, shortly described, abolished life tenure, limited the number of Councillors to 60, one-fifth to retire annually, and substituted a term of five years. Appropriation Bills were neither to be amended nor rejected. If not returned to the Assembly within one month they could, on resolution, be presented by the Speaker for the Royal Assent. Other Money Bills could be amended, but not rejected, by the Council. If amended, the Assembly was given power finally to determine the shape of the Bill. If not returned within one month such Bills could also, on motion, be presented for the Royal Assent. Ordinary Bills, if rejected in two consecutive sessions, could be submitted to the electors.<sup>78</sup>

Much in what Reid proposed Goodlet could support, but what Reid does not mention is that which was an important issue for Goodlet namely, who carries out the appointment of the dozen to be appointed each year. Goodlet pointed out that Reid had often complained of the actions of Parkes and Dibbs in regard to the Upper House, but in Goodlet's view Reid's proposals were much worse. For under these proposals if Reid (or any other) were in power for any length of time then the Upper House would, within a five year period, be filled with his appointments. Should Reid then lose government he would still for some time be able to maintain control of the Upper House and no-one other than Reid could get legislation through it. Reid's proposed reforms would require, according to Goodlet, the Legislative Council 'to be on their good behaviour as far as the wishes of the Government of the day were

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<sup>76</sup> *SMH*, July 22, 1895.

<sup>77</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>78</sup> George Houstoun Reid, *My Reminiscences* (London: Cassell, 1917), 119.

concerned.<sup>79</sup> This would result in a lowering of the quality of those who sat in the Legislative Council, for men of self-respect could not sit in such a House as they would be brought immediately under the patronage of the Ministry of the day.<sup>80</sup> Any reform should make the Upper House an elected house and the electors should be placed in the position to dictate to the Upper House and not the Government.<sup>81</sup>

Given the context of the times, Reid had little hope of implementing his reforms and it is unlikely, though he wanted curbs on the Upper House's power, that he seriously meant these proposals. 'They were a political weapon, and a very effective one: by winning the election with them included in the issues would place the Council in a hopeless position to resist him on the vital question, direct taxation.'<sup>82</sup> Such political guile as was necessary to deal with complexities of NSW government was foreign to Goodlet.

As someone supported by the local government Alderman, WG Crane, Goodlet espoused a strong and important role for local government being in favour of

a Local Government Bill giving powers to shires and municipalities to rate the land for making of bridges and roads and maintenance thereof. The money raised in the different shires would be locally spent for the benefit of the shires or municipalities. This would relieve the Central Government of a great deal of labour and the great outlay it now has to provide for the construction and maintenance of roads, bridges, etc.<sup>83</sup>

Goodlet was scathing about the recent action of Reid in connection with the Local Government Bill. After a political lifetime of its advocacy, Reid had dropped the bill because of the action of the Labor Party, which wanted to introduce a principle that was altogether foreign to municipal Government. Goodlet hoped that the bill would be introduced again as soon as Parliament assembled, as he thoroughly and

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<sup>79</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>80</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>81</sup> Goodlet thought that the colony should be apportioned into large constituencies, and that the Legislative Council should have its powers defined. There were many bills which the Legislative Council should have the power to amend that it had not the power to do so now. He regarded the system of simply negating bills as depriving the Legislative Council of the opportunity to express their opinions, and hence the people were in the dark. If the Councils were permitted to amend certain bills, any such amendments need not be accepted by the Assembly, and then the decision of the colony might, if necessary, be asked for. *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>82</sup> McMinn, *George Reid*, 112.

<sup>83</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

conscientiously believed in Local Government. Under such a system Goodlet believed the landowners of the country should pay their fair share to the taxation of the colony. It was manifestly unfair that the city and suburbs should pay for all the roads and bridges in the country districts and a proper system of Local Government would alter this state of things. He was in favour of a moderate Land Tax, without exemption for the purposes of local government.<sup>84</sup>

Yet his criticism of Reid on the issue of local government was harsh and did not take into account the difficult situation in which the Reid government found itself. The presence of Labor was a fact of parliamentary life and Reid's government could not continue without its support. Reid was 'not prepared to be a Labor puppet, but he was realist enough to see that Labor was a factor in politics which could neither be ignored nor eliminated and that its support would be invaluable in the wide areas of policy which they had in common.'<sup>85</sup> According to Reid,<sup>86</sup> who largely agreed with Goodlet's views on local government, he had dropped the Local Government Bill only after the Labor member JC Watson managed to get inserted into it, at the last moment, the provision for the abolition of the system of plural voting for property owners and give a vote to each occupier. Such a provision was far in advance of other colonies and Reid judged that it would never get through the Upper House and when the Opposition, seeing an opportunity to disrupt the Government's plans for direct taxation combined with the Labor Party to reaffirm the provision, Reid withdrew the bill. Inside the Parliament Reid had to deal with the realities of the political situation while Goodlet, an amateur armchair politician who was now seeking election, could afford to be idealistic. One wonders how a man of such firm principle whose word was his bond, would have fared if he were elected and whether he would have been sufficiently flexible in his views to achieve any significant political advances and reform.

Goodlet also favoured an income tax with a £200 exemption, asserting that Reid's proposal of an exemption level of £300 was designed to exempt politicians.<sup>87</sup> He was strongly in favour of a 'City' Railway for passengers as he had been involved on the original committee appointed to secure this.<sup>88</sup> He believed that in the management

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<sup>84</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>85</sup> McMinn, *George Reid*, 74.

<sup>86</sup> McMinn, *George Reid*, 106; Reid, *My Reminiscences*, 193-5.

<sup>87</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 13, 1895; July 20, 1895.

<sup>88</sup> Goodlet was made a City Railway Commissioner on the March 19, 1890 and the Commission ceased on the September 19, 1891, NSW Blue Book (1891), 56.

of State affairs judicious economy should be exercised, and that he would seek to prevent extravagant or unnecessary expenditure.

Goodlet took the high moral ground in refusing to sign any pledges as to how he would vote; if elected the electorate would just need to trust his character:

He had been in Sydney for 40 years, had come here penniless and had worked himself up to his present position, and, during the whole of his business career, his word had never been impugned. If any elector would not take his word now he did not want his vote. He would sign a pledge for no man. (Loud applause) <sup>89</sup>

Reid criticised Goodlet for this position, describing him as a 'dark horse' for no-one knew how far he would side with the government.<sup>90</sup> Reid understood, as Goodlet perhaps did not, that Goodlet's stance was becoming increasingly problematical in the political circumstances which prevailed in NSW. In 1891, the Labor Party had a significant representation elected and since then, and almost certainly Reid knew after the current election, any government needed to take considerable notice of their views as they would probably hold the balance of power. Reid's chances of success in government would depend on keeping a significant portion of the labour members in support of his government. Since Labour's election, 'platform, pledge, caucusing and outside control all mattered intensely',<sup>91</sup> and Reid needed the supporters of Free Trade who were to be elected to be solidly behind the government. Goodlet's high-minded position as an independent Free Trader was impractical and unrealistic in the current parliamentary climate, and reflected a view of the parliament of a previous time before the emergence of 'parties' in the late 1880s.

Reid sought to counter Goodlet's appeal by painting him both as run by the protectionists and as only being interested in election because Reid's proposals would touch his pocket. Unfairly, but in conformity with Reid's re-election strategy, he portrayed Goodlet as one of the wealthy who were seeking to secure their own personal interests and were opposing his government because 'his Government had

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<sup>89</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>90</sup> *SMH*, July 24, 1895.

<sup>91</sup> Dickey, *Politics in New South Wales 1856-1900*, 153.

determined that some of the burdens of the country should be paid out of the big purses instead of the small ones.<sup>92</sup>

Probably with more justification, Reid claimed that had he, 'left cement on the tariff Colonel Goodlet would not have been filled with an ardent desire to leave his fireside for the irregular hours of Macquarie-street'.<sup>93</sup> Goodlet had good reason to be concerned for he had only just commenced production of cement<sup>94</sup> and the duty which had been present for 24 years was, under Reid's proposals, to be lifted. *Goodlet and Smith* had made commercial decisions on the basis of a continuing tariff and had invested a good deal of capital to commence production. Goodlet consistently claimed he was prepared to pay a fair duty and was supportive of duty for revenue raising even though duty on things like timber was to his personal disadvantage. As a Free Trader he said he was opposed to duty for all other purposes. In consistency with such a position he should not have opposed Reid's proposal to remove the duty on cement. His argument was, however, that at the present time, in view of the economic difficulties, tariffs should not be tinkered with. But the reality was that this duty was protectionist and *Goodlet and Smith* could not produce cement profitably without it being in place.

When the duty on cement was eventually lifted in June 1896, *Goodlet and Smith* had to cease production. These events reluctantly caused Goodlet to change his mind on protectionism, as least as far as cement was concerned. He realised that he could not compete with overseas competition for it cost one shilling per cask to transport cement from the UK as ballast, whereas it cost him six pence per cask simply to transport it by train from Granville to Sydney. Free Trade, which he had spent a life time advocating, was destroying his cement business.<sup>95</sup> In words with a biblical ring about them, Goodlet was reported as saying

he was a freetrader once, but his eyes had been opened. He could tell them free-trade was not going to build them up. The adoption of free-trade meant that wages must come down. If goods were permitted to come into the colony duty free they could not be manufactured here and allow the employers to

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<sup>92</sup> *SMH*, July 24, 1895.

<sup>93</sup> *SMH*, July 17, 1895.

<sup>94</sup> Rock Brand Cement went on sale June 21, 1895. *SMH*, June 21, 1895.

<sup>95</sup> *SMH*, April 16, 1896; April 17, 1896.

pay their workmen good wages.<sup>96</sup>

As one newspaper reported, Goodlet had been 'converted' to protectionism.<sup>97</sup> Somewhat triumphantly Reid noted that a mere two months after *Goodlet and Smith* had closed its cement works with 'melodramatic suddenness' that it was now in operation again. He said that at the time of the closure he had been 'perfectly sure it would only be for a short time.'<sup>98</sup> Reid had said that local industries were like young dogs: the only way to teach them to swim was to throw them into the water.<sup>99</sup> Reid believed that the 'cement pup' had done just that, yet Goodlet was right in terms of the economics of cement production for the pup continued to struggle. *Goodlet and Smith* was never able to make this part of its business profitable without a tariff or even with a tariff. In the year of Goodlet's death, *Goodlet and Smith* was still arguing that it could not make a reasonable profit without a tariff,<sup>100</sup> and the truth of the company's claims was demonstrated in 1919 when *Goodlet and Smith* ceased manufacturing cement altogether.<sup>101</sup>

Goodlet was a strong and formidable candidate. Bavister obviously thought so, as he enlisted not just the Premier, the Hon George Reid, but also the Hon JH Caruthers and Hon WR Campbell to campaign on his behalf.<sup>102</sup> Reid was a big bonus as an experienced politician, and as the incumbent premier he knew how to handle with humour the unruly crowd that his position sometimes attracted. When he came to speak in support of Bavister

the usual rowdy element was present, and rotten eggs and tomatoes were flying. When struck by one of these missiles, Mr. Reid looked at the crowd in the street, and in his usual drawling voice exercised his ready repartee with the words 'I don't mind you throwing your eggs and tomatoes, but don't you begin to throw any of Mr. Goodlet's cement or any of Mr. Crane's lead at me.' Mr. Goodlet of course was a partner in the firm of Goodlet and Smith, which dealt in tiles, cement, and other building requirements, and Mr. Crane, his

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<sup>96</sup> *The Adelaide Advertiser (Adelaide, SA)*, March 27, 1896.

<sup>97</sup> *The Clarence and Richmond Examiner (Grafton, NSW)*, March 31, 1896.

<sup>98</sup> *SMH*, August 28, 1896.

<sup>99</sup> McMinn, George Reid, 123.

<sup>100</sup> *SMH*, August 1, 1914.

<sup>101</sup> Goodlet and Smith, *Annual Report* (1919).

<sup>102</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

chief supporter, was a member of the firm of Crane and Sons, one of whose commodities was lead.<sup>103</sup>

Bavister positioned himself as a supporter of the Reid Government and as the genuine Free Trade candidate endorsed by Free Trade and Liberal Council, whereas Goodlet was an independent Free Trader. On the local option Bavister portrayed himself as the friend of Temperance and Goodlet as the candidate supported by the Brewers and License-holders.<sup>104</sup> At some stage in the short campaign someone asserted that Goodlet 'had ground down his employees' wages'.<sup>105</sup> Goodlet indignantly refuted the claim:

If he had been in the habit of grinding down wages, his employees would not have remained with him. During the present year he had followed to the grave three of his employees, whose continued service with him totalled 102 years, or an average of 34 years each. (Loud applause) Many more had been with him over a quarter of a century. One of them came to him as a lad, and was now foreman of a department. He had been with him for 37 years. (Cheers) This didn't look like grinding down wages. If he had done that they wouldn't have stayed. (Immense applause)<sup>106</sup>

Others put pen to paper to support Goodlet, one such calling himself 'A Worker', perhaps conscious that Goodlet was a capitalist brick maker and his opponent was a worker brick layer. He wrote to encourage fellow workers who may have been tempted to support a Labor candidate to vote for Goodlet:

I trust that all workers will decide to vote for Mr. Goodlet. It is surely time that differences of creed, party, and classes were dropped, and the good of all sought by the election of a good man from our midst, who is not extreme in his views and whose virtues are known to us. In Mr. Goodlet these virtues are pre-eminently found, therefore I intend to support him, and I trust others will do likewise.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> *The NSW Presbyterian (Sydney, NSW)*, September 9, 1949.

<sup>104</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 13, 1895.

<sup>105</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>106</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>107</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

Bavister put far more effort into the campaign than Goodlet, beginning sooner and marshalling support. He spoke seven times to assembled groups, whereas Goodlet spoke only three times and did not avail himself of Parkes' support nor that of anyone else. Goodlet seems to have had the support of the local paper, but it was published only twice during the short campaign and he had the support of letters that were sent to the paper extolling his virtues.<sup>108</sup>

Bavister was not above being critical of Goodlet and sought to distinguish himself and his positions from those of Goodlet. Goodlet never once mentioned Bavister nor his views, but contented himself to criticise Reid and his policies. Reputation and standing, however, were not sufficient to gain the seat for Goodlet and he lost to Bavister by a margin of 165 votes. Goodlet was gracious in defeat and at the declaration of the poll:

Mr. Goodlet, whose appearance was the signal for a great ovation, thanked the electors who had recorded their votes in his favour. His only interest was in the progress of the country, and he trusted that the colony would yet prosper, and the affairs be guided by wise counsels. (Cheers)<sup>109</sup>

In standing for Parliament, Goodlet had done so as an act of citizenship. His attempted entry into politics was largely motivated by what he regarded as the need of the times. Such an attitude was not entirely altruistic, however, as Goodlet saw his business interests and the best interests of the colony as intimately connected. He never sought office again and with the improvement of the economy and the achievement of Federation, he saw no need to do so.

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<sup>108</sup> 'Mr. Goodlet comes forward as a freetrader and a federationist, and his candidature has been hailed with great satisfaction by a large section of the community. It would probably be difficult to find another man in New South Wales who would be a greater honour to the parliament of his country than Mr. Goodlet. His life has been one unbroken career of unsullied generosity, and his innumerable good deeds, his far reaching benevolence, and his patriotism have rendered his name familiar to every household. Therefore he would be an honour to any constituency.' *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 13, 1895 'I trust you will give me an opportunity in your valuable journal to state publicly my reasons for choosing Mr. Goodlet as my candidate. In the first place I looked at his virtues in a negative sense, viz., he is not a blatant orator, or an upstart, or a self-seeker, or a man that we know nothing of, or an oppressor of the poor, or an extremist, or a faddist, or a man depending on Parliamentary screw, or a man that could be led by the nose by any leader, or a man who wishes ('Houston') Reid knighted. Then, Sir, I sought for positive reasons why the voters of Ashfield should support him and I find that he is one of the men this country had been languishing for, he is one of our best citizens, a man that fears 'God,' a man that holds his substance as a steward for the good of others, a man who will not sign pledges, but whose word is better than some others men's bond, a man who has 'labored' for the good of the community at large, a man that is moderate, just, and true. Will the 'electors' of Ashfield reject him? I 'trow' not. I am, yours truly, Mark Smith.' *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

<sup>109</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 27, 1895.

## Influences upon Goodlet's economic and social views

The early nineteenth century in Britain saw the rise of evangelicalism and its influence on social, economic and political thought. It is of interest to consider how such thought may have influenced John Goodlet. Hilton, in his work *Age of Atonement*, seeks to determine which aspects of the ideology of nineteenth century British individualism, involving the doctrines of self-help, laissez-faire, and Free Trade, can be attributed to the evangelical ethos.<sup>110</sup> There existed among evangelicals what is termed 'providentialism', the belief that 'all human affairs are regulated directly or indirectly by divine agency for human good'.<sup>111</sup> A difference of opinion existed, however, as to the matter of regulation whether by a 'general operation of providence through divinely ordained natural laws, to a belief in miraculous 'special' visitations to punish or correct individuals or nations.'<sup>112</sup> These views were linked to different eschatologies (pre-millenarian and post-millenarian)<sup>113</sup> which led to different social theories and attitudes to events and economic policy.<sup>114</sup> Those of

an interventionist view of providence, (predominately pre-millenarian) who saw God as constantly directing earthly affairs by special warnings and judgments, also believed that governments on earth should take an intervention approach to social and economic problems.<sup>115</sup>

On the other hand, those who had a 'neutral conception of providence (predominately post-millenarian) ... wished to make society operate as closely to 'nature' as possible' so 'governments should interfere with men's lives as little as possible so that men can exercise self-help'.<sup>116</sup> Hilton points out that

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<sup>110</sup> Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement. The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1875-1865*, 7.

<sup>111</sup> Peter Gray, 'Potatoes and Providence': British Government Responses to the Great Famine'. *The Old Limerick Journal*, 85, reprint of *Bullán An Irish Studies Journal*, 1, 1, Spring 1994.

<sup>112</sup> Peter Gray, 'Potatoes and Providence' 85.

<sup>113</sup> Eschatology refers to the end of the world and the literal and physical return of Christ to the earth to inaugurate a thousand year reign of Godliness. Pre-millenarians believe Christ's return will take place before the millennium and conditions will deteriorate and sin will increase until his return. Post-millenarians believe Christ will return after a thousand year period of improving world conditions.

<sup>114</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 14-15.

<sup>115</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 16.

<sup>116</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 16.

since pre-millennialists hold that improvement can only take place after the Second Coming, which itself must be preceded by chaos and deterioration, there is no incentive (and some disincentive) to set about repairs. Post-millennialists, on the other hand, see the need as well as the possibility of building towards the New Jerusalem by human agency, and therefore take a more interventionist approach towards social problems. Yet in the early nineteenth century these roles seem to have been reversed for it was the post-millenarian moderates who wished to leave economic relationships alone, and the pre-millenarians ... who called for paternalistic intervention.<sup>117</sup>

This paradox is resolved when it is understood that 'improvement' was generally envisaged in moral rather than material terms, and that

the post-millenarian moderates, however callous their economic attitudes may appear to modern eyes were actually more paternalist in this other sense of wishing to control the morals of the nations. Indeed they supported laissez-faire economic and social policies precisely because these would best nurture individual morality. God runs the material world on laissez-faire lines, ... he doesn't often meddle in his own mechanism, and so man should not meddle either. On the other hand the moral world does require man's intervention - hence the numerous Bible and Missionary Societies they sponsored.<sup>118</sup>

The post millenarians agreed their rivals were paternalists and despised them for it and believed that their 'Bible Societies and the like were devices of impotent but presumptuous men, attempting to do the Almighty's work for him, and so to no avail'.<sup>119</sup>

One of those deeply interested in ideas of Christian political economy was Thomas Chalmers whom Hilton describes as the 'second most influential Scotsman of his generation'.<sup>120</sup> Through their University posts Chalmers and others had a 'profound influence on the upper echelons of a society saturated in the ideas of evangelical

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<sup>117</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 16-17.

<sup>118</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 17.

<sup>119</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 17.

<sup>120</sup> Thomas Chalmers (1780 – 1847) Scottish minister, Professor and Free Church leader. See Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 55-70, 79-89 for an outline of his place in nineteenth century social thought. For a brief outline of his ecclesiastical career see J. H.S Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 316-328.

Protestantism'<sup>121</sup> in both England and Scotland. Chalmers was an 'out-and-out Free Trader'<sup>122</sup> and was a strong critic of the 'Poor Laws', seeking to demonstrate that even the poorest communities, if sufficiently 'godly', could be self-supporting without resorting to institutionalized philanthropy. His views on voluntary parochial contributions, and basing relief on the work of the church, were rendered unworkable by the events of the 1843 Disruption which rent the church in Scotland.<sup>123</sup>

How much did Goodlet reflect the views of Chalmers on political economy and, if he did, were these views motivated by the theoretical underpinnings which undergirded Chalmers' teaching? Goodlet was a boy of 12 when Chalmers died in 1847 and though no direct connection with Goodlet and the works of Chalmers is known, the Goodlets were of the Free Church persuasion and Chalmers was a revered figure in those circles. It is reasonable to assume that, at the very least, John would have been aware of some of Chalmers' views.

A book given to John by his sister Jane on his departure to the colony of Victoria in 1852 was inscribed 'John Hay Goodlet with sincere & affectionate prayers for his spiritual and temporal prosperity'.<sup>124</sup> The book was written to young men to encourage the view that 'success in life mainly depends with every man on his industry, perseverance, and moral rectitude' and makes the point that 'wealth in the hands of a good man is the great instrument of benevolence, philanthropy, and generous Christian zeal'.<sup>125</sup> The work contains many examples of godly men enjoying business success and through these examples advocates self-help, discipline, perseverance, integrity, benevolence and moral rectitude and has, in its prescription for success, several long quotations from Chalmers concerning the need for the young man of business to have spiritual life and integrity.

Later in life Goodlet received from Robert Rainy a copy of his book on the Church of Scotland. Goodlet appears to have carefully read and marked the text and one passage in particular, written about Chalmers, is singled out by him:

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<sup>121</sup> Peter Gray, 'Potatoes and Providence', 85.

<sup>122</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 66.

<sup>123</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 58, 63.

<sup>124</sup> Anon, *Success in life: A Book for Young Men* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1852). It is held in the Ferguson Library, Sydney,

<sup>125</sup> Anon, *Success in life: A Book for Young Men*. iii-iv.

in Dr. Chalmers' case, as in many another, a glow of earnest sentiment and high enthusiasm gathered around the great ideas of the Divine power and omnipresence. They were true thoughts, and worthy to be realised with such a glow of feeling; and this perception of truth he ascribed to the Author of all good gifts. But it was his deliberate and most assured judgment that this kind of religion, in his own case, was the religion of one who had not returned to God, who had not bowed to God's will, who had never realised his own relation to God, who was not at peace with God. It was his deliberate judgment that this religion had not made him a man of God, and that by and by it proved every way a failure. And that completeness of delighted sentiment, that thorough entrancement in the great thought he spoke of, was possible, just because the feeling never touched the real question between God and him, never revealed to him his true self nor the true God. A change came. The great question of sin arose in its simple reality, the question of salvation. The revelation came of a Saviour, of an atonement, of grace, of the divine, omnipotent love that saves the lost, of holiness that thrilled his heart with a sorrow and a longing he had never known before. Thenceforth he lived in a new world.<sup>126</sup>

It would appear that where Goodlet was interested in Chalmers was in Chalmers' religious views and experience. It was this that engaged Goodlet rather than any views on political economy that Chalmers may have held.

Chalmers' formula of 'mitigating distress by the simple expedient of compelling pauperized city populations to stand on their own feet'<sup>127</sup> no doubt would have harmonized to some degree with Goodlet's own self-help progress in the colony of NSW. It is also true that the Scottish-educated Goodlet was in his time in the colony of NSW an evangelical and was for a large part of his commercial life, like Chalmers, an advocate for Free Trade. He was also a moral and welfare paternalist in his participation in various moral and charitable activities. Goodlet was a strong supporter of Bible and Missionary Societies and did not seek to greatly involve himself in any significant way, apart from his support of Free Trade, in economic issues that particularly concerned Chalmers. His attitude to the idea of Poor Laws is not known but in any case they did not operate within the colonies which had as its

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<sup>126</sup> Robert Rainy, *Three Lectures on the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Maclaren, 1872), 62. The Rev Robert Rainy, (1826 – 1906) was the Principal of the Free Church College, Edinburgh and a leader of the Free Church.

<sup>127</sup> Owen, *English Philanthropy*, 225.

approach to relief, which Goodlet supported, a combination of private and government funded philanthropy. His millennial views are not known and his position on 'providentialism' is similarly unknown. He certainly was, by his actions of coming to the colonies at 17 years of age and building a significant commercial enterprise, an advocate of the self-help philosophy.

Many of the values which Goodlet reflected such as Free Trade, Bible and Missions support, self-help, moral and welfare paternalism, were those advocated by Chalmers and those like him. There is, however, no evidence that Goodlet had read Chalmers or was directly influenced by him. Those things which reflected Chalmers' values were most probably generic views imbibed in Goodlet's Scottish upbringing and/or accepted by him in his adult life in the colony of NSW.

It would be surprising if Goodlet, who in spiritual matters seemed to be a pragmatist, was particularly ideological in his views on other issues and it is his views on the economic issue of Free Trade about which most is known. For Goodlet it would seem the issue of Free Trade was essentially a practical matter and not driven by any ideological underpinning. As a businessman and manufacturer he believed that Free Trade delivered to the community and to his pursuits a better return for effort, allowing for a wider and cheaper access to colonial and other markets. That this was his principal reason for being a Free Trade supporter is shown by his later 'conversion' to protectionism. When he realised that Free Trade was destroying his cement business Goodlet changed his view on the issue. He had come to the conclusion that his cement business was dependent on the protectionism of the tariff and to save his business he advocated a limited form of protectionism. Goodlet was never an 'out-and-out Free Trader' like Chalmers and was, even in his own words, a moderate Free Trader which was in reality a protectionist view.

While Goodlet did not continue to pursue political office he did continue his association with the temperance movement and was a supporter of its general aims to restrict the availability of alcohol. Why was Goodlet a keen supporter of this movement? It has been observed that the temperance movement was the first movement in colonial politics to mobilise the interest of women because it deeply and directly affected them. As Fitzgerald and Jordan note:

in working class families especially, men's drinking was often a source of women's anger. If men spent their wages on drink, the wife and children often

went without food, clothing and other basic needs. Also, alcoholic drinking quite often led to violence, much of which was directed at wives. Before the day of equal pay, women could not support their children on their own so were totally dependent on their husbands' earning and spending. A husband's alcohol abuse too often meant a wife's desperate suffering in a situation from which she could not escape.<sup>128</sup>

These observations of the effect of alcohol on the lives of women give a sufficient reason for the involvement of women in the temperance cause. As Fitzgerald and Jordan conclude:

this explains why the campaign to restrict hotels was the first political movement in Australia to involve large numbers of women and, indeed the first instance of women uniting to effect legal reform and assert their rights.<sup>129</sup>

One might also see in this the reason why philanthropists such as the Goodlets, albeit primarily John, were involved in the temperance movement. While they may not have personally experienced the adverse effects of alcohol in their families, nevertheless, as philanthropists who took a 'hands on' approach to charity, they saw the great toll that alcohol took in their work within the charities such as the BS, the SFRS and the SCM. That which motivated the involvement of women was also, in part, their motivation.

Reflecting upon the Goodlets involvement in philanthropy as reform it may be observed that this was not a great emphasis with either Ann or John. They were socially conservative and reflected a view of philanthropy that sought to alleviate and assist rather than to seek great changes in the structure of their society.

In regard to women like Ann, Godden observes that

Sydney women who were involved in autonomous women's philanthropic organizations tended to be attracted to issues of women's rights. Many therefore supported women's suffrage. Many also, particularly evangelicals,

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<sup>128</sup> Fitzgerald and Jordan, *Under the Influence*, 162.

<sup>129</sup> Fitzgerald and Jordan, *Under the Influence*, 162.

hoped for a purification of society through mass conversion and /or temperance.<sup>130</sup>

Ann was involved in what Godden deems 'autonomous women's philanthropic organisations' such as the YWCA and the PWMU,<sup>131</sup> of which she was president, and as the leading personality and worker in the SFRS and DDBI which were effectively autonomous female run organisations,<sup>132</sup> and yet Ann showed no attraction in her activities towards the issues of women's rights or women's suffrage. As a Christian, she certainly would have hoped for the purification of society through mass conversion. Ann is, however, better characterised as one of the group who

supported limited measures of state intervention ... their solutions to poverty and distress were strictly solutions which improved whilst it preserved the current order; none of the Sydney women philanthropists envisaged or supported a radical re-distribution of wealth or power.<sup>133</sup>

Godden is right to observe that the likelihood of women being moved from their philanthropic actions to radical action diminished with age. Those involved in philanthropy were generally 'middle aged to old and were not likely candidates for drastic upheavals in social and political philosophy'.<sup>134</sup>

By the time the issues of women's suffrage became prominent and organisations such as the WCTU (1887) and Australian Women's Suffrage Society (1889) were formed Ann was in her mid-sixties and had about a further ten years of good health remaining. She was heavily committed to their personal charity, the Consumptive Home as well as absorbed in the work of the YWCA, PWMU, BS, DDBI and SFRS. Given her age and her commitments it is hardly surprising, even if she were of a mind to do so, that she did not involve herself in such issues. When the YWCA was approached to send a representative to attend a meeting of delegates to discuss the holding of a great public demonstration in favour of women's suffrage, they refused

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<sup>130</sup> Judith Godden, 'British models and colonial experience': Women's philanthropy in late nineteenth century Sydney,' *Journal of Australian Studies* 10:19, 50.

<sup>131</sup> Ann was the president during the time that Godden regards the PWMU (Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union) as a women's organisation operating relatively independently in the women's sphere before it later became a more subordinate organisation with a broader role. Judith Godden, 'Containment and control: presbyterian women and the missionary impulse in New South Wales, 1891-1914,' *Women's History Review* 6:1, 89.

<sup>132</sup> Godden, 'British models and colonial experience,' 46.

<sup>133</sup> Godden, 'British models and colonial experience,' 50.

<sup>134</sup> Godden, 'British models and colonial experience,' 53.

to do so. The committee 'unanimously decided that as an association we could not identify ourselves with any political movement.'<sup>135</sup>

Ann showed little interest in philanthropy as reform and John's philanthropy as reform centred around the issues of Temperance, Free Trade and Federation. His attitudes to temperance were moderate as he did not advocate total abstinence and he supported the Local Option, but did so with the view that compensation needed to be given to publicans. Such a position, which was contrary to that of his own church and the general Christian public, was a reflection of his fairness. He appreciated that the publican was a businessman who had made an investment and if he was to be deprived of his livelihood justice demanded that he be compensated for the deprivation. In 1894, due to his opposition to the policies of George Reid and his concern for the colony, John stood for parliament and advocated a moderate Free Trade position together with strong support for Federation. His lack of success was hardly surprising as he did not put much effort into the attempt to enter parliament and he did not appear to appreciate the complexities that Reid faced in seeking to govern the colony. Eventually, due to the difficulties caused for his cement business through the removal of the cement tariff, Goodlet realised that some form of protectionism was of value and he abandoned his long-held free trade views.

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<sup>135</sup>YWCA, *Minutes*, August 6, 1896.



## **CHAPTER 8 The Philanthropic Spectrum: *Spiritual Engagement***

Philanthropy as spiritual engagement, particularly involving the church, had as its primary object to bring a person into the Christian faith. It only provided philanthropy, as understood on the remainder of the spectrum, as a secondary objective. Such activities that were primarily spiritual were philanthropic in the Christian world view of the Goodlets, for such engagement advanced the welfare of humanity. While most of these involved John's church activities, some of the other organizations which he supported are best categorized in this way.

### **The Sydney City Mission**

Such an emphasis is clearly seen in the Sydney City Mission (SCM) for it was

founded on the broad basis of the purest Christian philanthropy. It aims at guiding the stream of Christian benevolence into proper channels by house-to-house visitation; by, in the first place, setting before the poor the riches of Divine love in the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ as the only effective means of raising them out of sin and its train of evils. By this our agents are brought face to face with the material needs of the people, and by kindly sympathy and devotion to their interests, endeavour to help them in distress, and set them on the way of helping themselves.<sup>1</sup>

John Goodlet, who came to the colony in order to improve his own situation in life, enthusiastically embraced the aims of the SCM. The Mission gave practical help to those in need to assist them to help themselves as well as proclaiming a clear and unequivocal witness to the love of the Lord Jesus Christ. In June 1860, Benjamin Short was appointed canvasser for AMP and his experience of the city alerted him to the needs of the poor. He conferred with Goodlet and others concerning these problems and then a meeting was called on June 11, 1862, to form the SCM.<sup>2</sup> Goodlet was present at that meeting and was appointed Treasurer, a position he held until he went overseas in 1869.

On his return Goodlet continued his financial support for the SCM, but did not take an active role in its administration as he had done so before. In the period prior to his overseas trip he attended 77% of meetings (64 out of 83), but thereafter he

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<sup>1</sup> *The Sydney City Mission Herald (Sydney, NSW)*, September 15, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> *The Sydney City Mission Herald (Sydney, NSW)*, October 15, 1901.

attended few meetings and usually only those of special significance. He did, however, continue his support and unabated interest in the City Mission<sup>3</sup> and in 1872 he offered £150 per annum to support a City Missionary<sup>4</sup> and Goodlet subscribed this amount annually for 20 years and only ceased to do so in 1893 when his financial situation became difficult.

Goodlet's support was not just financial. He also took an active role in the supervision and encouragement of the mission workers in their visitation by accepting the role, from time-to-time, of the superintendent of individual missionaries.<sup>5</sup> John did not attend many meetings in this period, but was often present when the missionary that he was supervising had his journal read to the committee.

Goodlet said that

I have great faith in the City Mission, and believe it meets a crying want, which its Missionaries are admirably adapted to meet. For several years I acted as superintendent of several, and can confidently say that the hearts of those I came in contact with, were in the work.<sup>6</sup>

Goodlet strongly supported the visiting of the city missionaries to the houses of the poor as being the chief work of the SCM's agents, and at the same time he also supported, when others did not, the opening of Mission Halls where the poor could be brought to hear the gospel when they could not be induced to attend the churches.<sup>7</sup> Goodlet did not believe that the work of the SCM was in conflict with that of the church, but that it augmented it and reached those that the church was ill-equipped to influence. He was more concerned with the propagation of the Christian faith than he was with the growth of church organisations as such.

The support of Goodlet to the SCM was valuable, especially in its early days as it sought to be established, and he often balanced the books out of his own pocket. Goodlet thus gave substantial sums to their work, but more than that he gave his

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<sup>3</sup> *The Sydney City Mission Herald (Sydney, NSW)*, November 15, 1899.

<sup>4</sup> Frederick Freeland was engaged.

<sup>5</sup> For example Sydney City Mission, *Minutes* April 16, 1866; June 21, 1872; June 11, 1874; August 12, 1875.

<sup>6</sup> *The Sydney City Mission Herald (Sydney, NSW)*, July 15, 1900.

<sup>7</sup> *The Sydney City Mission Herald (Sydney, NSW)*, June 15, 1898.

Christian wisdom and business ability to their service, and until the end of his long life his active interest in their work was unabated and unstinting.<sup>8</sup> At his death he left the SCM 2,000 shares in *Goodlet and Smith*.

### **Young Men's Christian Association**

The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) is categorised in this thesis as an example of Goodlet philanthropy as spiritual engagement whereas Ann Goodlet's involvement with the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the female equivalent, is categorised as civic engagement. This difference comes about not so much because of a different emphasis in the organisations, but because of the different role that the Goodlet philanthropy played in the YMCA to the role it played in the YWCA. In the YMCA John Goodlet acted as a spiritual role model, whereas in the YWCA Ann helped build a community service.

John Goodlet was president of the YMCA from 1892 until 1895 and was its treasurer from 1878 until his death in 1914. The YMCA had begun in Sydney in 1853 but had foundered after ten years and was resuscitated in 1871. David Walker, the Session Clerk of the Ashfield Presbyterian Church, was appointed General Secretary in 1878 and it is from that time onwards that Goodlet's involvement as Treasurer began so it is likely the two are connected. John Walker (no relation to David Walker), a young and dynamic candidate for the ministry, lived with the Goodlets from 1879 until 1881 and was also deeply involved with the YMCA as both a board member and an evangelistic speaker. John Walker no doubt encouraged James Hay Clark, Goodlet's nephew and fellow resident at Canterbury House, to be actively involved as well.<sup>9</sup> [Photo page 70] John was a strong financial supporter of the YMCA giving some £1,343 over the time of his involvement making it his third most heavily supported charity. He also left the YMCA 2,000 shares in *Goodlet and Smith*, one of six charities to which a bequest was left. [Photo page 224]

His Presidential term included the celebration of the jubilee of the organisation and he spoke in an address into a new invention, the phonograph, to be reproduced at the great Jubilee Gathering in London.<sup>10</sup> Though Goodlet was the longtime treasurer and financial supporter and president of the Association in its jubilee year, he did not give much of his time to the YMCA. He rarely attended committee meetings and even

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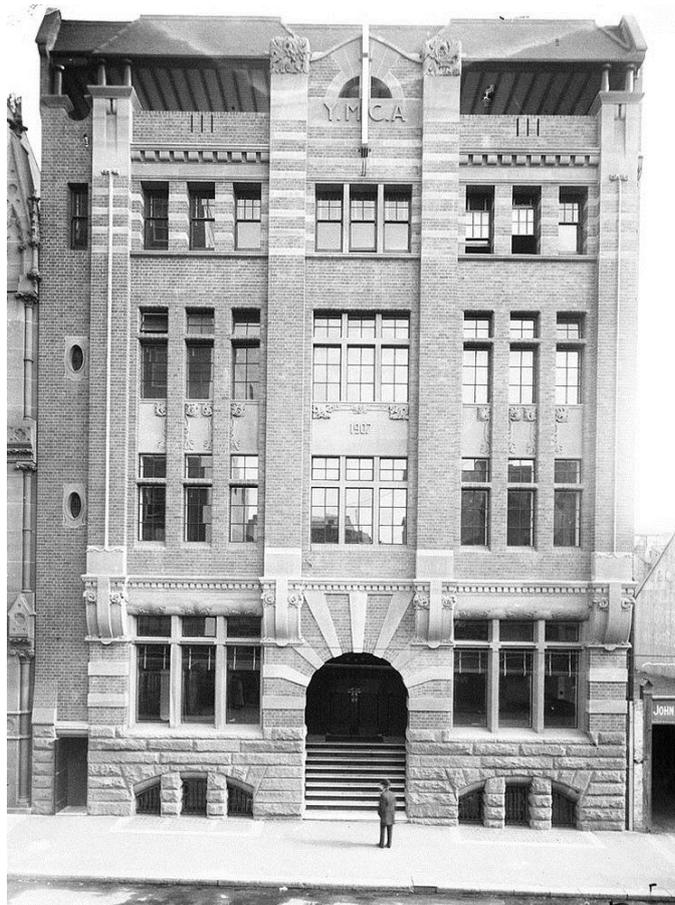
<sup>8</sup> Sydney City Mission, *Minutes* January 15, 1914, 227-229.

<sup>9</sup> Clark is listed as member and subscriber from 1875-1880.

<sup>10</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), June 16, 1894.

## Examples of organisation's buildings

whose construction was supported by Goodlet funds



**Young Men's Christian Association building 1907**  
Pitt Street, Sydney



**Ashfield Presbyterian Church building c1900**  
Liverpool Road, Ashfield

during his time as president he appeared only for contentious or important property matters or to occasionally chair a lecture held by the YMCA. Mrs Goodlet's role with the YMCA was minor though she was president of the Women's Auxiliary from its formation in 1892, but most probably relinquished that after a few years as her health had begun to decline.<sup>11</sup> Her contribution was sufficient, however, for the YMCA board to record on her death 'its sense of the loss which this Association had sustained in the death of Mrs. J. H. Goodlet whose services to the Association have been so many and so great'.<sup>12</sup>

Goodlet's connection with the YMCA is somewhat different to most other organisations he supported. He was strongly supportive of the YMCA financially, took the role of president for a number of years, was one of its treasurers for a significant period, and yet took little interest or part in its month-by-month administration and rarely attended committee meetings. The significance of his association is captured in speeches given prior to his departure for England in 1892:

Dr Steel referred to Mr. Goodlet's long and honourable career as a commercial man in Sydney, and as one who had taken an active part in much Christian work. Mr. Goodlet had shown that it was possible to be a successful man of business and at the same time to maintain the highest integrity as a Christian ... Mr. Nall, speaking on behalf of the younger men of the association, thought it was men like Mr. Goodlet who 'made for righteousness,' and whose influence for good was widespread and permanent. Mr. Walker mentioned that it was owing to the generosity of Mr. Goodlet, Mr. Vickery and the late Mr. John Fraser that the association came into possession of the splendid site upon which the building stood.<sup>13</sup>

Goodlet's value to the YMCA was twofold: financial and as a role model for men. Financially, he gave substantial support to the YMCA over a period of more than 30 years and even gave a significant bequest to the Association. As a role model for men, he demonstrated that success in business could be combined with Christian virtues. It would appear that John was conscious of his significance as a role model for it was unusual for him to accept a position of honour, such as president, without

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<sup>11</sup> Young Men's Christian Association, *Annual Report* (1891).

<sup>12</sup> Young Men's Christian Association, *Minutes*, January 13, 1903.

<sup>13</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), November 12, 1892. David Walker was secretary of YMCA and Robert Nall (1849-1923) was a journalist involved in the Baptist Church and later with the church of Christian Scientists. *SMH*, July 16, 1923.

also being involved in a significant way in the organisation's operation. In the case of the YMCA he accepted the presidential role but had little to do with its running, and the best explanation of this uncharacteristic behaviour would appear to be that he accepted this position largely to be a role model that the YMCA could point its young men towards.

### **The Presbyterian Church**

The Presbyterian Church was the primary focus of the Goodlets' spiritual philanthropy. John Goodlet was a Presbyterian whose family were supporters of the Free Church and upon his arrival in Sydney in 1855 he became associated with the Free Church in Macquarie Street to which he showed considerable generosity.<sup>14</sup> He joined the church around the same time as John and Ann Dickson, and it is here that he probably first met Ann who was later to become his wife. Towards the end of 1857, John left the Macquarie Street Church and his church affiliation and involvement in the period from late 1857 to late 1859 is uncertain.<sup>15</sup> It is probable that he joined the Free Church congregation of the Rev Mackintosh Mackay.<sup>16</sup>

### **St Georges Free, United Presbyterian & St Stephen's Presbyterian Church**

In May 1860, Rev Mackintosh Mackay conducted John and Ann's wedding,<sup>17</sup> but not in St George's new building which was opened on February 5, 1860, with a huge debt of £11,570.<sup>18</sup> Realizing that the church could not support him with such a debt, Mackay returned to Scotland in October 1861. He was in favour of a wider colonial Presbyterian union whereas the Rev William McIntyre,<sup>19</sup> who came to St Georges in February 1862, proved himself opposed to the union of Presbyterian Churches. McIntyre stood against the popular tide and sought to maintain what he considered to be the genuine Free Church witness. Mackay thought the disruption that had taken place in the colony was unnecessary. In his view, the chief bar in the way of a colonial union of Presbyterian Churches was the ministers and he said that 'The

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<sup>14</sup> He was a member from June 1855 until September 1857. Pitt Street Free Church, *Deacons' Court Reports*. The church had relocated to Macquarie Street.

<sup>15</sup> Ann Dickson remained at the Macquarie Street Church until September 1858 and then attended the Chalmer's Free Church but left there in May 1859 shortly after her husband's death. Chalmer's Free Church, Sydney, *Communion Roll for 1859*.

<sup>16</sup> John's name is connected with that of Mackay in supporting the work of Rev. John Jones, of Mare in November 1859. *SMH*, November 19, 1859.

<sup>17</sup> NSW Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, 3 May 1860. In June 1860 the names of Mr and Mrs Goodlet are listed in the first extant communicants list. St Georges Free Church, Sydney, *Session Minutes, June 1860*.

<sup>18</sup> *SMH*, February 13, 1860; J. Cameron, *Centenary History of The Presbyterian Church in New South Wales* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1905), 57.

<sup>19</sup> McIntyre was inducted into St Georges on February 20, 1862. *SMH*, February 13, 1862.

intelligence of the lay members of the Presbyterian Churches in these colonies was, he feared, above the practical intelligence of the different ministers.<sup>20</sup> It was hardly surprising then that Goodlet, a layman and a very practical man, was not impressed with William McIntyre whose main concern was, according to Ward, that 'if union occurred without some reasonable testimony against the erastian Church of Scotland, it would be a denial of what the Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia has stood for since its foundation.'<sup>21</sup>

Goodlet would not have been greatly concerned with that which agitated McIntyre as he was in favour of uniting the various Presbyterian churches in NSW,<sup>22</sup> and his act in changing churches could not have been clearer. He joined the United Presbyterian Congregation, Phillip Street, Sydney, (UPC) whose minister Adam Thomson was in favour of a wider union of Presbyterian Churches and a leader in that movement.<sup>23</sup> These actions of Goodlet are indicative of his open attitude to the various forms of protestant Christianity and to Presbyterianism in particular.<sup>24</sup> He showed little commitment to the traditional antipathy of the Free Church to the use of instrumental music in worship.<sup>25</sup> John was Presbyterian, but not of any particular party, and throughout his life seemed to have adopted a pragmatic approach to the theological and governmental issues that sometimes consumed the clergy.

His well-established position in the congregation of UPC is shown by the fact that in 1864, at just 29 years of age, he was nominated as one candidate of 14 for the eldership.<sup>26</sup> Goodlet seems to have received the most votes but declined the call.<sup>27</sup> In 1868, Goodlet was once again nominated for the office of elder,<sup>28</sup> again receiving the highest vote<sup>29</sup> and was ordained to the eldership on November 22, 1868.<sup>30</sup> John

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<sup>20</sup> *SMH*, October 28, 1861.

<sup>21</sup> Rowland S. Ward, *The Bush Still Burns* (Wantirna, Victoria: 1989), 211.

<sup>22</sup> *The New South Wales Presbyterian Magazine* 11, November 1863.

<sup>23</sup> Mr. and Mrs. Goodlet are first listed as members in a list as at January 1, 1865 but both must have been members before that date perhaps as early as 1862. United Presbyterian Church, Phillip Street *Communicants Roll 1854-67*. They were certainly associated with the congregation at least by late 1863. *NSW Presbyterian Magazine (Sydney, NSW)*, November 1863.

<sup>24</sup> On October 18, 1864 he is on the platform for a meeting on union in the United Presbyterian Church Phillip Street explaining the results of the recent union vote in Victoria *NSW Presbyterian Magazine Sydney, NSW*, November 1864.

<sup>25</sup> St Stephen's Presbyterian Church, Sydney, *Session Minutes*, July 19, 1875.

<sup>26</sup> Presbyterian Church Phillip St, Sydney, *Session Minutes*, September 25, 1864.

<sup>27</sup> Presbyterian Church Phillip St, Sydney, *Session Minutes*, October 12, 1864; January 11, 1865.

<sup>28</sup> Presbyterian Church Phillip St, Sydney, *Session Minutes*, September 2, 1868.

<sup>29</sup> Presbyterian Church Phillip St, Sydney, *Session Minutes*, September 30, 1868.

<sup>30</sup> Presbyterian Church Phillip St, Sydney, *Session Minutes*, November 22, 1868.

did not have much opportunity to take up the work of the eldership, however, for five weeks later he and Ann left for Europe and did not return for 12 months. It is a measure of Goodlet's perceived value to the congregation, or the church's desperation for elders, that knowing of his imminent departure the consideration of his ordination was not deferred until his return.

On Goodlet's return from Europe the Session resolved to express

the pleasure the Session experienced at the return of Mr. Goodlet after his visit to Europe, and there (sic) thankfulness to Almighty God the (sic) he had been spared amidst the dangers of the way, and enabled to resume the duties of his office as Elder amongst us. It was agreed that the district of the Glebe and Redfern, South of Devonshire Street, should be allotted to Mr. Goodlet.<sup>31</sup>

At the closure of the Phillip Street Church in October 1873,<sup>32</sup> John and Ann joined with those of the congregation who were added to the roll of St Stephen's Presbyterian Church, Macquarie Street,<sup>33</sup> where John's eldership continued.

**Figure 7: Session Meetings Attended, 1868-1877**

	Phillip Street United Presbyterian						St Stephen's Free Church			
YEAR	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877
Meetings Attended	3	0	7	7	3	4	8	5	6	3
Percentage Attendance	100	0	78	100	75	100	62	36	35	30

Goodlet was diligent in his attendance at Session meetings at the UPC and, excluding when he was overseas, his attendance in the period 1868 to 1873 averaged 90% of all meetings held. When he became an elder at St Stephen's, however, his attendance plummeted to 40% of all meetings held. During 1871, John had moved from Glebe to Ashfield to live,<sup>34</sup> and while he seems to have made the effort to attend the UPC Session, when he joined the St Stephen's Session in 1874 his attendance at Session meetings became increasingly infrequent. It seems he was not

<sup>31</sup> Presbyterian Church Phillip St, Sydney, *Session Minutes*, February 2, 1870.

<sup>32</sup> St Stephen's Presbyterian Church, *24<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of the Deacons Court (1873)*, 3.

<sup>33</sup> St Stephen's were in 1875 to move into the church building of Goodlet's former church in Phillip Street.

<sup>34</sup> He was renting a house in Charlotte Street, Ashfield which was much later in the twentieth century to become the Presbyterian Church's aged care facility. Letter from Elizabeth Copeland to Ann Goodlet dated August 30, 1871.

as committed to the work at St Stephen's as he had been to that at the UPC. [Figure 7 page 228]

### **Ashfield Presbyterian Church**

It would appear that perhaps as early as 1875, but certainly sometime in 1876, Goodlet became associated with the Ashfield Presbyterian Church, with its minister John Auld and family living within the Goodlet household.<sup>35</sup> [Photo page 258] Goodlet eventually resigned from the eldership of the St Stephen's Church at the commencement of 1878<sup>36</sup> as he had decided that Ashfield was to be the sphere of his local church efforts:

The Moderator read a letter he had received from Mr. John H Goodlet, tendering his resignation as an Elder of this Church. The Session agreed to accept Mr. Goodlet's resignation with regret, and requested the Moderator to communicate the same to him, and at the same time to express the respect and esteem they entertain for him, and also their appreciation of his faithful service as an elder of this church, and their hope that he and his philanthropic partner in life may be long spared to do their Master's work as they have opportunity.<sup>37</sup>

The annual report to the congregation said

the Session were deprived of the zealous and faithful services of Mr. John H. Goodlet, he having found it expedient to join the Church at Ashfield, in consequence of his residence there being likely to be permanent. The Session, while regretting Mr. Goodlet's departure, concurred in the wisdom of his action, and cordially wished him God-speed in his new sphere of usefulness.<sup>38</sup>

John Goodlet thereby became part of the Ashfield Presbyterian Church and was to be a very active member and elder there for the remainder of his life. Goodlet's contributions to Ashfield were not just financial as he also contributed by direct and active involvement. Nevertheless, his financial contributions to the church were very

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<sup>35</sup> In 1875 when it was decided by the Ashfield Section of the Dobroyde Presbyterian Church to begin a new church Goodlet in fact took a leading part in the negotiations. Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes*, June 3, 1914, 187-188; *The Argus (Melbourne, Vic)*, April 15, 1926.

<sup>36</sup> St Stephen's Presbyterian Church Sydney, *Communion Roll*, 1874-1883.

<sup>37</sup> St Stephen's Presbyterian Church Sydney, *Session Minutes*, January 21, 1878.

<sup>38</sup> St. Stephen's Church, Phillip Street, Sydney, *Annual Report (1878)*, 4.

substantial and he had much to do with securing the land on which the church stood. He was also far-sighted and secured property for the church, running from Street to Street, at a time when the population of the suburb was small.<sup>39</sup> Adjoining property was offered to the church giving it a highly desirable additional frontage to Liverpool Road, but the church was unable to afford the purchase<sup>40</sup> until Goodlet, seeing its strategic value, purchased this block and donated it to the church in 1909.<sup>41</sup> Not surprisingly, Goodlet was one of the trustees for the property of the Ashfield Presbyterian Church.<sup>42</sup> [Photo page 224]

When the congregation decided to build a new church to replace the weatherboard structure opened by John Dunmore Lang in 1876, Goodlet volunteered to assist in the payment for the building, but he was not about to allow his generosity and ability to pay remove the responsibility of the congregation to do its part. He offered to 'pay half the cost of erecting the church, provided it was completed within two years, free of debt, and without resorting to any unworthy means of procuring money'.<sup>43</sup> The Ashfield Building Committee considered the raising of sufficient funds within two years to be 'impracticable' so Goodlet made the following proposal:

that in order to pay for the site he would contribute half the sum required. That as soon as £1,500 was contributed, he would contribute £1,500; so as to make £3,000, to commence the building with; and that in addition, during a period of 5 years from January inst, he would contribute at the rate of £1 for every £ raised by the congregation for the erection of the church.<sup>44</sup>

The combined cost of the church and manse was £11,000 to which Goodlet donated, in accord with above formula, a very substantial sum. In 1909, when it was proposed to clear off the debt of £4,100 then due on the church and manse, he contributed £2,500 of the amount on condition that the congregation raised the balance within six months. Again in 1910, when the plans for the new Sunday School and Institute were approved, which after his death were named after Goodlet, he made a donation

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<sup>39</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, Jan 23, 1914.

<sup>40</sup> The price was £700. Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes*, September 8, 1881.

<sup>41</sup> *Ashfield Presbyterian Church 1876-1976* nd, 15.

<sup>42</sup> Presbyterian Church in NSW, *General Assembly Minutes Blue Book*, 1886, 126.

<sup>43</sup> Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes*, June 1, 1881.

<sup>44</sup> The Church was opened in December 1883 and the manse in October 1892. Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes*, August 17, 1881.

of £2,300 towards the erection of the building which cost £3,500.<sup>45</sup>

The exact extent of Goodlet's contribution is unknown, but between 1883 and 1910 he would have contributed at least £8,000 out of a total cost of £14,500. Apart from such donations for the buildings, John contributed to the weekly collection and to the Ashfield Sustentation Fund for the support of the minister's stipend. In 1876, he was contributing 25 shillings per week, and by 1887 30 shillings per week, to the weekly church collections and by 1886, and probably much earlier, he was contributing at least £150 per annum to the Sustentation Fund.<sup>46</sup>

In 1906, the Rev John Auld, who had been at Ashfield as the minister for 32 years, retired and in 1909 Goodlet contributed 2,000 shares in *Goodlet and Smith* to a retirement fund for him. The dividends from the shares, estimated to be £120 per annum, were to provide Mr Auld with £100 for life. On Auld's death, which occurred in 1912, the dividends from the shares came to the Ashfield congregation and continued to do so for a period of 20 years from the date of the gift.<sup>47</sup> At the end of this time the dividends went into the Assembly's General Sustentation Fund.<sup>48</sup>

Goodlet was of the view that the church should be maintained by the free will giving of its local members. He gave liberally because he could do so, but his giving was often done in a way to challenge and encourage others to give and maintain their responsibility. He could have endowed Ashfield Church, but he did not do so. He opposed pew rents and so when the new church was opened he moved that the seats be allocated without charge in accordance with the requirements of the congregation. An amendment was moved by Alexander L Forbes, 'that sittings be allocated to the congregation, subject to the payment of moderate pew rents.'<sup>49</sup> Goodlet lost. In the same meeting he seconded a motion by Forbes that the Church be called Knox Presbyterian Church; that motion was also lost and it remained the

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<sup>45</sup> Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes*, June 3, 1914, 187-188. The naming of the building the *Goodlet Sunday School and Institute* was not a condition of Goodlet's generosity and he never knew anything about it as it was a decision of the congregation after his death and became into public usage in 1915. *SMH*, May 22, 1915. In his life time the building was called the Sunday School Hall and was regarded as model of innovation for a Sunday School. *The Morning Bulletin (Rockhampton, Qld)* November 29, 1913.

<sup>46</sup> *The New South Wales Presbyterian (Sydney, NSW)*, September 9, 1949.

<sup>47</sup> Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes*, 3 June 1914, 187-188.

<sup>48</sup> Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Thirty Third Annual Report (1909)*, (P. L. Green: Ashfield, 1910), 9. A Sustentation Fund was a Scottish Church practice whereby a fund was set up into which donations would be placed for the purpose of supplementing the minister's income.

<sup>49</sup> Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Report of Annual Congregational Meeting*. January 27, 1887.

Ashfield Presbyterian Church.<sup>50</sup> It says something about the grace and nature of Goodlet's patronage and the Ashfield church that although Goodlet had contributed large sums towards the building of the new church, by this stage over £2,300 and it would never have been built without his support, he did not get his way. In both the naming of the church and the matter of pew rents he was rebuffed. The congregation was not afraid they would lose his support by offending him and, though unsuccessful in persuading the church to adopt his point of view, his support for the Ashfield congregation never diminished. Goodlet, contrary to the paternalism described by Roberts, never required at the Ashfield Church that his generosity be met with subservience and deference to his views nor was such subservience and deference ever received.<sup>51</sup>

In the years of the depression from 1892 until 1900, it was difficult for the Ashfield congregation to meet its financial responsibilities. Goodlet himself was in financial difficulty, but his principles of church financing remained. This is illustrated by the 1894 Annual Congregational meeting where Goodlet, who was the Ashfield Church Sustentation Treasurer, reported that there was a considerable falling off in contributions to the Sustentation Fund.<sup>52</sup> It was moved by two women that the meeting 'recommends the sale of work be held during this year and the proceeds thereof to go to the General Fund of the Church'. The motion was agreed to by 21 votes to 14 and Goodlet recorded his dissent.<sup>53</sup> There was also an attempt to increase pew rents, which he opposed. He was opposed to both proposals for they violated his view that the church should be financed by the free will giving of its people.

John Goodlet was not a reactionary but a progressive in terms of the liturgical changes that were to mark the life of the Presbyterian Church in NSW during the period 1870 to 1890. From the beginning, Ashfield had used an organ in its worship services and in 1884 the Church Praise published by the Presbyterian Church of England was adopted for use.<sup>54</sup> John was positive towards the introduction of hymn

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<sup>50</sup> Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Report of Annual Congregational Meeting*. January 27, 1887.

<sup>51</sup> It was only after Goodlet's death that his contribution to the Ashfield Presbyterian Church was physically memorialised by naming the Sunday School building after him (1915); the erection of a memorial tablet and window within the church (1920), *SMH*, September 27, 1920 and the hanging of his portrait (1928), Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes* May 30, 1928. David Roberts, *Paternalism in Early Victorian Scotland* (London: Croom Helm, 1979).

<sup>52</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, February 17, 1894.

<sup>53</sup> *Ashfield Presbyterian Church 1876-1976*. nd., 9.

<sup>54</sup> *Ashfield Presbyterian Church 1876-1976*. nd., 9.

books, the singing of the Doxology, and he was strongly in favour of saying the Lord's Prayer audibly and encouraged the Session to agree.<sup>55</sup> When the General Assembly had adopted the Church Hymnary and Psalter, it was Goodlet who encouraged the Ashfield Session to consider its use.<sup>56</sup> He was concerned, however, about the quality of the singing at Ashfield and he believed that it was not of a sufficiently good standard and something needed to be done to rectify the situation.<sup>57</sup> So upon the resignation of the organist and choirmaster, who realised he was not giving satisfaction, Goodlet appears to have taken the initiative and recommended George Grimm as a replacement.<sup>58</sup> Goodlet's attendance at Session meetings over the period of 35 years of his eldership at Ashfield was excellent. It is noticeable, however, that during the period 1892 to 1899 his attendance dropped considerably from its previous levels. He needed to spend much of his time away from Sydney attending to business matters in an attempt to ensure that his company survived the economic downturn in that period. [See Figure 8 below]

In August 1889, the Rev HA Robertson addressed the Sunday School of the Ashfield Presbyterian Church on the New Hebrides Mission. At the close, several attendees took cards to collect for the Mission, and Goodlet offered two shillings and sixpence to each collector for every £1 collected.<sup>59</sup> This event captured several of the important interests of Goodlet: Sunday School, Missions and giving.

**Figure 8: Session Meetings Attended, 1878-1913**

		Ashfield Presbyterian Church																
YEAR	78-79	80-81	82-83	84-85	86-87	88-89	90-91	92-93	94-95	96-97	98-99	00-01	02-03	04-05	06-07	08-09	10-11	12-13
Attended	12	29	18	19	24	20	19	12	21	15	14	20	28	28	18	21	15	18
Percentage Attended	81	95	86	87	81	87	90	53	62	60	65	80	77	77	69	62	33	49

<sup>55</sup> Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes*, January 24, 1895.

<sup>56</sup> Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes*, September 30, 1899.

<sup>57</sup> Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes*, June 3, 1897.

<sup>58</sup> Grimm an accomplished musician was the son of the Rev George Grimm. Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes*, April 14, 1898.

<sup>59</sup> *The Presbyterian (Sydney, NSW)*, August 24, 1889.

## Sunday (Sabbath) Schools<sup>60</sup>

Goodlet was interested in the spiritual well-being of children in the congregations of which he was a member, in the Presbyterian denomination, and in the colony. He expressed this through his long-standing support and involvement in the colonial Sunday School movement. Sunday schools were important in the nineteenth century religious and educational life of the United Kingdom and significant research has been done on them.<sup>61</sup> In the United Kingdom

the growth of Sunday Schools ... is a phenomenon in the history of education which is without a parallel ... they performed the gigantic task of assembling together, under some sort of discipline, the majority of the children of the poor, and of giving to them some notions of behaviour and some ideas of religion.<sup>62</sup>

Little work, however, has been done on the impact of colonial Sunday schools or on their similarity or otherwise with their more established English and American counterparts.<sup>63</sup> The Sunday School movement arose from schools which were founded in 1780 by Robert Raikes. Raikes, though not the first to organise such schools to meet on a Sunday, established schools which became a model for the formation of schools in Britain, the United States and eventually the colony of NSW.<sup>64</sup> These schools were originally designed to get the rowdy, ragged children of the poor off the streets and teach them some manners, morals, religion and reading. This was to be done on the one day that they were free from work in the factories of the industrial revolution of Great Britain.<sup>65</sup> Snell<sup>66</sup> points out that while the English Sunday School movement is seen as important there exist various assessments of its impact. These assessments range from seeing Sunday schools in a 'social control' paradigm as 'agencies of middle class moral and political influence, or even

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<sup>60</sup> In this section the terms Sabbath school and Sunday school are used interchangeably. Overtime the term Sabbath school was replaced with Sunday school.

<sup>61</sup> K.D.M Snell, 'The Sunday-School Movement in England and Wales: Child Labour, Denominational Control and Working-Class Culture,' *Past & Present* 164, August 1999, 122-168, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/651277> [accessed February 2, 2012] also in K.D.M. Snell and Paul S. Ell, *Rival Jerusalems, The Geography of Victorian Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); T W Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976).

<sup>62</sup> Snell, 'The Sunday-School Movement in England and Wales,' 125 quoting Frank Smith, *A History of English Elementary Education, 1760-1902* (London: London University Press, 193), 65.

<sup>63</sup> On American Sunday Schools see Anne M Boylan, *Sunday Schools, The formation of an American Institutions, 1790-1880* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988).

<sup>64</sup> Boardman W. Kathan, 'The Sunday School Revisited', *Religious Education* 75:1, 1980, 8. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00354408800750102> [accessed February 2, 2012].

<sup>65</sup> Kathan, 'The Sunday School Revisited,' 9.

<sup>66</sup> Snell and Ell, *Rival Jerusalems*, 283-8.

indoctrination' (Thompson)<sup>67</sup> to being 'indigenous institutions of the working class' (Laqueur).<sup>68</sup> Over time, particularly in the United States, there was a change in the emphasis of the movement and it was less involved in poor charity education and became an educational and evangelistic arm of the churches. Here it had a twofold purpose: to prepare children for conversion and commitment to the faith, and to teach the Bible.<sup>69</sup> Snell draws attention to the fact that

for the future success of any denomination it was absolutely vital that it teach its children the principles and tenets of its faith, and that it strongly incline them towards denominational obedience. This was not so much a matter of 'social control', but rather of denominational control at a time of competing religious rivalries and intolerances. Sunday schools like other denominational schools, were the major means by which this was undertaken. In due course the religiously disciplined children, often marrying within their Sunday school peer group, would form the adult church society.<sup>70</sup>

Snell's comments are also applicable to the colonial context as colonial Presbyterians, using the terminology of the Methodists and others, referred to their Sunday schools as the nursery of the church. While it is true that Sunday schools were seen as a way to build the churches, it should not be overlooked that for evangelicals, such as Goodlet, first and foremost came the conversion of the child to a personal and individual faith in Christ. It was from this personal relationship with God that church membership, involvement, and the building of the institution of the church flowed. This was clearly expressed at a meeting of the Sydney and Suburban Sabbath-School Teacher's Association (SSSTA), of which Goodlet was a vice president,<sup>71</sup> and which was formed for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of Sabbath-School teachers. The Rev RS Patterson asked at the SSSTA 'what did the teacher of a Sunday school class desire?' and he answered that it was 'the regeneration of the soul of the child, the implanting of the love of Christ, and the practice of virtue.'<sup>72</sup> The Rev Dr Beg said that 'the great aim of Sabbath-school teaching is to bring children to Christ; to make them feel that for love of them Jesus

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<sup>67</sup> E.P. Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class* (London: Gollancz, 1980), 389-90; 414-415.

<sup>68</sup> T W Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 61.

<sup>69</sup> Kathan, 'The Sunday School Revisited,' 11.

<sup>70</sup> Snell, 'The Sunday-School Movement in England and Wales,' 137-138.

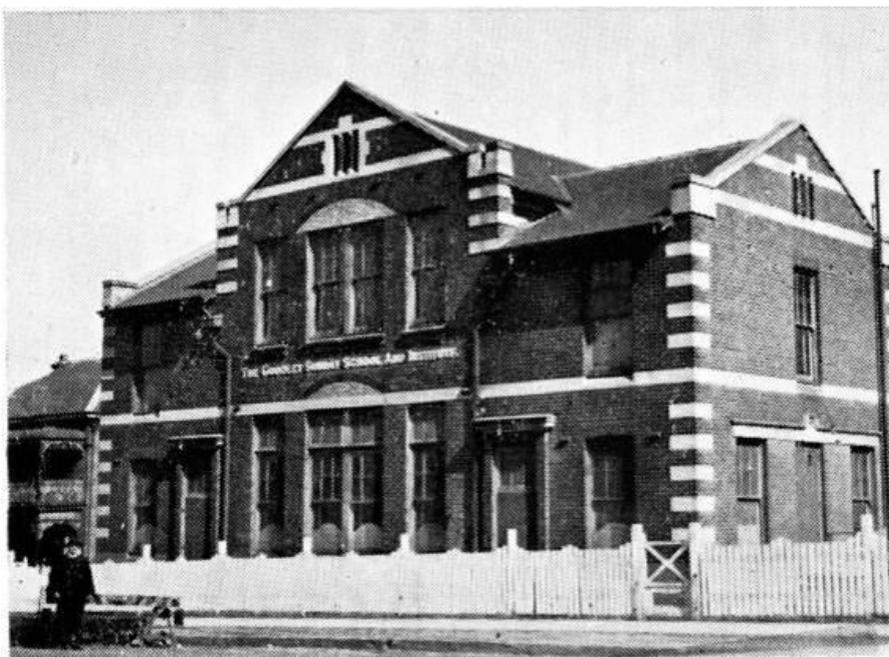
<sup>71</sup> It was formed in 1866 (*SMH*, April 3, 1867) but was discontinued in 1885. *SMH*, March 7, 1885.

<sup>72</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, April 3, 1867.

## Sunday School



This illuminated address signed by the teachers was given to Goodlet on his departure to the United Kingdom in 1910



The Goodlet Sunday School and Institute Ashfield

left the world of glory and came to this world of sin.<sup>73</sup> The clear focus of the colonial Presbyterian Sunday School movement on the children of the church families is seen in the protest of the Rev John McGibbon who complained that the

Sunday-school teaching of the present day was altogether wrong; the idea at present was for the most part to gather the children of the various Churches into their schools, where they were taught by members of the church or persons connected with it; parents were thus apt to feel themselves relieved from the duties which devolved upon them in regard to their children. He would like to see teachers not confining themselves within the walls of a school, but going out in their own neighbourhoods and bringing in neglected children; and by such means they would soon have their schools increased, and there would be an immediate acquisition to their churches also.<sup>74</sup>

At the time of the Raikes Centenary celebration Goodlet exhorted the teachers to have the same spirit as Raikes. Goodlet saw this spirit not so much in reaching the poor, uneducated, churchless, vagrant, children of the city as Raikes had attempted to do, but rather in being 'in complete forgetfulness of ourselves we must seek to be so indwelt by Christ that we shall attract, as well as direct, the children to our Saviour.'<sup>75</sup> The growth of the availability of secular education and perhaps even the work of the RS movement and the influence of Methodism meant that colonial Sunday schools were, like their American counterparts, church focused.<sup>76</sup> The change in direction of Sunday school and the clear religious intent of the movement's colonial expression was voiced by JP Walker<sup>77</sup> when he said that

at first of necessity secular instruction had to be given, as the children were frequently ignorant even of letters. But the work of educating the young is now so well overtaken by week-day teachers, that the hours in the Sunday school can be devoted to reading head and heart with the transforming truths of the Gospel.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> *The Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, April 3, 1867.

<sup>74</sup> *SMH*, April 3, 1867.

<sup>75</sup> *SMH*, June 23, 1880.

<sup>76</sup> Boylan, *Sunday Schools, The formation of an American Institutions*, 166-167.

<sup>77</sup> J.P. Walker (1836-1904) was a builder and a member of the Sydney City Mission for 22 years, YMCA, PLC Council and Trustee and an elder of the Glebe Presbyterian Church. He and Goodlet were well known to one another. John McFarlane, *The Golden Hope*, 8; *SMH*, March 14, 1904; May 5, 1904.

<sup>78</sup> *SMH*, June 23, 1880.

So it was that, at least from the mid-1860s, the Sunday School movement in the colony was primarily seen as part of the mission of the church to propagate a personal faith in Christ and thus grow the church and thereby impact society. The order was important, Walker said

the greater part of our real living Christianity has been born, nursed, and brought to maturity in connection with Sunday schools, so that we may say if Christians are the salt of the earth, the salt obtained its savour through the blessing of God on spiritual instruction imparted during the sacred hours of the Lord's Day.<sup>79</sup>

John Goodlet was certain that the Sunday School movement was very important in the colony. As chairman of the Raikes Sunday School Centenary celebration committee he said that Sabbath-Schools 'in the hand of our God, have ably assisted the Church in moulding the British and American nations and ... is having no small influence in forming the Australasian nations'.<sup>80</sup> The Raikes celebration at the Garden Palace was attended by some 11,000 children (all seven years or older) and 1,000 teachers. The Governor was informed that over 100,000 children in the colony were being taught each Sunday in NSW Sunday schools, 1 in 8 children, and that this compared favourably to the United Kingdom where 1 in 10 attended Sunday School.<sup>81</sup>

Goodlet's interest in the spiritual well-being of children was seen by his active participation in the Sunday School movement at congregational, denominational and state levels. He became Superintendent of the Ashfield Sunday School in 1876 and by 1879, a few years after its commencement, there were 246 on the roll at Ashfield with an average attendance of 161 children.<sup>82</sup> For the Raikes Centenary the Ashfield Sunday School was able to muster 140 children over the age of 7 years<sup>83</sup> to attend the celebration so the Sunday School was of a considerable size. John remained the superintendent until pressure of business forced him to resign the position in 1891.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> *SMH*, June 23, 1880.

<sup>80</sup> *SMH*, June 23, 1880.

<sup>81</sup> *SMH*, June 28, 1880.

<sup>82</sup> *SMH*, October 29, 1879. This also included the branch school at Canterbury.

<sup>83</sup> *SMH*, June 28, 1880.

<sup>84</sup> Upon his resignation he was appointed Treasurer of the Sabbath School a position which would not require his attendance at the School. Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes*, April 9, 1891; *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), August 8, 1891.

To celebrate the occasion of his retirement after such long and devoted service he was given a picnic and a trip around the harbour by the Sunday School. Lunch was held up the Parramatta River at Ermington and an address was presented to Goodlet on behalf of the teachers 'signifying their strong appreciation of his services, and the sincere esteem and affection they held him in'.<sup>85</sup>[Photo page 236]

That such a farewell was organized for Goodlet was totally in keeping with his own generosity towards the Sunday School. It was not unusual for Goodlet to provide all the necessary funds for the annual Sunday School Picnic at various locations when the Sunday School travelled by large omnibuses to Cabarita<sup>86</sup> or by train to Parramatta Park<sup>87</sup> or, in tougher financial times, when they simply met locally in Goodlet's own paddock<sup>88</sup> or at Canterbury House.<sup>89</sup> Goodlet provided those things that made the day a success from a child's point of view, for

not the least portion of the day's enjoyment was the disposal of the ample supply of excellent refreshments, so generously provided by Mr. Goodlet. Buns, oranges, apples, sandwiches, sausage rolls, cake and lollies, disappeared rapidly, to say nothing of the tea, lemon syrup and ginger beer, so dear to the hearts of the little children and so unappreciated by children of a larger growth.<sup>90</sup>

Goodlet had, as the illuminated address presented to him on the occasion of his departure for overseas in 1910 indicated, 'a deep interest in the moral training and spiritual well-being of the children.'<sup>91</sup> He did not, however, forget the Sunday School teachers and they too were often treated to the hospitality and encouragement of Canterbury House.<sup>92</sup>

Goodlet was not just concerned with the Sunday School at Ashfield for during the 1880 NSW General Assembly it was reported that

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<sup>85</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, August 8, 1891.

<sup>86</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, November 16, 1889; *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, November 5, 1892.

<sup>87</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, February 20, 1892, *The NSW Presbyterian (Sydney, NSW)*, September 9, 1949.

<sup>88</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, November 17, 1894.

<sup>89</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, November 19, 1897.

<sup>90</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, November 1, 1902.

<sup>91</sup> Illuminated Address presented to J.H. Goodlet in 1910. Held in the Presbyterian Ladies College, Sydney Archives.

<sup>92</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, November 28, 1885.

as in years past, some 300 teachers sat down to tea, generously provided by an esteemed elder of the Church, who is a Sabbath School Superintendent. These annual gatherings are greatly enjoyed, and tend much to excite mutual good feeling between the teachers of our various schools, and to cement them together in the important work in which they are engaged.<sup>93</sup>

The esteemed elder was John Hay Goodlet, who usually funded this annual event. From 1873, he was a member of the General Assembly's Sabbath Schools Committee and continued to be so until 1884 and was keen to do all he could to promote effective Sabbath Schools in the Presbyterian Church. In 1881, there was a move to form a union of all the Presbyterian Sundays Schools in the colony of NSW<sup>94</sup> and Goodlet was appointed to be part of the process.<sup>95</sup> This desire came to nothing at that time and was again pursued in 1888 when an attempt was made to form an association of Sunday schools called the 'Sydney Presbyterian Sabbath-school Union' with the aim to 'stimulate, encourage, unite and otherwise assist Sabbath-school teachers in their work' within the Presbyterian Church.<sup>96</sup>

Prior to this there had been an abortive attempt, in which Goodlet was deeply involved, to form a broad-based union not just of Presbyterian Sunday Schools but of Protestant Sabbath Schools. This desire for a broad-based union was voiced on June 24, 1880, at the Sunday School Raikes Centenary Conference<sup>97</sup> when the following resolution was moved:

that this meeting, feeling the great importance of Sunday Schools, and believing that their improvement, extension, and permanency will be best secured by mutual co-operation and assistance, is of opinion that a Sunday-school Union should be formed.<sup>98</sup>

An editorial in *The Presbyterian* reflecting on this desire indicated that

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<sup>93</sup> Report on the Committee on Sabbath Schools for the Year Ending September 30, 1880 in Presbyterian Church in NSW, *General Assembly Minutes* Blue Book, 1880, 35.

<sup>94</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), August 27, 1881.

<sup>95</sup> Presbyterian Church in NSW, *Presbytery of Sydney, Minutes*, June 7, 1881.

<sup>96</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), July 7, 1888.

<sup>97</sup> *SMH*, June 28, 1880.

<sup>98</sup> *The New South Wales Independent* (Sydney, NSW), 67, VII, July 15, 1880.

the objects proposed to be accomplished are very desirable. They are these - first, to stimulate and encourage Sabbath school teachers to greater exertions in the promotion of religious education; second, by mutual communication, to improve the methods of instruction; third, not to establish Sabbath schools apart from the Churches, but to assist in their formation in needy districts, and to promote the general extension of the same; and fourth, to supply books and stationary suitable for Sabbath schools at reduced prices, and to endeavour by every means to disseminate useful knowledge among the young.<sup>99</sup>

and while a union of Presbyterian Sabbath Schools was desirable 'a greater gain would result from the more general Union'.<sup>100</sup>

The doctrinal basis of the Union would be 'the Deity and Atonement of Jesus Christ, the Divine influence of the Holy Spirit, and that all Scripture is given by inspiration of God'.<sup>101</sup> All this was congenial to the thinking of John Goodlet who, though Presbyterian in outlook, was far from being unappreciative of the Christianity of others. His interest in the spiritual welfare of children and his non-denominational Christian charitable work encouraged him to be enthusiastic about such an endeavour and he became involved. He chaired a number of the meetings of Christians from all protestant denominations who sought to form such a Sunday School Union.<sup>102</sup> By February 1881, under Goodlet's chairmanship, it was reported that it was obvious that due to 'unexpected opposition their plans were impracticable.' The churches were unable to trust one another sufficiently to engage in such common work. Thus Goodlet's hopes were disappointed and he had to admit to failure, and it was left to each denomination to manage its Sabbath-school work amongst children as best it could.<sup>103</sup>

## **Missions**

Another significant interest of both John and Ann Goodlet was missions. James Lamont, acting Convener of the Foreign Missions Committee, said of John on his death that

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<sup>99</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, September 18, 1880.

<sup>100</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, September 18, 1880.

<sup>101</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, September 18, 1880.

<sup>102</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, September 25, 1880.

<sup>103</sup> *The New South Wales Independent (Sydney, NSW)*, 75, VIII, March 15, 1881.

His whole heart was in Mission work. The evangelization of the world was the intense desire of his soul, and hence his knowledge of what our Church ought to do in taking her part in extending the Kingdom of God. <sup>104</sup>

Memorial minutes tend to be rather laudatory and lack balance, often reflecting the interests of the originating body, and Lamont's minute was no exception. John was indeed very concerned for the work of Foreign Missions, but it was not his only interest and prior to the death of Ann he had many things, apart from Foreign Missions, to which he had given his heart. He had, however, demonstrated an interest in Missions in that he joined the Missions Committee in 1870 and remained active on a Committee level for most of his life.<sup>105</sup> Ann had been involved in Missions prior to her marriage to Goodlet, had continued her work with the Ladies Auxiliary for the New Hebridian Missions after her marriage, and later continued that work as President of the newly formed Women's Missionary Association (WMA). Joseph Copeland and family and many other missionaries had benefited from the hospitality and interest of the Goodlets. [Photo page 258] From its founding in 1865<sup>106</sup> John had been active on the Dayspring Board,<sup>107</sup> which was appointed by the New Hebrides Mission Synod, and he continued as an active member of the board until it was disbanded in 1903.<sup>108</sup> The board's function was to oversee and manage the provision of shipping and transport support to the New Hebrides Mission. This was done through the provision of a ship named the *Dayspring*.<sup>109</sup> [Photo page 243] It was a vital provision for the mission as it sought to maintain contact and a supply of provisions to the mission stations in the New Hebrides. The Dayspring Board was a good example of Goodlet's service as it utilized his strong financial and business experience, his interest and experience in maritime transport, and his support of Missions.

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<sup>104</sup> Minute was drawn up by James Lamont. Presbyterian Church in NSW, Foreign Missions Committee, *Minutes*, January 27, 1914.

<sup>105</sup> He was in 1870-1879, 1884-5, 87-88 a member of the Mission to the Heathen Committee and the Foreign Missions Committee from 1899-1913.

<sup>106</sup> He was the Treasurer. He was initially treasurer of the group to collect funds for Paton's first mission ship which was a position he was appointed to on March 25, 1862. *SMH*, March 29, 1862.

<sup>107</sup> More formally known as the New Hebrides Mission Maritime Service.

<sup>108</sup> Dayspring and New Hebrides Mission, *Report of Year 1893*, (Sydney: Leith & Co, 1894), 5; *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), April 6, 1895; *The Presbyterian Magazine* (Sydney, NSW), December 1865.

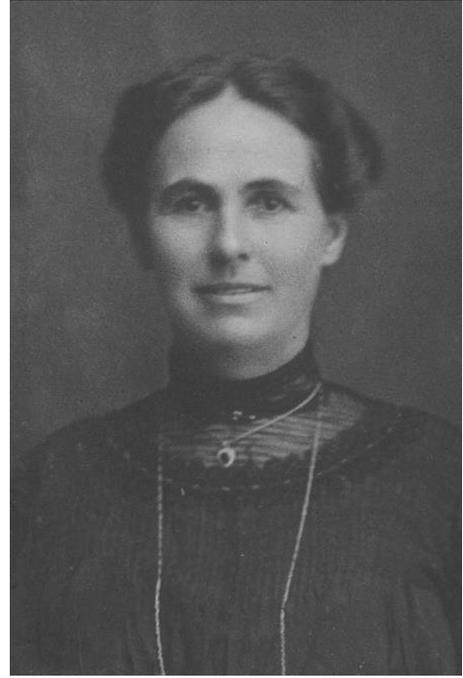
<sup>109</sup> The various Dayspring vessels were a brigantine of 115 tons, a schooner of 159 tons and then an auxiliary steam vessel of 340 tons. Goodlet in 1873 together with James Learmonth guaranteed £2000 so that a replacement Dayspring could be purchased. John Paton, *John G. Paton D.D., Missionary to the New Hebrides- an autobiography* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1891), 384.

## Goodlet Mission Interest



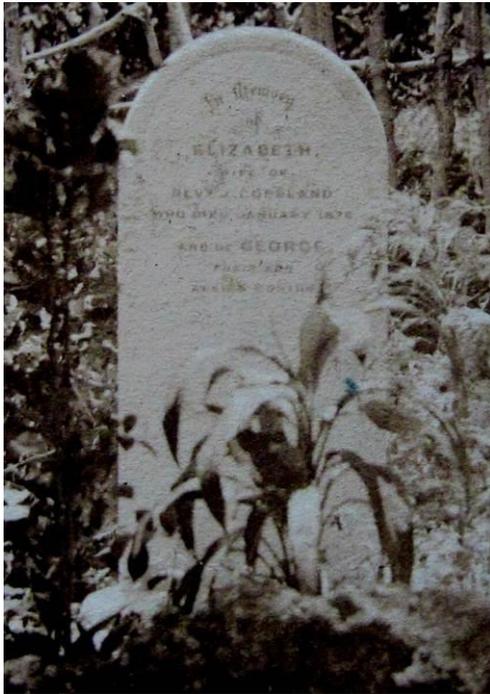
**Elizabeth Mary Goodlet**  
(nee Forbes)

*advocate for missions, travelling secretary  
for the Women's Missionary Association*



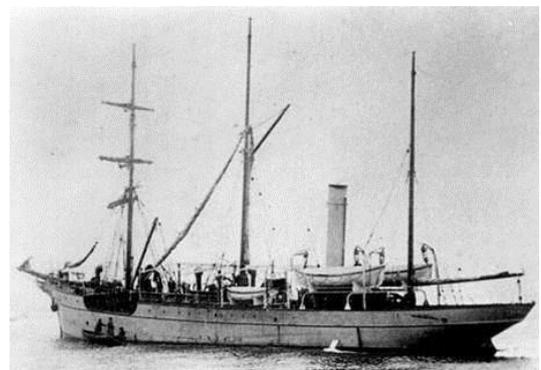
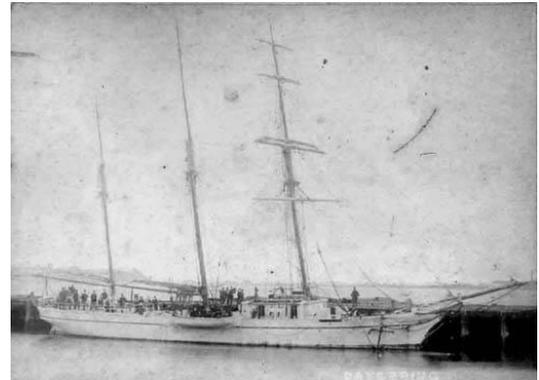
**Mary McLean**  
Missionary to India

*the Goodlets held an 'At Home' at Canterbury  
House prior to Mary's return to India in 1912*



**The grave of Elizabeth Copeland**  
on Futuna, Vanuatu

*In Memory of Elizabeth wife of  
Rev J Copeland who died 20 January 1876  
and of George their son {indecipherable}*



**Dayspring II**  
1884

and its replacement  
**Dayspring III**  
1896

**McGowan's visit to Sholinghur India, 1912**  
funded by John Goodlet



**The existing Hospital at Sholinghur** at the time of McGowan's visit



**The new hospital for women**

built at Sholinghur as a result of Goodlet's philanthropy and completed after John's death



**Robert McGowan**  
the Goodlet's minister and Convener of the NSW Missions Committee at Sholinghur



**Dr Flora Innes**  
in charge of the hospital at Sholinghur at the time of McGowan's Visit

It is the confluence of four factors which tended to give a particular focus to missions in the last decade of his life. Those factors were the securing of the future of *Goodlet and Smith*, his marriage to Elizabeth Forbes, the arrival of Rev Robert McGowan at Ashfield [Photo page 258], and the desire to direct the use his fortune for the benefit of others rather than leaving this task to his executors.

Since 1892, Goodlet had been battling to save *Goodlet and Smith* and by 1907 it had well and truly returned to a good level of profitability. In 1909, he had also discharged the significant debt he had incurred in purchasing sole ownership of his company so his financial position was secure and once again prosperous. In 1903 Ann had died, and in 1904 John married Elizabeth whose main Christian focus was on missions. Then in 1907, McGowan, who was an enthusiastic supporter of missions, came to Ashfield. By 1910, Goodlet no longer needed to give his attention to his business as Alexander Copeland, his 'adopted' nephew, was effectively managing director of *Goodlet and Smith* from this time onwards, and was probably in charge of the day-to-day affairs of the company for a considerable period before that date. In such circumstances Goodlet was able to consider how he might dispose of his fortune. Given the influence of Elizabeth and McGowan, as well as his own interests, it is not surprising that missions became a particular focus in the last decade of his life.

In 1909, John had a Declaration of Trust drawn up whereby he transferred to the Trustees of the PCNSW 25,000 shares in *Goodlet and Smith*. The dividends of 10,000 of the shares were to be used by the Home Mission Fund for the express purpose of 'spreading and maintaining the preaching of the Gospel in the West and North West of NSW'.<sup>110</sup> A further 10,000 shares were to be used for the work of Foreign Missions in India at Sholinghur and the remainder were to support the Sustentation Fund.

By this transfer Goodlet gave support to Missions in the remote areas of NSW and overseas. He had had an interest in and supported rural mission for a long time, and in 1877 John agreed to pay half the salary of three agents to supply bush districts, provided that people of the districts subscribed the other half.<sup>111</sup> In August 1889, Goodlet presided at a meeting under the auspices of the NSW Bush Missionary Society (BMS), at the Ashfield Presbyterian Church Schoolroom. Through his support on that occasion Goodlet sought to create a greater interest in the mission. He said

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<sup>110</sup> Presbyterian Church in the State of NSW, *Treasurership Committee Minutes* July 7, 1910.

<sup>111</sup> *The Australian Witness and Presbyterian Herald* (Sydney, NSW), November 17, 1877.

the missionaries labored under many difficulties, particularly during seasons of drought, when horse feed was almost unprocurable. They took with them supplies of books and preached the gospel in many places far distant from the means of grace. He hoped townspeople who resided in localities where churches existed, would lend a helping hand so that the work might be pushed forward more vigorously.<sup>112</sup>

During the 1890s the work languished due to lack of funds and a Ladies Auxiliary Committee was formed to assist in raising the finances required.<sup>113</sup> Ann Goodlet became a member of the BMS Ladies Committee in 1895 and remained so until 1897, chairing many of its meetings during that time.<sup>114</sup>

The aim of the BMS was congenial to the Goodlets as it was to 'spread in the Interior of the Colony of NSW a scriptural knowledge of Jesus Christ without reference to sectarian peculiarities.'<sup>115</sup> They commenced supporting its work in 1868 and continued to do so until 1892 with substantial financial support usually amounting to £15 per year. After the return of *Goodlet and Smith* to profitability in 1900, Goodlet once again financially supported their mission. The work of the non-denominational BMS was decreasing, however, having employed four workers in the 1880s it was reduced to one by the end of the 1890s. Through Goodlet's gift of shares to the Presbyterian Home Mission Fund<sup>116</sup> he sought to support Presbyterian work in the remote rural areas which had, unlike that of the BMS, begun to expand. He did not simply give shares, but also gave a vehicle when there was a great need for a motor car for the North West Mission and the committee was unable to meet the expense.<sup>117</sup>

The second portion of the share transfer to the Trustees of the PCNSW was to be used for Foreign Missions, and it is here that the influence of his second wife, Elizabeth, is most clearly seen. [See Appendix 5] Elizabeth had a considerable interest in the Indian Mission field, and she had written articles on behalf of WMA which had had India as a special area of interest ever since Miss McLean's

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<sup>112</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, August 17, 1889.

<sup>113</sup> NSW Bush Missionary Society, *Thirty Eighth Annual Report* (1894), 5.

<sup>114</sup> NSW Bush Missionary Society, *Thirty Ninth Annual Report* (1895), 5.

<sup>115</sup> NSW Bush Missionary Society, *Jubilee Report* (1906), 3.

<sup>116</sup> The gift yielded to the North West Mission £262 19 3 in 1910. Presbyterian Church in NSW, *Treasurership Committee Minutes*, April 7, 1910.

<sup>117</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, February 21, 1913.

appointment by them in 1891. [Photo page 243] Sholinghur, the sphere of work of McLean and later Miss McNeill, became of particular interest to Elizabeth. In 1907, she had guaranteed the annual salary of £100<sup>118</sup> for two years for Miss Holt, the fourth lady Missionary to Sholinghur, and had paid her passage to India when Miss Holt left in early 1908.<sup>119</sup> The Foreign Missions Committee (FMC) of the PCNSW met on August 31, 1909, to consider the gift of Goodlet for mission work in India. The gift was preferably to be used for developing the work at Sholinghur and, as in so much of his giving, he wished to challenge its recipients to greater endeavours. With his gift he suggested that the NSW church ought to open negotiations with the Church of Scotland for the PCNSW to take over responsibility and ownership of the work at Sholinghur.<sup>120</sup> Elizabeth was invited to attend the meeting and she spoke to the FMC concerning the Sholinghur work which had been supported by the WMA for some time. There is no record of what she said on that occasion, but later that year she spoke in these terms:

All heathen nations have a claim upon the Christian nations, but India had special claims on the British people, who had done so much for India, and yet had kept back from her the knowledge of Him who is the Way the Truth and the Life.<sup>121</sup>

The FMC resolved to negotiate with the Board of Missions of the Established Church of Scotland to take over the work of Indian Mission and WS Park, a member of the Committee and an elder at Ashfield, was given the task of facilitating this transfer. Park was due to travel to Scotland in 1910 via Sholinghur for the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in June. It was decided that Miss McLean, the WMA supported missionary at Sholinghur, should go with Park to Scotland in order to advocate such a change and Goodlet agreed to pay Miss McLean's expenses.<sup>122</sup> Eventually Sholinghur was transferred to the PCNSW and Goodlet continued his strong support for the work, agreeing to fund a visit to Sholinghur by McGowan.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Appendix of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia, *Minutes*, 1910, 66.

<sup>119</sup> Presbyterian Church in NSW, *Minutes Foreign Missions Committee*, July 2, 1907.

<sup>120</sup> Presbyterian Church in NSW, *Minutes Foreign Missions Committee*, August 31, 1909.

<sup>121</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, October 1, 1909.

<sup>122</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, September 10, 1909.

<sup>123</sup> He also paid for pulpit supply for Ashfield in McGowan's absence. Presbyterian Church in NSW, *General Assembly Minutes Blue Book*, 1912, Min 67 (9), 41; Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes*, October 11, 1911.

He also agreed to purchase land and build a hospital<sup>124</sup> and housing for the doctor, Dr Flora Innes, at Sholinghur,<sup>125</sup> but these projects, though funded by him, were not completed until after his death.<sup>126</sup> [Photo page 244]

John Goodlet sought to promote missionary interest within the denomination and within his own congregation. It was he who encouraged the FMC to strongly recommend to the General Assembly that a Foreign Missions Secretary be appointed at a salary of £350 per annum plus travelling expenses.<sup>127</sup> Goodlet was also very supportive of the Ashfield congregation sending and supporting CE Turnbull as a missionary to Sholinghur and he, along with McGowan, persuaded a reluctant congregation to agree to canvass for funds.<sup>128</sup> Together with WS Park, John represented the PCNSW at the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh which did so much to stimulate the Christian churches attitudes to mission.<sup>129</sup> As early as 1883, in the lead up to the formation of the Presbyterian Church of Australia, Goodlet, who was involved in Federal Conferences of the Presbyterian Churches, saw the need to place Foreign Missions under the management of the proposed federated church and encouraged the church to consider how best to achieve this end.<sup>130</sup>

On his death the WMA noted quite rightly his dominant role in the Indian Mission:

It is almost impossible to estimate the severe loss the W.M.A. has sustained in the passing away of Colonel J.H. Goodlet. The work for which we exist was dear to his heart, and our own vigorous Indian Mission is largely the result of his bounty and wise forethought.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>124</sup>Colonel Goodlet reported that he had sent a letter of credit for £2,000 which could be drawn upon as the contract proceeded for the construction of the new hospital. Presbyterian Church in NSW, *Minutes Foreign Missions Committee*, November 26, 1912.

<sup>125</sup> Presbyterian Church in NSW, *Minutes Foreign Missions Committee*, July 2, 1912.

<sup>126</sup> Charles Alfred White, *The Challenge of the Years* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1951), 187-191.

<sup>127</sup> Rev. J. T. Lawton MA of Victoria was appointed for a term of three years. Presbyterian Church in NSW, *Minutes Foreign Missions Committee*, March 31, 1913.

<sup>128</sup> Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes*, October 1, 1913; 5 October 1913.

<sup>129</sup> It was widely reported that Goodlet was a delegate to the Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910. He and Elizabeth certainly attended but it is uncertain if Goodlet was an official representative of the PCNSW. Letter from Rev. A. Stewart to Foreign Missions Committee indicated that the Board of Missions has not been able to appoint Colonel Goodlet as a representative at the Missionary Conference. Presbyterian Church in NSW, *Minutes Foreign Missions Committee*, July 5, 1910. His name however appears in the proceedings of the Conference. World Missionary Conference, 1910. *To consider missionary problems in relation to the non-christian world*. Vol. 9. (Edinburgh & London, New York: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier., F.H. Revell Company, 1910) <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/g/genpub/1936337.0009.001/83> [accessed January 5, 2012].

<sup>130</sup> The Presbyterian Churches of Australia and Tasmania, *Minutes of the Fourth Conference*, July 7, 1883, 8.

<sup>131</sup> Report of Women's Missionary Association in Presbyterian Church in NSW, *General Assembly Minutes Blue Book*, 1914, 96.

What was not mentioned was the role of Elizabeth in the Indian Mission and in obtaining Goodlet's support of it, but undoubtedly the degree of support Goodlet gave to the Indian Mission at Sholinghur was in part her doing.

### **Service to the Presbyterian Church**

During Goodlet's absence in Scotland in 1910, the General Assembly took the opportunity to record their appreciation of him

in connection with the active service rendered and the many liberal gifts bestowed by Colonel Goodlet throughout a lifelong period in the history of the Church, and especially in regard to his recent munificent gifts to the General Funds of the Church, to the Ashfield Congregation, and in payment of the Newspaper debt.<sup>132</sup>

The minute drew attention, appropriately in the first instance, not to his gifts of money, but to his 'active service' that he had rendered the church during his lifetime. The General Assembly had a particular indebtedness to Goodlet as he had given much of his time to its committee work. (See Appendix 6 for Goodlet's Church Committee membership) First elected to the General Assembly in 1870, he was appointed to it as a bona fide acting elder every year until his death, with the exception of the years 1882 and 1910. In only six of those years did he represent his own congregation<sup>133</sup> as he was representing other congregations for the remainder of the time.<sup>134</sup> So when he was not appointed by his own Session, Goodlet made a conscious effort to secure a seat in the Assembly as part of his involvement at the state level of the Presbyterian Church.

Goodlet's active service in the PCNSW embraced a very large portion of his life and was comprehensive in its interests. He was a trusted, gifted, respected and reliable elder and as such was appointed to many Assembly Committees. It is difficult to know his precise contribution to such committees as the minutes are not extant and where they are available they give little indication as to the input of individuals in decision making. The Minute of Appreciation passed by the Treasurership Committee probably captures the perceived value of Goodlet to such committees:

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<sup>132</sup> Presbyterian Church in NSW, *General Assembly Minutes Blue Book 1910*, Min 49(5), 26.

<sup>133</sup> 1870 Phillip St; 1873 St Stephen's Macquarie St; 1879-1881, 1883 Ashfield.

<sup>134</sup> 1871-72,74 Bathurst; 1875-77 Carcoar & Cowra; 1878 Young; 1883 Taralga; 1885-1903, 1908-9 Grafton; 1904-5 Clunes; 1911 Muswellbrook and 1912-13 Maclean.

the Committee resolved to put on record its high appreciation of the services rendered by him as a member of this committee from its inception, and for a long period as its Chairman. Colonel Goodlet was untiring in the discharge of the duties of his office as a member of the Committee, and his advice and guidance in the management of all the financial affairs of the Church were of the highest value to this Committee and to the General Assembly.<sup>135</sup>

For a number of years the PCNSW had been concerned to have a Sustentation Fund for the purpose of augmenting the salaries of ministers. It had not been possible to devise a plan that met general approval to be a 'fulcrum for raising the provision necessary for securing divine ordinances throughout the country, and for giving greater security to the adequate maintenance of ministers.'<sup>136</sup> In August 1879, the Rev John Miller Ross came to NSW on a holiday and was introduced to the Presbytery of Sydney. Ross had been involved in the setting up and administration of the Sustentation Scheme for the Presbyterian Church of England. Later that year Goodlet and Alexander Dean overtured the Assembly concerning the appointment of Ross as Agent for the establishment of a Sustentation Fund, and to obtain ministers from Britain.<sup>137</sup> The overture was agreed to and a vote of thanks passed to the gentlemen, one of whom was Goodlet, who had contributed so liberally towards bringing out Mr Boss (sic). The typographical error in *The Presbyterian* was prescient of the events that were to follow<sup>138</sup> and Goodlet, who had agreed to fund the salary of Ross by donating £100 per annum for the next three years, was to later find Ross someone with whom it was impossible to work. [Photo page 254]

Ross was an able and efficient administrator, but the combination of a more centralized approach to church administration through the appointment of a General Agent and the personality of Ross created problems. Ross was, even in the words of his supporters, one whose temper

at times ... seemed hot and his words to savor more of strength than suavity, it was not much to be wondered at that he should show himself impatient with those who appeared to him to be blocking his path.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Presbyterian Church in NSW, *Treasurership Committee Minutes*, April 9, 1914. Goodlet had been appointed the first Elder to chair an assembly committee.

<sup>136</sup> *The Presbyterian (Sydney, NSW)*, August 23, 1879.

<sup>137</sup> Presbyterian Church in NSW, *General Assembly Minutes Blue Book 1879*, Min 38(1), 14.

<sup>138</sup> *The Presbyterian (Sydney, NSW)*, November 8, 1879.

<sup>139</sup> Supplement to *The Presbyterian (Sydney, NSW)*, September 3, 1897.

In 1888, three Presbyteries<sup>140</sup> had overtured the GANSW to terminate the appointment of Ross, arguing that Ross was costing the church more in overheads than he was worth.<sup>141</sup> The overtures were dismissed due to the strong support of the Treasurership Committee. Goodlet, as chairman of the committee and being alerted to the content of the overtures, prepared a report on the worth of Ross to the Church and argued that his appointment was of the highest value.<sup>142</sup> It is apparent, however, that this agitation was not just about finance as Ross, by virtue of his position, had considerable power and influence. His manner of operation and his interpersonal skills seem to have left something to be desired and the Assembly dismissed the overtures and affirmed the need for the Agent, but it set up a committee in order to consider and report on the duties of the Agent.<sup>143</sup>

The resolutions that arose from the report sought to deal with the twofold friction of the centralizing of administration and Ross' personality. The resolutions laid down clear limits to Ross' authority, restricted his membership to Sydney Presbytery, and significantly counselled him

in the discharge of his official duties in relation to the Committees of the Church and to individual ministers and office-bearers of the Church, the General Agent be counselled to exercise a spirit of conciliation and courtesy, forbearance and helpfulness; and that ministers, office-bearers, and members of committees be counselled to exercise towards the General Agent a similar spirit.<sup>144</sup>

The Assembly breathed a collective sigh of relief and these resolutions were adopted 'unanimously and with enthusiasm by the House'.<sup>145</sup>

The role of General Agent and his effectiveness in promoting the Sustentation Fund had, in these events, come in for significant criticism particularly by the Rev James Benvie. Benvie's questions on the cost of the administration of the Fund were

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<sup>140</sup> Hunter, Goulburn and Hawkesbury.

<sup>141</sup> Overtures to the Presbyterian Church in NSW General Assembly by Hunter, Goulburn and Hawkesbury. Presbyterian Church in NSW, *General Assembly Minutes Blue Book 1888*, 169-161.

<sup>142</sup> 'Supplementary Report to the Treasurership Committees Report,' Presbyterian Church in NSW, *General Assembly Minutes Blue Book*, 1888, 73-75.

<sup>143</sup> Presbyterian Church in NSW, *General Assembly Minutes Blue Book*, 1888, Min 39.

<sup>144</sup> Presbyterian Church in NSW, *General Assembly Minutes Blue Book*, 1888, Min 51.

<sup>145</sup> Presbyterian Church in NSW, *General Assembly Minutes Blue Book*, 1888, Min 51.

answered in the Assembly but Benvie, on his return from the Assembly, published his speech in the *Maitland Mercury* without the benefit of the additional explanatory information given at the Assembly. Goodlet, as Chairman and on behalf of the Treasurership Committee, circulated a lengthy and detailed response and this reply was published by mistake in *The Presbyterian*. This response, however, was supportive of the work of the General Agent and was critical of Benvie's arguments.

It would appear that Benvie then wrote an article responding to Goodlet and which the editor of *The Presbyterian*, in order to give Benvie a hearing, prepared for printing. *The Presbyterian* was a private company and Goodlet was a director and its secretary, Joseph Copeland, was its editor and it shared a building with the administration of the PCNSW. William Wood who was an employee of the PCNSW, presumably at the instruction of Ross, went to the compositor of the newspaper and obtained a proof of the article.<sup>146</sup> The article was passed onto Ross who

on the stair of the office and in the hearing of others, told him [Copeland] that *The Presbyterian* was 'destroying the Church', and was 'a dead weight on the Church;' that he [Ross] had to 'bear much' in connection with the paper, and that it was out of regard for his feelings that he (Mr. Ross) had not complained to the Directors.<sup>147</sup>

Ross then got one of the directors to stop the insertion of the article resulting in Copeland submitting his resignation to the directors. The directors affirmed their support for Copeland, and through John sought to clear up whatever issues Ross had had with *The Presbyterian*, and with Copeland in particular. Ross was unimpressed and refused to cooperate in any process of reconciliation so the matter was then taken to the General Assembly to seek a resolution to the issue. In the course of this process Ross published an article that accused both Copeland and Goodlet of lying. This was too much for Goodlet who submitted his resignation from all Assembly committees and, despite efforts to dissuade him from this action, Goodlet maintained his resolve. [Photo page 254] He only returned to the work of the Standing Committees of the General Assembly after Ross' death in 1893.

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<sup>146</sup> The compositor, it appears, was unaware that *The Presbyterian* (Sydney, NSW), was a private company and assumed that because of the common address it was a part of the PCNSW.

<sup>147</sup> Petition from Directors of *The Presbyterian*, Presbyterian Church in NSW, *General Assembly Minutes* Blue Book, 1889, 152-156.

These events illustrate several things about John Goodlet's character. His word and his integrity were all-important to him. He could not let go an accusation of dishonesty which Ross would neither withdraw nor for which he would apologize. Goodlet could not work with Ross under these circumstances for he believed that unless he had the confidence and trust of others he could not and would not work with them. Ross and the Assembly did not understand, nor did Ross care, that for Goodlet his reputation for honesty and truthfulness was one of the most precious personal and commercial assets he had, and that he could not and would not allow the matter to rest.

Dr Cameron [Photo page 259], the convener of the committee set up to confer with Goodlet, reported to the Assembly that 'they deeply regretted to have to report that he refused to withdraw his resignation'.<sup>148</sup> The Assembly had misjudged Goodlet's degree of agitation at the impugning of his reputation by Ross as it refused to admonish Ross.<sup>149</sup> Rev James Cosh [Photo page 259], who had failed to have the Assembly admonish Ross, moved a motion that was carried unanimously that

the General Assembly express their deep regret that Mr. Goodlet had felt himself constrained to resign his positions on the Standing Committees; assure Mr. Goodlet of the high esteem in which he is held throughout the Church and of the unabated confidence and respect with which he is regarded by this Assembly; thank him heartily for the excellent services he had rendered to the Church in times past, and express the hope that he will still continue to interest himself in the work of the Church and to promote its welfare in all ways within his power.<sup>150</sup>

The General Assembly took the path of least courage and refused to address the issue as they found themselves caught between offending Ross, a prominent minister and administrator, or offending Goodlet, a generous benefactor. In the end their lack of appropriate action offended Goodlet. Ross, however, died shortly afterwards and fortunately for the General Assembly and the Presbyterian Church Goodlet's character was such that he did not hold a grudge. With Ross gone, and the impediment to his involvement removed, he returned to his work with the General Assembly Standing Committees. Had Ross lived and Goodlet remained outside the

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<sup>148</sup> Presbyterian Church in NSW, *General Assembly Minutes Blue Book*, 1889, Min 109.

<sup>149</sup> Presbyterian Church in NSW, *General Assembly Minutes Blue Book*, 1889, Min 45.

<sup>150</sup> *The Presbyterian (Sydney)*, March 23, 1889.

## The resignation of Goodlet from Church Committees



CANTERBURY HOUSE,  
ASHFIELD.

11 March 1889

Dear Sir

I hereby resign  
my positions on the  
Standing Committee of  
the Church as owing  
to recent events I cannot  
work with the General  
Agent

Yours sincerely  
John W. Goodlet

Rev. J. E. Cairns  
Clerk of Assembly

### Goodlet's letter of resignation

March 11, 1889



### Rev John Miller Ross (1826-1893)

General Agent Presbyterian  
Church in NSW (1880-1893)

The cause of the resignation

work of the Committees of the General Assembly it may well have been that John's wealth might not have flowed to the work of the PCNSW.

### **Giving to the Presbyterian Church**

Goodlet was very generous in his giving to causes within the Presbyterian Church. The records are fragmentary, especially those of the churches in which he held membership. In addition to this, John did not usually draw attention to his giving, but when he did so it was only for the purpose of challenging others to give to the same cause.

**Figure 9: Presbyterian Church Giving**

<b>Church Giving £</b>	<b>Lifetime</b>	<b>Bequest</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Home Mission</b>	17,377	19,920	37,297
<b>Missions</b>	11,864	9,960	21,824
<b>Individual Churches</b>	10,298		10,298
<b>Education</b>	1,185	3,000	4,185
<b>Theological Education</b>	655	3,320	3,975
<b>Newspaper</b>	1,940		1,940
<b>Other</b>	488		488
	<b>£ 43,807</b>	<b>36,200</b>	<b>80,007</b>

From the extant records Goodlet gave, during his lifetime, some £43,807 (\$4.98m in 2008 value) to church activities with a further £36,200 (\$3.14m in 2008 value) on his death giving a total value to church giving of £80,007 (\$8.12m in 2008 value).<sup>151</sup> He gave numerous small sums to various activities and causes within the church, but there were some projects to which he gave great support.

Goodlet's main emphasis in his church giving was to build up the PCNSW.<sup>152</sup> While he

<sup>151</sup> The relative value of the amounts given in different years has been calculated and for the purposes of comparison the total is expressed in 2008 Australian dollar values. These values are based on the most recent figures given by the Retail/Consumer Price Index (CPI) numbers produced by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) which gives the CPI numbers up to the year 2008. Australian Bureau of Statistics, Year Book Australia, 2009–10, CONSUMER PRICE INDEX (CPI) <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Lookup/81AD8568011151A4CA25773700169D01> [accessed July 28, 2012] e.g. £ 1 in 1870 = 2940 (CPI 2008)/48 (CPI 1870) X 2 (\$2 in £ 1) = 122.5 (2008 \$ value) so £ 1 in 1870 is equivalent of \$122.5 in 2008 <http://www.lib.unimelb.edu.au/collections/ecocom/giblinfaq.html> [accessed September 2, 2012].

<sup>152</sup> In addition to what has been outlined in this chapter Goodlet also maintained a wide range of church and church related interests, such as the Layman's Missionary Association, *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, October 29, 1909; he was President of the Ashfield Presbyterian Fellowship Association 1883-1892, Young Men's Sabbath Morning Fellowship Union, *The Presbyterian (Sydney, NSW)*, January 20, 1883; Elders Association of which Goodlet chaired the inaugural meeting of the Elders Association and was elected the President, on October 31, 1904, *The Messenger of the*

was interested in Foreign Missions and gave generously to overseas and aboriginal work, he gave much more to the extension of the ministry of the PCNSW. Both during his lifetime and in his will John gave more to projects that would be classified as Home Mission in order to facilitate the growth and maintenance of the Presbyterian Church in its work in NSW. When his contributions to individual churches, of which Ashfield Presbyterian Church was by far the most significant, is added to his Home Mission giving then this giving emphasis is underlined. In fact, on examination of Goodlet's church giving, his main aim was to maintain and expand the effectiveness of the PCNSW. His mission giving was a reflection of his belief, and that of his wife Ann and later Elizabeth, of the need for a church to be involved in spreading of the gospel beyond the borders of his adopted country. [Figure 9 page 255]

While Goodlet's emphasis in church giving was to maintain and expand the PCNSW and its mission work, he was not interested in the PCNSW organisation itself. While he was a loyal son of the PCNSW and while the 'Presbyterian organisation was, he believed, one of the best, if not the best in building up Christ's spiritual temple', they were

never to forget that their Church did not exist to promote Presbyterianism, but to extend the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour; and just as they succeeded in that, so might they expect to be owned and blessed of God. Let them ever vie with the other regiments of that grand army for spiritual victories, ever remembering that temporal successes were nothing if they did not end in promoting Christ's Kingdom, and might they ever be ready to rejoice over such victories gained by whatsoever regiment.<sup>153</sup>

Goodlet's involvement in the GANSW at a committee level reflected his interests and his abilities. John was an astute financial manager and had experience in building, boats, and people management. His interests were not primarily theological but practical, seeking to ensure the fabric of the denomination with its buildings and its finances were in order so that its personnel were financially cared for in an effective

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*Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, November 11, 1904; John McNeill Mission of which Goodlet chaired the General Committee of the Mission, *The Presbyterian (Sydney, NSW)*, November 3, 1894; Evangelical Alliance at which Goodlet urged the sending of Christians to parliament. *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, June 23, 1894; Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust and Convener of the General Assembly of Australia Finance Committee of which Goodlet was Convener from its inception until 1912.

<sup>153</sup> *SMH*, August 3, 1885.

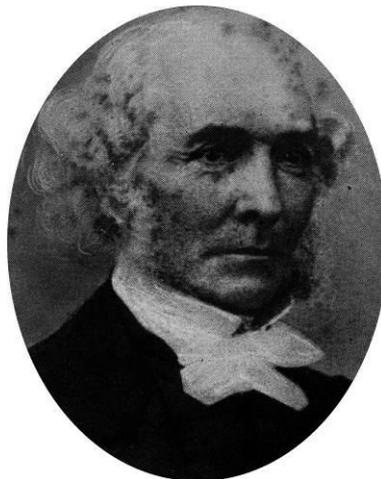
and compassionate way. He was keen to see the PCNSW expand to take up the opportunities of spreading the gospel in NSW because this would extend the Kingdom of God and he gave a considerable portion of his fortune to facilitate this process.

Both the Goodlets were deeply involved in philanthropy as spiritual engagement in an attempt to encourage others to a commitment to the Christian faith. They engaged in it through the SCM, YMCA, Missions, Sunday Schools and the PCNSW. The apparent greater prominence of John in this form of philanthropy is due, in part, to the fact that his profile is easier to trace than that of Ann for he held public office in these organisations. This is particularly so within the Presbyterian Church because of his prominence as an elder within it. Ann's most discernible activity in this form of philanthropy was through her involvement in missions and her presidency of the Presbyterian Church's WMA. Her interest in missions, which predated her marriage to John, was a long-standing one, but her other efforts within the local Presbyterian Church at Ashfield have not been able to be discerned. Most of Ann's involvement in other forms of philanthropy did, however, contain a spiritual dimension.

**Some contemporaries of Goodlet in the Presbyterian Church**



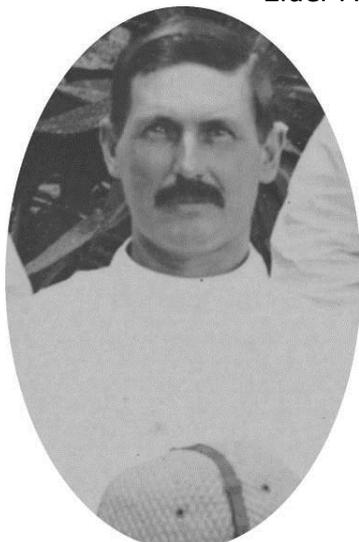
**John Auld**  
Minister of Ashfield



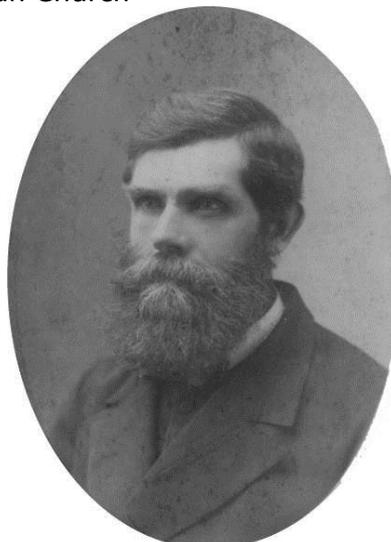
**Adam Thomson**  
Minister Phillip Street  
and Principal  
St Andrews College



**John Hay Goodlet**  
Elder Ashfield Presbyterian Church

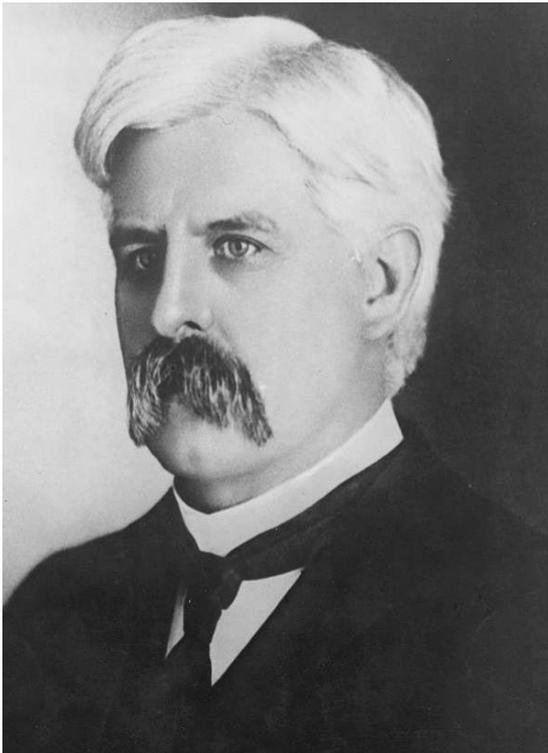


**Robert McGowan**  
Minister of Ashfield

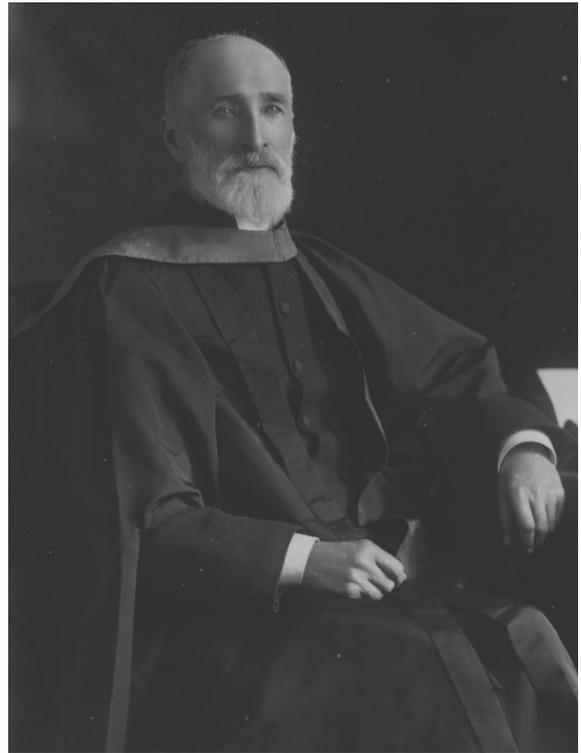


**Joseph Copeland**  
Editor *The Presbyterian*

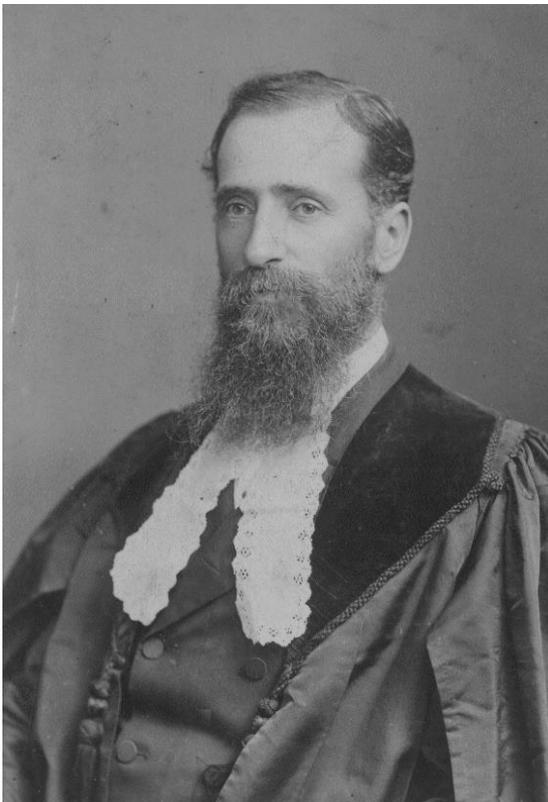
**Prominent churchmen with whom Goodlet worked**



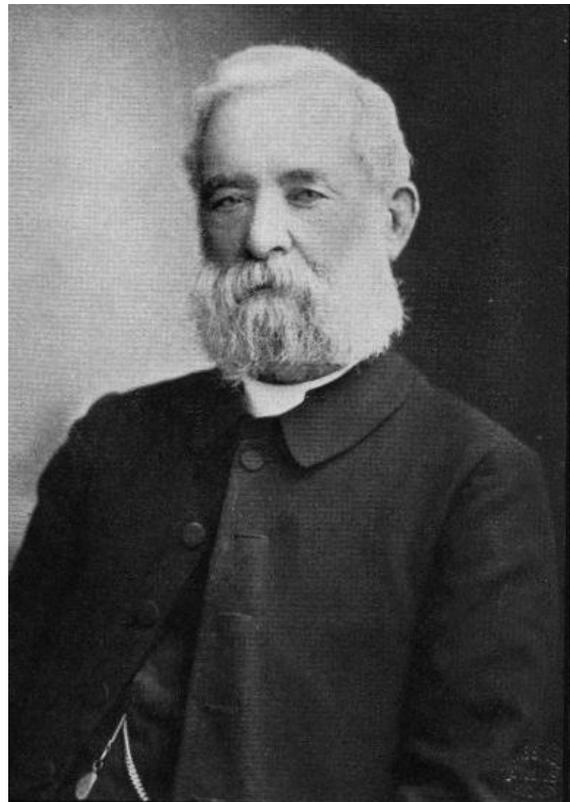
**John Marden**  
Principal PLC, Sydney



**John Kinross**  
Principal St Andrews College



**James Cosh**  
Minister of Balmain



**James Cameron**  
Minister of Richmond



## CHAPTER 9 The Goodlet Philanthropic Emphasis

The Goodlets gave financial support to many charitable and public organisations. Furthermore, John and his wife Ann, and later his second wife Elizabeth, also gave their personal support by serving on the boards of management of many of these organisations.

Which of these organisations were of significance to the Goodlets? A great deal more specific information is available on John's charitable activity, in terms of giving and attendance, than on Ann's. While it is much easier to comment on John's attitudes and emphasis than upon those of Ann, it is possible to make general comment upon Ann's philanthropic emphasis. The organisations which the Goodlets supported may be categorized into those to which John merely gave financial support and those to which he gave his time by serving on the board which governed the organisation. Of the boards on which he served, a number may be identified as primarily Ann's charitable interest to which he lent his support, whereas others were primarily of interest to him. A measure of John's interest in the various organisations with which he was associated is the degree to which he supported them financially, whether he was involved in their governance, and the degree of seriousness to which he took his governance role as measured by his attendance at meetings.

John supported many organisations continuously over numerous years, but a complete understanding of the length and depth of his commitment is hard to ascertain as the records of many of these organisations are fragmentary. From the evidence that is available, Goodlet seems to have continuously supported many organisations for periods of 30 years or more and it can be demonstrated that he gave approximately £57,092 (\$6.61m in 2008 value) to non-church charities over his lifetime. When the bequests<sup>1</sup> that were left on Goodlet's death are taken into account, he gave some £64,592 (\$7.34m in 2008 value) to non-church charities. By contrast, over his lifetime he gave some £43,800 (\$4.98m in 2008 value) to church activities and with bequests, the total giving to the Presbyterian Church was £80,007 (\$8.12m in 2008 value). Goodlet's giving appears to have been very loyal and consistent, but due to the fragmentary nature of the sources, his total giving cannot

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<sup>1</sup> It has been stated that Goodlet gave the majority of his estate of £92,000 to the Presbyterian Church (Ruth Teale, *Australian Dictionary Biography*, 'John Goodlet'). This is not correct as Goodlet actually gave some £48,300 to family and friends, the Presbyterian Church received £36,200 (some came to the Presbyterian Church after the death of Elizabeth as Canterbury House was given to Elizabeth for her life and thereafter to the Presbyterian Church) and other charities were bequeathed £7,500. Thus while the Presbyterian Church was the single biggest recipient of the Estate, the total amount bequeathed to family and friends was greater.

be accurately determined. It would, however, be well in excess of the sum of £144,599 (\$15.47m in 2008 value) which these sources have indicated.

Financially, the most heavily Goodlet-supported charity was their private charity, the Consumptive Home, which required large amounts of funds. While providing the funds, it is probable that John gave little attention to its day-to-day activity which seems to have been the province of Ann. Beyond their private charity the most heavily supported charities and causes were the three in which John alone had an interest: the SCM, the YMCA and StAC. This was followed by the SFRS, a joint interest, then PLC and the Sydney Infirmary primarily John's interests, then the DDBI and YWCA which were largely Ann's interests. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that there is a pattern to the Goodlet generosity. The greatest amount of financial support was drawn by their private charity and then the charities which were most heavily supported financially were those that were spheres of John's primary interest. From a charities point of view, it was better financially to have John's interest than Ann's, but from a governance perspective it was better to have Ann's support. When the economic downturn happened in the 1890s Goodlet had to curb his giving. He ceased his support for their Consumptive Home (£2,800 per annum [pa]), the SCM (£150pa), the BMS (£15pa) and significantly reduced his support to others such as the YWCA (£10pa to £2.1pa) and the DDBI (£4.2pa to £1.1pa). He maintained his support of the Sydney Infirmary (£5.25pa), but this was probably a commercial decision as this contribution allowed *Goodlet and Smith* to present workers to the hospital for treatment. [Figure 10 page 263]

An examination of attendance patterns by John in his governance roles reveals a slightly different perspective. [Appendix 4, and Figure 11 page 264] The AMP society which received, and generally needed, no financial support from John, was the organisation to which he gave his most diligent attendance. He served on the board of directors for some 22 years being variously a board member, deputy chairman and twice chairman of the board. In his time on the AMP board the board met at least weekly if not more often, and during his tenure the board met 866 times, of which Goodlet attended 823 meetings. This was a 95% attendance record and of the 23 meetings he did miss, 18 were because he was absent from the colony. Goodlet was involved in many other organisations, and meetings times often clashed, but John consistently attended the AMP meeting in preference to other organisations such as the SCM, DDBI or StAC. The only meeting that seemed to take precedence over the AMP was when, on rare occasions, his duties as a citizen soldier required

him to be absent in camp. There are probably several reasons why Goodlet gave such prominence to his AMP attendance. John was elected by a vote of the membership of AMP and was chosen over others to represent their financial interests

**Figure 10: Known Donations ranked by total sum in Pounds (£)**  
(excluding Presbyterian Church)

<b>CHARITABLE ORGANISATION</b>	<b>Total Known</b>	<b>Bequest value</b>	<b>Number of Donations</b>	<b>Governance Role Ann</b>	<b>Governance Role John</b>
<b>Consumptive Home</b>	49,137	1,500	19	Yes	Yes
<b>Sydney City Mission</b>	4,869	1,500	25	No	Yes
<b>YMCA</b>	2,843	1,500	29	No	Yes
<b>St Andrews</b>	2,605	1,500	3	No	Yes
<b>Sydney Female Refuge Society</b>	1,595	1,500	28	Yes	Yes
<b>PLC</b>	1,500	1,500	1	No	Yes
<b>Sydney Infirmary</b>	1,042	750	16	No	Yes
<b>YWCA</b>	930		37	Yes	Yes
<b>Deaf &amp; Dumb &amp; Blind Institution</b>	868	750	49	Yes	Yes
<b>Bible Society</b>	328		27	Yes	No
<b>Bush Missionary Society</b>	311		38	No	No
<b>Patriotic Fund</b>	250		1	No	No
<b>Rifle Club Prize</b>	230		9	No	No
<b>Ragged Schools</b>	88		23	No	Yes
<b>Benevolent Society</b>	68		28	Yes	Yes
<b>Destitute Children's Society</b>	49		22	No	No
<b>City Night Refuge &amp; Soup Kitchen</b>	39		23	No	No
<b>Highland Society</b>	30		4	No	Yes
<b>Home Visiting &amp; Relief Society</b>	29		13	No	Yes
<b>Charity Organisation Society</b>	22		7	No	No
<b>National Shipwreck Relief Society</b>	13		6	No	No
<b>Bethel Union</b>	12		1	No	No
<b>Sydney Dorcas Society</b>	8		4	Yes	No
<b>NSW Local Option League</b>	5		1	No	Yes
<b>Ashfield Lawn Tennis Club</b>	5		1	No	No

and as such saw it as his moral duty to be diligent. Also, the work of a board member with its financial decision making would have utilised and challenged Goodlet's skills in a way that membership of other boards did not, and this could have been intrinsically motivating to him to give the AMP his best efforts. Another probable reason was that this appointment was one of considerable honour and prestige and though John did not covet such honours, he would not have been insensitive to the need to fulfil such a role with honour and diligence.

In terms of regularity of attendance, it was PLC that followed the AMP. Goodlet was a founding member of the PLC and was a member of the council for 25 years during which time he attended 106 meetings out of a possible 128, giving an attendance record of 83 percent. His attendance at the SCM,<sup>2</sup> YMCA and StAC, to which he gave strong financial support, was reasonably poor. Goodlet was involved in the formation of StAC and this was an activity which he supported as his own interest rather than his wife Ann's. During the 43 years of his involvement he attended 250 meetings out of a possible 392 giving an attendance record of 64 percent. This is still a remarkable figure given that, for many years, the meeting date of the StAC Council clashed with those of the AMP and in that period Goodlet did not attend many Council meetings.

**Figure 11: Known Meeting Attendance of John Goodlet**

Organisation	Percentage Attendance	Meetings Attended	Possible Attendance
Australian Mutual Provident Society	95	823	866
Presbyterian Ladies College	83	106	128
Session <sup>3</sup>	67	398	592
St Andrews College Council	64	250	392
Sydney City Mission	43	110	253
Deaf & Dumb & Blind Institution	38	207	544
Benevolent Society	28	137	492

Goodlet's worst attendance records were for his governance role in charities that were primarily Ann's interest such as the DDBI and the BS, but to which he lent his support.<sup>4</sup> In his involvement with the DDBI, Goodlet was associated with the organisation for 34 years being variously a member of the board, a life member, a vice-president in 1893,<sup>5</sup> a trustee in 1899 and in 1908 the third president, a position he maintained until his death. In the time of his membership on the board he attended 207 meetings out of a possible 544 with an attendance of 38 percent. Similarly, his attendance at BS meetings during his membership was low being

<sup>2</sup> Sydney City Mission was an organisation that Goodlet was involved with from its foundation in 1862. He was heavily involved until he left for overseas in 1869. Thereafter his involvement was more remote being on the Board and the Treasurer and a very active financial supporter but he took less direct interest in attending the meetings involved in the running of the mission.

<sup>3</sup> Goodlet was an elder of three different Churches from November 1868 until his death in January 1914 and elders would meet regularly to consider the spiritual governance of the Congregation.

<sup>4</sup> It is true that John's attendance at YMCA board meetings was even worse. He was on the board as one of two Treasurers and his attendance does not seem to have been needed. His membership of the YMCA though genuine was more of value to them in terms of his role model as an eminent Christian businessman.

<sup>5</sup> The date of the appointment was December 11, 1893. Notation in Ellis Robertson's copy of New South Wales Deaf and Dumb Institution, *Thirty Second Annual Report* (1893).

around 28% of all meetings.

It would appear that though the charitable interests of the Goodlets were similar, they were neither uniform nor identical. The Goodlets had overlapping but not identical responsibilities, and when they adopted the same charity organisation they took on different roles displaying a shared and cooperative social presence. Historians have described gender roles in the nineteenth century with the metaphor of 'separate spheres',<sup>6</sup> and while such a metaphor has its limitations<sup>7</sup> it is helpful, to some degree, as a description of the different activities in which John and Ann Goodlet were engaged. According to Welter,<sup>8</sup> true women of the period were to hold the four cardinal virtues: piety, purity, submission and domesticity. In such an analysis men and women, at least among the wealthy colonists in nineteenth century NSW, had different spheres in which they predominately exercised their influence. In such a structured community men, it is said, engaged in work or business to support the family and took leadership in society and its organisations. Women remained at home and were involved in the domestic sphere, raising children, setting a good moral tone, looking after a household and providing a family home life. While such an analysis has some validity, the differentiation was not so clear cut within colonial NSW society and certainly not for the Goodlets. They did reflect such separate spheres to some degree but, like others, their situation in life amended how and the degree to which such separate spheres were pursued. The Goodlets were wealthy, childless, devoutly Christian and they were both leaders, and these factors shaped the structure of their lives.

The wealth of John Goodlet gave both he and Ann access to 'respectable' society. They seemed, however, to have had little interest in the social aspects that their position could gain for them. They rarely involved themselves in the social round of nineteenth century Sydney, but their wealth permitted both John and Ann to devote themselves to philanthropic activities. While his business prospered and he could afford skilled managers, John could make considerable time available to engage in philanthropic organisations and activities. For Ann, their wealth gave her freedom from the need to devote herself solely to the domestic sphere. She had a large house

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<sup>6</sup> Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History,' *The Historical Journal* 36, 2 (1993): 383-414.

<sup>7</sup> As Kerber notes the term has been used with some sloppiness referring 'often interchangeably to an ideology *imposed on* women, a culture *created by women*, as set of boundaries *expected to be observed by women*.' Linda K. Kerber, 'Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History,' *The Journal of American History* 75, 1, (June 1988): 17.

<sup>8</sup> Barbara Welter, 'The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860,' *American Quarterly* 18, 2, part 1 (Summer 1966):151-174.

and a country house and gardens, but she also had numerous servants to look after them, and her role in such matters was supervisory. Ann also had no children though she was in effect the surrogate mother for the Copeland children. But even in this, which did not commence until 1875, she had considerable domestic help and her more intense period of 'mothering' was relatively short.

Ann obviously had great leadership skills as she was, from as early as the 1860s, exercising leadership roles in the various groups with which she was associated. Allied to all these things were Ann's Christian convictions which led her to embrace the role of charity worker as her main outlet and activity. As Ross has pointed out, evangelicalism in the nineteenth century both reinforced the ideology of 'separate spheres' and also provided an effective justification for women's involvement in social reform and philanthropy in the public arena.<sup>9</sup> Such public philanthropic and social action was an extension of the moral and spiritual activities of the home for as Ross observes, 'it was a small step from the love of family to the love of the larger human family and this step was made easier by Christian teaching.'<sup>10</sup> As a devout Christian, Ann was keen to express her faith in compassion for those in need and as a woman of means in terms of time, ability, wealth and having a like-minded husband, it meant that she gave herself to such activities to an extraordinary degree.

Nevertheless, Ann's moving outside the domestic sphere into the more public arena largely involved taking care of the domestic management of public institutions. In such roles Ann looked after the domestic arrangements of organisations such as the DDBI and SFRS, but policy management was in the hands of a male governing committee. She is, in part, an illustration of Godden's thesis that

middle class women had an important and very active role in philanthropy: they were not confined to the 'home' or the 'private' sphere ... However, they were restricted to what contemporaries called the 'women's sphere'. The woman's sphere was based on the belief that the two sexes were fundamentally different physically, emotionally, mentally and morally, and

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<sup>9</sup> Cathy Ross, 'Separate Spheres or Shared Dominions?' *Transformation: An International Journal of Holistic Mission Studies* 23, (October 2006): 230.

<sup>10</sup> Ross, 'Separate Spheres,' 229.

that 'each sex had its own modes of expression and its own separate sources of authority.'<sup>11</sup>

Yet even in such roles it is obvious that, while respectful of the male leadership, Ann was not afraid to express her mind as to what policy should be adopted. Such was the respect with which her views were treated that her view, and those of the women's committees she headed, at times prevailed over that expressed by the respected fulltime male employees. While looking after the domestic side of philanthropic institutions, as well as more organisational and policy formulating roles such as president of the YWCA, she was confronted with decisions concerning the admissions, staff direction and employment and supervision which were to equip her for a future role as co-founder of the Consumptive Home. In this role at least, where it has been argued that she exercised a decisive role in founding, designing and administering the Home, she moved from a 'separate sphere' closer to what Ross has termed a 'shared dominion'.<sup>12</sup>

By 1887, Ann was appointed by the Colonial Governor to the State Children's Relief Board, a position she held until 1898 when she retired due to ill health.<sup>13</sup> In this role she adjudicated with eight other appointees on decisions affecting the lives of individual children, removing children from institutional care and placing them in appropriate families, approving applications for adoptions, apprenticeships and restoration of children to their parents or guardians.<sup>14</sup> Such an activity was a movement well beyond the domestic sphere and yet, when she laid the foundation stone of the Manly Presbyterian Church, it was the Rev J Walker, an 'adopted' son, who spoke on her behalf.<sup>15</sup> It would be the second Mrs Goodlet who would speak for herself when, as the first woman to do so, she addressed the General Assembly of Australia in 1909, a sign that a new generation of women had arisen in the church and that social conventions had moved on and women speaking in the public sphere was more common.

There was a concern among various charity organisations that aid be given to appropriate or worthy recipients. The concept of 'deserving' and 'undeserving', which

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<sup>11</sup> Godden, 'Philanthropy and the Women's Sphere,' xvi.

<sup>12</sup> Ross, 'Separate Spheres,' 233.

<sup>13</sup> She was appointed on April 13, 1887 and retired on July 20, 1898. *NSW Votes and Proceedings for 1899*, vol 5, 425.

<sup>14</sup> An Act to establish a System of boarding-out Children (April 5, 1881).

<sup>15</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), April 20, 1889.

reflected the values of the charitable, was used as a criterion to determine who did and did not receive aid. In referring to the Melbourne charitable network, which was equally applicable to Sydney, Swain observes that 'like its counterparts in England and the United States', the belief was that those who

contributed to their distress by their own behaviour, only encouraged an aberrant lifestyle, so almost all agencies would have insisted that only the deserving, that is the victims of misfortune, were assisted.<sup>16</sup>

These categories were not always hard and fast and were at times 'both permeable and shifting'<sup>17</sup> and while relief agencies eschewed giving relief to the undeserving the charity workers found ways to do so and while they were

limited in their ability to empathise with their clients but they were certainly not without compassion for their plight. Nor were they trapped within a discourse of charity that constructed the categories of deserving and undeserving as binary opposites.<sup>18</sup>

Charities were dependent upon public subscriptions and their ability to attract funding. This was always difficult and success was in part due to the appeal of the charity to public sympathy, and partly determined by the perception of the recipients as deserving or undeserving. Some charities, such as the SFRS, always found funding difficult because of this categorisation.

Where did the Goodlets' sympathies lie in this regard? It is not surprising that they were people of their times and did not particularly challenge this categorisation. Their private charity was indiscriminate in its admission policy which tells us little as those who contracted consumption were regarded by colonial society as utterly deserving. Of their other charitable activities, where such a categorisation is of greater relevance, the DDBI, Home Visiting Relief Society, Dorcas Society and perhaps the Ragged Schools would be regarded as charities for the deserving. They also gave financial support to the Charity Organisation Society (founded in 1878) which explicitly and expressly had as its aim 'to prevent indiscriminate and wasteful

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<sup>16</sup> Shurlee Swain, 'Destitute and dependent: Case studies in poverty in Melbourne, 1890-1900,' *Historical Studies* 19:74, 99.

<sup>17</sup> Shurlee Swain, 'Negotiating poverty: women and charity in nineteenth-century Melbourne,' *Women's History Review* 16:1, 99.

<sup>18</sup> Shurlee Swain, 'Negotiating poverty,' 110.

charity and at the same time to give assistance to the REALLY DESERVING POOR, after enquiry instead of without enquiry.<sup>19</sup>

The Benevolent Society is a little less clear as, on occasions, it took in unmarried women who had been pregnant multiple times as they realised that not to do so would leave such women destitute. As Renwick said

It is painful to find young women entering the maternity wards for their second and third confinement yet these must receive succour on the broad ground of humanity. It is true that certain institutions of the city sternly refuse shelter to an unmarried girl who has erred for the second time, but if such a course were adopted by the Benevolent Asylum it would mean risk to human life, for if the applicants were turned from the doors of the Institution the alternative would inevitably be the street.<sup>20</sup>

The SFRS, because of a poor understanding of the social and economic issues involved with prostitution and its ramifications, largely regarded prostitution as a choice the women had made so this was clearly an example of charity given to those whom many would have regarded as 'underserving'.

Of Mrs Goodlet it was said that

No one could act more wisely than she did in the bestowal of her goods. These she never considered her own absolutely. God gave them in trust for His suffering children; and in the exercise of her stewardship, she brought her common sense and her wonderful gift of insight to the investigation of every individual case. She was quick to see into the heart of things, sound in her judgement, and prompt in carrying out what she deemed best fitted to meet the case in hand.<sup>21</sup>

This description by Auld of Mrs Goodlet's role within various charitable causes gives what was considered to be her religious motivation. It also, however, revealingly praises her for that which it was considered she exemplified as a philanthropist,

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<sup>19</sup> Charity Organisation Society, *Annual Report*, 1888. The capitalization is in the original and indicates the importance placed upon the 'correct' allocation of charity by the organization and its supporters.

<sup>20</sup> Benevolent Society, *Annual Report*, 1899 (Sydney, 1900) 24.

<sup>21</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, January 10, 1903.

namely her 'insight to the investigation of every individual case'. While such words could have a general application in discerning how to help people they would appear also to be an affirmation of her role within various charitable situations of discerning the 'deserving' from the 'undeserving'.

While the major part of the Goodlet philanthropy was directed towards those charities concentrating on the 'deserving' the Goodlets were also strong supporters of the SFRS. For very long periods of time John and Ann were deeply involved in both the DDBI, a 'deserving' charity, and the SFRS, a charity which would have been regarded as being for the 'undeserving'. They gave great amounts of time to both, Ann serving as secretary of the Ladies Committee of these organisations and John as a board member and as President. Their financial commitment to both was significant, but the SFRS received almost twice as much financial support from them as that given to the DDBI. In Goodlet's will he left shares to both organisation, but to the SFRS he left twice the number than he bequeathed to the DDBI. They also involved their network of friends and family in administration of the SFRS to see that its ministry continued.

In 1904, 13 months after the death of Ann, John married Elizabeth Mary Forbes who was a close family friend of both he and Ann. Elizabeth was a person of significance in her own right, but this thesis is only concerned with her in her ten years of marriage to John and her impact on the direction and emphasis of the philanthropy of John and Ann Goodlet. There is no significant change in emphasis or direction in the Goodlet philanthropy in the last ten years of John Goodlet's life. This is not surprising as Elizabeth shared many of Ann's philanthropic interests since she had worked with Ann in these charities. What influence Elizabeth would have exercised in this period would have been in the same direction as Ann herself would have pursued. In this period, however, John was considering how he might use his remaining wealth and he made very substantial contributions to Christian missions. Given Elizabeth's great interest in missions she no doubt encouraged and supported this, but given Goodlet's own interest prior to his marriage to Elizabeth it is likely that he would have used his wealth in this way irrespective of any influence exerted by her. Elizabeth's marriage to John broadened her philanthropic interests and activities, but seems to have had little impact upon those of John and upon the direction and emphasis that he and Ann had previously maintained.

The charitable activities of the Goodlets, and particularly that of the Consumptive Home, illustrate a number of important factors in the Goodlets' philanthropy. Firstly, attention needs to be drawn to the pivotal role that Ann played in the Goodlet charitable works. She is not just a background figure in John's endeavours for she plays, as in the Home, a vital role. She often initiated work and support of charitable causes, such as the SFRS and DDBI, which are later adopted by her husband. It is argued that there are good reasons to believe that while both the Goodlets were familiar with consumption, Ann had more direct exposure to those who suffered from it and its effects. The evidence seems to point to the fact that though John provided the money for the Home, and indeed received much of the credit for the work, it was Ann who devoted so much of her time and effort to it. She was instrumental in the design of the new building, and its success was largely due to her management of its affairs.

Secondly, the charitable work of the Goodlets, while it often followed the established patterns of 'Home', was sometimes groundbreaking in NSW. The Consumptive Home was the first institution dedicated to the care of the consumptive and, unlike its equivalents in Europe, the Home was devoted to the consumptive poor and not to the middle classes. As in other areas of his life, such as in his business and less successfully in the AMP, John was not afraid to break new ground and he was prepared to back his own judgement and move ahead into areas that others had not occupied.

Thirdly, Goodlet charitable support was loyal and involved. The Goodlets, when they committed themselves to a charity's governance, did so for long periods of time. The long experience in charitable activities such as with the DDBI, the BS and the SFRS, were especially helpful in the successful operation of their own private charity. Ann in particular had an excellent knowledge of the way in which the day-to-day affairs of such institutions were run.

Fourthly, Ann and John believed in the connectedness of the Christian faith to life. They were not content just to minister to the body or the physical needs of a person, as great as those often were, but understood the need to minister to the spiritual dimension of a person. Much of the Goodlets' charity was supportive of charitable works which had a strong spiritual and Christian emphasis. John's view on Roman Catholicism and its place within the Home demonstrates the seriousness with which he held such a view. While they adopted an open door policy to all in need

irrespective of their social or religious status, they nevertheless refused the entry of Roman Catholic clergy to their Home. Goodlet often worked with Catholics in other contexts but, in common with the Protestant Presbyterian faith, John believed that Roman Catholicism was spiritually unhelpful and he was not prepared to assist in its propagation.

Fifthly, charitable work was costly to the Goodlets and they gave to it generously. The Consumptive Home, for instance, was not a charity which begrudged giving as its provisioning and outfitting was of the best quality. But Goodlet was a businessman and he knew what it was costing him to be charitable and, when he could no longer afford to maintain his level of charitable support, he acted. When financial hardship hit, Goodlet quickly took the decision that he could no longer afford this level of generosity and took immediate steps which allowed the Home to become a public charity, and he also reduced his other charitable support. When it came to dispose of the assets of the Home, he sold them to the public charity at a greatly discounted value.

Sixthly, John and Ann were both modest and honest in their charitable works. They rarely sought recognition for their work and were characteristically silent on its personal cost to them.<sup>22</sup> In the private consumptive charity they did not exaggerate its importance nor did they distort the truth of its admission policy. As far as can be verified the claims made for the Home's admissions were true. The poor and consumptive, irrespective of race or religion, could gain admittance and all their costs would be met.

Seventhly, philanthropy as spiritual engagement was an important emphasis for the Goodlets. Most of their charitable work had an explicit spiritual dimension to it and they were strong supporters of the Presbyterian Church, both in terms of giving and personal commitment to it, and of its activities and advancement. They also displayed a wide sympathy with Christian work carried on by other churches and non-church organisations.

Eighthly, the Goodlets predominantly supported the 'deserving' and did not challenge the commonly held view of 'deserving' and 'undeserving' benevolence. Nevertheless,

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<sup>22</sup> A notable exception to this practice was in the connection with challenging the Ashfield Presbyterian Congregation to extinguish the Church's debts. In 1909 Goodlet offered £2,500 on condition that the balance of £1,400 was raised by the congregation within six months. *Ashfield Presbyterian Church 1876-1976*, 18.

they did give considerable support, both financially and through governance, to the SFRS which the public would have regarded as charity to the 'undeserving'.

Ninthly, John's marriage to Elizabeth did not significantly alter the direction and emphasis of the Goodlet philanthropy of previous years. In this time, however, John was considering how he might use his remaining wealth and he made very substantial contributions to Christian missions.

Finally, as demonstrated by John's giving and governance, his major personal interests were in those organisations that equipped people for the future such as the AMP, PLC and StAC, philanthropy as improvement, rather than those organisations that exercised a ministry of mercy and social welfare such as the SFRS, DDBI and the BS, philanthropy as relief. Goodlet obviously found his work in the military of immense satisfaction and this was his major example of philanthropy as civic engagement. Those charities that exercised a ministry of mercy and social welfare, philanthropy as relief, were more Ann's province. It is not that John was disinterested in such charities, he was, and through Ann and his giving he gave them substantial aid. It was more that, in part, John was able to give further assistance to the AMP, PLC and StAC because they required a much greater exercise of his business acumen and skills. Those charities requiring daily attention and personal care necessarily fell on Ann's shoulders. The Goodlets had a relationship in which both could follow their interests in ways that were mutually reinforcing, non-exclusive and yet complementary.



## CHAPTER 10 Comparative Philanthropic Profiles

Looking back on the life of John Hay Goodlet we must ask the question, 'How integrated was his business practice with his Christian and philanthropic activities?' In answering such a question, it is of value to put Goodlet's philanthropy, and its integration with his practice, alongside that of other philanthropists of the period to see what similarities and differences emerge. In order to take up this question, it is interesting to compare his philanthropy, attitudes, integrity and reputation in this regard with that of other famous émigré Scottish philanthropic businessmen of the time. For the purpose of comparison two will suffice, Thomas Walker (NSW) and Andrew Carnegie (America), who were both well-known business men and philanthropists. [Photo page 283] Walker, Carnegie and Goodlet were all Scots and had left Scotland in order to secure a better future. When the philanthropy of Walker and Carnegie is examined, the most obvious and initially striking difference between theirs and that of the Goodlets, is that Jane Walker and Louise Carnegie are not really involved in their husband's philanthropy. Walker did not begin his philanthropic activities until after the death of his wife, and Carnegie married late and his wife Louise was not significantly involved in his philanthropic endeavours. So while the comparison really ought to be between Walker, Carnegie and both Goodlets, for ease of comparison only John Goodlet will be used. This will be sufficient to demonstrate the differences between the philanthropists and the trend of their attitudes.

### Thomas Walker and John Goodlet

Like Goodlet, Walker was born in Leith but was some 31 years older than him. Walker came to Sydney in 1822 and was very successful as a general merchant in his uncle's business, and later also as a director of the Bank of NSW and the Australasian Steamship Navigation Company. He devoted himself to 'higher speculative pursuits'<sup>1</sup> and amassed a significant fortune. Despite the fact that he was regarded by some as tight-fisted, he was also conscientious and benevolent.<sup>2</sup> At his death, he left £100,000 to build and endow a Convalescent Hospital at Concord, and he also bequeathed an additional sum of £20,000 for charity. He was not without his critics, however, and in an article written at the time of his death it is suggested that like most men who have accumulated a large fortune he never allowed himself to be

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<sup>1</sup> At his death he held some £416,316 in mortgages, £165,000 in debentures, £143,583 worth of shares in Banking, Shipping and Coal companies and land worth £194,410. Walker also had assets in other Australian colonies. *NSW State Records*, Thomas Walker Estate Papers. *SMH*, September 3, 1886.

<sup>2</sup> W. Joy, 'Walker, Thomas (1804-1886)' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 2, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967) 565.

influenced by brotherly kindness when transacting business, and sometimes showed he possessed a grasping nature.<sup>3</sup>

To illustrate the point the article recounted an event whereby Walker displayed such a nature:

he had a debtor a few years ago who owed him about £40,000. As security for the debt he held a mortgage over a property which was worth considerably more than the sum he had advanced. Mr. Walker coveted this property, and he hoped to obtain it by the easy process of a foreclosure. When, therefore, the time had come for action, he sent a notice to his debtor demanding payment of the amount he owed, and intimating that if the money were not forthcoming on a certain day, he would foreclose the mortgage. The demand surprised the debtor, but as he did not desire to let the property pass out of his hands, he set to work to raise the money. He was successful in his endeavour, and a day or two before the expiration of the time fixed upon, he sent or - offered his creditor a cheque for the entire sum. Mr. Walker was deeply mortified and he showed his mortification and something also as well, by refusing the cheque on the ground that it was not a legal tender and insisting upon being paid in currency. He supposed that his debtor might not be able to get together 40,000 sovereigns within the specified time. But he was mistaken; and on the morning of the last day allowed for the payment of the money a procession of about ten clerks was seen walking into the City Bank carrying between them the gold that was required to satisfy the claim.<sup>4</sup>

While acknowledging his many acts of charity, the article concludes that despite his philanthropic activities 'no one cared to do business with him.'<sup>5</sup> Pointedly, the next comments made by the author of the article are a comparison with Goodlet and his work in providing the Consumptive Home. No similar critical comments are made about Goodlet's business ethics, and the article is unstinting in its praise of him, noting that 'Mr Goodlet has never displayed any ostentation in connection with this charity; on the contrary, he has conducted it so quietly that the bulk of citizens do not even know of its existence.'<sup>6</sup> By the juxtaposition of these comments, one

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<sup>3</sup>*The Brisbane Courier (Brisbane, Qld)*, September 23, 1886.

<sup>4</sup>*The Brisbane Courier (Brisbane, Qld)*, September 23, 1886.

<sup>5</sup>*The Brisbane Courier (Brisbane, Qld)*, September 23, 1886.

<sup>6</sup>*The Brisbane Courier (Brisbane, Qld)*, September 23, 1886.

suspects that the newspaper is making a social judgement on the relative degrees of integration of Goodlet and Walker's philanthropic and business attitudes.

A more detailed examination of Walker's philanthropy, in comparison with that of Goodlet, is revealing. In regard to philanthropists, it is difficult to compare the amounts given and the manner in which they were allocated as one cannot be sure that all donations have been uncovered. Indeed, it is doubtful if the full extent of either Goodlet's or Walker's benevolence is known, particularly in the case of Goodlet who gave in such a way as not to draw attention to his benefactions. Sufficient information, however, has been uncovered to give an indication of the outlines and trend of their generosity and approaches. It is true that both Walker and Goodlet gave away considerable sums of money,<sup>7</sup> Walker gave some \$16.98 million (2008 value) whereas Goodlet gave some \$15.46 million (2008 value),<sup>8</sup> and so from this perspective Walker gave more in terms of monetary value.

When the timing of this giving is examined, however, a different perspective arises. Walker only began to give in any significant way in the last two decades of his life with a gift of £1,000 to the Sydney Infirmary in 1868, and the promise of a further £1,000 for the construction of the Prince Alfred Hospital. By the time of his death some 18 years later in 1886, the cumulative value of his donations was \$3.41 million (2008 value), and it is only the gifts under the terms of his will that raise his cumulative giving to \$16.98 million (2008 value). By contrast, Goodlet gave much more over his lifetime with the cumulative total of this giving being \$11.59 million (2008 value), and the benevolence in his will only increased the cumulative total to a little less than \$15.46 million (2008 value). The probate on Walker's estate was on a value of \$141,346,154 (2008 value) whereas that of Goodlet was \$8,955,915 (2008 value). From these figures it seems that Walker had much more to give during his lifetime, but gave mostly through his estate. This giving constituted some 80% of his total giving, whereas Goodlet gave consistently throughout his lifetime with his estate benevolence adding only 26% to his final total.

Goodlet's giving tended to be consistent in that he supported many charities over long periods of time by giving small annual donations. He often gave larger amounts

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<sup>7</sup> Both Goodlet and Walker provided bequests for individual family members that contingent upon certain circumstances might go to charity. Such amounts and values have been ignored for the purpose of understanding the trends of their philanthropy.

<sup>8</sup> So that a meaningful comparison can be made between the monetary value of the giving of Walker and Goodlet, who gave over different periods of time, these amounts have been adjusted for inflation in the value of the pound over time.

than other donors, but not so much more as to cause comment, and he rarely attached conditions to his giving. Walker, on the other hand, gave spasmodically and mostly over the last 20 years of his life. When he did give, he frequently gave a substantial sum of money, often donations of some hundreds of pounds, and in some cases even gifts of £1,000 at a time. Whether it was the donor's intent or not, such large donations caught people's attention, were commented upon and widely reported. In contrast, donations made by the Goodlets usually raised no comment at all. Walker often stipulated that his donations be held in trust, and that the interest from the donations be applied in his name as his annual donation to the particular organisation. Walker's approach was an efficient, time-effective, and business-like approach to philanthropy, but it meant a reduction in the interaction Walker had with the body receiving his philanthropy.

A significant contrast then between Walker and Goodlet was their level of involvement in the work that their philanthropy supported. Goodlet was very involved in a substantial number of the organisations he financially supported. He often gave leadership to them in governance roles, and gave very considerable amounts of his time to this aspect of the charity. By contrast, Walker rarely, if ever, involved himself in the administration of a charity,<sup>9</sup> and his giving was often at 'arm's length'. It was reported that, for a time, he employed an agent to privately seek out and relieve people in distress,<sup>10</sup> and this 'arm's length' approach to his philanthropy is seen in the distribution of some £10,000 when he left the colony for England in 1882. Being too busy, he left it to two trusted friends to distribute the funds after his departure. Walker did not even stipulate the causes to which the funds were to be applied, and his friends were to distribute the money as they saw fit. In his estate, while £100,000 was left specifically for a convalescent hospital, the additional sum of £20,000 was a bequest for undesignated charity. Walker did not stipulate where it was to go, but simply left its allocation to the discretion of the executors.

This approach to philanthropy, with Walker giving his money but neither his time nor even selecting which charities to support, could be interpreted as the actions of a man who wanted to do something for society, but who was aware of his strengths and limitations. It could also be viewed as the actions of a perceived duty on his part without much personal commitment to the objects of his philanthropy. Whatever the

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<sup>9</sup> He did however serve as a member of the first Legislative Council for the District of Port Phillip for a little over 2 years from 1843 - 1845.

<sup>10</sup> *The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser (Maitland, NSW)*, September 7, 1886.

case, Walker's philanthropic approach was in marked contrast to that of John and Ann Goodlet. The Goodlets gave extensively and consistently in John's lifetime, and very often heavily involved themselves in the philanthropic organisations that they supported. While it is true that business had a higher call on Walker's interest, perhaps a factor in his case is that he did not have the encouragement of a long-time philanthropic partner as Goodlet did.<sup>11</sup>

At the time of the opening of the Consumptive Home, it was said by Dr Renwick that Mr and Mrs Goodlet

had, in providing for some of their fellow-creatures who were in direst need, fulfilled the highest and noblest trust that could be conferred upon them, and he thought they had shown great wisdom in fulfilling it while they were yet alive.<sup>12</sup>

This philanthropic approach by the Goodlets, which involved giving while Goodlet was alive and also a personal involvement in the day-to-day administration of the Home, was in contrast to that of Walker. In giving for his great convalescent hospital project, which also provided a much needed facility, Walker had not adopted their philanthropic approach. Walker displayed a more detached benevolence, leaving it until his death to make funds available and thereby also leaving the organisation of the hospital's construction and maintenance to the trustees of his will.

Yet it is obvious from Walker's philanthropy during his lifetime that certain causes did capture his personal attention. Unlike Goodlet, Thomas Walker made several large donations that supported particular cultural and civic objectives. In 1877, he spent almost £1,000 to purchase a 'Mr. Hargraves superb conchological collection' and presented it to the Museum.<sup>13</sup> Then, in 1881, he expended some £1,500 in the purchase of Marshall Wood's statue 'Song of the Shirt' for donation to the Art Gallery,<sup>14</sup> £500 to transport an organ for the Great Hall at Sydney University,<sup>15</sup> and

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<sup>11</sup> Walker married on July 25, 1860 and his wife Jane (nee Hart) died on December 26, 1870. *Empire (Sydney, NSW)*, December 29, 1870.

<sup>12</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, September 25, 1886.

<sup>13</sup> *SMH*, July 6, 1877.

<sup>14</sup> *SMH*, August 6, 1881.

<sup>15</sup> *SMH*, March 15, 1881.

an additional donation of £5,000 for scholarships for students (both men and women) at the university.<sup>16</sup>

When the donations made by Walker prior to his death are examined, removing those made in 1882 as they were not determined by him, certain trends become apparent. Unlike Goodlet, Walker gives almost nothing to the church.<sup>17</sup> It was commented at his death that he was an 'ardent believer in the principles of Christianity, and recognised the obligation which the Founder of the system imposed on believers to do good to all men according as they had opportunity',<sup>18</sup> and yet he showed no desire to be of any great assistance to any institutional church. In his will he left £20,000 to 'Charitable (not religious) Institutions established or to be established in New South Wales.'<sup>19</sup> Walker, it was said, was a man of narrow view but very charitable. Yet such charity excluded the church for it was commented at his death that:

on his deathbed Archbishop Whately thanked God that he had never given a shilling to a street beggar. Mr Thomas Walker could have made a similar statement concerning the churches. He had a strong and unchangeable dislike to every religious denomination, and it is said that during the last half century not one of them received a single subscription from him.<sup>20</sup>

Such an explicit lack of support for the organisation of the church and its specific mission suggests that, while he held to the moral imperatives of Christianity, he was not, unlike Goodlet, committed to the church and its spiritual philanthropy. A more accurate description of his philanthropy was that he 'delighted in acts of beneficence, and during his lifetime gave away many thousands of pounds for the relief of those suffering, and in aid of various charitable enterprises.'<sup>21</sup> Yet even this description does not do justice to his philanthropic emphasis. Those donations he gave which were £500 or more, are listed in Figure 12. [Page 281]

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<sup>16</sup> *The Clarence and Richmond Examiner and New England Advertiser (Grafton, NSW)*, July 26, 1881.

<sup>17</sup> He did, however, give £100 in 1859 for the building of a church in Concord which would seem more the act expected of a responsible local citizen rather than any commitment to the church itself.

<sup>18</sup> *The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser (Maitland, NSW)*, September 7, 1886.

<sup>19</sup> 'Last Will and Testament of Thomas Walker,' August 26, 1873. *NSW State Records*, 13660, 3, 17/2169, Series 3-13992 *Thomas Walker, Date of death, September 2, 1886, Granted on 22 November 1886*. This provision and other stipulations in the will about not giving to 'religious' institutions explains why JT Walker, a loyal and active son of the Presbyterian Church, who was for a time sole Trustee of the Estate did not use his discretion to allocate money to any Church institution.

<sup>20</sup> Richard Whately (1 February 1787 – 8 October 1863) was an English theologian and economist who served as Anglican Archbishop of Dublin (1831-1863). *The Brisbane Courier (Brisbane, Qld)*, September 10, 1886.

<sup>21</sup> *SMH*, September 16, 1886.

From this information it becomes clear that Walker gave his strongest support to 'charitable enterprises' that were largely designed to build the civic structures of colonial society, with its emphasis on scholarships at the university, support of hospitals, cultural and educational support for the Art Gallery, the University Organ, the Royal Society building and Museum acquisitions. He also showed support for philanthropy as improvement in his support of the SFRS, a significant charity which also engaged the active involvement of the Goodlets. He was, however, much less committed to philanthropy 'as relief of those suffering' than were the Goodlets.

**Figure 12: Thomas Walker Donations £500 or more**

<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Donation</b>
Sydney University Scholarships	5,000
Infants Home	2,800
Sydney Infirmary	2,100
Prince Alfred Hospital	2,000
Sydney Art Gallery Marshall Wood Statue 'Song of the Shirt'	1,500
Sydney Female Refuge Society	1,475
Home Visiting and Relief Society	1,000
Patriotic Fund Sudan	1,000
Australian Museum - Hargraves Shell Collection	1,000
New Hospital Bathurst	500
Royal Society New Building	500
University Organ Committee - Organ Great Hall	500

In summary, Walker was a significant philanthropist in terms of the amount of money he gave while he lived. The causes that reflected his philanthropic emphasis were those civic causes that built up the amenity of colonial society. In his will, he left his largest philanthropic donation for the construction of a Convalescent Hospital which continued his civic building philanthropy, and his interest in developing hospital facilities. The remainder of his bequest also demonstrated his 'arm's length' approach to philanthropy in that he left it to the discretion of his Trustees to determine the distribution of the bequest. It is evident that Walker's primary interest was not philanthropy but business. He concentrated his time on business and left the personal commitment to philanthropic causes to people like the Goodlets.

## Andrew Carnegie and John Goodlet

Andrew Carnegie, born in the same year as Goodlet and dying a few years after him, was almost an exact contemporary of Goodlet. Whereas Goodlet went alone to the colonies, Carnegie went with his family to America. Carnegie made his fortune in the production of steel whereas Goodlet made his fortune through timber, bricks and tiles. Carnegie, by far the richer and better known of the two men, is still renowned as a philanthropist to this day, whereas Goodlet is a forgotten figure. Thus, the two men are contrasted in more than simply physical ways (Goodlet was as distinctively tall as Carnegie was short) entailing differences in public profile, degree of wealth, philanthropic approach and ultimate recognition.

Goodlet was self-effacing and did not court public attention, whereas it is clear that Carnegie was self-promoting, loved the sound of his own voice,<sup>22</sup> and craved public attention and acknowledgement. In the early 1880s, he began the lifelong practice of spending his own money to have his speeches and articles reprinted in pamphlet form.<sup>23</sup> He took opportunity to publicly express his views on wealth, and was nearly always keen to speak to any journalist who wished to interview him. Whereas Goodlet said little about his philanthropy, and its rationale needs to be discerned from his actions, Carnegie was constantly expressing his views. He published his attitudes to giving and wealth in journal articles and eventually in a book called 'The Gospel of Wealth'.<sup>24</sup> When Goodlet gave, though it was not always in secret, there is no recorded attempt to ensure that his giving would result in acknowledgement, nor did he desire to see his name perpetuated in some way within the institution he supported. Carnegie, on the other hand, sought these things, although he did not insist on his name being used in any library he donated. Often, however, the recipients felt some obligation to do so and to such a degree that his name is almost a household word in the contemporary United States. Frederick Gates, the principal advisor to the American Philanthropist John D Rockefeller, said of Carnegie that he 'gave philanthropically so that he could see his name blazed in stone all over the country'.<sup>25</sup> Such an accusation could never have been levelled at Goodlet.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> David Nasaw, *Andrew Carnegie* (New York, Penguin Press: 2006), 187.

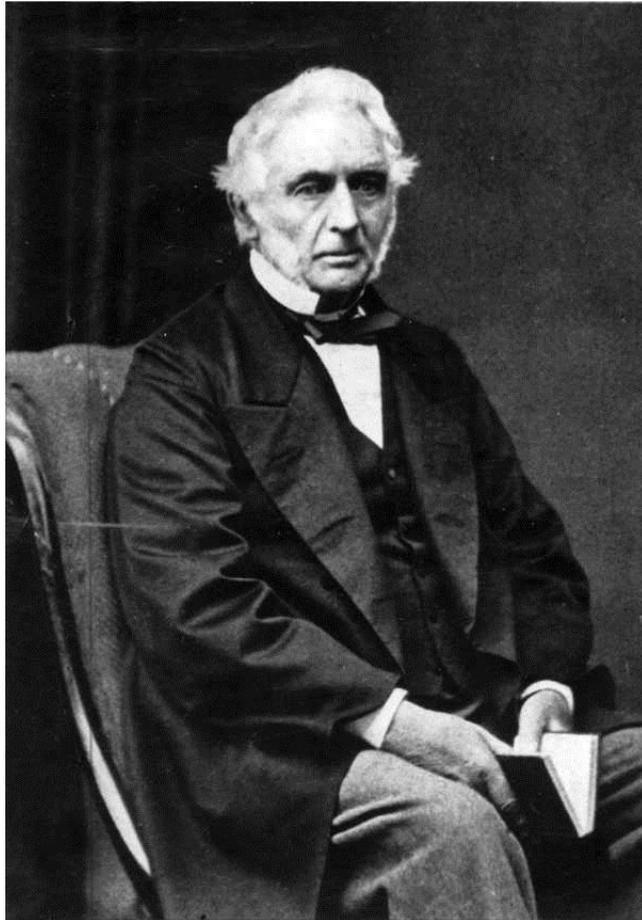
<sup>23</sup> Nasaw, *Carnegie*, xii sees Carnegie as desiring to 'establish himself as a man of letters, as well known and respected for his writing and intellect as for his ability to make money'. See also Nasaw, *Carnegie*, 223.

<sup>24</sup> Andrew Carnegie, 'Wealth,' *North American Review*, CCCXCI (June 1889):1-7.  
<http://www.swarthmore.edu/SocSci/rbannis1/AIH19th/Carnegie.html> [accessed May 31, 2011].

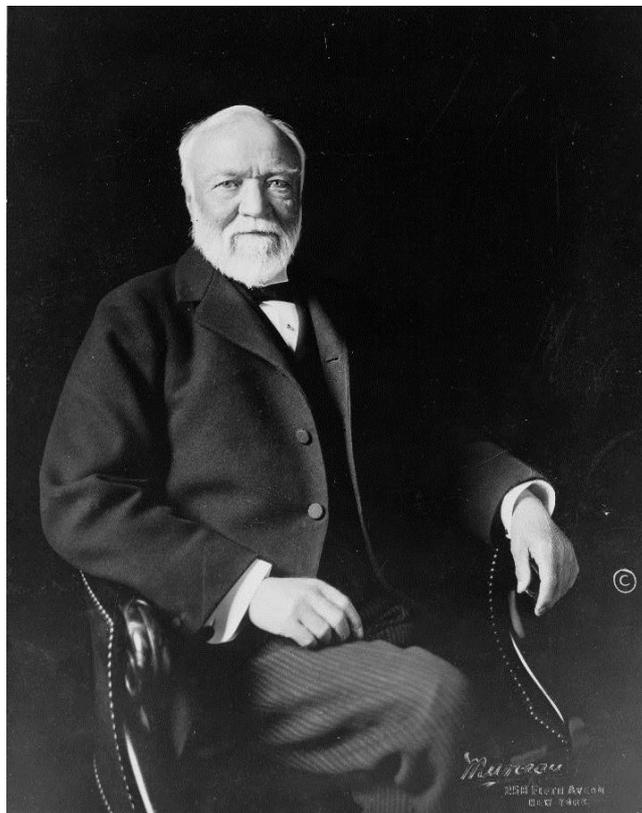
<sup>25</sup> Judith Sealander, 'Curing Evils at Their Source' in Lawrence J Friedman and Mark D McGarvie, eds, *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 224.

<sup>26</sup> The only building to bear his name, the Sunday school hall at Ashfield, was so named after John Goodlet's death.

**Philanthropists who were contemporaries  
of John Hay Goodlet**



**Thomas Walker**  
1806-1886



**Andrew Carnegie**  
1835-1919

Goodlet saw himself as a steward of the blessing that God had bestowed upon his labours. His philanthropy was motivated by a self-conscious Christian responsibility to assist the poor, sick and suffering, and to promote the spiritual message of Christianity. Carnegie, by contrast, was not a Christian but was deeply influenced by Spencer,<sup>27</sup> was hostile towards organized religion, and

though born a Scotsman, he was not a Calvinist in any sense of the word. He did not regard hard work as a virtue in itself. Nor did he believe that the accumulation of wealth was a sign of his 'election' or a just reward for past diligence. The piling up of wealth signified nothing in itself, except that one had been in the right place at the right time, avoided a variety of moral vices, and wisely concentrated one's energies and talents.<sup>28</sup>

Carnegie, as a disciple of Spencer rather than Jesus, saw his role as a millionaire as 'a product of natural selection ... he was the fittest to exercise it. In the exercise of this trust he was responsible only to his own conscience and judgment of what was best for the community.'<sup>29</sup> The views that Carnegie advanced in 'The Gospel of Wealth' were not simply a defense of capitalism; they were an exhortation to businessmen to work harder in order to accumulate more profits. 'The end was all that mattered: the means were not to be questioned'.<sup>30</sup> While Carnegie said one needed to be animated by the Spirit of Christ by laboring for the good of our fellows, which he regarded as the essence of Jesus' teaching, yet one needed to recognize the changed conditions which the nineteenth century presented. One such change was the law of competition which forced the employer into economies such as curbing wages. But this law of competition had brought material blessings and we

cannot evade it; no substitutes for it has been found; and while the law may be sometimes hard for the individual, it is best for the race, because it insures the survival of the fittest in every department.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Herbert Spencer (27 April 1820 – 8 December 1903) was an English philosopher and biologist. He coined the concept 'survival of the fittest', and extended the Darwinian theory of evolution into the realms of sociology and ethics. This became known as Social Darwinism and referred to the notion of the struggle for existence being used to justify social policies which made no distinction between those who were, and were not, able to support themselves.

<sup>28</sup> Nasaw, *Carnegie*, 82. There is no evidence to suggest that Goodlet, though no doubt more in sympathy than Carnegie with the Calvinism of his upbringing, saw his wealth and business success in Weberian terms of confirmation of his election as alluded to by Nasaw.

<sup>29</sup> Robert H. Bremner, *American Philanthropy* 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 101.

<sup>30</sup> Nasaw, *Carnegie*, 361.

<sup>31</sup> Carnegie, 'Wealth,' 2.

In such a statement he was echoing the sentiments of his mentor Spencer who said to Carnegie in a letter:

It seems hard that a laborer incapacitated by sickness from competing with his stronger fellows, should have to bear the resulting privations. It seems hard that widows and orphans should be left to struggle for life or death. Nevertheless, when regarded not separately, but in connection with the interests of universal humanity, these harsh fatalities are seen to be full of the highest beneficence.<sup>32</sup>

By holding such views, Carnegie was able to justify his constant attempts to increase profitability by the reduction of costs, which often meant the reduction of wages and conditions, and the infliction of suffering upon his employees.

Having declared that his role in the larger evolutionary schema was to make as much money as possible so that he would have the maximum amount to give away, he was obligated to squeeze profits out of his enterprises. And that required him to pay his workers as little as possible.<sup>33</sup>

Carnegie's 'sharp' and at times morally dubious business practices and attitudes, were reflexively excused simply because they allowed him to have more money so that he had more to give away.<sup>34</sup> During his lifetime Carnegie, who was very, very wealthy, sought to give away his fortune before he died and he almost succeeded in doing so. He gave away immense sums of money, far in excess of the amounts that either Walker or Goodlet distributed. Carnegie gave away some \$US 350 million (\$AU 8,890 million in 2008 value) in his lifetime, and left in his will for charity some \$US 20 million (\$AU 508 million in 2008 value).<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Nasaw, *Carnegie*, 251. Similar views were expressed by Carnegie – yet Carnegie set up an employee's fund Nasaw, *Carnegie*, 589-90. Carnegie was not so consistent with his evolutionary views as to ignore such a need.

<sup>33</sup> Nasaw, *Carnegie*, 522.

<sup>34</sup> Nasaw, *Carnegie*, px-xi.

<sup>35</sup> Nasaw, *Carnegie*, 801. Nasaw's indicative estimates as at 1919 have been adjusted in this thesis to the 2008 US dollar value and then converted into Australian dollars using the average 2008 exchange rate between the US and Australian dollar. See [www.x-rates.com/d/AUD/USD/hist2008.htm](http://www.x-rates.com/d/AUD/USD/hist2008.htm) and <http://mykindred.com/cloud/TX/Documents/dollar/> [accessed July 24, 2011]. The latter conversion instrument is based on the discussion in John G. McCusker, 'How Much Is That in Real Money? A Historical Price Index for Use as a Deflator of Money Values in the Economy of the United States.' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 101, 2, (1992), 297-373. The value of the amount given away by Carnegie in his life time is, however, much more than this estimate. \$350 million is the actual total of Carnegie's giving, up to the time of his death in 1919, and has not been adjusted for the change in the value of the \$US over the period of Carnegie's life. D. Nasaw personal communication July 24, 2011.

He viewed the wise administration of wealth as a foil to radical views about societal wealth redistribution, so that 'the ties of brotherhood may still bind together rich and poor in harmonious relationship.'<sup>36</sup> In part, he seems to have been motivated by a desire to give back to the community that had enabled him to become rich.<sup>37</sup> He was not content to be philanthropic after his death through his estate for he said

men who leave vast sums in this way may fairly be thought men who would not have left it at all, had they been able to take it with them. The memories of such cannot be held in grateful remembrance, for there is no grace in their gifts. It is not to be wondered at that such bequests seem so generally to lack the blessing.<sup>38</sup>

Carnegie was part of a movement of a few wealthy individuals, such as John D Rockefeller, Olivia Sage and Edward Harkness<sup>39</sup> who, in part because of the scale of their wealth, had begun to rethink the purposes of charity. They concluded that philanthropy should seek causes and cures. It should

find a remedy for a disease, rather than build a hospital to treat its victims. It should root out the reasons for poverty, not give alms to the impoverished. It should expand knowledge and deal in new ideas, one perhaps initially too risky for government officials or private organizations dependent on public approval to embrace.<sup>40</sup>

Such philanthropists wanted to use their wealth to remake society and not just relieve its ills and beautify its public spaces. They wanted a 'scientific philanthropy', a philanthropy which was orderly and systematic and which would deal with the causes of poverty.

In terms of the objects of Carnegie's philanthropy, therefore, he had little time for philanthropy as relief, and considered it a waste for neither the individual nor the race was improved by alms-giving. Such a view was easier to maintain when one

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<sup>36</sup> Carnegie, 'Wealth,' 1.

<sup>37</sup> Nasaw, *Carnegie*, x.

<sup>38</sup> Carnegie, 'Wealth,' 4.

<sup>39</sup> John Davison Rockefeller (July 8, 1839 – May 23, 1937) a German-American oil magnate and founder of the Standard Oil Company; Margaret Olivia Sage (8 September 1828-4 November 1918) wife of Russel Sage, who after his death disposed of his fortune. Edward Stephen Harkness (January 22, 1874 – January 29, 1940) inherited a fortune from his father.

<sup>40</sup> Sealander, 'Curing Evils,' 221.

had little ongoing, firsthand knowledge with sufferers and those who experienced poverty. Unlike the Goodlets, Carnegie was remote from his workforce and from the suffering of poverty. The evolutionary and improvement theory and justification for Carnegie's philanthropy required that, in bestowing charity, the main consideration was to

help those who will help themselves; to provide part of the means by which those who desire to improve may do so; to give those who desire to use the aids by which they may rise; to assist but never to do all.<sup>41</sup>

The Goodlets were also sympathetic to the encouragement of self-improvement through philanthropy, as is evidenced by John's primary philanthropic interests, but he was much closer, particularly through Ann, to the needs of the community. The Goodlets knew firsthand its suffering and plight, much more so than Carnegie, and this elicited a compassionate response in the Goodlets and they therefore gave, albeit with discrimination, to causes that Carnegie would have thought unworthy of philanthropic support.

Though Carnegie made

a few bows in the direction of reforming the character and improving the morals of the poor, the assistance which had seemed most valuable to many nineteenth-century philanthropists, he was not really interested in those who needed this kind of help. The uplift he favored was of a different and less direct variety: libraries, parks, concert halls, museums, 'swimming baths'.<sup>42</sup>

To Carnegie, these were the 'ladders upon which the aspiring can arise.'<sup>43</sup> Although he donated organs to churches, Carnegie did not support organized Christian faith in his philanthropy. His provision of organs for churches was related to his love of music not to any love of Christ. His underlying attitude to the donation of church organs is revealed in a comment he made when he said that 'the organ performance in the morning at Skibo ... is my substitute for family prayers.'<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Carnegie, 'Wealth,' 6.

<sup>42</sup> Bremner, *American Philanthropy*, 103.

<sup>43</sup> Carnegie, 'Wealth,' 6.

<sup>44</sup> Nasaw, *Carnegie*, 608.

Goodlet, though sharing some of Carnegie's improving philanthropic emphases if not his rationale, was closer to those nineteenth century philanthropists who sought to reform character and to give alms and provide relief to those who suffered. Walker, in his interests, exhibited a medial position between the two men.

### **Business and Philanthropic Integrity**

Walker, Goodlet and Carnegie lived in different 'cultures of the gift', and these cultures interacted with their personal drives and philosophies to produce different relationships between philanthropy and public culture. Walker gave in a detached manner, 'at arms length', and did not involve himself in the objects of his philanthropy. His philanthropy was concentrated in the latter part of his life, and his greatest gifts were given through his estate.

Working in the individualistic, capitalist world of expansionary America, philanthropy became to Carnegie an end in itself. The means by which money was supplied to further that end was not coloured by the generosity of philanthropy, for he drove his partners and employees and crushed a workingmen's union in the pursuit of larger profits. Carnegie's philanthropy, and his business practices, lived in an unintegrated way in different worlds, even though they were reconcilable in his own thought. As one of his detractors Richard Teller Crane, a fellow industrialist and philanthropist, said of Carnegie, he was 'the Dr. Jekyll of library building and the Mr Hyde of Homestead rioting and destruction'.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, many saw his philanthropy as an 'expiation of his sins' against the workers whose wages he had reduced to improve his profits, a view to which Carnegie himself never subscribed and regarded as grossly unfair.<sup>46</sup> Certainly it is true that Carnegie tried to remove the stain on his character of the events surrounding the Homestead riots and deaths, but his philanthropy was not a part of that endeavor.<sup>47</sup>

Goodlet, on the other hand, was never credibly accused of inconsistency between his mode of commercial operation and his philanthropy.<sup>48</sup> At the 1905 jubilee picnic of *Goodlet and Smith*, the reciprocal loyalty between Goodlet and his employees was

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<sup>45</sup> Hollis B. Field, 'The Multimillionaires of Chicago II, R.T Crane,' *Chicago Tribune*, June 9, 1907. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/173353688?accountid=13902>

<sup>46</sup> Nasaw, *Carnegie*, 462.

<sup>47</sup> David Nasaw, *Andrew Carnegie* 462.

<sup>48</sup> The only accusation that was ever made was during the political campaign of 1895 when it was suggested that Goodlet 'ground down wages'. The one off claim was comprehensively refuted by Goodlet and there is no evidence to support the accusation. It was treated at the time as a piece of electioneering by a critic and never repeated. *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, July 20, 1895.

remarked upon. The men on that occasion said: 'We feel it a great privilege to be in your employment; your uniform kindness and consideration at all times deepens the regard we bear you.'<sup>49</sup> On such occasions pleasant things would be said of an employer and it could be viewed as a prudent address recognizing Goodlet as the patron of their economic well-being<sup>50</sup> and in part this may be so, but the content of this expression of goodwill towards Goodlet goes beyond politeness. It indicates a genuine regard, respect and admiration held by his employees towards him. Such respect, as the citation indicated, flowed from his treatment of his workers. That many remained in his employ for such extended periods is also indicative of his treatment of them and a report of the jubilee picnic of *Goodlet and Smith* made a point of informing readers that one man had been with Goodlet for 47 years, one 42 years, two for 40 years, one for 37 years, two for 36 years, two for 35, one for 33 and many for 30 years. In his will Goodlet recognized what he owed to certain key employees leaving bequests, totaling 1,300 shares in *Goodlet and Smith*, to nine of them.<sup>51</sup>

This is not to say that Goodlet, and other contemporary philanthropists, were necessarily totally consistent. Godden has suggested that contemporary reputations were not affected by the inconsistency of philanthropists, such as Sir George Wigram Allen and others, being both a slum landlord and a philanthropist.<sup>52</sup> Godden draws attention to the devastating critique of Allen's properties by the *Investigation of the Sydney City and Suburban Sewerage Board*, describing them as

built of rubble ... a stinking hole ... vermin abounded ... we were obliged to leave hastily – we could not stand the smell ... the tenants of these houses all complained of ill health.<sup>53</sup>

This same report, Godden notes, criticizes the state of three Goodlet-owned properties which were rented for 10 shillings a week describing them as 'very much

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<sup>49</sup> Presentation Book and Illuminated Address made to Goodlet in 1905. The original is held by AS Copeland, a great grandson of Joseph Copeland.

<sup>50</sup> Perhaps reflecting the reciprocal relationship of paternalism. Roberts, *Paternalism*, 171-183.

<sup>51</sup> Family members who were also employees also received bequests of shares.

<sup>52</sup> Judith Godden, *Philanthropy and the Woman's Sphere*, iii-iv.

<sup>53</sup> Report and Evidence of the Investigating Committees of the Sydney City and Suburban Sewerage Health Board, *N.S.W.L.A., Votes & Proceedings*, 1875-6, vol 5, 628.

in want of repair<sup>54</sup> which, considering the language applied to other properties in the area, was a relatively mild rebuke. It is not known how long Goodlet had owned these properties and it is possible that he had not owned them for any significant period of time as *Goodlet and Smith* had not long relocated into the area from Erskine Street. The standard of the housing may not have gained the approval of the sanitation visitor, but the rental of these dwellings, compared to that of those whose housing received a devastating critique, was double. This suggests that the tenants did not see them at all in the same class as the 'slums' of Wigram Allen. In any case, Goodlet owned very few rental properties and was not a significant landlord, and such rental properties that he did own contributed a trifle in terms of income from his business. This comment on these properties was, however, a negative assessment on Goodlet's stewardship in this regard which was a 'black mark' on his business practice and reputation.

Carnegie had decided to give away his wealth and in this way solve the problem of the 'Rich and the Poor', and to bring he said, loosely quoting the Bible for his own purposes, 'Peace on earth, among men of Good-will.'<sup>55</sup> Goodlet also wished to see such peace descend upon the 'Rich and the Poor' alike. Unlike Carnegie, however, he believed in the Bible's message and perspective so that that which Carnegie left out of his Bible quotation, 'Glory to God in the highest', was a driving factor in Goodlet's Christian philanthropy. So it was that Goodlet, unlike Carnegie, supported the church and Christian organizations. His support indicated that he did not see that such peace would come through the public philanthropy of those like Carnegie, but rather through Christ's message of reconciliation that the church and Christian organizations preached. In stark contrast to Carnegie and Walker, Goodlet enjoyed a virtually unsullied reputation for fairness and honesty and was given great loyalty by his workforce. The assessment of the *Australian Men of Mark* concerning his business was that success has attended the firm from the beginning, and was 'attributed to the manner in which it has been conducted; marked deeply by a steadfast adherence to Christian principles.'<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> This refers to three properties owned by Goodlet and Smith near their wharf and timber yard in Murray Street, Pyrmont. Report and Evidence of the Investigating Committees of the Sydney City and Suburban Sewerage Health Board, N.S.W.L.A., V & P, 1875-6, vol 5, 627. Judith Godden, *Philanthropy and the Woman's Sphere*, iii, see footnote 3.

<sup>55</sup> Carnegie, 'Wealth,' 7. The actual quotation is 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.' Luke 2:16, King James Version.

<sup>56</sup> *Australian Men of Mark* Vol. 1, 344; *NSW Independent (Sydney NSW)*, 8, IV August 15, 1887.

In his Christian principles Goodlet found ethical guidance which served him well in an expansionary time in the colony, but which shared the improving ethic on a personal as well as corporate and community scale. His business ethics, unlike those of Walker and Carnegie, were never publicly questioned and his reputation for honesty was widely acknowledged. His word once given was always kept. These principles closely integrated with Goodlet's business acumen and vision. Faith provided him an implicit trust in the future, gave him a personally disciplined and directed life in a church community which breathed a Christian business ethic, and built bonds of trust which were utilised in business and philanthropic activities.

John Goodlet's philanthropy differed from that of Carnegie and Walker in a number of major ways. His philanthropy arose from a conscious commitment to the Christian faith and its spiritual mission, and his business ethics were consistent with this commitment. It was a philanthropy that was in partnership with his wife Ann, it spanned his whole lifetime, did not just begin when he was wealthy, and it was an involved and 'hands on' philanthropy. He gave not just money, but he gave himself in governance and involvement. As McGowan said of him:

the most outstanding feature of his life was the fact he gave himself to Christian work. There are men who subscribe money, but Col. Goodlet gave his best subscription when he gave himself.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> *The Messenger* (Sydney, NSW), January 23, 1914.



## **CHAPTER 11 The Goodlet Social and Religious Capital**

In developing a philanthropic profile of the Goodlets it is instructive to consider their social and religious capital. An understanding of such will explain, to some degree, the ability of the Goodlets to function both within a theologically divided Presbyterian Church and within the diverse membership of the largely protestant philanthropic community. Social capital consists of networks of relationships and the Goodlets had significant networks of shared values and trust which allowed them to function within a wide variety of contexts. Their religious capital, their adherence to and involvement in their religious culture, can be regarded as a special form of social capital. These social capital networks could be variously described as Presbyterian, non-denominational Christian organisations, Charity, Military, Business and Political and were expressions of the Goodlets' social and, in some instances, their religious capital. Some initial and obvious observations may be made about the degree of overlap of the people belonging to these groups.

John Goodlet's military sphere seems to be relatively self-contained as few prominent military names appear in the Goodlets' other contexts. The AMP also provided a group of contacts that were largely distinct and separate from other Goodlet social groups and had few members in common with other Goodlets circles of acquaintances. Not unexpectedly, John Goodlet's political network at the local level was populated with members of the Ashfield church, but at a broader political level his free trade emphasis involved him with significant persons from the business community of NSW. The three social networks wherein the social and religious capital of the Goodlets were most evident, and where relationships overlapped, were in their engagement with the Presbyterian Church, with non-denominational Christian organisations, and with various charities. The Presbyterian Church network and that of the SFRS will be used to illustrate and explore the nature of their social and religious capital which enabled them to be successful philanthropists. John's apparent lack of interest in an important male organisation, the Masonic Lodge, will also be observed.

### **The Presbyterian Church**

The Presbyterian Church (PCNSW) network was the site of a very significant portion of the Goodlets' philanthropic endeavours. It is this network that is most instructive for understanding their social and religious capital which informed and facilitated their philanthropic attitudes and activities. This network, and how John in particular

operated within it, illustrates why he and Ann were able to be part of various other networks outside the PCNSW in order to be significant philanthropists.

The PCNSW of which John and Ann Goodlet were loyal and devoted members, faced numerous challenges in the nineteenth century. In the second half of the century the church was divided into various bodies, reflecting theological and historical events in Scotland, and more locally by the divisive influence of John Dunmore Lang. In the period prior to 1865, the issue of the union of the various Presbyterian churches in NSW was under discussion. The Goodlets' minister of the time, the Rev Mackintosh Mackay, was in favour of such a union and it is clear that Goodlet was as well. When Mackay returned to Scotland he was replaced by the Rev William McIntyre who was opposed to the proposed union and sought to maintain what he considered to be the genuine Free Church witness.<sup>1</sup> The Goodlets, though of Free Church sympathy, could not have been greatly concerned with that which agitated McIntyre for they left the Free Church in 1863 and changed denominations. They joined the UPC, whose minister, Adam Thomson, was in favour of a wider union of Presbyterian churches and a leader in that movement.

These actions of the Goodlets are indicative of their open attitude to the various forms of protestant Christianity, and to Presbyterianism in particular. John showed little commitment to the traditional antipathy of the Free Church to the use of instrumental music in worship. Goodlet was Presbyterian, but not of any particular party, and throughout his life seemed to have adopted a pragmatic approach to the theological and governmental issues that sometimes consumed the clergy.

In the latter part of the century, after a successful negotiation of the divisiveness of earlier years, there arose an even greater challenge for the PCNSW with the rise of the influence of Biblical Criticism, Darwinism and a new spirit of rejection of traditional Christian doctrine. Theology, the Presbyterian understanding of God, could both unite and divide Presbyterian churches. It had a significant impact upon their activities as resources and energy were redirected to deal with division and difference over what were regarded, particularly by the clergy, as matters of significant principle. These challenges were not restricted to the PCNSW and were evident, to greater and lesser degrees, across all the protestant churches and their memberships.

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<sup>1</sup> Rev William McIntyre (March 6, 1806 - July 12, 1870) ordained by the Church of Scotland, Presbytery of Glasgow on June 29, 1837 and arrived in Sydney December 12, 1837. McIntyre led those who protested and withdrew to form the Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia in October 1846.

Due to a lack of sources Ann's theological views are unknown, and John's theological views are something of an enigma as he spoke little, and it is difficult to precisely categorise his doctrinal stance in terms of the significant doctrinal shifts that engaged the church in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He was an elder of the PCNSW, and as such had taken ordination vows indicating that the Westminster Confession of Faith was an exhibition of the sense in which he understood the Holy Scriptures. Given the ferment of the time, what did that mean for Goodlet? How did his views impact on his ability to function within the PCNSW and the Christian community generally, which were spheres of a significant portion of his philanthropic activity?

Goodlet was widely known and because of his activism within the church, he had worked with, and knew well, most of the prominent Presbyterian ministers and elders of his time. He was also well-known and well connected with prominent ministers and persons of other protestant denominations. It is instructive, however, to look at those theological leaders and ministers with whom Goodlet had close associations and working relationships within the PCNSW for it indicates the nature of the social and religious capital of the Goodlets.

In the first instance, there was the association and relationship with the parish minister of Ashfield. John and Ann sat under John Auld's week-by-week ministry from 1876<sup>2</sup> until 1906, and then John sat under the ministry of Robert McGowan from 1907 to 1914. But John also had very close friendships with various Presbyterian ministers such as Joseph Copeland and James Cosh, and held the Rev George Grimm in considerable respect for Goodlet was, like Grimm, a mentor and father figure to John Walker.

Goodlet and Auld had a close relationship for over 32 years. In the early years the Auld family lived with the Goodlets and a son, born to the Aulds at that time, was named 'John Hay Goodlet Auld'. They worked together harmoniously in the Ashfield Church within the Presbyterian denomination, and in numerous common causes. These included the temperance and local option campaigns, with Auld supporting Goodlet's unpopular view that it would be unjust not to give compensation to publicans deprived of their livelihood through a local option vote.<sup>3</sup> When Auld retired in 1906, Goodlet donated *Goodlet and Smith* shares so that Auld could have a comfortable retirement.

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<sup>2</sup> Ann died in 1903 and Auld retired in 1906.

<sup>3</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), March 17, 1894.

In Auld's view his own ministry never changed in its emphasis on 'Jesus Christ and him crucified', however much he may have changed on other issues.<sup>4</sup> Barnes points out that Auld's theological position had taken a shift to a more liberal position on the scriptures in the early 1880s<sup>5</sup> and, while he expressed a love for the Westminster Confession, he recognised that it had its defects. Such defects were mainly of inappropriate emphasis and expression, but he also had said that 'some of its alleged facts will not bear investigation' without outlining what they were.<sup>6</sup> He was critical of the Scots Church Melbourne minister, Charles Strong, in his public attack on the theological standards of the Presbyterian Church and pointed those who wished for change to the proper process for addressing such issues.<sup>7</sup> Auld was a strong churchman, as was Goodlet, and such churchmen believed that the church's social fabric of relationships was maintained by adhering to its processes and that change, especially a change in its theological standards, needed to be done in the appropriate manner.

In his moderatorial address in 1888, Auld returned to such a theme noting that the church 'must be at liberty to re-state her doctrinal positions from time to time, as may be found necessary or expedient. It surely cannot be maintained that the Confession of Faith is to remain the Church's theological symbol for all time'.<sup>8</sup> Barnes draws attention to the fact that at the time, Auld's discourse did not please all. *The Presbyterian* was critical of Auld as it championed a much more conservative and traditional view of the Confession, a view from which Auld had moved. It protested 'that no material addition is possible, or subtraction either, notwithstanding new light, criticism, discoveries [or] experience'.<sup>9</sup> What Barnes does not draw attention to is that another close friend and colleague of Goodlet, Joseph Copeland, was the Editor of *The Presbyterian* and while the comment is not attributed to him, it most likely came from Copeland himself. This is significant as Copeland and his family attended the Ashfield Church where Joseph served with Goodlet as a member of the Ashfield Session, and they also lived in the same house with the Goodlets for nearly 30 years. The Copeland children were the Goodlets' 'adopted' children, addressing

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<sup>4</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), January 13, 1894.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Barnes, *Theological Controversies in the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales, 1865-1915, the Rise of Evangelical Liberalism* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), 83.

<sup>6</sup> *Australian Witness and Presbyterian Herald* (Sydney, NSW), December 9, 1876.

<sup>7</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), January 8, 1881.

<sup>8</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), March 24, 1888.

<sup>9</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), March 24, 1888.

them as Aunt and Uncle.<sup>10</sup> Alexander Copeland, Joseph's son, came into the business of *Goodlet and Smith* and took on the role that Goodlet's son (had he had one) would be expected to have had in a family business, as he eventually replaced Goodlet as the Managing Director of the firm.

Copeland, whom Barnes regards as an orthodox evangelical but no great leader,<sup>11</sup> became Editor of *The Presbyterian* in 1880, and the paper published articles supporting the verbal inerrancy of scripture.<sup>12</sup> While Barnes notes that *The Presbyterian* was not always keen 'to become the vehicle for theological debate over the inspiration of scripture, the existence of an everlasting hell, and the theory of evolution', under Copeland's editorship it could still write that 'in the restatement of our belief we need rock, not sand, for a basis.'<sup>13</sup> In short, Auld had moved theologically whereas Copeland had not, and yet Goodlet was close to both men and their families, and worked harmoniously with them and was supportive of them over many years.

Another close friend of John was the Rev James Cosh of Balmain who had been a missionary in the New Hebrides from 1866 to 1870. Cosh maintained a strong missionary interest being Convener of the PCNSW's Missions Committee from 1872 to 1894, the agent for the New Hebridian mission ship the *Dayspring* from 1873, and the secretary of the Dayspring Board from 1875. It was through the New Hebridian mission that the strong connection with the Goodlets began, and this was maintained throughout Cosh's lifetime working together on the Missions Committee, the Dayspring Board, in the PCNSW and on the StAC Council where he was a councillor from 1883 to 1900.<sup>14</sup> Goodlet was sufficiently close to the family that at Cosh's funeral John was a coffin bearer and rode in the family carriage, and one of Cosh's sons was to become the Goodlets' personal doctor.<sup>15</sup> We do not know what Goodlet thought of Cosh's more advanced theological ideas, where he rejected the view of verbal inspiration and said:

in the Presbyterian Churches the acknowledged supreme judge and guide in all matters of faith is not any such thing as the infallible letter of the Bible, but

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<sup>10</sup> The adoption was an informal one but the Goodlets cared for and educated the children.

<sup>11</sup> Barnes, *Theological Controversies*, 222.

<sup>12</sup> *Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, February 28, 1880; March 13, 1880.

<sup>13</sup> Barnes, *Theological Controversies*, 156.

<sup>14</sup> Barnes, *Theological Controversies*, 76.

<sup>15</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, October 4, 1900.

is, as the Confession of Faith puts it, "none other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture"- which is quite a different doctrine from that of "infallibility to the very clause".<sup>16</sup>

Cosh was accepting of the view of evolution, and rejected the notion that the Bible was authoritative in the area of science.<sup>17</sup> He was confident about the future:

Whatever modern science and modern criticism may be doing with some of the structures that have been erected, and some of the accumulations which have been gathered over the foundations of the Christian faith, they will never be able to move the foundations themselves of that faith.<sup>18</sup>

The Goodlets, however, like other Christians, were concerned about the response of people to the issue of evolution and the challenge of science to the Bible. So when Professor Henry Drummond, who persuasively advocated a synthesis of scientific and spiritual truth, came to Sydney,<sup>19</sup> he was warmly welcomed by the Goodlets. He was a winsome character, a wonderful communicator, especially to young men and women, and he had a reputation as a great defender of the faith in a time when the faith was increasingly under attack. He was also a friend of the Goodlet protégé, the Rev John Walker, with whom he stayed while visiting Sydney.<sup>20</sup> John Goodlet took Drummond on a tour of the harbour and entertained him which John and Ann often did for prominent overseas church visitors.<sup>21</sup> More significantly, the Goodlets had previously promoted the works of Drummond when they had paid for copies of his work, the 'Natural Law in the Spiritual World', to be distributed to every Fellowship Association<sup>22</sup> of the PCNSW and to the YWCA.<sup>23</sup> Such a gift was no doubt donated in the belief that it was a valuable work, meeting the contemporary challenges to the Christian faith, and that young Christian men and women would profit from reading the publication. Mrs Goodlet even gave the work a strong personal recommendation.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), September 8, 1888.

<sup>17</sup> Barnes, *Theological Controversies*, 161.

<sup>18</sup> Presbyterian Church of Australia, *Minutes of the Federal Assembly*, 1896, 5.

<sup>19</sup> The date was June 17, 1890. Henry Drummond (August 17, 1851 - March 11, 1897) was a Scottish evangelist, writer and lecturer on Natural Science in the Free Church College at Glasgow.

<sup>20</sup> *The Woollahra Presbyterian Messenger* (Sydney, NSW), July 1890.

<sup>21</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), June 21, 1890.

<sup>22</sup> *The New South Wales Presbyterian* (Sydney, NSW), January 16, 1935.

<sup>23</sup> New South Wales Young Women's Christian Association and Institute Union, *Third Annual Report*, 1884, 12.

<sup>24</sup> YWCA, *Annual Report* November 6, 1884.

Drummond's book, the 'Natural Law in the Spiritual World', was a work whose argument is difficult to grasp. In his lecture on Drummond, Fordyce<sup>25</sup> said 'much of his work is puzzling to the student' and that even Professor AC Fraser<sup>26</sup> in his Gifford lectures expressed a degree of uncertainty in his understanding of what Drummond meant.<sup>27</sup> One wonders what John Goodlet may have thought some years later when, as chairman on the occasion for a Fordyce lecture to the YMCA, Fordyce described much of the Drummond's book as a failure. Goodlet may have consoled himself with the thought, as Fordyce conceded, that though Drummond's theories had passed away, nevertheless many had been made by them to reconsider their attitude to Christ and Christianity.<sup>28</sup>

While the Goodlets may have read Drummond's book which they had organised to be distributed, it is difficult to believe that they understood its argument in any great depth.<sup>29</sup> So why would they promote Drummond's work? John Walker, having spent several years living with the Goodlets and being part of their circle, was a keen supporter of his friend Drummond. Walker called Mrs Goodlet his 'Australian mother', and it is clear that there was great degree of respect and affection between the Goodlets and Walker. One of Walker's sons was called Alison Goodlet Dight Walker, which is another indication of the strength of the relationship. Ann and John were always keen to commend the faith to young men and women, and they could not help being aware that intellectual movements of the times were unsettling. When the works of Drummond were published Christians were on the defensive against powerful intellectual arguments, and were very appreciative of the work as it seemed to 'turn Spencer, Huxley, and others into evangelists and to make them support and illustrate Gospel ideas.'<sup>30</sup> Walker's support of Drummond, and the general high regard in which Drummond was held, would have been sufficient for the Goodlets to act.

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<sup>25</sup> John Fordyce, MA BD (1844-1915) was educated in Edinburgh and ordained in Scotland to the Congregational ministry and served at Woollahra 1889-1908. He published a work entitled 'Aspects of Skepticism' (1883 & 1889). He often lectured at the YMCA. Geoffrey Barnes, 'Leaders of Congregationalism 1904-1977: Presidents of the Congregational Union of Australia (and of New Zealand to 1960), 1888-1977.' *Church Heritage* 14, 1 (March 2005), 2-12.

<sup>26</sup> Fraser was Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, Edinburgh University, 1856-1891 and was a minister of the Free Church of Scotland.

<sup>27</sup> *SMH*, June 19, 1899.

<sup>28</sup> *SMH*, June 19, 1899.

<sup>29</sup> A copy of Drummond's book inscribed with Mrs Goodlet's name in the Ferguson Library appears not to have ever been read.

<sup>30</sup> *SMH*, June 19, 1899.

On the conservative theological wing of the church was the Rev Robert McGowan. McGowan became the Goodlets' minister at Ashfield in 1907, no doubt with the full support of Ashfield's senior elder, John Hay Goodlet. At his welcome social, McGowan laid out the basis of his ministry which was: the atoning death of Christ for sin, the trustworthiness of the scriptures, the filling of the Holy Spirit and united prayer.<sup>31</sup> This was a different temper to that of Auld, as events in the Angus case<sup>32</sup> were later to show, and one suspects that McGowan would have been troubled by the theological position of Auld, his predecessor. Goodlet could hardly have missed the difference, so it is probable that Goodlet did not particularly care about the difference between his two pastors as they were both Christ-focussed, missions-oriented and good churchmen. Goodlet continued to be as supportive of McGowan as he had been of Auld, and particularly of McGowan's great enthusiasm for missions. Goodlet provided the funding to make it possible for McGowan to go to India<sup>33</sup> to achieve what Goodlet had earlier advocated, the takeover by the PCNSW of the Church of Scotland's Indian mission interest in Sholinghur.<sup>34</sup> He also continued his generosity to Ashfield church by donating land and paying for a substantial portion of the Sunday School Hall complex, the opening of which was his last public act.

The significant characteristic of Goodlet's friendships with these people within the PCNSW is that they represented the diversity of theological opinion of the times. The ministers of the PCNSW, in common with others, struggled to reconcile the rise of Higher Biblical Criticism, Evolution and the increasing moral distaste towards the orthodox biblical teaching on judgement, eternal punishment and election. Barnes sees that the period of time between 1865 and 1914, during which Goodlet was prominent within the life of the PCNSW, as a time in which the leading ministers of the church were moving from mostly holding orthodox confessional Calvinism to views which he has termed 'Liberal Evangelicalism'. This he characterises as

an Evangelicalism which was genuinely supernatural in its acceptance of the miraculous and of doctrines such as Christ's deity and bodily resurrection, but which balked at the verbal inspiration of the Scripture, hesitated at

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<sup>31</sup> *Ashfield Presbyterian Church, 1876-1976* (nd), 18.

<sup>32</sup> Rev Professor Samuel Angus (1881-1943) was professor of New Testament and Church History at St Andrew's College in the University of Sydney from 1915 to 1943. His theological views were challenged by McGowan before the courts of the Presbyterian Church in the State of New South Wales.

<sup>33</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, October 27, 1911.

<sup>34</sup> *Ministering Women (Sydney, NSW)* 70, April 1914.

everlasting punishment and predestination, and located its authority in experience rather than in a book<sup>35</sup>

and that this eventually paved the way for a liberal Protestantism with an outright rejection of the supernatural in the Bible and in the Christian faith.

Different ministers responded in different ways as they grappled with these issues. Copeland, Grimm and McGowan would be categorised as maintaining orthodox confessional teachings, but over time Auld, Cosh and probably Walker drifted from this position. Nevertheless, within the church a unity was maintained through a shared view of the Christian life, with special emphasis on keeping the sabbath and temperance, together with a certain clannishness that was stimulated by a common fear of the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>36</sup> There was also the practical need to commend Christ and build his church, and to build their PCNSW in particular. However much people may have differed over the value of higher criticism and the place of evolution and other contemporary theological issues, the proclamation of Christ and building his church were considered of overriding importance.

Whether such building was building on a good foundation or on a shifting one, which would be in danger of collapse as Barnes has argued, may not have been prominent in the mind of Goodlet. One suspects that theological discussion and debate was more the province of the ministers than the elders, and those like Goodlet left it to the professionals to fight about these issues while the elders went on with contributing to the life of the church as they were able. Such an attitude would explain Goodlet's strong friendships across the church which was becoming increasingly divided on such theological matters. The religious capital of Goodlet was such that he sat lightly on the distinctive doctrines of Presbyterianism and on those issues that divided the colonial protestant churches. It is too much to say that theology, which mattered a great deal to the church, did not greatly matter to Goodlet as a core value, as he was strongly opposed to the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, but he was happy to work with a wide range of people in philanthropic endeavours. At heart, Goodlet was interested in practical, concrete outcomes which were reflections of his Christian values, and he was not so much interested in the more theoretical issues of the faith - that he left to the professionals.

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<sup>35</sup> Barnes, *Theological Controversies*, 9.

<sup>36</sup> Barnes, *Theological Controversies*, 313-314.

It is this commitment to practical, concrete outcomes which reflected the Goodlets' Christian values, and religious capital which allowed them both to work with a wide variety of people from differing backgrounds, though admittedly mostly of a protestant persuasion. The shared vision of missions, church extension, church education and commitment to Christ were sufficient for Goodlet to work with the theological diversity of the PCNSW, and for those of the PCNSW to work with him. So it comes as no surprise that Goodlet was able to work with not just Presbyterians of all theological persuasions, but with Christians of all protestant theological persuasions within the various charitable organisations and societies that were a common feature of nineteenth century Sydney. In this charitable work, John and Ann Goodlet served on committees with others for long periods of time and over a significant range of activities. During their lifetimes, he and Ann shared the administration and governance of various groups with hundreds, if not thousands of individuals. Many of these individuals shared membership and active participation with the Goodlets in numerous other charities and so the Goodlets, who were usually very diligent in attendance, would have met some individuals several times a month, and in many instances these relationships continued over many decades.

### **The Sydney Female Refuge Society**

The Sydney Female Refuge Society (SFRS) was one such charity with which both John and Ann had a long and active association and it will be used to illustrate the social and religious capital of the Goodlets. The work of the SFRS was widely reported in the Sydney newspapers of the day, and a large number of its annual reports and minutes for the period 1860 to 1900 are still available. For these reasons, a closer examination of its membership is possible and this throws light on their social and religious capital. Ann first commenced her involvement with the SFRS before she married John, he began in the year following their marriage, and they both continued their association until their deaths in 1903 and 1914 respectively. This charity conformed to a common model among nineteenth century charities with a separate 'ladies committee' and a 'gentleman's committee', and Ann and John were active in these committees, she as secretary and he as treasurer and later as President. It has been possible to establish the membership of the SFRS committees over this 41 year span during which time some 198 individuals (104 women and 94 men) served as members. While no-one equalled the Goodlets' record of service, Ann the full 41 years and John 39 years, others were involved for considerable lengths of time.

In order to ascertain and illustrate something of their social capital, those who served with them on the committee for ten or more years were researched for details of their background, age, religious affiliation and social standing. [See Appendix 3 for detail] Some 63 individuals fell into this category, 37 women [Photo page 304] and 26 men. The task of identifying these individuals in order to understand who they were in colonial society was relatively easy in the case of the male members of the committee. They were invariably referred to with a Christian name or an initial in addition to their surname and this allowed identification. The female members, however, proved rather more difficult.

During this period the women who served on the committee were all married, and in its reports the society followed the nineteenth century custom of simply referring to women members as Mrs Robinson or Mrs Jones, usually without a Christian name or initial. Such a designation, apart from subsuming the women in their husband's identity, made the women's identification a difficult but not impossible task. Through a careful reading of contemporary literature on the SFRS, and noting dates of commencement and stoppage of service, together with knowledge of the groups of women who were involved in a wide range of charitable activities with the Goodlets, it has been possible to identify these women. Such identifications have been made with a high degree of confidence in their accuracy. It has also been possible to determine some personal details, background, social and economic standing, religious background and family connections for both the women and the men.

The Goodlets, being the longest serving members of the SFRS across the period 1860 to 1900, had the opportunity to form relationships with a wide spectrum of people interested in having a role in the governance of the various philanthropic societies. One of the significant features of the group of people who served on the SFRS was the longevity of their service. Of those serving ten years or more the average period of service was 21 years each. (Figure 13 page 305) This is a remarkable feature of the group which demonstrates a high commitment to the work of the society, to one another, and probably the presence of both a harmonious leadership and a cooperative attitude within the group, applying equally to the ladies as to the gentleman's committee. That the Goodlets, and particularly Ann Goodlet, were the leading figures over a long period of time indicates their ability to lead, enthuse and include people in the committee's work.

**Ann Goodlet's associates  
in the Sydney Female Refuge Society**

A selection of those who served ten years or more on the  
Sydney Female Refuge Society Ladies Committee in the period 1860-1900



**Mary Mansfield**  
(nee McDougall)  
1871-1880



**Marian Allen**  
(nee Boyce)  
1870-1900



**Jane Allen**  
(nee Bowden)  
1860-1892



**Eleanor Wingate**  
(nee Rouse)  
1881-1896



**Narcissa O'Reilly**  
(nee Partridge)  
1872-1894



**Mary Breilliat**  
(nee Creed)  
1862-1880

**Figure 13: Years of Service to SFRS, 1860-1900**

Number of people who served various periods during 1860 to 1900								
Years	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-50
Number	19	17	10	12	6	5	6	1

The Goodlets had extensive relationships, through service on other charitable bodies, with a significant number of these long-serving members. Such an extensive network of familiarity must have facilitated the work of these charitable organisations and also helped in recruiting members for their committees when vacancies needed to be filled. Indeed, Godden observes that it was probably the existence of these philanthropic networks which ensured that a Charity Organisation Society was largely seen, in Sydney, as unnecessary as 'the network acted as an informal organisation preventing individuals receiving aid from more than one society.'<sup>37</sup>

Figure 14 (page 306) is a sample of the relationships that the Goodlets shared with members of the SFRS in other contexts. It has not been possible to systematically map the extent of such relationships due to the paucity of sources, but the sample demonstrates that the Goodlets must have had an extensive network of contacts and relationships through their conscientious involvement in many charitable organisations.

As noted by Godden, philanthropic organisations which involved significant numbers of women often had significant economic, social and family networks within them.<sup>38</sup> Some of those family networks connected with the SFRS emanated from the Pitt Street Congregational Church in which 'the families of Ambrose Foss, John Fairfax, David Jones, Randolph Nott, James Reading, James Thompson, Robert Bourne, George A Lloyd, R.A. Wilshire and Lancelot Threkeld were linked in a complex web of marital alliances'.<sup>39</sup> Because of the strong involvement of Congregational Church members in the SFRS, these family alliances were also present in the SFRS. Some of those SFRS alliances are illustrated in a simplified form in Figure 15 (page 307)

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<sup>37</sup> Godden, *Philanthropy and the Women's Sphere*, 365. The Goodlets were, however, supportive of the work of the Sydney Charity Organisation and gave £5 per annum in years 1888-1890 but it functioned more as a relief society than a group seeking to organise Sydney charities.

<sup>38</sup> Godden, *Philanthropy and the Woman's Sphere*, 365.

<sup>39</sup> Susan Emilsen, Ben Skerman, Patricia Curthoys and William Emilsen, *Pride of Place, A history of the Pitt Street Congregational Church* (Melbourne: Circa, 2008), 45.

**Figure 14: The Goodlets' Shared Relationships with Members of the SFRS**

	SCM <sup>40</sup>	HVRS	SFRS	RTS	BS	RS	YMCA	DDBI	AMP
<b>Adam, JS</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓					
<b>Allen, G</b>			✓	✓	✓	✓			
<b>Allen, GW</b>		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
<b>Breillat, TC</b>		✓	✓					✓	
<b>Crocker, NJ</b>	✓		✓			✓			
<b>Fairfax, J</b>			✓	✓		✓			✓
<b>Fairfax, JR &amp; Lucy</b>		✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Foster, WJ</b>	✓	✓	✓				✓		
<b>Frazer, J &amp; Eliz</b>	✓		✓				✓	✓	
<b>Harrison, JS</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	
<b>Lloyd, GA</b>			✓	✓					
<b>Murnin, ME &amp; Mrs</b>		✓	✓						✓
<b>Reading, RG</b>		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
<b>Ross, JG &amp; Mrs</b>			✓			✓			
<b>Smith, Shepherd</b>		✓	✓						
<b>Stephen, A</b>		✓	✓						
<b>Stephen, MH</b>	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓		
<b>Vickery, E</b>			✓				✓		

together with some other family relationships, 'related by marriage' and 'blood relative', that existed within the membership of the SFRS with other prominent philanthropic families of the time. The effect of this family network structure was to strengthen the links that the Goodlets had beyond the SFRS and to enhance the social capital of the Goodlets.

The religious diversity of the members of the SFRS was not reflective of the relative strengths of the various forms of Christianity present within Sydney across the period 1860 to 1900. The religious adherence of the members of the SFRS, who gave 10 years or more to its governance, is compared with the census percentage of that

<sup>40</sup> SCM Sydney City Mission; HVRS Home Visiting and Relief Society; SFRS Sydney Female Refuge Society; RTS Religious Tract Society; BS Benevolent Society; RS Ragged Schools; YMCA Young Mens' Christian Association; DDBI Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution; AMP Australian Mutual Provident Society

**Figure 15: Some Family Networks among SFRS Members**

	FOSS	ALLEN	JONES	FAIRFAX	ROSS	LLOYD	CRANE
<b>Raymond</b> <i>Jane</i>	Related by marriage						
<b>Macaffee</b> <i>Richarda</i>		Blood relative					
<b>Jones</b> Mander <i>Annie Emily</i>			Blood relative			Related by marriage	
<b>Frazer</b> <i>Elizabeth</i>				Related by marriage			
<b>Nott</b> <i>Jane Callender</i>					Blood relative		
<b>Thompson</b> <i>Martha</i>	Blood relative						
<b>Dawson</b> <i>Emma Fox</i>			Blood relative				
<b>Threlkeld</b> <i>Esther</i>				Related by marriage		Blood relative	
<b>Ross</b> <i>Joseph Grafton</i>				Related by marriage	Blood relative		
<b>Harrison</b> <i>James Start</i>							Related by marriage
<b>Fairfax</b> <i>Alfred</i>				Blood relative			

denomination. A further comparison is made of that denomination as a percentage of all Protestants within the colony of NSW. [Figure 16 page 309]

All members were Protestant which owes something to the history of SFRS origins rather than a deliberate resistance to the inclusion of Roman Catholics in the governance of the Society. Godden believes the origin of the Protestant refuge lay in sectarian rivalry<sup>41</sup> and inaccurately says that 'such was the sectarian rivalry that the two groups strongly resisted a government attempt to rationalise their services by amalgamation.'<sup>42</sup> According to the founding SFRS committee, as a matter of first importance, they considered whether the institution should be conducted on solely protestant principles, or whether the broad and comprehensive policy of the BS should be adopted. It was decided that the comprehensive principle should be adopted and that the institution, both in its management and in its direct operation, should be open to persons of all denominations. Accordingly, the Roman Catholics

<sup>41</sup> Judith Godden, 'Sectarianism and Purity Within the Woman's Sphere,' 292.

<sup>42</sup> Godden, *Philanthropy and the Woman's Sphere*, 112.

were approached to be involved.<sup>43</sup> The Government, in the person of the Colonial Secretary, was encouraging and thoroughly approved of the comprehensive principle. The Government was, the Colonial Secretary said, well aware of the need to deal with those 'female emigrants who had unhappily fallen into vice, either shortly before their embarkation, or during the voyage out.'<sup>44</sup>

Unknown to the founders of the SFRS and the general public,<sup>45</sup> the Roman Catholic clergy, assisted by the Sisters of Charity, had recently formed their own society, the House of the Good Shepherd, and had applied to the Government for assistance. The Government promised support for the work of the two refuges conditional on them being constituted on the same principle as the BS. On this basis, and consistent with its own principles, the SFRS sought to open dialogue with Archbishop Polding to amalgamate the two societies so as to enhance the work and attract support from the Government. After several months delay on the part of the House of the Good Shepherd, the SFRS came to the conclusion that 'there never existed the slightest desire, on the part of the House of the Good Shepherd, to form a coalition in accordance with the wishes of the Government.'<sup>46</sup> The SFRS thoroughly reported the matter to the Government in order, no doubt, to make sure that the Government understood that it was not the SFRS that was coy of a united society and that the resistance to the idea was all on the Roman Catholic side. The SFRS then got on with its work which was, as a result of lack of will on the part of Polding, protestant in flavour but in accord with its own ideals and those of the Government, non-sectarian in its admission policy. As such work was deeply religious in nature, Sir Alfred Stephen suggested it was in reality probably to the benefit of both institutions that the amalgamation was not affected.<sup>47</sup>

While all members of the SFRS were protestant, the various protestant groups are not represented in accord with their strength in the community. [Figure 16 page 309] The data shows the denominational allegiance of those members who served for ten years or more and the great under representation of the Church of England, and the great strength of the Congregationalists, is particularly evident. The

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<sup>43</sup> The terms of the proposed for a United Society for the task are reported in *SMH*, May 7, 1866.

<sup>44</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The First Annual Report* (Sydney: Kemp and Fairfax, 1849), 9.

<sup>45</sup> *SMH*, December 2, 1848.

<sup>46</sup> Sydney Female Refuge Society, *The First Annual Report*, 16.

<sup>47</sup> Stephen's gracious view was 'There was, therefore, not only no blame attachable to any one for the non-amalgamation of the two societies ; but if the amalgamation were effected, it might be productive of evil rather than of good.' *SMH*, September 28, 1849. Stephen was probably correct about the benefit of the non-amalgamation but the members of the SFRS who tried to facilitate the amalgamation believed the failure lay squarely with Roman Catholic authorities who had no intention of amalgamating.

Congregationalists were largely, though not exclusively, drawn from the Pitt Street Congregational Church. The percentage of Wesleyans was greater than their NSW protestant percentage and the percentage of Presbyterians was also greater than their NSW percentage. While the Presbyterians made up a considerable percentage of the membership of the committee, it was still not greatly above their state protestant percentage.

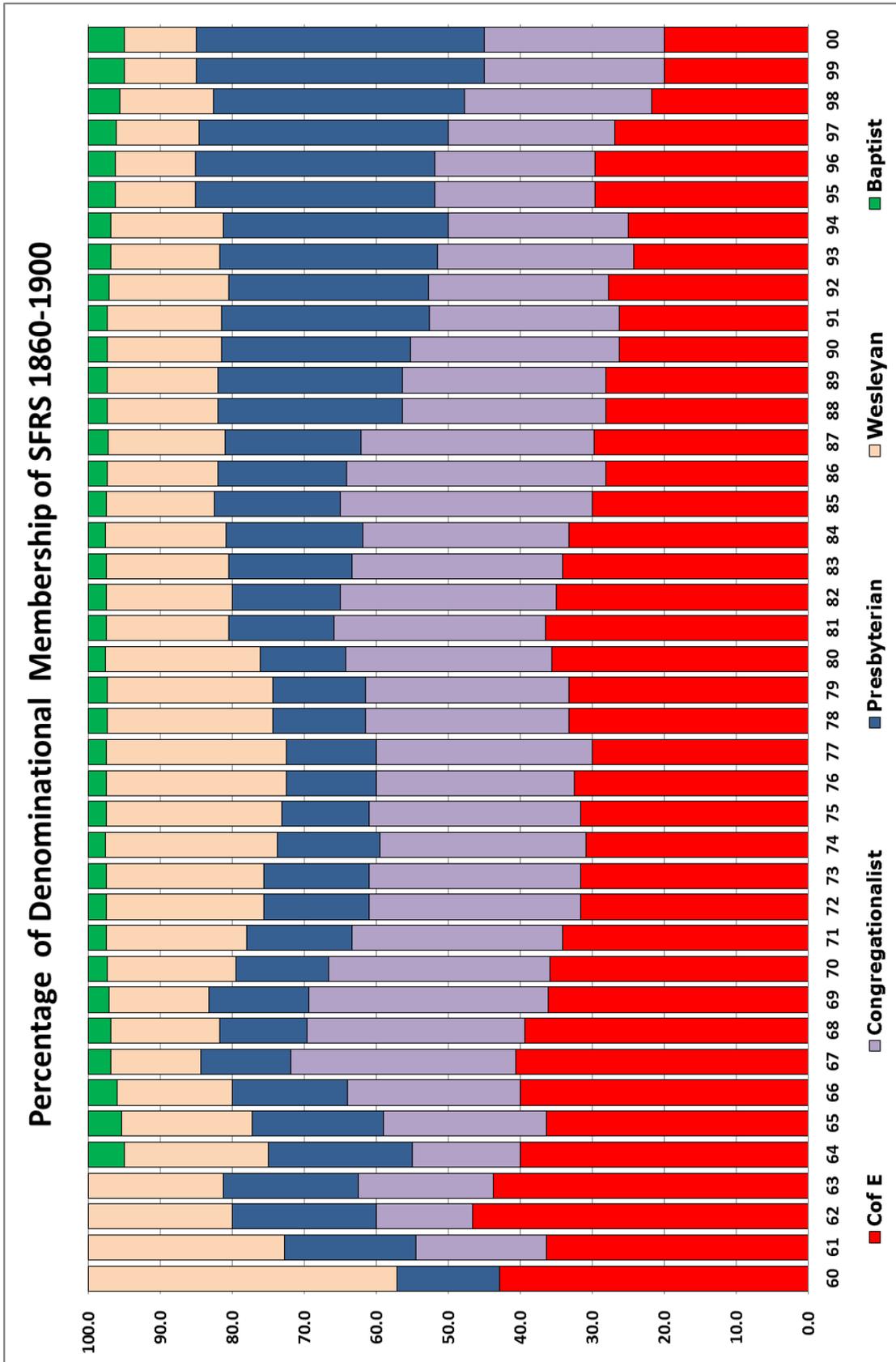
**Figure 16: Membership of SFRS by Denomination**

<b>Denomination</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>% of Members of SFRS by denomination</b>	<b>% of NSW population by Protestant denomination</b>
<b>C of E</b>	19	10	9	30.2	66.1
<b>Congregational</b>	19	7	12	30.2	2.7
<b>Presbyterian</b>	13	5	8	20.6	14.2
<b>Wesleyan</b>	11	3	8	17.5	12.5
<b>Baptist</b>	1	1	0	1.5	1.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

This indicates that perhaps the Goodlets, in their leadership of the SFRS, did not particularly tap into their Presbyterian network and the social capital within that network to provide membership of the committee in the period 1860 to 1900. When these figures are viewed over time, however, a different picture emerges. [Figure 17 page 310] Over the period 1860 to 1900, the influence of the Presbyterians on the SFRS is significantly increased. This is particularly true for the period 1883 to 1900 when the percentage of Presbyterians increased from some 15% in 1883, which was about the average percentage of Presbyterians up to that time, to 40% by 1900.

This is suggestive that the SFRS was increasingly reliant on Presbyterian support, and that the influence of the Goodlets among the Presbyterians and their social capital within that context was probably a significant factor in this. Their social and religious capital among Presbyterians was such that they were both able to retain and attract Presbyterians to the work. What is also noticeable is that from the late 1880s onwards, when public interest in the Society was on the wane, the Goodlets also utilised their networks of family and business to provide members to run the society Annie Goodlet (John's brother's wife) became a member in 1888, Florence

**Figure 17:  
SFRS Member's Denomination by Percentage, 1860-1900**



Copeland (an 'adopted' daughter) joined in 1903, Alfred Macfarlan (nephew and Secretary of *Goodlet and Smith*) in 1908, Mrs Amy Macfarlan (nephew's wife) in 1909, and Albyn Stewart (a Director of *Goodlet and Smith*) in 1913.

The society continued its work but with decreasing public support. Interestingly the Church of England, who were later to be given the property<sup>48</sup> and the ministry as it struggled to continue, had decreased their influence over the period. In the early days of the SFRS the Church of England constituted some 40% of the membership, but by 1900 that had reduced to 20%. Increasingly after the death of Goodlet, however, the influence of the local Church of England church is seen as it took on the work of maintaining the SFRS. This was no doubt facilitated by the fact that Goodlet's nephew, Alfred Macfarlan, and his wife Amy were members of this church and involved in the SFRS. While becoming part of the ministry of the Church of England was not desirable, from the point of view of the SFRS members, in the end it was the only viable option left if its work was to continue.

### **Freemasonry**

There is one social and quasi-religious group in which it appears, perhaps rather surprisingly, that John Goodlet did not have membership. Goodlet does not appear to have been a Freemason even though Freemasonry had strong historical connections with Scotland and the building trade. A thorough search of NSW Masonic Records, as well as those of Scotland, has not found that he had membership in any Masonic Lodge either in NSW or Scotland. A close scrutiny of the lists of names of Masons at various masonic events and inductions recorded in the *Sydney Morning Herald* during Goodlet's lifetime has also failed to reveal his presence or membership.

For Goodlet to be a member, and not to have taken a leadership position, would have been out of character with his participation in other groups. If he had been a member it is certain that his name would have appeared on the lists of those present at masonic functions. Given Goodlet's Scottish background, his antipathy to Roman Catholicism, participation in the building trade and his prominent social position, reputation, character, benevolence and his connections with Freemasons such as Wazir Beg (PCNSW), Quong Tart (Ashfield resident), Arthur Aspinall (PCNSW Education), Joseph Wearne (SFRS, BS), William Dill Macky (PCNSW), William Windeyer (Volunteers), James S Farnell (Free Trade politics) and Richard Teece (AMP), he would seem a likely candidate to have been invited to join.

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<sup>48</sup> *SMH*, July 7, 1925.

Very little work, however, has been done on the relationship and the degree of overlap of the male membership of the PCNSW and Freemasonry in the nineteenth century<sup>49</sup> so it is difficult to assess whether Goodlet's non-participation in the Freemasons has any significance. It could simply be that in nineteenth century NSW there was little overlap of membership of Presbyterian men and Freemasonry and Goodlet's non-membership has no significance. If, however, further research should reveal that, like the twentieth century after both World Wars, there was a significant overlap in the nineteenth century then Goodlet's non-participation in the craft requires some explanation.

Such an explanation might involve Goodlet's view of his Christian faith. McGowan said of Goodlet that the 'hymns he liked best were those which exalted the Saviour and made little of man: "I'm a poor sinner and nothing at all, But Jesus Christ is my all in all."' <sup>50</sup> This would be sufficient reason for Goodlet not to become a Freemason for the central tenets of Freemasonry, which embraced a generalised deistic approach to the transcendent, did not allow it to give to Jesus Christ the central and essential position that Christ held in Presbyterianism. Such a lack of Christ-centredness, that has bothered late twentieth century Presbyterians,<sup>51</sup> did not seem, however, to be an impediment to Presbyterians such as Beg, Macky and Aspinall becoming members. Nor did it forbid the invitation to the Freemasons in 1875 to be involved in the laying of the foundation stone of the Mudgee PCNSW and the minister of the parish, the Rev Alexander McEwan, offering up a masonic prayer to the Great Architect of the universe.<sup>52</sup> Given the lack of information on nineteenth century Presbyterian attitudes to Freemasonry the significance of Goodlet's lack of participation is uncertain, but the relationship of Freemasonry and the PCNSW in the nineteenth century is a matter that warrants further historical investigation.

The social and religious capital of the Goodlets permitted them to work effectively across a theologically divided PCNSW and across a wide variety of Christian-influenced philanthropic societies. While being strongly committed to the PCNSW and supportive of it, this did not mean they only supported some sections within the

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<sup>49</sup> Rowland Ward, *The Bush Still Burns*, 296 notes this fact indicating that in addition to the Presbyterians previously mentioned the Reverends J.S. White (1805-1902) of Singleton and William Ross (1803-1869) of Goulburn were Freemasons. Goodlet certainly would have known them both.

<sup>50</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW* (Sydney, NSW), January 23, 1914.

<sup>51</sup> R. I. Richards, 'The Lodge and Presbyterianism', *Public Questions & Communications Committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland*, 1987. [http://www.pcq.org.au/docs/freemasonry\\_theLodge.PDF](http://www.pcq.org.au/docs/freemasonry_theLodge.PDF) [accessed January 1, 2011].

<sup>52</sup> *SMH*, May 31, 1875.

church, and both John and Ann were happy to work with those who had quite different convictions concerning some of the significant issues of the day. This flexibility in their religious capital meant that they were also able to work effectively across denominational boundaries in the many Christian non-church societies that sought to alleviate suffering or encourage and equip others so that they could live improved lives.

The Goodlets' social capital, as seen for example in the SFRS, was generated by long philanthropic partnerships which extended over decades of service. These relationships, developed within the SFRS, were also present in other philanthropic endeavours within the Sydney philanthropic scene as many of the same people shared in other charitable activities with the Goodlets. Many of these relationships were part of complex family interconnections within the Sydney philanthropic community, and these relationships enriched the social capital of the Goodlets, ensuring that their work and capacities for service were widely known, utilized and appreciated. Ann and John's social and religious capital developed within the Presbyterian context allowed them, successfully, to encourage Presbyterians to be involved in the work of the SFRS when support for this ministry was on the wane towards the end of the nineteenth century.



## CHAPTER 12 The Goodlet Motivation in Philanthropy

What was it that motivated the Goodlets' philanthropy? Kidd regards philanthropy as self-interested and has argued that there is no such thing as a disinterested or free gift. In such a view giving is never altruistic, and Kidd asserts that in the nineteenth century 'voluntary charity offered a morally approved vehicle for self-aggrandisement'.<sup>1</sup> Such self-aggrandising philanthropy is seen by others, such as Shapely, as exercised for the purpose of gaining 'symbolic capital' or leadership status within society.<sup>2</sup> Still others have seen self-interested philanthropy as a means of social control where the intent of the philanthropists is to exercise, for their own ends, control over the recipients of the philanthropy.<sup>3</sup> Himmelfarb, commenting on such views, has summarised them well when she says that

the gravamen of the charge now is that philanthropy is all too often a self-serving exercise on the part of philanthropists at the expense of those whom they are ostensibly helping. Philanthropy stands condemned, not only as ineffectual but as hypocritical and self-aggrandizing. In place of the love of mankind philanthropy is now identified with the love of self.<sup>4</sup>

While hypocrisy is an all too common trait in humans, and was doubtlessly present to greater and lesser degrees among some who were philanthropists, does this self-serving view of philanthropy describe the Goodlets? It is relatively easy to determine if the Goodlets sought to court attention and if they gained symbolic capital through their philanthropy. It is difficult, however, to accurately assess the claim that philanthropy was used as a means of social control where one class, through the guise of philanthropy, sought to exercise control over another for its own ends. As Himmelfarb has said

the difficulty with the 'social control' thesis is that it can be neither proved nor refuted, since any empirical fact can be interpreted in accord with it. If some philanthropists and reformers advocated a system of free, compulsory education [as the Goodlets did], it can be said that they did so only because educated workers were more productive than uneducated ones; if others opposed such a system (ostensibly out of a distrust of any kind of state-

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<sup>1</sup> Kidd, 'Philanthropy and the 'social history' paradigm,' 183, 189.

<sup>2</sup> Shapely, 'Charity, Status and Leadership: Charitable Image and the Manchester Man,' 158.

<sup>3</sup> Thompson, 'Social Control in Victorian Britain,' 190.

<sup>4</sup> Gertrude Himmelfarb, 'The Age of Philanthropy,' *The Wilson Quarterly* (1976-) 21, 2, (Spring, 1997): 53.

controlled education), it was to keep the poor in a state of ignorance and submission. By this mode of reasoning, any philanthropic enterprise, regardless of its nature, purpose, or effect can be disparaged and discredited.<sup>5</sup>

At its heart, the concept of social control has the belief that

social order is maintained not only, or even mainly by legal systems, police forces and prisons, but is expressed through a wide range of social institutions, from religion to family life, including for example, leisure and recreation, education, charity and philanthropy, social work and poor relief.<sup>6</sup>

This idea has proved useful in suggesting deeper understandings of some processes and inter-class relationships within history. In an excellent review of the origin, breadth and use of the term 'social control', Donajgrodzki warns that the concept of social control runs the risk of suffering a crude reductionism which

doubts the humanity of the humanitarian, sees clergyman, social workers or educators as *only* and *merely* policemen without boots, to an approach which in short coarsens our appreciation of the complexity of social relationship and historical processes.<sup>7</sup>

Indeed, he suggests that it is perfectly possible for those who participate in social control relationships or activities, as controllers or the controlled, not to recognise that such control is being exercised.<sup>8</sup> He further points out that 'although in some nineteenth-century instances, the rich made a conscious and cynical use of religion, education and so on to keep the poor down, they were just as likely to have a genuine, even burning passion for their cause.'<sup>9</sup>

Ideas of social control, therefore, do not require that the motives of individuals were either false or hypocritical, but seeks to place their actions within a social and historical context.<sup>10</sup> The Goodlets were philanthropists, devoutly religious and

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<sup>5</sup> Himmelfarb, 'The Age of Philanthropy,' 53-54.

<sup>6</sup> Anthony P. Donajgrodzki, 'Introduction.' In *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain*, edited by Anthony P. Donajgrodzki, 9 (London: Croom, 1977).

<sup>7</sup> Donajgrodzki, *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 9.

<sup>8</sup> Donajgrodzki, *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 11.

<sup>9</sup> Donajgrodzki, *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 15.

<sup>10</sup> Donajgrodzki, *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 15.

capitalists, all of which brings their actions in these areas of endeavour within the explanatory sphere of the concept of social control. Social control is, however, just one explanatory perspective which may be taken to examine the work of individuals and their relationships within a society. While the activities of the Goodlets may well have contributed to the social control of colonial NSW society, this would not have been their primary aim or even, in most activities, a conscious aim. It would be a legitimate approach to examine the work of the Goodlets in terms of its contribution to the social control of colonial society. The philanthropic profile of the Goodlets as developed in this thesis, however, reveals not an overt desire for social control, but rather overt Christian motives which reflect a 'genuine, even burning passion' for the causes which they supported and advocated.

It is true that with the almost ubiquitous religious instruction that took place in many of the philanthropic endeavours of the Goodlets, there was a deliberate attempt to commend a generic Protestant variety of the Christian faith to the recipients of the charity. It was an ardent desire of philanthropists who, like the Goodlets, fervently believed the Christian faith, to see people embrace that faith and the moral code that flowed from it. Many of the values and practices that they sought to transmit to the recipients of their charity, which some regard as attempts at social control, such as faithfulness, Sabbath observance, sexual purity, honesty and sacrificial service, were derived from their biblical understanding of what God required of his creatures. That which they sought to commend to others, they themselves practiced in obedience to their God. That there was also an attempt, both consciously and unconsciously, to transmit the middle class values of the philanthropists (which were not intrinsically Christian) is no doubt also true. In defence of the philanthropists, however, it must be said that 'whatever their motives (and there were surely self-serving, self-aggrandising, self-satisfied individuals among them), the values they commended ... were those they cherished for themselves and for their own families'.<sup>11</sup>

Does self-interested motivation adequately explain the philanthropy of John and Ann Goodlet or is the explanation to be found elsewhere? While various motivations may be asserted, it is difficult to examine motivations which are internal matters and do not always have an outward and explicit expression. The Goodlets rarely commented on their motivation so this needs to be discerned from their actions. The possible motivations of self-interest such as self-aggrandisement, symbolic power will be considered in the light of the Goodlet philanthropic profile as outlined in this thesis.

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<sup>11</sup> Himmelfarb, 'The Age of Philanthropy,' 55.

A less self-interested view of philanthropy is that of McCarthy who sees the concept of 'noblesse oblige', the obligation of wealth and power, as an important ingredient in philanthropy.<sup>12</sup> According to Himmelfarb, this was a strong incentive and motivation for philanthropists for

although Victorian philanthropists did not believe that there were comprehensive solutions to most social problems, they did believe that some problems could be alleviated and that it was the duty of the more fortunate to do what they could do to relieve the conditions of the less fortunate. This was the moral imperative that made philanthropy so important a part of Victorian life.<sup>13</sup>

This view of philanthropy together with an associated concept of paternalism will also be assessed in the life of the Goodlets to see what part, if any, it played. Furthermore, as part of this assessment, it will be necessary to examine what John and Ann's contemporaries thought about their motivation.

### **Self Interest through *self-aggrandisement* and *symbolic power***

Did the philanthropic activities of the Goodlets lead them to have an increased social profile, acceptance and respect within colonial NSW, and give to them symbolic power and leadership? The answer to such a question would have to be 'Yes!'. A number of public incidents concerning the life of John and Ann, and the reactions of the audiences on each of these occasions, illustrate this fact. They cover a cross-section of Goodlet activity and on each occasion the audience, at the mention of John and/or Ann's name/s, broke into spontaneous applause indicating acknowledgement, praise and approval of the Goodlets. The incidents are detailed below:

The Rev RS Patterson, speaking in 1870 of the Ragged Schools in Glebe, said that he was acquainted with the work of the schools and that 'during the first year of his ministry in the city he had resided in the Glebe and was taken to the school by a lady perhaps as well-known as any other lady in the city, Mrs Goodlet (Applause).'<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige*, ix.

<sup>13</sup> Himmelfarb, 'The Age of Philanthropy,' 55.

<sup>14</sup> *SMH*, August 11, 1870.

At a dinner of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Volunteer Regiment in 1891, it was said of Goodlet that 'in Colonel Goodlet they had an officer who was certainly second to none (applause), indeed he stood in the first rank amongst the New South Wales forces. As a man he was head and shoulders above all other men, and notwithstanding his high commercial position he was as humble as a child, and a man and an officer whom they all loved and respected (Applause).'<sup>15</sup>

The Mayor of Sydney, Alderman William Manning, in 1893, said in a public meeting within the Town Hall concerning the institution known as the Thirlmere Home for Consumptives that 'in the past that establishment had been kept going by the generous charity of a well-known citizen - Lieutenant-Colonel Goodlet' (Applause).'<sup>16</sup>

In 1897 Lord Hampden, the Governor of NSW launched Lady Hampden's proposal to celebrate Queen Victoria's Jubilee by emulating the actions of the Goodlets in providing a home for consumptives. In doing so he noted that there 'was already in existence for consumptive patients a home which was established by the generosity of Mr and Mrs Goodlet (Applause).'<sup>17</sup>

In 1898, Sir Arthur Renwick of the DDBI said 'that for the distinguished services rendered to the Institution by Mrs Goodlet during a period of 35 years the Directors had resolved to make Mrs Goodlet a Life Director of the Institution ... Mrs Goodlet was the first lady appointed to such a position in connection with the Institution (Applause).'<sup>18</sup>

The Rev E Moore, General Secretary of the Sydney City Mission, at a meeting of its supporters in 1899 'referred to the fact that the chairman [JH Goodlet] had been one of the founders of the mission 37 years ago (Applause).'<sup>19</sup>

In 1912, at the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in NSW it was noted that 'a site had been purchased at the instance of Colonel Goodlet for

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<sup>15</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, April 18, 1891.

<sup>16</sup> *SMH*, September 15, 1893. The mayor was Alderman William Patrick Manning (soon after Sir William) (1845-1915) and was mayor from 1891 – 1894. Manning's Roman Catholicism is shown later in his speech by his view of good works, of which Goodlet would not have approved.

<sup>17</sup> Lord Hampden speaking at Government House to propose setting up a Consumptive Hospital to celebrate the Jubilee of Queen Victoria. *SMH*, April 29, 1897.

<sup>18</sup> NSW Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, *Minutes*, October 24, 1898.

<sup>19</sup> *SMH*, October 18, 1899.

the erection of another hospital at Sholingin (sic)' and that 'was only one of the many handsome gifts made by Colonel Goodlet to the Church. (Applause).'<sup>20</sup>

As indicated in the above quotations, the work of the Goodlets in a number of different spheres brought them public acknowledgement sufficient to evoke spontaneous applause. The incidents, and the comments made on those occasions, show that the Goodlets were both well-known and appreciated for their philanthropic activity. This was acknowledged widely in the charitable scene of Sydney, within the Presbyterian Church, within military circles and within the community in general. Their work was commended by prominent persons such as the Governor of NSW, the Mayor of Sydney, politicians such as Edmund Barton<sup>21</sup> and other prominent citizens and clergymen. Even journalists were impressed by Goodlet:

If ever there was a citizen who was entitled to a pat on the back from the whole community it is Mr Goodlet ... who at a cost of many thousands of pounds, maintained the Thirlmere Home for Consumptives entirely at his own risk. Men who make use of their riches in this way are men indeed.<sup>22</sup>

Some even lavished praise upon Goodlet by drawing parallels between him and another significant and better known philanthropic 'military' Christian, General William Booth:

As a soldier he was a picturesque figure. Standing over 6ft high, with flowing white beard and keen grey eye, he presented a fairly close resemblance in form and feature to the late 'General' Booth, nor was the physical resemblance to that commanding personality the only one. In moral qualities and earnestness of purpose, in passionate desire to benefit humanity, a striking likeness might be traced between John Hay Goodlet and William Booth.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> *SMH*, May 14, 1912 . The hospital was to be built at Sholinghur (India).

<sup>21</sup> *The Presbyterian (Sydney, NSW)*, September 23, 1893.

<sup>22</sup> *The Illustrated Sydney News (Sydney, NSW)*, September 2, 1893.

<sup>23</sup> *The Australasian*, no date, EM Goodlet – Newspaper Cuttings on JH Goodlet Archive of PLC, Sydney. These cuttings were commenced on the death of JH Goodlet. The handwriting giving the publications from which the cuttings are taken is that of Elizabeth Goodlet.

For his part, John was prominent in philanthropy as civic engagement through his military activity, culminating in his appointment as a Brevet-Colonel in 1886.<sup>24</sup> This work gave to him more than 'symbolic power' as he had field command of his regiment, but he had this by virtue of the nature of his office and recognition of his skill and dedication.

His eldership and leadership in the PCNSW gave him a great deal of prominence within that group, and his roles in leadership in other forms of philanthropy where he took on governance roles, also gave him prominence within the wider Christian community. He was often advertised as chairman of important meetings and lectures for various organizations, presumably as his name was considered a bonus in obtaining an audience. Some wondered, however, at the lack of acknowledgement in political circles, 'expressing amazement that the political party which Mr Goodlet has so long helped should not have honoured itself, by appointing Mr Goodlet to the Upper House'.<sup>25</sup> Although Sir Henry Parkes did say of Goodlet that 'he is a citizen of whom all good men must be proud, more valuable to a country than gold or silver.'<sup>26</sup>

The obituaries for John and the funeral accounts for John and Ann in the *Sydney Morning Herald* were extensive, and Ann's obituary in the church press approached the lengthiest given to a woman up to that time. John's funeral was of sufficient interest and public note that it was filmed and shown in the new phenomenon of newsreel in a 'Pathe Australian Gazette' News pictures which was viewed in various Australian capital cities.<sup>27</sup> Of Ann it was said that 'on almost every page of the philanthropic history of Sydney during the past 30 years, Mrs Goodlet's name will be found',<sup>28</sup> and that of 'the various charitable and philanthropic institutions of the city ... she was almost invariably president, or a director'<sup>29</sup>, and the author of the article should have added 'or secretary'. The additional designation 'secretary', which was missed by the article, is of importance. While it was not true in the case of Ann, to be appointed a president or director or a patron could be seen as honorific, in which a person so appointed simply lent little more than their social standing to the organisation. Such standing enhanced the value of the charity in the eyes of others

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<sup>24</sup> *NSW Government Gazette* (April 9, 1886), 2586, 2675.

<sup>25</sup> *The Woollahra Presbyterian Messenger* (Sydney, NSW), July 1892-93, Goodlet file Ferguson Library.

<sup>26</sup> *The Advertiser* (Ashfield, NSW), July 13, 1895.

<sup>27</sup> *SMH*, January 20, 1914.

<sup>28</sup> Unsourced cutting Ferguson Library Goodlet Family File – it is probably from a YMCA Magazine pre 1892 and probably c 1890.

<sup>29</sup> *The Advertiser* (Ashfield, NSW), January 10, 1903.

and increased its ability to gain supporters. A secretary in any successful nineteenth century organisation, however, was a position which required considerable effort. If Ann's involvement in charity work was motivated by the desire to gain social prominence there were many easier and more economical ways to achieve this end rather than the arduous, time and work-intensive approach adopted by her philanthropic activity. That she chose such a role is suggestive that her motivation was other than the seeking of social prominence.

Her prominence, reputation, experience and influence through her philanthropic work and the organisational positions she occupied, certainly allowed Ann to be recognised by the Government and thereby be appointed as a member of the State Children's Relief Board (SCRB) in 1887. Other members of the Board indicate the social status with which Mrs Goodlet was associated. Her female companions on the board were Mary Garran (wife of Andrew Garran, MP and newspaper editor), Marian Jefferis (wife of Rev James Jefferis), Mary Windeyer (later 'Lady', wife of William Windeyer), Lady Manning, Lady Jennings, Lady Allen and in coming onto the Board Ann replaced Louise Barry (wife of Bishop Barry). Prior to her appointment, however, Ann already had connections and relationships with most of these women, gained through her long service in various charitable bodies such as the SFRS (Lady Allen), the YWCA (Lady Manning), and the Exhibition of Women's Industries (Mrs Windeyer).<sup>30</sup> While Lady Jennings was Roman Catholic and Ann had not served elsewhere with her, she obviously knew her.<sup>31</sup> Ann's appointment to this significant role on the SCRB did not gain for her any status or associations that she did not already possess.

Hence it is clear that the Goodlets' work did give them status, social position, acknowledgement, praise and power through leadership. It is also true that, to some degree, they were seeking to commend their values upon those who were the recipients of their charity. Their philanthropic activities gave them a respected status in society and symbolic power within sections of the community, so in a sense these actions and activities did 'aggrandise' the Goodlets. Such an observation, however, does not really deal with the heart of the matter. A more important issue in understanding the nature of the Goodlet motivation is the question of whether these, or any other outcomes, could be interpreted as intentionally self-aggrandising. It is only when seeking such aggrandising is the primary intention that the argument of Kidd is confirmed. The question that needs to be asked is not, 'Did their philanthropic

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<sup>30</sup> *SMH*, December 3, 1888.

<sup>31</sup> *YWCA, Minutes*, March 23, 1886.

activity gain them wide recognition?’ but rather, ‘Was this recognition the motivation for such participation?’ For there is a great deal of difference between being motivated by the acquisition of a social profile and symbolic power, and simply receiving this as a latent effect of involvement. Actions can have latent or unintended consequences. Latent consequences are those which, although flowing from an action, were not the reason for which the action was done.<sup>32</sup> Self-aggrandising, on the other hand, is an act of intentionality that is directed towards the acquisition of symbolic power as a primary aim. There is little if any extant evidence to suggest that self-aggrandisement and the acquisition of symbolic power was a motivation for the Goodlets, but there is much to suggest that the acquisition of such power and social profile was an unintended by-product of their activity which was motivated by other desires.

By their natural abilities, the Goodlets had no need to use philanthropy as a mechanism to gain recognition. John Goodlet did not require philanthropic involvement to gain symbolic power when he obviously had great personal leadership ability. He was physically over six feet tall and a commanding figure, and though characterised by a ‘Scotch reserve’ and an ‘undemonstrative exterior’<sup>33</sup> was seen by others as a natural leader. This was clearly shown when, at the commencement of the Glebe Rifles in 1860, he was appointed Captain of the group by popular vote. This leadership ability was constantly confirmed by his promotion on merit through the ranks of the volunteer infantry. The recognition of his personal qualities was also demonstrated very early in his life by his election to the Sydney Chamber of Commerce in 1859, and by his election to the Board of AMP in 1865 at the age of 30, and subsequently to the position of AMP chairman. For her part, Ann also had demonstrated significant ability in her role in the Sydney Female Mission Home, even before her marriage to John. This considerable contribution so early in her time in Sydney was acknowledged when she, upon her marriage to John in 1860, resigned her position as Treasurer of this organisation.<sup>34</sup> This was the first of a number of organisations, over the years of her philanthropic endeavours, to testify to her noticeable abilities and dedication.

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<sup>32</sup> ‘The contemporary American sociologist Robert Merton has expressed this approach well in his concepts of ‘manifest’ and ‘latent’ functions. The former are the conscious and deliberate functions of social processes, the latter the unconscious and unintended ones.’ Peter L Berger, *Invitation to Sociology* ( New York: Doubleday (Anchor Books), 1963), 40.

<sup>33</sup> Unsourced cutting Ferguson Library Goodlet Family File – it is probably from a YMCA Magazine pre 1892 and probably c 1890.

<sup>34</sup> *SMH*, November 9, 1860.

## Paternalism and Noblesse Oblige

Was Goodlet a Victorian paternalist? The publication of David Roberts' *Paternalism in Early Victorian England* in 1979 sparked some debate as to the extent to which paternalism existed as a solid, definable concept or ideology and the degree to which it influenced Victorian politics, society and culture.<sup>35</sup> Roberts defined a Victorian paternalist as one who believed that society should be 'authoritarian, hierarchic, organic and pluralistic'.<sup>36</sup> It was not doubted by the paternalist that the paternal authority whether exercised by landlords, magistrates or archdeacons was created by God and that a hierarchical society was necessary and beneficial and as such they decried all levelling measures. Just as children were dependent upon those above them in the hierarchy of the family so agricultural labourers, servants, tenant farmers, and curates were dependant on those of higher rank.<sup>37</sup> Society was organic in that everyone had their part and an appointed harmonious place. It was pluralistic in that society, though one, consisted of many different spheres, each with its own hierarchies.<sup>38</sup> A paternalist accepted that 'property has its duties as well as its rights'<sup>39</sup> and that those principal duties were 'ruling, guiding and helping'. Roberts noted that paternalism in this period is a broad and amorphous concept and incorporated 'varying attitudes and beliefs'<sup>40</sup> and that this construct is used in his work to seek to clarify attitudes that in actuality existed in a 'confused, mixed and muddy state'.<sup>41</sup>

The strands of paternalism were often mixed with the strands of other social outlooks. The seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, for example, was no pure paternalist 'since his strong evangelicalism drove him to a broad, generalised, and diffuse philanthropy'.<sup>42</sup> The Scottish minister and influential nineteenth century Presbyterian Thomas Chalmers, though possessing strong and decisive paternalist strands, also strongly mixed these with other social outlooks.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Alexander Guy Dale. 'Paternalism in Crisis: Aristocratic Responses to the Agricultural Depression in England, 1870-1900.' (MA Thesis, University of York, September 2012), 11.

<sup>36</sup> Roberts, *Paternalism*, 2.

<sup>37</sup> Roberts, *Paternalism*, 4-5.

<sup>38</sup> Roberts, *Paternalism*, 3.

<sup>39</sup> Roberts, *Paternalism*, 4.

<sup>40</sup> Roberts, *Paternalism*, 1.

<sup>41</sup> Roberts, *Paternalism*, 8.

<sup>42</sup> Roberts, *Paternalism*, 8.

<sup>43</sup> Roberts, *Paternalism*, 9.

Chalmers' paternalistic views were church-centred and as such he advocated the social duties of the

kirk and its property-owning elders. In 1826 he completed his three volume work, *The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*, a quite precise, logically argued, and elaborate blueprint of a paternalism that rested on church and property, though not on the state.<sup>44</sup>

Chalmers did not, however, share the hierarchical and organic assumptions of paternalism for in Chalmers his Scottish Calvinism gave 'an individualism that verged on the philosophy of self-help later developed by Samuel Smiles'.<sup>45</sup> Chalmers saw that it was the responsibility of the local Christian church

to be the town's chief paternal authority with the ministers, elders and deacons, and school teachers its fatherly guardians. The elders were to visit the poor and by prayers and Bible reading spread the gospel. Nothing, said Chalmers, would be so reformatory and so productive of sobriety, industry and self-reliance. The deacons would visit the indigent, not so much to grant relief as to find them jobs or to discover those of their kin who could help them. Only the smitten of God – the blind, the halt, the diseased – would receive relief from the kirk and that only from a fund voluntarily given in the spirit of Christian charity. There would be no state relief at all for the poor. Chalmers' paternalism rested solidly on the church.<sup>46</sup>

Chalmers' paternalism focused on the church and what he saw as the church's God-given responsibility to promote the encouragement of moral reformation through evangelism as well as the provision of relief for those in need.

Roberts points out that the paternalism of the 'captains of industry', the mill owners who built communities, was of a different type to that of the landowner for

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<sup>44</sup> Roberts, *Paternalism*, 26.

<sup>45</sup> Roberts, *Paternalism*, 31. This refers to a popular nineteenth century work 'Self-help' by Dr Samuel Smiles (1813-1904) which sold and discussed within the colony in the mid nineteenth century. *SMH*, January 21, 1864; April 19, 1904. The views of Chalmers and those of Smiles would have been congenial to a man such as Goodlet. Smiles wrote in *Self-Help* that 'The highest patriotism and philanthropy consists not so much in altering laws and modifying institutions, as in helping and stimulating men to elevate and improve themselves by their own free and independent individual action .... No laws, however stringent, can make the idle industrious, the thriftless provident, or the drunken sober. Such reforms can only be effected by means of individual actions, economy, and self-denial, by better habits, rather than by greater rights.' Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help with Illustrations of Conduct & Perseverance* (Reprinted London, 1958) 36.

<sup>46</sup> Roberts, *Paternalism*, 50.

these Bible-reading, Sunday School-organising manufacturers were not inspired by mammon alone; they desired as much, if not more, to create godly men, men worthy of their new Jerusalems ... the captains of industry were creating independent, self-reliant, righteous Christians, Christians fit for the new, more equal Christian Commonwealth.<sup>47</sup>

The ingredients of a 'successful manufacturing paternalism were a rural site, ample capital, a belief that godliness is gain, and a religious sense of the value of making men good.'<sup>48</sup>

As with most influences from Britain, paternalism was exported to some degree to the colony of NSW, but inevitably because of the different social setting and development of the colony it was amended by local conditions and values. Was Goodlet a Victorian paternalist, and can his actions and relationships and philanthropy be best characterised by this description? He was not a landowner to any great degree and had few tenants. His purchase of property was not directed towards providing housing for his workers, though a small number did live in his properties, they were rather more commercial investments through which, to a small degree, he diversified his assets. He did not build communities for his workers nor did he provide them with schools and churches. His work towards the provision of education and religious services was general and provided not for his own working community but for the community of Sydney and the colony. His philanthropy was more like that of the Earl of Shaftesbury 'broad, generalised and diffuse'<sup>49</sup> influenced, like Shaftesbury, by his evangelicalism.

While Goodlet was not a paternalist of the Victorian landowner or 'captain of industry' type, he did share some of their paternalistic traits. The Goodlets and their actions, as with most nineteenth century colonial philanthropists, can to some degree be regarded as reflecting Roberts' construct of nineteenth century paternalism. It was, however, a paternalism deeply impacted by the social responsibility of his evangelical Christian faith and was a paternalism much diluted by the colonial circumstances. It would be surprising if the Goodlets' paternalism was not also modified by views akin to those of the influential Presbyterian, Thomas

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<sup>47</sup> Roberts, *Paternalism*, 177.

<sup>48</sup> Roberts, *Paternalism*, 180.

<sup>49</sup> Roberts, *Paternalism*, 8.

Chalmers. Though it is not known what direct impact Chalmers had on the Goodlets they were Presbyterian and John was a self-made man. As a self-made man Goodlet had an emphasis on philanthropy as improvement and was keen to see that others improve their situations, and he was most concerned about the provision of universal education in the colony. Modern discussions differentiate many forms of paternalism<sup>50</sup> and its motivations and concentrate their interest on a definition whereby people in authority

assume the role of a parent and consider it an obligation to provide support and protection to those under their care. Subordinates, in turn, reciprocate such care, support and protection of the paternal authority by showing loyalty, deference and compliance to him/her.<sup>51</sup>

Some of the Goodlets' activities, and the response they received from its recipients, could fit this definition. John's relationship to his workers was not like that of the 'captains of industry' that Roberts discusses, but he no doubt felt a paternal obligation to his employees. The rescue of his company in the depression was not just for himself and his reputation but also for the livelihood of his employees. The praise given by Goodlet's employees at the Jubilee picnic can be viewed as a response of deference to the Goodlet paternalism. It would be wise for those dependent upon Goodlet to be deferential, but the employee who spoke at the presentation at that picnic pointed to the quality of the relationship that existed between Goodlet and his employees. There was a roll call of fourteen or so long-serving employees with service ranging from 30 to 47 years each, who were asked to step forward and which pointed to, it was said at the time, a 'convincing argument in favor of that fact' that Goodlet was 'a good master and good employer'.<sup>52</sup> This long-term commitment of many employees to the firm, and the content of what was said, may well be seen as an appropriate response to a paternalistic employer, but they are also not inconsistent with a genuinely held respect for their employer based on his treatment of them over many years.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> See Gerald Dworkin, "Paternalism", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2010 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2010/entries/paternalism/>>.

<sup>51</sup> Zeynep Aycan, 'Human resource management in Turkey Current issues and future challenges,' *International Journal of Manpower*, Vol. 22 No. 3, 2001, 252-260. # MCB University Press, 0143-7720 <http://www.emerald-library.com/ft>

<sup>52</sup> *The Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate* (Parramatta, NSW), November 1, 1905.

<sup>53</sup> *The Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate* (Parramatta, NSW), November 1, 1905.

In a general sense, John and Ann probably felt a fatherly and motherly responsibility not just towards employees but also towards extended family members, some of the clergy they had encouraged, the church they supported, and towards the recipients of their charity. McGowan said of the childless John Goodlet that 'He liked to surround himself with young men and give them an opportunity in life'. While little is known about most of these paternalistic relationships one such young man was John Walker. Walker came to the colony in 1876 and Goodlet, along with others aware of the Presbyterian Church's need of ministers, perceived in Walker a young man of potential. He was encouraged by Goodlet to study for the ministry and he did so living with the Goodlets from 1876 until about 1882. During this time Walker developed a strong and close relationship with John and Ann which continued throughout the Goodlets' life for as Walker said, 'long after he was a wise and loving second father to me, as the late Mrs Goodlet was an Australian mother'.<sup>54</sup>

Walker, who was to become a very prominent and influential minister in the Presbyterian Church, credited whatever he had achieved in his time as a minister to this early encouragement. While such a statement reflected a touch of Walker's eloquent hyperbole it is true that the relationship was close and lifelong. Such was the debt owed by Walker to the Goodlets that he took the unusual step of naming his second son, born in 1888, 'Alison Goodlet Dwight Walker' after Ann Alison Goodlet.

The role the Goodlets played within the Presbyterian church of encouraging clergy and supporting church work, while it could be regarded as paternalism, is better seen, because of its breadth and nature, as a genuine commitment to these causes and people. It did not, in a number of cases, receive the deference that paternalists were said by Roberts to require and expect. As previously mentioned Goodlet, who put significant sums into the construction of the Ashfield Church building, wanted to have the building named 'Knox Church'. The congregation voted not to do so. When Goodlet wanted the church not to be funded by pew rents but by voluntary giving alone the congregation again voted to do what he did not desire. Goodlet's relationship to his church was such that he did not always receive the deference that a paternalist would consider was due. That Goodlet continued to support his church and gave significant additional sums seems to indicate that he did not expect such deference. On a General Assembly level Goodlet often pressed the cause of the Local Option with compensation, but as often as it was pressed by Goodlet the General

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<sup>54</sup> Undated newspaper cutting in the Ashfield Presbyterian Church *Session Minutes*, 1926 of an address by the Very Rev John Walker, Ballarat, Sunday 11 April 1926.

Assembly rejected it. His position as a significant donor and supporter of many of the General Assembly's activities did not secure him a deference to his views and such rejections of his views did not cause him to curtail his financial and personal support for the church. Goodlet was a Presbyterian and as such accepted the decisions of those church bodies who voted against his proposals. His support for the church was not dependent upon it agreeing with him.

Many of the Goodlet philanthropic activities, like most of the nineteenth century charitable efforts, encouraged in the recipients the adoption of their Christian values and this can be described as moral or welfare paternalism.<sup>55</sup> In the Goodlets' case this paternalism flowed from their position in life and from the wealth that underpinned their position. It also arose from their perceived obligations imposed by their Christian faith to be caring and to propagate its teachings. These multiple sources and outlooks gave a paternalism that was a form of 'noblesse oblige' modified by their Christian faith. McCarthy, speaking to the colonial American context but also relevantly to colonial NSW, says that

noblesse oblige can take many forms. In the Old World, it represented the duties attendant upon noble birth. But in a country devoid of hereditary aristocracy and the trappings of the baronial tradition, it took on a new meaning. Transported to American shores with the first settlers, it survived and flourished. Often, it is interpreted as *richesse oblige*: the duties of the rich to the society which has enriched them. But it has another, equally long-lived interpretation which is often overlooked. Civic stewardship – the notion that successful citizens owe a dual obligation of time and money to the communities in which they have prospered – is a uniquely urban interpretation of this ancient ideal.<sup>56</sup>

The Goodlets were wealthy and successful and that wealth placed upon them, they believed, a responsibility to use it well. Their decision to use their wealth in philanthropic endeavors was an outworking of Christian teaching and an understanding about the role of God in their lives who, they understood, had entrusted this wealth to them.<sup>57</sup> It was also a community expectation that those like

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<sup>55</sup> Moral or welfare paternalism is defined in terms of the things that make a person's life go better; in particular a person's physical or psychological condition or that which seeks to protect the moral welfare of the person. cf. Dworkin, "Paternalism".

<sup>56</sup> McCarthy. *Noblesse Oblige* ix.

<sup>57</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, January 23, 1914.

the Goodlets, who had benefited from their time in the colony, should be philanthropic as part of their civic stewardship. In 1898, long after the Goodlets had handed over responsibility for the Thirlmere Consumptive Home, the newspapers said of the Home:

Let the men of health and wealth take the matter up and keep this institution going and by so doing express their gratitude to Providence for assuring to them health and endowing them with riches.<sup>58</sup>

This spoke of the community expectation of the wealthy for the future of the Home, but it was also a reflection on what the Goodlets had done in setting up the Home in the first place. While the Goodlets were praised for that work it was the sort of action that the community expected from the wealthy but did not always see.

The Goodlets were no doubt aware of community expectation on the wealthy to be philanthropic, but it was more than this that moved them for it was said that they did not regard their wealth as their own but as a trust from God.<sup>59</sup> Such a trust meant that the money they possessed should be used wisely and philanthropically. For John at least this view did not come only when he had great wealth for it was his practice, when he was just starting out in the colony as an employee, to set aside a part of his wages for charitable giving.<sup>60</sup> This philanthropic practice continued when he became wealthy, increasing and continuing throughout the whole of his commercial life.

### **Contemporary views on the Goodlets' motivation for philanthropy**

How did the contemporaries of John and Ann view their philanthropy? During their lives people were not only aware of some of John and Ann's philanthropy, but also expressed views concerning it which pointed to the motivation of the Goodlets. It was said of John Goodlet that his life was more eloquent than his tongue.<sup>61</sup> Contemporary assessment of Goodlet was that his words were few and that he never drew attention to his own deeds:

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<sup>58</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, March 5, 1898.

<sup>59</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, January 23, 1914

<sup>60</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, January 23, 1914

<sup>61</sup> Unsourced cutting Ferguson Library Goodlet Family File – it is probably from a YMCA Magazine pre 1892 and probably c 1890.

Mr Goodlet is a man of deeds rather than of words, and about those deeds he says next to nothing. He has not the fluency of speech that is so common a gift, but he is nevertheless an effective speaker. He states his case in the fewest possible words, and with such plainness, directness, and force that he seldom fails to convince and persuade.<sup>62</sup>

Those close to the Goodlets, such as Joseph Copeland, said of the Goodlet giving that 'we know Mr Goodlet sufficiently to feel assured that the less we say about him, and about his generous gift the better he will be pleased.'<sup>63</sup> When Goodlet did occasionally broadcast his giving it was for a special reason. On a number of occasions, for example, he made a promise to match the giving of others as an incentive for others to give:

When the question of building a church [at Ashfield] was brought forward, he promised to give a pound for every pound raised by the congregation. In 1909 when it was proposed to clear off the debt of four thousand one hundred pounds (£4,100.0.0) then due on the church and manse he contributed two thousand five hundred pounds (£2,500.0.0) of the amount on condition that the congregation raised the balance within six months.<sup>64</sup>

With a younger audience he also used a similar approach when the Rev HA Robertson addressed the Sunday School on the New Hebrides Mission. 'At the close, several took cards to collect for the Mission, and Mr. J.H. Goodlet offered 2s 6d to each collector for every £1 collected, to be their contribution to the funds.'<sup>65</sup>

His giving arose not out of his wealth, but due to personal conviction. This was a personal practice and discipline from when he first commenced in employment as 'it was his custom, when on wages in Melbourne, to set apart so much each week for religious and philanthropic work. He advocated systematic and proportionate giving'<sup>66</sup> and this reflected a view of giving derived from the Bible which was held by many Christians,<sup>67</sup> setting aside a weekly amount from their pay for charity and

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<sup>62</sup> Supplement to *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), May 28, 1892.

<sup>63</sup> The comment probably comes from Joseph Copeland the editor and if not, a Presbyterian source. *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), April 28, 1883.

<sup>64</sup> Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes*, June 3, 1914.

<sup>65</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), August 24, 1889.

<sup>66</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW* (Sydney, NSW), January 23, 1914.

<sup>67</sup> Passages such as 1 Corinthians 16:2, 2 Corinthians 9:6-7 encouraged such views.

religious work. The amount would be determined by the individual in some proportion to their income as the Lord had blessed them. When Goodlet became wealthy this meant that, because of the principle of systematic and proportionate giving, he gave more. The blessing of wealth brought with it a view akin to 'noblesse oblige', but such a view was coloured and directed by John and Ann's Christian faith and concern for others. It determined that to which they gave as 'he never counted his wealth his own, but regarded it as a sacred trust'<sup>68</sup> and she 'devoted the best years of her life, and the means with which God had blessed her.'<sup>69</sup>

Contemporaries did not see either of the Goodlets as indulging in self-aggrandisement, but rather remarked on the lack of self-promotion that characterised their charitable endeavours. This self-effacing nature was what elicited the comment that 'Mr Goodlet has never displayed any ostentation in connection with this charity; on the contrary, he has conducted it so quietly that the bulk of the citizens do not even know of its existence.'<sup>70</sup> The Goodlets did not draw attention to their giving as 'on one subject only Mr Goodlet, with his characteristic modesty, gave no information - the cost of the Home'.<sup>71</sup> It was noted that such an approach by the Goodlets was in contrast to the practice of others whose charity was not so extensive:

In these times, when so much charity is proclaimed on the housetop, and single guineas swell the column of advertised donations, the visitor to Thirlmere is humiliated and abashed to find ...[what ] has been unobtrusively spent by Mr and Mrs Goodlet.'<sup>72</sup>

As Auld said of Ann, which was true also of John, 'how much she has done to mitigate suffering and distress amongst us will not be known till the Great Day shall reveal it; for her works of charity were done quietly and unostentatiously'.<sup>73</sup>

From a Christian perspective Goodlet

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<sup>68</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, January 23, 1914.

<sup>69</sup> Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes*, January 11, 1903.

<sup>70</sup> *The Queenslander (Brisbane, Qld)*, October 2, 1886.

<sup>71</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney NSW)*, September 25, 1886.

<sup>72</sup> *SMH*, December 23, 1893.

<sup>73</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, January 16, 1903.

was a living epistle known and read of men. He exemplified the Spirit of Christianity. His character was the best witness of how it is possible 'to be active in business, fervent in spirit, and serving the Lord'. Such a life is indeed a lasting legacy to a community, and blessing to his age. His whole life seemed centred not so much on making a living, as making a life.<sup>74</sup>

His fellow elders of the Ashfield Presbyterian Church said of John that he was a man

of high ideals, and most devoted service, a man of simple tastes and high minded views of duty, impatient of cant or self-praise, he lived his life in humble dependence [sic] of his Master and was at once an example and inspiration to all Church members.<sup>75</sup>

They said of Ann that they wished to record 'their appreciation of the noble Christ-like character of their sister'<sup>76</sup> and others thanked 'God for the inspiration of her life, consecrated to the cause of Christ and humanity'.<sup>77</sup>

Self-aggrandisement and self-promotion in order to gain recognition and symbolic leadership requires a lack of humility and a certain self-seeking. Over a lifetime it would be difficult for public figures, like John and Ann, to hide such characteristics from those with whom they worked. The testimony of those who shared various contexts with the Goodlets was that they were humble and selfless, and those who knew John well said he was not just a generous man but a humble man. John Walker described him as 'an earnest humble-minded Christian',<sup>78</sup> words echoed by others in their assessment of him when they said 'few men have been better known in Church or philanthropic circles than Colonel Goodlet – loyal, humble, generous, large-hearted'.<sup>79</sup> Goodlet's minister, Robert McGowan, said of him that he was 'a man of iron will, inflexible determination, yet with the gentleness and humility of a child'.<sup>80</sup> The SCM newspaper said that he was 'an honour to our common manhood, an adorer of the Gospel of Eternal Love, and sterling evidence of what a generous and

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<sup>74</sup> EK Satchell in *Meu*. EM Goodlet Cuttings Book, PLC Archives.

<sup>75</sup> Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes*, June 3, 1914.

<sup>76</sup> Ashfield Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes*, January 11, 1903.

<sup>77</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, March 6, 1903.

<sup>78</sup> *St Andrews Ballarat Church Notes*. EM Goodlet Cuttings Book, PLC Archives no date.

<sup>79</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, January 23, 1914.

<sup>80</sup> Rev RJ McGowan in *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, January 23, 1914.

unselfish Christian man can accomplish for the fallen, for the suffering, and for the unfortunate of his fellow-men.<sup>81</sup>

While humility was a prized Christian virtue and a quality that fellow Christians would highlight, the most remarkable confirmation of this Goodlet character trait came from a military subordinate. As has been previously mentioned in Chapter 6 a Captain Mallarky, in proposing a toast to the officers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment, singled out Goodlet as Colonel of the Regiment and described him 'as humble as a child' and as an officer whom they all loved and respected.<sup>82</sup> Mallarky's description of Goodlet as 'humble as a child' is not a description that would ordinarily be associated with the Colonel of the Regiment, and this makes it all the more striking that it was used. The conclusion that must be drawn from contemporary witness to the character of Goodlet is that humility was a strong and evident quality, shown across a wide variety of contexts. Humility is the very antithesis of self-promotion and self-aggrandisement.

If Goodlet was such a humble man, as the evidence would suggest, why did he purchase a house and estate as grand as Canterbury House? [Photo page 67] The answer to this question is probably threefold. Firstly, by 1877 Goodlet was a wealthy man. *Goodlet and Smith* was a prosperous business and Goodlet could afford to both open a consumptive home and consider the purchase of a fine estate.<sup>83</sup> Such an estate was fitting for a person of his situation in life, and perhaps its purchase was indicative of an understandable pride in his achievements. Though essentially a humble man, this humility was perhaps not so complete a virtue that John was beyond purchasing an estate that was a symbol to others, his family in Scotland, and even himself that he had done well. Similarly, John used the 'Goodlet Crest' on his notepaper from Canterbury House. This crest was created for Goodlet, as crests were created for all the founding counsellors of StAC who it would seem hitherto had no such family crests.<sup>84</sup> This usage could be seen as a small exercise in vanity and an expression of his success.

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<sup>81</sup> City Mission Papers. EM Goodlet Cuttings Book, PLC Archives, no date.

<sup>82</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, April 18, 1891.

<sup>83</sup> The purchase cost of Canterbury House is unknown but the purchase of the 67 acres in 1878 was at a cost of £10,230.9.6 (\$1.1M, 2008 value) was funded by cash and by a mortgage to the vendor Arthur Fredrick Jefferies of London of £8,230.9.6 which was discharged in October 1884. Certificate of Title Volume 385 Folio 230.

<sup>84</sup> The Crests are all very similar in pattern and adorn the ceiling of the Library at St Andrews College. They were created and the ceiling decorated by Lyon and Cottier. R. Ian Jack, *The St Andrews Book*, 22.

A second reason may well have been that Goodlet was an astute business man and buying land was a good investment for the future. The Goodlet estate was the result of four separate purchases commencing with Canterbury House and grounds in 1877 and then with the purchase of additional land in 1878, 1881 and 1914,<sup>85</sup> giving a total of 149 acres. After his death, the Presbyterian Church was to derive significant benefit from this type of Goodlet investment.

A third reason for the purchase probably had to do with the increasing size of the Goodlet household, and this reason was philanthropic in nature. Though the Goodlets were childless they still had a significant household. In 1875, a few years prior to the purchase of Canterbury House, Ann and John were to find themselves in the role of adoptive parents. The adoption was unofficial and it arose out of their philanthropic spirit, but it meant that larger and more suitable premises were desirable.

In April 1875, Alexander and Josephine Copeland, the eldest children of the Rev Joseph and Elizabeth Copeland, came to live with the Goodlets in their rented accommodation at Charlotte Street, Ashfield. Elizabeth was dying from consumption, but they still returned to the mission field in the New Hebrides with Isabella and Agnes, their youngest children. A short time later, in October 1876, Elizabeth died and Isabella and Agnes returned to Australia to join their brother and sister at Charlotte Street. The four children were to live permanently with, and be raised by, 'Uncle' John and 'Aunt' Ann Goodlet and by doing this the Goodlets were fulfilling a promise they had made to the children's mother. Shortly before her death, Elizabeth wrote to Ann from the New Hebrides, 'I often think of you and my dear pets O what you have done to soften my dying pillow! How could I have even hoped for a mother so like the real mother.'<sup>86</sup> [Photo page 243]

After the death of his wife Joseph Copeland, having delivered Isabella and Agnes to the Goodlets, returned to resume his ministry in the New Hebrides. In 1877, he returned to Australia on sick leave and was to stay with the Goodlets until he had recovered before again returning to the mission field. By 1878, the Goodlet family circle at Charlotte Street comprised three adults and the four Copeland children but

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<sup>85</sup> Canterbury House in 1914 was a Victorian Rustic Gothic Villa of 8 bedrooms, 3 reception rooms, dressing room, bathroom, 3 rooms for maids, a box room, kitchen, store room, pantry, scullery and lavatory. There was a detached brick building for laundry and storage. There was also a stone garage, gardener's cottage and gate keepers lodge. *JH Goodlet Estate Papers*, NSW State Records, Kingswood. Goodlet had at sometime in 1880's expanded the buildings. Brian Madden and Lesley Muir, 'Canterbury Farm', *Canterbury and District Historical Society* 1993, 13.

<sup>86</sup> *Copeland Letters*, Elizabeth Copeland to Ann Goodlet, December 1875. Edited Paul F Cooper (unpublished).

within twelve months, on his permanent return to Australia, the children's father Joseph was to add another adult to the household. The need for larger premises, suitable for raising this young family, would have been a significant motivation for the Goodlets to purchase a more substantial property. The children grew up at Canterbury House and remained there well into their adult years. A further addition to the Goodlet household in early 1878 had been James Hay Clark, John's nephew, who arrived from Scotland to live with his uncle and aunt and to work for *Goodlet and Smith*. James was to live with them for the next 16 years until he moved to the eastern suburbs of Sydney in 1894. [Photo page 70]

In 1913, in the year prior to his death, Goodlet sought to expand his holdings by the purchase of an additional 69 acres of an adjoining golf course, but he considered the asking price too high. Goodlet's motive was philanthropic in nature for he wanted to provide land for a Presbyterian boys' school. He subsequently paid the price and on being asked why he did so said, 'Oh well it's worth it, just think of that for the boys' sports ground'.<sup>87</sup> Soon after arranging for the purchase of this land John became ill and died some six weeks later. In the last days of his life he organised for his will to be changed so that Canterbury House and grounds were bequeathed to the Presbyterian Church for the purposes of his envisioned boys' school. He died before the new will could be signed, however, and was unable to bind the future decisions of the Trustees of the PCNSW. His wife Elizabeth wrote rather emotively to the Trustees, perhaps with an eye to inducing them to honour her husband's last wish:

While my husband lay too ill to speak more than a word or two at a time, and one would have thought too ill to think of anything but his own condition, there was no thought of self at all; his mind was occupied planning out this scheme for the future good of the Church and its sons.<sup>88</sup>

While Elizabeth's comment may have been aimed at persuading the Trustees to act in a certain way, it was consistent with the life of Goodlet that his last act before dying was one with philanthropic intent.

### **The Goodlet motivation was their Christian faith**

The philanthropic profile developed in this thesis shows that the philanthropy of the Goodlets began before they married, and ranged over the whole of their married life.

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<sup>87</sup> Elizabeth Goodlet to The Trustees, April 7, 1914 Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of NSW, *Trustees Papers*.

<sup>88</sup> Elizabeth Goodlet to The Trustees, April 7, 1914 Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of NSW, *Trustees Papers*.

They did not wait until they had earned large sums of money before committing themselves to being philanthropic. Their philanthropy was costly to them in terms of money, but also in terms of time and effort as they were deeply and personally committed to the governance and administration of many of their charitable activities. This personal commitment was often both longstanding, sometimes for decades, and diligent.

In addition to being a philanthropist, Goodlet was also a successful businessman and manufacturer who understood that for a business to be prosperous it needed to be cost-effective. Cost-effectiveness in business came to him, in part, through extensive advertising of his products which he sought to produce as cheaply as possible, maximising return for effort. This he did to great commercial effect, making his business into a significant and profitable enterprise. If the Goodlets had been seeking self-aggrandisement through their charity, one would have expected that those same business principles of cost-effectiveness would have been applied by them to their philanthropy. These approaches, however, were not used and so the recognition they did receive for their work could have been achieved in a more efficient manner. Cost-effectiveness would have been achieved if they had simply given the occasional large sum of money, without the personal involvement, and made sure that this giving was known. Yet they did not. They gave consistently, without fanfare, and over long periods of time, and they gave of themselves with a considerable personal commitment. If self-aggrandisement was their aim then they did it very inefficiently and in a way that was not consistent with the efficiency shown in John's commercial life. This observation, together with the nature of the Goodlet philanthropy and the observations of contemporaries, leads to the conclusion that neither John nor Ann had much interest in using their philanthropy in such a self-serving manner.

As Goodlet lay ill in the last days of his life McGowan reveals that

the only time he showed any touch of emotion was when he heard the news of [a] volcanic outburst at Ambrym (New Hebrides). Altogether unruffled and unmoved about himself, this strong man's eyes filled with tears at the sorrows of others. This deep tenderness of heart won the love and affection of those who knew him.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, January 23, 1914. The eruption occurred on Sunday December 7, 1913 and destroyed the Presbyterian Mission station and hospital. *SMH*, January 23, 1914.

Goodlet's tears at the plight of the natives in the New Hebrides, shed in the privacy of his own home and in the presence of his minister, are indicative, as McGowan said, of a genuine heartfelt sympathy and tenderness towards the situation of others. It strongly suggests that Goodlet's philanthropy flowed from such a source and that his sympathy was enhanced, guided and nurtured by his Christian faith. His Christian faith was earnest, humble-minded and consistent for 'he was as much a Christian in business as in the church and philanthropic work'.<sup>90</sup>

While church-based comment was glowing concerning John Goodlet and his life, the secular press, while less extravagant in its praise, also recognized that in Goodlet the colony of NSW had, in the words of Parkes, seen a citizen of 'more value than silver or gold':

His was real nobility of character. He wore the white flower of a spotless reputation, and his name will be long held in honour for his kindness of heart, his breadth of human sympathies, his great business aptitudes, and fine moral and intellectual qualities not always found in one man.<sup>91</sup>

It was pointed out that significant though his contribution to the business life of colonial NSW had been, he would be

long remembered, not as a merchant prince, but as a true philanthropist, whose heart always beat for suffering humanity, and whose wealth was lavished on the poor and sick and afflicted.<sup>92</sup>

The *Sydney Morning Herald's* use of the word 'true' is significant and testifies to the understanding of the contemporaries of Goodlet that his philanthropy was genuinely philanthropic and not self-serving. The *Sydney Morning Herald* used the occasion of Goodlet's death to point to him as an example of success in business combined with a true philanthropic spirit:

If there is one thing, more than any other to be desired by any community it is the presence and influence of upright, able men whose high ideals of citizenship and whose devotion to duty set the standard for their fellows.

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<sup>90</sup> *St Andrews Ballarat Church Notes*. EM Goodlet Cuttings Book, PLC Archives.

<sup>91</sup> *The Australasian* (date unknown) EM Goodlet Cuttings Book, PLC Archives.

<sup>92</sup> *SMH*, January 14, 1914.

Colonel Goodlet has shown his contemporaries how it is possible to combine more than ordinary success in business with the spirit of true philanthropy. The successful businessman contributes in the development of his commercial enterprises to the up building of the fabric of the State. The philanthropist advances the interests of the people amongst whom he lives by the assistance he affords to every undertaking that has for its object the enhancement of physical and moral well-being.<sup>93</sup>

Yet such comment, while true, missed what was at the heart of John and Ann's philanthropy. For Goodlet was 'one of those men who consider the Kingdom of God as more important than any individual personal business; who hold the Church as organised among men the most important factor in the Kingdom, so far as we are concerned; and who make a success in the world of men.'<sup>94</sup>

The Rev Robert McGowan correctly understood them both when he said of John:

Above all else, he was an earnest Christian. The qualities ... mentioned grew out of his devotion to Christ. This was the root of them. He believed that he was saved through faith in Christ, and he never could forget that he was a redeemed sinner. The hymns he liked best were those which exalted the Saviour and made little of man. 'I'm a poor sinner and nothing at all, but Jesus Christ is my all in all' that was the faith in which he lived and in which he died.<sup>95</sup>

This understanding of John's priorities and motivation is reflected in his own words when speaking to fellow Presbyterians he said

but let them never be unmindful that they could only succeed as God blessed their labours. Let one and all have a single eye to His glory, and then their Lord would honour their Church by using it to add living stones to His temple. God forbid that they should ever be satisfied with mere outward prosperity.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> *SMH*, January 14, 1914.

<sup>94</sup> *The Inlander* (date unknown) EM Goodlet Cuttings Book, PLC Archives.

<sup>95</sup> Rev RJ McGowan in *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW* (Sydney, NSW), January 23, 1914.

<sup>96</sup> *SMH*, August 3, 1885.

On Ann's death the secular press noted that 'the deceased lady was of a kindly and charitable disposition'.<sup>97</sup> The church press, with a better appreciation of her, noted not just her actions, but that which motivated them when it said she

will be long held in grateful memory, not only by the Congregation of which she was a devout member from its foundation, but also by the whole Community, for her abounding and self-sacrificing labours in the interests of the poor and afflicted. She was a lady of very tender feeling, of strong will, and of abundant mental resource and child-like faith, and she devoted the best years of her life, and the means with which God had blessed her to the service of her Master in ministering to his suffering and afflicted children.<sup>98</sup>

Ann's motivation, like that of John, was related to her Christian faith for she was serving her Master and such service led her to be 'the friend of the poor, the fallen, the crippled and the broken ... her sympathies were confined to no sect or class.'<sup>99</sup>

John Walker summed up the attitudes of the Goodlets when he said at Ann's funeral that

by her varied endowments, intellectual and social, and on account of Colonel Goodlet's place in the commercial life of the State, Mrs Goodlet, and her husband might have taken any position they wished in the social life of Australia, but they unitedly, definitely, and whole-heartedly decided long years ago not to live for themselves; not for the honours they could get, but for the good that they could do.<sup>100</sup>

In his funeral statement, Walker alludes to the writings of the Apostle Paul in 2 Corinthians 5:14-15 (KJV) when Paul said that

the love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead: And that he died for all, that they which live **should not henceforth live unto themselves**, but unto him which died for them, and rose again.

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<sup>97</sup> *SMH*, January 5, 1903.

<sup>98</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, February 13, 1903.

<sup>99</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, January 16, 1903.

<sup>100</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)*, January 16, 1903.

Constrained by the love of Christ for them, the Goodlets lived philanthropic lives. The evidence of their lives, and the testimony of others, demonstrates that they did not live philanthropic lives for the primary purpose of self-interest either for themselves or their class. Nor did they expend their lives and their wealth for the praise and acknowledgment they might receive, or the symbolic leadership they might accrue. Other philanthropists may have been accused of a lack of integrity, but their consistency of life with the values they espoused was a matter of public comment.

It is true that in some expressions of Christianity the notion of a life of service can also be seen as building up credits for an afterlife and therefore compatible with Kidd's view of philanthropy. This understanding would not, however, have been consistent with the Goodlet's protestant and Presbyterian understanding of one's standing before God. Goodlet, when publically commenting on the contribution of Thomas Chalmers the Scottish 'preacher ... scientist, philosopher and philanthropist', drew attention not to his philanthropy but to his change of heart from self-righteousness to the righteousness of Christ that secures acceptance with God.<sup>101</sup> Goodlet himself liked best those hymns that made little of man and much of the saviour so for Goodlet to pursue philanthropy for an afterlife benefit would be out of character with his Presbyterian heritage, psalmody preferences, and what he admired in Chalmers.

The evidence would suggest that the Goodlet philanthropy was a way of life that was habitual, life-long, humble, sacrificial and sympathetic, and was undertaken as an act of godly dedication and commitment to their Lord. Simply put, the Goodlets were philanthropists because they sympathetically responded to the needs they saw around them, and they understood that such lives of service were to be the natural consequence of their Christian faith.

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<sup>101</sup> *SMH*, March 18, 1880.



## **CHAPTER 13 Conclusion**

This thesis is an in-depth study of the philanthropy of John and Ann Goodlet and uncovers the scope and emphasis of, as well as the motivation for, their charitable activities. While their work was appreciated in their own day it has, until now, been largely forgotten. The sources for the study of the Goodlets have not been readily available nor easily accessible, and this appears to have discouraged any previous major study of their lives. They were people of action not words and did not draw attention to their activities. As they had no children to perpetuate their memory and legacy, and little of their personal papers have been preserved, it is through what they did and how they did it that an insight into their philanthropy has been gained.

It is clear from their philanthropic activities that the Goodlet philanthropy was not just the work of John with Ann exercising a minor role. Certainly the large amount of money that the Goodlets expended on their philanthropic activity was provided by John's work, but the amount of money they gave, though important, is just one aspect of their philanthropy. Ann was a significant philanthropist in her own right, with some different emphases to those of her husband, while also playing a key role in the direction of many of John's philanthropic endeavours. She often initiated work and support of charitable causes, such as the Sydney Female Refuge Society and the Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, which were later adopted by her husband. Ann also played a pivotal role in their remarkable, private, and innovative philanthropic work on behalf of the consumptive poor through the planning and administration of the Consumptive Home, first at Picton and then at Thirlmere.

While the ability of the Goodlets to give significant financial support arose from John's success as a businessman, this financial ability was not prefigured in John's family background as his father was bankrupt and a financial failure. His contribution to the development of the commercial and manufacturing strength of the colony of NSW is in itself a remarkable achievement. He took advantage of the long economic boom in NSW, from the mid-1850s until the 1890s, during which time he was a significant employer, manufacturer and distributor within the building materials industry. Through his work John founded timber mills and added value to his timber business by producing various timber products such as doors, architraves, balustrades, windows, ornamental woodwork as well as prefabricated buildings. He participated in the development of the colony's ability to produce various clay

products such as pipes and bricks, and he also pioneered the production of cement, his company being one of the first to be able to produce cement of sufficient quality for the colonial market.

In addition to this, Goodlet was the first to produce rather than import Marseille tiles, yet another demonstration of how the product diversity of his business contributed to its great financial strength. John's managerial skill, together with the willingness and courage to back his own judgement in difficult circumstances, was shown during the depression of the 1890s when he invested heavily in diversifying his business. This action reaped significant financial rewards when the depression abated. In business life Goodlet showed himself to be innovative, entrepreneurial, determined and hard working and in doing so he added to the growth of the commercial life of the colony and to his own personal wealth. He was known to be a Christian and his commercial life was lived out consistently with Christian principles. While no man is perfect, Goodlet had an unblemished reputation within the business community for fairness, honesty and integrity; his word was his bond.

The wealth generated from *Goodlet and Smith* meant that John and Ann were in a position where they could have chosen to live a life of luxury and ease, and been heavily engaged in the social life of colonial Sydney. They chose, however, to give their time and resources to support charitable causes and this giving of financial support was consistent, loyal and continuous. It was unadvertised and, unlike other well known philanthropists of the period, largely done during their lifetime, with a considerable portion of their estate also being left to charities. While the Goodlet wealth was the foundation for their philanthropy they did not just give money; they also gave themselves to the causes they supported. They did this in ways that committed them to considerable effort and allocation of their time, and their commitment to organisations was usually for long periods of service involving an active engagement, often for decades.

The scope of their philanthropic endeavours was broad and in this thesis has been categorised on a spectrum of philanthropy as relief, improvement, civic engagement, reform and spiritual engagement. Many of their activities could fall in a number of places along this spectrum, but the categorisation helps to differentiate the interests and emphasises of John and Ann as well as to demonstrate their alignment and complementary features. For while they shared many of their endeavours, John was

most interested in those organisations that equipped people for the future (philanthropy as improvement), rather than in organisations that exercised a ministry of mercy and welfare (philanthropy as relief). John also found great satisfaction in his military service and this was his major example of philanthropy as civic engagement. Philanthropy as reform was a minor aspect of John's philanthropy, but he did participate in some political activity over the issues of temperance and free trade. His emphasises were a reflection of the opportunity to use his business acumen and skills as this was where his abilities lay. For her part, Ann was not involved in philanthropy as reform and was more involved than John in those charities that exercised a ministry of mercy and welfare through philanthropy as relief. She also gave a considerable portion of her time to causes that have been categorised as philanthropy as improvement. The Goodlets had a relationship in which both could follow their particular interests in ways that were mutually reinforcing, non-exclusive and yet complementary.

Ann and John were both deeply involved in their private charity known as the Consumptive Home. This work was unique in NSW at the time being the only facility dedicated to the care of consumptive patients. It did not provide for the wealthy who suffered from consumption, as the overseas examples did, but rather for the poor who had consumption. This charitable work was costly to the Goodlets and they gave to it generously, meeting the total costs of the Home and ensuring that what was provided within the Home was of the best quality. Nevertheless, John was a businessman and he knew what it was costing him to be charitable and when he was no longer able to maintain this financial level of charitable support he acted. Financial hardship hit in the 1890s and, having decided that they could no longer afford this level of generosity, John and Ann took steps which allowed the Home to become a public charity. Then, when it came time to dispose of the assets of the Home, John sold them to the public charity at a greatly discounted value.

The Goodlets believed in the connectedness of the Christian faith to life. They were not content just to minister to the body or the physical needs of a person, as great as those often were, for they understood the need to minister to the spiritual dimension of a person as well. Philanthropy as spiritual engagement was an important emphasis for John and Ann, and most of their charitable work had an explicit spiritual dimension to it. They were both strong supporters of the

Presbyterian Church, while displaying a wide sympathy with Christian work carried out by other churches and non-church organisations.

The social and religious capital of the Goodlets was such that it gave them wide acceptance in Christian circles. Their religious capital focused on practical and concrete outcomes rather than on theological distinctives, and this allowed them to work with a wide variety of people from differing religious views and backgrounds, albeit mainly of a protestant persuasion. The shared vision of missions, church extension, church education and commitment to Christ were sufficient for the Goodlets to work with the theological diversity of the Presbyterian Church of NSW, and for those of the Presbyterian Church of NSW to work with them. It also permitted them to work across a wide variety of philanthropic societies with a Christian focus. Their social capital was generated by long philanthropic partnerships which extended over decades of service. The relationships developed within the Sydney Female Refuge Society, for example, were also present in other philanthropic endeavours within Sydney. Many of these charitable relationships were part of complex family interconnections, enriching the social capital of the Goodlets and ensuring that their work and capacities for service were widely known, utilized and appreciated.

Kidd regards philanthropy as self-interested, believing that there is no such thing as a disinterested or free gift and that, in the nineteenth century, voluntary charity was a morally approved means for self-aggrandisement.<sup>1</sup> This self-aggrandising philanthropy is seen by others, such as Shapely, as exercised for the purpose of gaining 'symbolic capital' or leadership status within society.<sup>2</sup> Still others have seen self-interested philanthropy as a means of social control where the intent of the philanthropists is to exercise, for their own ends, control over the recipients of the philanthropy.<sup>3</sup> Such views of philanthropy, however, are not an adequate explanation of the Goodlet philanthropy.

It is true that the Goodlets' work did give them status, social position, acknowledgement, praise and power through leadership. It is also clear that, to some extent, John and Ann were seeking to commend their Christian values to those

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<sup>1</sup> Kidd, 'Philanthropy and the 'social history' paradigm,' 183, 189.

<sup>2</sup> Shapely, 'Charity, Status and Leadership: Charitable Image and the Manchester Man,' 158.

<sup>3</sup> Thompson, 'Social Control in Victorian Britain,' 190.

who were the recipients of their charity. Their philanthropic activities gave them a respected status in society and symbolic power within sections of the community, so there is a sense in which these actions and activities did 'aggrandise' them.

The Goodlets were philanthropists, devoutly religious and capitalists, and their actions could also be viewed as examples of social control. While their activities may well have contributed to the social control of colonial NSW society, this was not their primary aim or even, in most activities, a conscious aim. The philanthropic profile of John and Ann as shown in this thesis reveals not a desire to implement social control, but rather an overt Christian motive which reflected a genuine, even burning passion for the causes which they supported and advocated. There is also little, if any, extant evidence to suggest that self-aggrandisement and the acquisition of symbolic power were a motivation for either of them, but there is much to suggest that the acquisition of such power and social profile was an unintended by-product of their activity which was motivated by their Christian faith.

Deeply influenced by Christian teaching about the love of Christ for them, the Goodlets lived philanthropic lives in response to this. The evidence of their lives, and the testimony of others, demonstrates that they did not live such lives for the primary purpose of self-interest either for themselves or their class. Nor did they expend their lives and their wealth for the praise and acknowledgment they might receive, or the symbolic leadership they might accrue, or for some covert selfishness. Other philanthropists may have been accused of a lack of integrity, but their consistency of life with the values they espoused was a matter of public comment. The evidence would suggest that the Goodlet philanthropy was a way of life that was habitual, life-long, humble, sacrificial and sympathetic, and was undertaken as an act of dedication and commitment to their Lord. Ann and John were philanthropists because they sympathetically responded to the needs they saw around them, and they understood that such lives of service were to be the natural consequence of their Christian faith.

The Goodlets did what they could to address the needs they found. They tended to limit themselves to dealing with the immediate suffering they found and did not, by and large, seek to address the economic and social issues that made a significant contribution to these problems. From a twenty-first century perspective it would be easy to criticise them for a lack of action against the root causes of the suffering

they sought to alleviate. Such a criticism, however, only really points out that they were people of their time, for few contemporaries addressed such issues. What should not be overlooked is that they did what they could when many others did so little. Indeed, of those philanthropists who did seek to alleviate the suffering of the nineteenth century colonial society, and there were others who did so, the Goodlets have to be classed among the most sacrificial, conscientious and dedicated. John and Ann were humble Christians who sought to use what they had in the service of their God and the society in which He had placed them. Their motivation was their love for God and the great needs they saw within the society in which they lived.

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# Appendix



**Engraving of John Hay Goodlet**  
in his late fifties

**John Hay Goodlet**  
late in life



## Appendix 1

### Deaths at the Consumptive Homes: an analysis

There was no cure available for tuberculosis in the nineteenth century. Rest, fresh air and a good diet was thought to be beneficial and this was what the Home sought to provide. Numerous claims were made about the Home concerning its admission policy, the numbers of patients admitted and discharged, and the numbers of deaths that occurred. It was claimed that the Home admitted 960 patients in the period 1877 to 1893 and that 700 were discharged either having benefitted or been cured whereas 226 had died.<sup>1</sup> At the opening of the new Home in 1886, the *Sydney Morning Herald* noted that given the 'insidious nature of the disease, the percentage of lives saved is high'. It further commented that this appeared to be due to the careful nursing and excellent climate.<sup>2</sup> The admission policy of the Home was that those admitted

were unfortunate and poor. No questions were asked as to their creed, neither were they solicited to contribute towards their support. They were housed and fed free of expense.<sup>3</sup>

Goodlet also claimed that many treated at the Home had contracted the disease overseas though some had contracted it in the colonies.<sup>4</sup>

Were these figures and claims quoted in the press of the day accurate or were they exaggerated to bolster the appeal of the Home and admiration for its administrators? The records of the Home are not extant, but various statements were made in the newspapers and death records are available.<sup>5</sup> A detailed examination of them sheds considerable light on the veracity of the claims concerning the Consumptive Homes opened and managed by the Goodlets.

### Number of Deaths and Patients

In Figure 18 [page 370] there is a comparison between reported deaths at the Home in the newspapers and those officially recorded. Patient admission numbers from newspaper accounts are also noted.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, August 19, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> *SMH*, September 20, 1886.

<sup>3</sup> *SMH*, September 20, 1886.

<sup>4</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, September 23, 1893.

<sup>5</sup> Death certificate details are from the NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages.

**Figure 18:  
Comparison of Reported Deaths from Newspapers and Death Certificates**

Date	Deaths	Patients	Source
1877 to 1886	100	400	<i>SMH</i> , September 20, 1886.
<b>1877 to 1886</b>	<b>94</b>		<b>Death Certificates</b>
1877 to 1893	226	960	<i>The Advertiser</i> (Ashfield, NSW), August 19, 1893.
<b>1877 to 1893</b>	<b>233</b>		<b>Death Certificates</b>

In the period 1877 to 1886, the number of deaths reported in the newspapers is overstated by 6 which may be due to the rounding up of the figure. When the facility moved into its purpose-built premises an aggregate figure for the period 1877 to 1893 is stated as 226, understating the number of deaths by seven. These discrepancies are small, giving confidence that the figures quoted for patient numbers of 960 admissions, which cannot be otherwise verified, are also quite accurate. This gives a death rate of those admitted as 25% for 1877 to 1886, 22.5% for 1887 to 1893, and 24% for the period 1877 to 1893. From these figures it is obvious that many of those admitted were seriously ill and in need of help.

### **Deaths by Gender and Location**

An analysis of the death records indicates a significant disparity in the number of deaths of males as compared to the number of deaths of female admissions (175 men compared with 58 women). [Figure 19 page 371] This could be indicative of a greater intake of male than female patients however this is unlikely as the number of beds for men and women was similar: 23 for males and 17 for females at the Home in Thirlmere where women accounted for 25.8% of the deaths. The number of beds for men and women at Florence Villa is unknown, but there female deaths accounted for 23.4% of deaths which is not dissimilar to the figure of those at Thirlmere. Thus it would appear that male and female intake capacity of the home was similar, but that the males who entered the Home probably had a more advanced stage of the infection.

### **Length of Time in the Colony**

Coming to the colonies was widely regarded as of significant benefit to the consumptive and so many came. In 193 of the 233 deaths that occurred at the Home data is available on the length of time the patient had had the disease and

**Figure 19: Deaths by Gender and Location**

<b>Deaths</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
Florence Villa	94	72	22
Thirlmere	139	103	36
<b>Total</b>	233	175	58
% Florence Villa	40.3	76.5	23.4
% Thirlmere	59.7	74.1	25.9
<b>% Total</b>	100.0	75.1	24.9

how long they had been in the colony of NSW. [See pages 377-382] Of these 193 deaths, 39% had had the disease before they came to the colony thus, while it is true that a significant number of people came to the colony with the disease, as Goodlet said more than 60% had contracted the disease while within the colony. At Florence Villa in the period 1877 to 1886, 45% of deaths were those who arrived in the colony with the disease whereas the figure between 1887 and 1893 was only 24 percent. It would seem that the problem of consumptive arrivals to which Goodlet alluded was greater in the earlier period between 1877 and 1886, and that it began to decline as time went on.

It was commonly believed that the healthy climate of the colonies would prevent, improve and even help cure the consumptive. In 1870, Melbourne physician William Thomson produced what should have been regarded as compelling evidence that the cause, cure and progress of consumption had little to do with the climate and that the benefit of the colonial climate to sufferers was overstated.<sup>6</sup> His work was received with considerable hostility within the colonial medical establishment and was ignored as was his advice. Even before the work of Robert Koch the commonly-held view was that consumption was spread by a micro-organism that could be inhaled. An analysis of the length of time in the colony of those who died at Home does not support the view that the incidence of colonial consumption was less than that in Britain.

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<sup>6</sup> Thomson published the view in 1876, some 6 years before Koch expressed his germ theory, that consumption was spread by those whose 'breath ... expelled a specific disease causing micro-organism which could be inhaled'. FB Smith, *Illness in Colonial Australia*, 122-124.

## Age at Death

From the age breakdown of deaths at the Home it is clear that those aged 21-30 years were most affected by the disease. [See Figure 20 below] The percentage of deaths in that group was 61.7% at Florence Villa, but had reduced to 44.6% at Thirlmere, whereas the percentage for those aged 31-40 had increased from 18% at Florence Villa to 32.3% at Thirlmere. This change could be linked to the decrease in admission of recent arrivals with consumption in the colony as younger consumptive sufferers were more likely to travel to the colony. It was certainly the case that those admitted to the Home at Thirlmere had been suffering from consumption for a much longer average time (9.7 months) than those admitted to Florence Villa (5.0 months). It could also be indicative of an increasing longevity of sufferers.

**Figure 20: Deaths by Age, Gender and Location**

Age (years)	Number & Percentage			Male			Female		
	Total (%)	T (%)	F (%)	Total (%)	T (%)	F (%)	Total (%)	T (%)	F (%)
<b>1-10</b>	1 (<0.1)	1 (<0.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.7)	1 (2.7)	0 (0.0)
<b>11-20</b>	17 (7.2)	10 (7.1)	7 (7.4)	11 (6.2)	6 (5.8)	5 (6.9)	6 (10.3)	4 (11.1)	2 (9.0)
<b>21-30</b>	120 (51.5)	62 (44.6)	58 (61.7)	90 (51.4)	48 (46.6)	42 (58.3)	30 (57.7)	14 (38.8)	16 (72.7)
<b>31-40</b>	62 (26.6)	45 (32.3)	17 (18.0)	46 (26.2)	30 (29.1)	16 (22.2)	16 (27.5)	15 (41.6)	1 (4.5)
<b>41-50</b>	19 (8.1)	8 (5.0)	11 (11.7)	17 (9.7)	8 (7.7)	9 (12.5)	2 (3.4)	0 (0.0)	2 (9.0)
<b>51-60</b>	12 (5.1)	11 (7.9)	1 (1.0)	9 (5.0)	9 (8.7)	0 (0.0)	3 (5.1)	2 (5.5)	1 (4.5)
<b>61-70</b>	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
<b>71-80</b>	1 (<0.1)	1 (<0.1)	0 (0.0)	1 (<0.1)	1 (0.9)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
<b>Unknown</b>	1 (<0.1)	1 (<0.1)	0 (0.0)	1 (<0.1)	1 (0.9)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
<b>Total</b>	<b>233</b> <b>(100.0)</b>	<b>139</b> <b>(59.7)</b>	<b>94</b> <b>(40.3)</b>	<b>175</b> <b>(100.0)</b>	<b>103</b> <b>(58.9)</b>	<b>72</b> <b>(41.1)</b>	<b>58</b> <b>(100.0)</b>	<b>36</b> <b>(62.1)</b>	<b>22</b> <b>(37.9)</b>

## Deaths by Profession

It was said in the Home's admission policy that the patients were only required to be 'unfortunate and poor. No questions were asked as to their creed, neither were they solicited to contribute towards their support.'<sup>7</sup> Thus it was said that the Home catered for those without the means to support themselves rather than being a sanatorium for the rich. Figure 21 (see below) lists various categories of the professions of 165 people who died in the Home. This seems to support the claims that the Home looked after the poor rather than the well-off members of society as the occupations of those listed below would make them members of the working class rather than the wealthy.

**Figure 21: Deaths by Profession**

<b>Profession</b>	<b>Number of Deaths</b>
Domestic/ General Servant/ Valet/ Footman	23
Clerk	22
Seaman/ Sailor/ Mariner/ Steward	18
Stonemason/ Quarryman	17
Labourer	15
Draper / Draper's Assistant	13
Dressmaker/ Needlewoman/ Seamstress/ Tailor	12
Compositor/ Printer	7
Salesperson	6
Cook	5
Miner	5
Brass Finisher/ Tin Smith/ Blacksmith/ Iron Moulder	5
Tutor/ Teacher/ Governess	5
Carpenter & Joiner	4
Nurse	4
Storeman/ Warehouseman	4
Railway Worker/ Fetter/ Station Master	4

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<sup>7</sup> *SMH*, September 20, 1886.

## Support Networks

In terms of the support networks that patients possessed it is interesting to note that of the 233 deaths only 14 were buried at a location other than Picton. [Pages 377-382] Thus it would appear that only 14 families were sufficiently affluent, interested or desirous to have the deceased buried elsewhere. Goodlet was supposed to have paid for the interment of those who died so it is probable that he paid for most, if not all, of those buried at Picton.

Of the 233 who died at the Home in the period 1877 to 1893 only 38 had a death or funeral notice in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Of these, 42% were married compared with 28% who were not married so being married meant one's death was more likely to be notified in the paper. Of those notified in the paper, 26% were colonial-born and of the remainder most had been in NSW for at least two years. Those whose deaths were notified, unlike the new arrivals, had had considerable time and opportunity to develop networks of friends and colleagues. This all confirms the description of the majority of admissions to the Home as 'often homeless and friendless, always death stricken'<sup>8</sup> and so without support within the colony.

## Discrimination

From the data available it is not really possible to determine if there was any discrimination along religious or ethnic lines. The religious affiliation of the deceased cannot be determined from the death certificates as almost all were buried by the local Anglican clergy.

The incidence of consumption among particular nationalities in the period is not known so any generalisation, from the deaths by country of origin figures, is difficult to make. [Figure 22 page 375] As far as deaths by country of origin can be discerned, these do not appear to indicate any great incidence in particular groupings. Compared to the NSW 1891 census,<sup>9</sup> those Scottish born who died in the Home appear to be a little over-represented and those who were Irish born were slightly under-represented. As the Goodlets were Scottish and protestant this may have led Scots to be more willing to apply for admission and the predominantly Catholic Irish less willing. Nevertheless, as far as it may be discerned, the Goodlets seem to have been non-discriminatory in their admission policy.

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<sup>8</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), September 2, 1893.

<sup>9</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics; *Country of Birth 1891 Census*  
<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/3105.0.65.0012008?OpenDocument> [accessed May 8, 2012].

**Figure 22: Deaths by Country of Origin**

<b>DEATHS</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Scottish</b>	<b>Irish</b>	<b>Welsh</b>	<b>Colonial</b>	<b>America</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>Not known</b>
Florence Villa	40	17	15	2	8	2	7	2
Thirlmere	46	31	18	5	26	0	13	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>3</b>
% Florence Villa	42.6	18.1	16	2.1	8.5	2.1	7.4	2.1
% Thirlmere	33.1	22.3	12.9	3.6	18.7	0	9.4	0.7
<b>% TOTAL</b>	<b>36.9</b>	<b>20.6</b>	<b>14.2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>14.6</b>	<b>0.9</b>	<b>8.6</b>	<b>1.3</b>

It would appear that as far as the claims made for the Home can be tested they were accurate. It catered for the consumptive who were poor and in need, irrespective of race or ability to pay. It was not possible to test the claim that there was no religious discrimination in terms of the Goodlets' admission policy. The number of deaths that occurred at the Home closely match those that were published and so there is confidence that the patient numbers, which cannot be verified, are also accurate. There was no attempt to exaggerate the Home's claims in order to enhance its' appeal nor to increase admiration for its administrators, John and Ann Goodlet. The Home was in many respects, despite the many who left having obtained a benefit from their time, a hospice and it was correctly said of the work that

The Home is sheltering consumptives who have no hope in this life, but who are calmly and patiently waiting for the end. There is no other place for them to pass the few remaining months of their earthly existence, and therefore the institution is one in which a work of a most beneficial character is being carried out.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, March 5, 1898.



## Appendix 1

## Deaths at the Consumptive Homes 1877-1893

Year	Date of Death	Place of Death	Last Name	Given Name(s)	Profession	M/F	Age	Cause of Death	In Colony (Mths)	Illness time (Mths)	Father's Given Name(s) & (Surname)	Father's Profession	Mother's Given Name(s)	Mother's Maiden Name	Birth Place	Spouse	Place Marriage	Age when married	Children
1877	26/09/1877	Florence Villa, Picton	MOODY	Jane		F	46	Consumption	396	11	William (Hardgrave)	Farmer	Marion		Ireland	Thomas Moody	Sydney	23	4
1877	02/11/1877	Florence Villa, Picton	CLARK	David	Painter	M	29	Consumption	12	36		Undertaker			Scotland		Unmarried		
1877	21/11/1877	Florence Villa, Picton	SISSENER	John	Ship's Cook	M	24	Consumption	2	48					Christiania, Norway		Unmarried		
1877	18/12/1877	Florence Villa, Picton	THOMPSON	Florence	Cook	F	50	Consumption	480	72	Wilson William	Doctor	Sarah	Wilson	London, England	John Thompson	Unmarried		1
1878	04/02/1878	Florence Villa, Picton	GRAY	Thomas	Engineer	M	26	Consumption	432	15	Alexander	Cashier	Mary	More	Lanarkshire, Scotland		Unmarried		
1878	08/04/1878	Florence Villa, Picton	EVANS	George Charles	Seaman	M	24	Consumption	8	10	James	Shipwright	Fanny	Miller	Deptford, Kent, England				
1878	18/06/1878	Florence Villa, Picton	FALLOON	John	Draper's Assistant	M	20	Consumption	9	9	John	Farmer	Eliza	Maclean	Camly Maculla, Co Armagh, Ireland		Unmarried		
1878	08/07/1878	Florence Villa, Picton	KLEMP	Alexander	Seaman	M	28	Consumption	10	22	Edward Eleazar Hammas		Ellen	Andrea	Hoten, Norway		Unmarried		
1878	09/10/1878	Florence Villa, Picton	TRETHEWAY	Luke	Quarryman	M	22	Consumption	17	30	James	Quarryman	Jane	Bullock	St Stephen's, Cornwall, England				
1878	09/10/1878	Florence Villa, Picton	WOLFE	Joseph	Railway Station Master	M	33	Consumption	7	12	Allan	Police Constable	Jane	Jennings	Tramone, Waterford, Ireland	Harriet Eliza Rundle	London	25	3
1878	11/12/1878	Florence Villa, Picton	STEER	John Newtown	Laborer	M	27	Consumption	72	24		Carpenter	Maria	Simmonds	Kentish Town, London		Unmarried		
1878	15/12/1878	Florence Villa, Picton	THOMAS	Fanny Kate	Needlewoman	F	58	Consumption	240	36	William Power	Stonemason	Ann Kate	Lane	Plymouth, England	Thomas John			3
1879	04/03/1879	Florence Villa, Picton	HILL	James	Seaman	M	23	Consumption		24	John	Confectioner	Sarah	McIntosh	Lane Cove				
1879	01/06/1879	Florence Villa, Picton	DAVIS	John	Draper's Assistant	M	22	Consumption	21	30	John	Farmer	Ellen	Beynon	Caermarthen, Wales		Unmarried		
1879	03/08/1879	Florence Villa, Picton	FARRELLY	Thomas	Quarryman	M	47	Consumption	456	8	Patrick		Julia	Kangley	Ireland		Unmarried		
1879	28/08/1879	Florence Villa, Picton	COOPER	Henry	Compositor	M	21	Consumption	12		Henry	Domestic Servant	Eliza	Cole	Brighton, England		Unmarried		
1879	18/11/1879	Florence Villa, Picton	HART	Mary Ann	Tailoress	F	28	Consumption	240	12	James (Turner )	Station Overseerer	Mary Ann	McCarthy	Melbourne, Victoria	William Hart	Sydney	19	3
1880	19/03/1880	Florence Villa, Picton	CASEY	Stephen	Railway Porter	M	39	Consumption	60	12					Co Kerry, Ireland				
1880	19/03/1880	Florence Villa, Picton	WALKER	Austin Bennick	Clerk	M	28	Consumption	2	18	William Bennick	Brush Manufacturer	Elizabeth		Southwark, London, England		Unmarried		
1880	11/04/1880	Florence Villa, Picton	MOORE	Ann	Tailor	F	30	Consumption		18	William	Carpenter	Jane	Fargar	Liverpool, England		Unmarried		
1880	22/05/1880	Florence Villa, Picton	QUINN	John	Laborer	M	38	Consumption	36	132	James	Bootmaker	Alice	Broderick	Cashel Co, Tipperary, Ireland		Unmarried		
1880	29/05/1880	Florence Villa, Picton	BARCLAY	Francis Thomas	Brass Finisher	M	25	Consumption	12	48	Peter	Travelling Agent	Mary	Connel	Dumfries, Scotland		Unmarried		
1880	31/03/1880	Florence Villa, Picton	HAINING	Cuthbert	Hosier	M	35	Consumption	9	24	William		Mary	McKay	Maxwelltown, Kircudbright, Scotland				
1880	06/08/1880	Florence Villa, Picton	CHRISTENSEN	Adolph Theodore	Bricklayer	M	22	Consumption	26	8	T'Oren	Bricklayer	Johanna Alexandrina	Axt	Jylland, Denmark				
1880	23/11/1880	Florence Villa, Picton	MILLER	Robert	Machine Maker	M	47	Consumption	144	24	Thomas	Newsagent	Christina	Fergusson	Dundee, Scotland	Jean Humphries	Ryde	39	2
1880	18/12/1880	Florence Villa, Picton	ROGERS	Henry William	Marble Mason	M	30	Consumption	36	36	John	Mason	Ellen	Dollen	Cleveland, Ohio, America		Unmarried		
1880	29/12/1880	Florence Villa, Picton	MILLIGAN	Thomas	Carpenter & Joiner	M	43	Consumption	276	7	Joseph	Carpenter	Catherine	Haisting	Market Hill, North of Ireland				
1881	07/02/1881	Florence Villa, Picton	GLYNN	James	Waiter	M	25	Consumption	15	42	William	Hotel Keeper			Wanstead, Sussex, England		Unmarried		
1881	18/02/1881	Florence Villa, Picton	SPELMAN	George	Cook	M	41	Consumption	172	16	George	Attorney	Mary	James	Winchester, Manchester, England	Ellen Maria Forder	England	27	3
1881	29/03/1881	Florence Villa, Picton	CLEARY	Michael	Laborer	M	22	Consumption	48	48	John	Carpenter	Mary	Carroll	Parsonstown, Kings Country Ireland		Unmarried		
1881	12/04/1881	Florence Villa, Picton	MORRISON	Natham Hezekiah	Printer	M	24	Consumption	12	5					Brunswick, Canada				
1881	15/05/1881	Florence Villa, Picton	HAYES	William Butler	Compositor	M	34	Consumption	72	10	Timothy	Sculptor	Anastasia	Butler	Ireland		Unmarried		
1881	18/06/1881	Florence Villa, Picton	DAVIS	Mary Ann	Housekeeper	F	37	Consumption	48	42	Edward (Fowle )	Undertaker	Ann	Blake	Lewisham, Kent, England	Edwin James Davis	Lewisham, Kent, England	24	3
1881	25/09/1881	Florence Villa, Picton	BRINE	Reuben Harrison	Coach Builder	M	34	Consumption	12	36	George Augustus	Coach Builder	Clarissa	Feldon	London, England	Lucretia Mary Ann Clark	London, England	23	3
1881	11/10/1881	Florence Villa, Picton	MCINNES	Elizabeth	Domestic	F	25	Consumption	60	12	Hugh	Stonemason	Margaret	Poole	Liverpool, England		Unmarried		
1881	17/10/1881	Florence Villa, Picton	SCOTT	George Vernon	Clerk	M	45	Consumption	264	10	George	Sub Inspector of Police	Jane	Cranston	Dundalk, Co Louth, Ireland	Elizabeth Bradbury	East Kempsey, NSW	40	1
1881	29/10/1881	Florence Villa, Picton	MIS-CAMPBELL	Hugh	Draper	M	38	Consumption	5	4	Hugh	Farmer	Annie	Miller	Carrickfergus, Antrim Ireland				
1881	17/11/1881	Florence Villa, Picton	MILLS	Mary Priscilla	Domestic	F	26	Consumption		12		Wool Sorter	Mary	Gilbert	Waterloo, Sydney, NSW				
1881	04/12/1881	Florence Villa, Picton	LAYCOCK	William Henry	Draper	M	27	Consumption	36	30	William	Builder	Mary	Burchall	Burnely, England				
1882	02/02/1882	Florence Villa, Picton	TAYLOR	Augusta	Domestic Servant	F	18	Consumption	24	36	James	Laborer	Jane		Bristol, England		Unmarried		
1882	13/02/1882	Florence Villa, Picton	SMITH	William	Mariner (1st Mate)	M	34	Consumption	24	60	William	Gardner	Mary	Agater	Liverpool, England		Unmarried		
1882	12/03/1882	Florence Villa, Picton	CAMERON	Joan	Domestic	F	29	Consumption	3	24	Duncan	Mason	Catherine	Fergusson	Lochend, Inverness Scotland		Unmarried		
1882	04/06/1882	Florence Villa, Picton	ROCHFORD	James	Quarryman	M	43	Consumption		24	John	Quarryman	Elizabeth	Brown	Sydney, NSW	Bridget Dolen	Sydney	24	1
1882	09/06/1882	Florence Villa, Picton	MACKAY	Alexander	Stonemason	M	40	Consumption	144	24	Joseph				Marywell, Aberdeen, Scotland				

## Appendix 1

## Deaths at the Consumptive Homes 1877-1893

Year	Date of Death	Place of Death	Last Name	Given Name(s)	Profession	M/F	Age	Cause of Death	In Colony (Mths)	Illness time (Mths)	Father's Given Name(s) & (Surname)	Father's Profession	Mother's Given Name(s)	Mother's Maiden Name	Birth Place	Spouse	Place Marriage	Age when married	Children
1882	04/07/1882	Florence Villa, Picton	FERGUSSON	Norman	Clerk	M	28	Consumption	24	48	Donald	Boat Builder	Annie	Morrison	Harris, Scotland		Unmarried		
1882	13/07/1882	Florence Villa, Picton	FULLERTON	Mary J	Embossor	F	25	Consumption	12	48	Samuel	Draper	Mary	Bingham	Manchester		Unmarried		
1882	14/07/1882	Florence Villa, Picton	CLEMENT	Richard Henry Roland	Clerk	M	23	Consumption		15	Edward Nixon	Commercial Traveller	Emma	Lumby	Dover, Kent England				
1882	02/08/1882	Florence Villa, Picton	CARLSON	Charles	Sailor	M	25	Consumption	18	24	Charles	Sawyer	Hannah	Hanson	Norway		Unmarried		
1882	19/11/1882	Florence Villa, Picton	BRADLEY	Frederick William	Sailor	M	21	Consumption	24	5	William	Farmer	Lydia	Oates	Scarborough, Yorkshire, England		Unmarried		
1882	20/11/1882	Florence Villa, Picton	MACGREGOR	James	Clerk	M	33	Consumption	30	36	Andrew	Paint-Cutter	Annie	Docherty	Bonhill, Scotland		Unmarried		
1882	23/11/1882	Florence Villa, Picton	PIGGOTT	James	Laborer	M	31	Consumption	24	24	Henry	Laborer	Mary	Piggott	London, England		Unmarried		
1883	18/01/1883	Florence Villa, Picton	DURRELL	John David	Sailmaker	M	43	Consumption	96	3	David	Sailmaker	Lucy		Vinino, Colchester, Essex, England	Sarah Hoy	Colchester, England	29	2
1883	06/02/1883	Florence Villa, Picton	WOOSTER	William	Clerk	M	30	Consumption	6	24	Alfred	Clerk	Jane		Hampton, Surrey, England				
1883	12/03/1883	Florence Villa, Picton	RICKOMARTZ	Elizabeth Henrietta	Housekeeper	F	28	Consumption	60	24	Antonio		Maria		Hong Kong, China		Unmarried		
1883	31/03/1883	Florence Villa, Picton	PRENDERGAST	John	Clerk	M	24	Consumption	7	15	Thomas	Farmer	Bridget	Foley	Carrick-on-suer, Tipperary, Ireland		Unmarried		
1883	04/05/1883	Florence Villa, Picton	AINLEY	Benjamin	Policeman	M	21	Consumption	72	30	Jonathan	Dyer	Elizabeth	Haighs	Leeds, Yorkshire, England		Unmarried		
1883	18/06/1883	Florence Villa, Picton	ROSS	Norman	Student	M	24	Consumption	6	48	Sinclair	Mason	Johanna	McLennan	Dingwall, Ross-shire, Scotland		Unmarried		
1883	27/06/1883	Florence Villa, Picton	MAHONEY	Daniel Gregory	Letter Carrier	M	24	Consumption	10	24	John	Porter	Abigail	Prendiville	Co Kerry, Ireland		Unmarried		
1883	24/07/1883	Florence Villa, Picton	HIGGS	William	Brass Finisher	M	25	Consumption	7	48	Thomas Robert	Brass Finisher	Hancina	Patterson	Copenhagen, Denmark		Unmarried		
1883	11/09/1883	Florence Villa, Picton	GRADY	Ellen	<small>Sub Matron Consumptive Home</small>	F	30	Consumption	168	56	James	Architect	Deborah	Johnstone	Westminster, England		Unmarried		
1883	14/09/1883	Florence Villa, Picton	BOOTH	Thomas	Labourer	M	30	Consumption	48	7	James	Farmer	Jane	Coulter	Enniskillen, Fermanagh, Ireland		Unmarried		
1883	18/10/1883	Florence Villa, Picton	ACKLAND	Matilda Elizabeth	Domestic	F	30	Consumption		13	John	Ferryman	Mary	Nothwood	Pymont, Sydney		Unmarried		
1884	16/01/1884	Florence Villa, Picton	MURPHY	John Philip	Clerk	M	19	Consumption	16	7	Peter	Contractor	Jane	Carruthers	Edinburgh, Scotland		Unmarried		
1884	27/03/1884	Florence Villa, Picton	DANIELS	Moses	Valet	M	26	Consumption	11	24	James	Farm Laborer	Sarah	Hawkins	Bibleswade, Bedford, England		Unmarried		
1884	16/04/1884	Florence Villa, Picton	WILSON	John	Seaman	M	23	Consumption	3	24	William	Farmer	Sarah	Nisbet	Eaglesham, Glasgow, Scotland		Unmarried		
1884	28/04/1884	Florence Villa, Picton	TAYLOR	Emily Ann	Domestic Servant	F	20	Consumption		12	William	Painter	Elizabeth Ann	Hall	Sydney		Unmarried		
1884	03/05/1884	Florence Villa, Picton	SMYE	Catherine Elizabeth	Dress Maker	F	23	Consumption	5	13	John Haynes	Missionary	Catherine	Reylance	Grimstead, Sussex England		Unmarried		
1884	15/05/1884	Florence Villa, Picton	BASSETT	Prudence Annie	Dress Maker	F	25	Consumption		12	Samuel	Blacksmith	Ann		Sydney		Unmarried		
1884	01/09/1884	Florence Villa, Picton	WATSON	Adam	Clerk	M	21	Consumption	24	36	James	Teacher of Blind	Catherine	Moodie	Hawick, Peebles, Scotland		Unmarried		
1884	20/09/1884	Florence Villa, Picton	INGHAM	Samuel	Stonemason	M	39	Consumption	36	12	Richard	Wool Comber	Mary	Craven	Thornton, Yorkshire, England	Selina Heterington	England		9
1884	13/10/1884	Florence Villa, Picton	DUNLOP	James Thomas	Storeman	M	20	Consumption		24	James	Carpenter	Sarah	Wigg	Orange, NSW		Unmarried		
1885	11/02/1885	Florence Villa, Picton	CONSTABLE	Henry	Carpenter	M	43	Consumption	240	15	George	Farmer	Elizabeth	Burnham	Peckham, Surrey, England	Emma Wooliston	Tamworth, NSW	40	1
1885	17/03/1885	Florence Villa, Picton	THOMAS	Aaron	Stonemason	M	30	Consumption	36	30	Robert	Farm Bailiff	Mary	Armitage	Shipton, Yorkshire, England	Emily Peach	Bradford, England	22	2
1885	22/05/1885	Florence Villa, Picton	RESCORL	John	Master Mariner	M	39	Consumption	7	24	Richard	Laborer	Jane	Hicks	Fowey, Cornwall, England	Susan George	London, England	26	
1885	09/06/1885	Florence Villa, Picton	CRAWFORD	Jeanie	Needlewoman	F	30	Consumption	39	30	Lewis (Martin)	Contractor	Helen	Todd	Linlithgow, Scotland	John Crawford	Glasgow, Scotland	24	2
1885	18/07/1885	Florence Villa, Picton	WILLSON	Alfred Crockford	Clerk	M	25	Consumption	10	22	Alfred H	Clerk	Jane	Crockford	Plumstead, Kent, England		Unmarried		
1885	03/08/1885	Florence Villa, Picton	DYWER	Maria	Dress Maker	F	24	Consumption	36	30	Henry	Gardner	Elizabeth	Teregal	Torquay, Devonshire, England		Unmarried		
1885	9/08/1885	Florence Villa, Picton	JESSOP	Ada	Domestic	F	25	Consumption	18	16	Thomas	Local Preacher	Martha	Taylor	Royston, near York, England		Unmarried		
1885	20/08/1885	Florence Villa, Picton	HOWE	Edward Foster	Compositor	M	22	Consumption	9	13	Richard	Master Printer	Elizabeth	Maslow	Lincoln in Fields, London, England		Unmarried		
1885	29/09/1885	Florence Villa, Picton	MUNRO	Hector Mitchell	Bookkeeper	M	22	Consumption	16	42	William		Miriam	Mitchell	Kent Road, London		Unmarried		
1885	19/10/1885	Florence Villa, Picton	COATESWORTH	George	Draper's Assistant	M	35	Consumption	60	30	George	Builder	Sarah	Bailey	Stockton, England				
1885	23/11/1885	Florence Villa, Picton	CUTHBERTSON	Janet	Dairy Maid	F	26	Consumption	6	8	John	Miner	Christina	Purvis	Hamilton, Lanark, Scotland		Unmarried		
1885	23/11/1885	Florence Villa, Picton	HAMILTON	William	Laborer	M	23	Consumption	16	30	William	Coal miner	Jane	Davidson	Cambusnethan Lanark, Scotland		Unmarried		
1886	29/01/1886	Florence Villa, Picton	FOSS	Carlos (Charles)	Seaman	M	18	Suicide	20		Erick	Storekeeper	Annette	Uddenberh	Oland, Sweden		Unmarried		
1886	16/02/1886	Florence Villa, Picton	THOMAS	William	Draper	M	36	Consumption	20	84	John	Farmer	Rachel	Mathias	Backe, Caermarthen, Wales	Emily Mary Cook	<small>Catwell, Berkshire, England</small>	32	1
1886	17/02/1886	Florence Villa, Picton	BATTERSEA	Augustus George	House Painter	M	30	Consumption	36	12	Edwin	Navy Cook	Mary	Drake	Steven's Green, Dublin		Unmarried		
1886	03/03/1886	Florence Villa, Picton	RICKETTS	William	Servant	M	25	Consumption	4	11	William	Coachman			London, England		Unmarried		
1886	02/05/1886	Florence Villa, Picton	THUMIN	Samuel	Plasterer	M	30	Consumption	264	24	Charles	Saddler	Jane Crofton	Kent	Jerrard, St John's, London	Louisa Croft	Grafton, NSW	23	4

## Appendix 1

## Deaths at the Consumptive Homes 1877-1893

Year	Date of Death	Place of Death	Last Name	Given Name(s)	Profession	M/F	Age	Cause of Death	In Colony (Mths)	Illness time (Mths)	Father's Given Name(s) & (Surname)	Father's Profession	Mother's Given Name(s)	Mother's Maiden Name	Birth Place	Spouse	Place Marriage	Age when married	Children
1886	19/06/1886	Florence Villa, Picton	CLARKE	George William	Cotton Broker	M	33	Consumption	60	60	Charles Richard	Agent	Maria	Millard	Davihulme, Cheshire, England	Elizabeth Brooks	Liverpool England	21	2
1886	22/06/1886	Florence Villa, Picton	THOMPSON	Thomas	Shoemaker	M	30	Consumption	5	4	William	Laborer	Agnes	Grieve	Dundee, Scotland		Unmarried		
1886	26/06/1886	Florence Villa, Picton	AMBRIDGE	Tracey	Salesman	M	42	Consumption	16	20	Richard	Salesman	Eliza	Lawton	London		Unmarried		
1886	02/09/1886	Florence Villa, Picton	BROWN	Thomas	Grocer	M	20	Consumption	6	18	John	Engine Fitter	Margaret	Simpson	Glasgow, Scotland		Unmarried		
1886	03/09/1886	Florence Villa, Picton	MERCER	Elizabeth	Nurse	F	30	Consumption	15	24	Samuel	Farmer	Eliza	Witheron	Limavady, Derry, Ireland		Unmarried		
1886	04/09/1886	Florence Villa, Picton	GREEN	William George	Steward	M	28	Consumption	84	10	Henry	Carpenter	Ellen	Taylor	Essex, England	Maria O'Shea	Sydney	21	3
1886	04/10/1886	Harmony, Picton	LEITCH	David Reid	Joiner	M	23	Consumption	9	18	Andrew	Laborer	Catherine	Reid	Milngarie, Scotland		Unmarried		
1886	05/10/1886	Harmony, Picton	FLEETWOOD	Francis	Labourer	M	32	Consumption	360	5	Edward	Lawyer	Margaret		Isle of Man		Unmarried		
1886	09/10/1886	Harmony, Picton	WATTS	Ada Jane	Nurse	F	32	Consumption	12	7	James Martin	Ship Captain	Margaret Ellen	Walsh	Circular Head, Tasmania		Unmarried		
1886	25/10/1886	Harmony, Picton	PORTER	William	Compositor	M	31	Consumption	24	12	James	Storekeeper	Hannah	Morgan	Manchester, England		Unmarried		
1886	13/11/1886	Harmony, Picton	COLSON	John	Seaman	M	34	Consumption	144	9	Carl		Catherine	Anderson	Gottenburg, Sweden		Unmarried		
1886	14/12/1886	Harmony, Picton	MCFARLANE	Jane	French Polisher	F	22	Consumption	60	12	Robert	Potter	Lilly	McIntyre	Glasgow, Scotland		Unmarried		
1886	21/12/1886	Harmony, Picton	EMERSON	Michael O'Brien	Salesman	M	25	Consumption	30	24	Thomas	Building Contractor	Ellen	O'Brien	Clifton, Co Galway, Ireland	Johanna Eleonor McMahon	Clifton, Ireland	22	1
1887	17/01/1887	Harmony, Picton	MILLER	George Walter	Laborer	M	38	Consumption		9	Henry Richardson	Clerk	Caroline	Lloyd	Millers Point, Sydney		Unmarried		
1887	03/02/1887	Harmony, Picton	FLYNN	Victoria Adelaide		F	18	Consumption		12	John	Engineer	Mary Ann	Galoon	Sydney		Unmarried		
1887	05/02/1887	Harmony, Picton	EVANS	William	Storeman	M	36	Consumption	168	18	George	Gardener	Jane	Winslade	London	Ellen Leary	Sydney	24	
1887	27/02/1887	Harmony, Picton	TRANENT	Eleanor Mary	Music Teacher	F	27	Consumption		60	Robert	Pilot	Emma	Markham	Sydney, NSW		Unmarried		
1887	14/03/1887	Harmony, Picton	KIRKPATRICK	Alice		F	34	Consumption	120	18	John Worrall (Hammond)	Clerk	Margaret	Davis	Bilston, Staffordshire, England	Charles Kirkpatrick	Sedgely, England	19	5
1887	20/03/1887	The Home, Harmony	MORTLOCK	Mary	Housekeeper	F	40	Consumption	78	18	Thomas	Farmer	Maria	Martin	Braintree, Essex, England		Unmarried		
1887	31/03/1887	Thirlmere, The Home	BOLTON	Charles	Stonemason	M	52	Consumption	48	12	Benjamin	Shoemaker	Anna	King	Benshill, Yorkshire, England	Sarah Ann Holdsworth	Halifax, England	23	
1887	06/04/1887	The Home, Harmony	REID	Archibald	Iron Moulder	M	26	Consumption	4	24	Archibald	Joiner	Mary	McAllister	Kilchatten, Isle of Bute, Scotland	Christiana Park, Agnes Duncan	Married	19, 24	1
1887	15/04/1887	The Home, Harmony	DUNLOP	David	Fireman	M	38	Consumption	60	36	Thomas	Farmer	Mary	Samson	Dundonald, Ayrshire, Scotland	Agnes Atkin	Glasgow, Scotland	28	2
1887	05/05/1887	The Home, Harmony	RATH	Bertha	Governess	F	33	Consumption	36	120	Johannes	Machine Manufacturer	Barbara	Merret	Speicher, Switzerland		Unmarried		
1887	16/05/1887	The Home, Harmony	TAIT	Magnus	Seaman	M	27	Consumption	48	5	Thomas	Farmer	Phillis	Watt	Walls, Shetland, Scotland	Elizabeth McIvin	Married	25	
1887	18/05/1887	The Home, Harmony	THOMAS	John	Miner	M	53	Consumption	420	36	Richard	Hat Maker	Anne	Jones	Cardigan, Wales		Unmarried		
1887	26/05/1887	The Home, Harmony	CAMPBELL	Mary	Seamstress	F	29	Consumption		6	Richard (Edwards)	Chemist	Jane	White	Windsor	Peter Campbell	Sydney	22	
1887	18/06/1887	The Home, Harmony	OTTO	Julius Theodore	Blacksmith	M	46	Consumption	54	6	John	Forester	Charlotte	Nell	Ostromejks, Prussia	Wilhelmina Evert	Liverpool, England	26	
1887	29/06/1887	The Home, Harmony	NEWBY	Frederick	Clerk	M	27	Consumption	36	9	Mathew	Officer, RN	Catherine	Webber	Malta		Unmarried		
1887	10/07/1887	The Home, Harmony	ROWLEY	Sara Ellen		F	22	Consumption		12	Richard	Compositor	Mary Ann	Byne	Sydney		Unmarried		
1887	07/08/1887	The Home, Harmony	RENTON	Thomas Thomson	Shorthand writer	M	24	Consumption	24	48	Robert	Newspaper sub-editor	Maggie	Thomson	Glasgow, Scotland		Unmarried		
1887	06/09/1887	The Home, Harmony	ELLIOTT	Eliza	Domestic Duties	F	35	Consumption	30	48	Thomas	Farmer	Eliza	Thompson	Moneycashel, Co. Leitrim, Ireland	Robert Elliott	Moneycashel, Leitrim, Ireland	19	6
1887	08/09/1887	The Home, Harmony	PROSSER	Adelaide	Tailor	F	32	Consumption		7	Aland (Watts)	Painter	Annie	Kavanagh	West Maitland, NSW	Henry G Prosser	Sydney	24	0
1887	09/09/1887	The Home, Harmony	BURNS	Thomas	Bell Hanger	M	29	Consumption	36	13	Adam	Baker	Catherine	Burns	Edinburgh, Scotland		Unmarried		
1887	19/09/1887	The Home, Harmony	MORRISON	John Humphrey	Seaman	M	25	Consumption	42	16	Laurence (John) Death Cert	Farmer	Jane	Irvine	Scotland		Unmarried		
1887	10/10/1887	The Home, Harmony	AUBREY	Annie	Nurse	F	35	Consumption	18	12	Jenkin	Copper Smelter	Mary	Williams	Swansea, Glamorgan, Wales		Unmarried		
1887	25/10/1887	The Home, Harmony	ROBERTSON	John George	Commercial Traveller	M	36	Consumption	16	36	John George	Prof of Languages	Mary Ann	Whitburn	Southdea, Hants, England	Eleanor Sarah Benin (Bruin)	Hackney, London	24	6
1887	30/10/1887	The Home, Harmony	BELL	Charles Borthwick	Miller	M	21	Consumption	20	30	Thomas	Tweed Finisher	Mary	Boyde	Langham, Dumfries, Scotland		Unmarried		
1887	02/12/1887	The Home, Harmony	JENKINS	Evan	Draper	M	25	Consumption	10	72	Philip	Farmer	Catherine	Evans	Brecon, South Wales		Unmarried		
1887	17/12/1887	The Home, Harmony	MCVICAR	Hugh D	Draper	M	20	Consumption	12	24	James	Plasterer	Marion	Anan	Dumbarton, Scotland		Unmarried		
1887	29/12/1887	The Home, Harmony	EDWARDS	Henry Strong	Canvasser	M	25	Consumption	96	8	George	Clerk	Mary	Strong	London, England		Unmarried		
1888	21/01/1888	The Home, Harmony	MCFARLANE	John	Clerk	M	22	Consumption	12	72	George	Bleacher	Jane	Menzies	Pollokshams, Glasgow, Scotland		Unmarried		
1888	22/01/1888	The Home, Harmony	SKINNER	Joseph Mclean	Compositor	M	27	Consumption	96	72	Alexander	Compositor	Mary	McLean	Edinburgh, Scotland	Katie Elizabeth Burns	London, England	27	2
1888	06/02/1888	The Home, Harmony	BUCHANAN	Robert	Compositor	M	25	Consumption	48	20	Robert	Farmer	Catherine	MacLean	Dalby, QLD		Unmarried		
1888	31/03/1888	The Home, Harmony	STEWART	Annie	Domestic Servant	F	25	Consumption	60	7	James	School Teacher	Eliza	McCarrol	Castle Dawson, Co Derry Ireland		Unmarried		

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1888	16/04/1888	The Home, Harmony	ROSS	Thomas	Carpenter	M	24	Consumption	48	8	Thomas	Mason	Elizabeth	Manson	Caithness, Scotland		Unmarried		
1888	24/06/1888	The Home, Harmony	PRITTY	John	Jeweller	M	20	Consumption	18	24	John	Warehouse Man	Agnes	Fraser	Edinburgh, Scotland		Unmarried		
1888	28/06/1888	The Home, Harmony	SNELLMAN	Henry	Draper	M	26	Consumption	78	30	Alexander	Draper	Mathilda	Gran	Sweden		Unmarried		
1888	01/07/1888	The Home, Harmony	BURGESS	Fanny	Laborer's Daughter	F	18	Consumption		36	John	Laborer	Martha	Goodlie	Waterloo, Sydney		Unmarried		
1888	14/09/1888	The Home, Harmony	JARDINE	James T	Mason	M	32	Consumption	48	36	David	Laborer	Janet	Templeton	Monswald, Dumfries, Scotland		Unmarried		
1888	22/09/1888	The Home, Harmony	MELZER	Sophia	Cook	F	34	Consumption	54	48	August	Farmer	Louise	Kemger	Unstadt, Brandenburg, Germany		Unmarried		
1888	01/10/1888	The Home, Harmony	GOUGH	Arthur G	Plate Cleaner	M	19	Consumption	6	15	Peter	Hostler	Elizabeth	Molloy	Liverpool England		Unmarried		
1888	02/10/1888	The Home, Harmony	COLLIER	Elizabeth	Domestic	F	23	Consumption	31	21	Thomas	Farmer	Mary	Giltrap	Kilbride, Co Carlow, Ireland		Unmarried		
1888	08/10/1888	The Home, Harmony	HANSEN	Hans	Sailor	M	25	Consumption	36	12	Ole Peter	Pilot	Ragnbild		Christianna, Norway		Unmarried		
1888	14/10/1888	Thirlmere	STEPHENS	John	Miner	M	50	Consumption		60	James	Miner	Mary	Courtney	Cornwell, England	Mary Marsden	Unmarried	23	10
1888	19/10/1888	The Home, Harmony	TRIGGS	Philip Charles	Warehouseman	M	23	Consumption	10	18	James	Commercial Traveller	Anne	Bryant	Chelsea, England		Unmarried		
1888	25/10/1888	The Home, Harmony	RUST	William	Coachman	M	38	Consumption	42	12	William	Farmer	Margaret	Findlay	Kincardine, Scotland		Unmarried		
1889	18/01/1889	The Home, Harmony	MACQUARRIE	Alexander	Salesman	M	25	Consumption	8	36	Alexander	Farm Laborer	Elizabeth	Walker	Overton, Lanarkshire, Scotland		Unmarried		
1889	21/01/1889	The Home, Harmony	PALMER	Elizabeth	Domestic Servant	F	36	Consumption		36	Thomas	Ploughman	Ellen	Green	Parramatta, NSW		Unmarried		
1889	12/02/1889	The Home, Harmony	SMITH	Charles Mcmillan	Stonemason	M	28	Consumption	84	36	David	Miner	Mary	McMillan	Bathgate, Lanark, Scotland		Unmarried		
1889	27/02/1889	The Home, Harmony	DOYLE	George	Barman	M	29	Consumption	96	11	Thomas	Insurance Agent	Polly	Molyneaux	Manchester, England		Unmarried		
1889	19/03/1889	The Home, Harmony	WALKER	Walter	Groom	M	26	Consumption	6	16	Robert		Clarisa		Liverpool, England		Unmarried		
1889	02/04/1889	The Home, Harmony	MACQUARRIE	James	Clerk	M	23	Consumption	24	36	Alexander	Farm Laborer	Elizabeth	Walker	Overton, Lanarkshire, Scotland		Unmarried		
1889	10/04/1889	The Home, Harmony	GRANT	Charles	Miner	F	56	Consumption	396	24	John	Miller	Mary	Mustell	Duxford, Cambridge, England		Unmarried		
1889	23/04/1889	The Home, Harmony	MCPHEE	Donald	Stonemason	M	24	Consumption	84	48	Hugh	Farmer	Catherine	Cameron	Fort William, Inverness, Scotland		Unmarried		
1889	03/05/1889	The Home, Harmony	HARLAND	David	Clerk	M	28	Consumption	60	72	James	Blacksmith	Susan	Boyle	Gilford, Co Down Ireland		Unmarried		
1889	05/06/1889	The Home, Harmony	BURGESS	Susan	Saleswoman	F	24	Consumption	17	36	John	Farmer	Alice	Melone	Kathly on Tullow, Co Carlow, Ireland		Unmarried		
1889	17/06/1889	The Home, Harmony	MACANSH	Andrew	Tailor	M	28	Consumption	30	36	James	Flax Dresser	Agnes	Downie	Dunferline, Ayrshire, Scotland		Unmarried		
1889	28/06/1889	The Home, Harmony	MORRISON	Peter	Quarryman	M	49	Consumption	360	24	John	Farmer	Margaret	Cudgan	Lismore, Co Waterford, Ireland		Unmarried		
1889	29/06/1889	The Home, Harmony	BARDEN	Alfred	Gardener	M	23	Consumption	6	16	James	Quarryman	Sarah	Backhurst	Boughton, Monshelsea, England	Sarah Lillyer	Hounslow, England	23	
1889	16/07/1889	The Home, Harmony	SEEL	Charles Molyneaux	Mounted Police	M	33	Consumption	72	19	Charles	Soldier	Marnie		Paris, France	Lilly Jacobs	Adelaide, SA		1
1889	17/08/1889	The Home, Harmony	MATTEY	Alfred	Pattern Maker	M	24	Consumption	12	24	Alfred	Fitter	Sarah		Derby, England		Unmarried		
1889	17/08/1889	The Home, Harmony	STANDING	Henry Edward	Stonemason	M	39	Consumption	96	24	John	Surveyor	Margaret	Mercer	Lancashire, England	Agnes Jean Jeffreys	Manly Beach, Sydney	31	2
1889	06/09/1889	The Home, Harmony	TAPP	Alfred	Draper	M	17	Consumption		9	John	Coach Builder	Bridget	Snow	Sydney		Unmarried		
1889	10/09/1889	The Home, Harmony	FARMER	Jennie	General Servant	F	22	Consumption		24	William	Miner	Christina	Dunn	Hamilton, Newcastle		Unmarried		
1889	20/09/1889	The Home, Harmony	JACKSON	Joseph	Bank Clerk	M	54	Phthisis Pulmonalis	312	60	Thomas	Farmer	Jane	Brown	Seaton, Cumberland, England		Unmarried		
1889	06/10/1889	The Home, Harmony	CASH	Elizabeth	Assistant Photographer	F	33	Phthisis Pulmonalis	24	24	James	Farmer	Martha	Roberts	North Summercoasts, Lincolnshire, England		Unmarried		
1889	14/10/1889	The Home, Harmony	THOMSON	Jessie Lowrie		F	7	Consumption	12	18	James Graham	Railway Laborer	Mary	Mahoney	Adelaide, SA		Unmarried		
1889	16/11/1889	The Home, Harmony	HILLOAK	William Andrew	Clerk	M	32	Consumption	22	30	William	Gardener	Johanna	Gordon	Skibs, Sutherland, Scotland		Unmarried		
1889	21/11/1889	The Home, Harmony	PEEBLES	James	Ship Fitter	M	29	Consumption	48	36	William	Carpenter	Margaret	Fraser	Dundee, Scotland		Unmarried		
1889	06/12/1889	The Home, Harmony	KENNEDY	Francis	Cabman	M	31	Consumption	96	12	Francis	Farmer	Margaret	Frayme	Brechlis, Co Longford, Ireland		Unmarried		
1889	10/12/1889	The Home, Harmony	POTT	Joseph	Stonemason	M	35	Consumption	12		Thomas	Stonemason	Harriet	Cork	Compstall, England	Emma Stewart	Compstall, Derbyshire, England		2
1890	07/01/1890	The Home, Harmony	DOYLE	Edward Peter	Clerk	M	49	Consumption	192		Peter	Gentleman	Phoebe	Knight	London, England				
1890	11/01/1890	The Home, Harmony	MACKENZIE	Priscilla	Domestic	F	25	Consumption		252	Kenneth	Sawyer	Margaret	Harris	Dunbarton, Scotland				
1890	24/01/1890	The Home, Harmony	BAKER	Mary Ann	Domestic	F	29	Consumption	240	24	George	Carpenter	Mary	Osborn	Hobart Town Tasmania	John Baker	Sydney	18	0
1890	26/01/1890	The Home, Harmony	WILLMOTT	Eliza Ann		F	54	Consumption	108	12			Hannah	Coxon	Manchester, England	John Willmott	New Zealand		35
1890	18/02/1890	The Home, Harmony	GLYNN	Kate	Dressmaker	F	27	Consumption		60	Thomas	Laborer	Catherine	Geogan	Sydney		Unmarried		
1890	27/04/1890	The Home, Harmony	CURTIS	Matthew Ernest	Mechanical Engineer	M	22	Consumption	6		William	Engineer	Elizabeth	MacNaughton	Ashford, Kent, England				
1890	05/05/1890	Thirlmere, Home	SNOW	Lizzie	General Servant	F	17	Consumption		30					Sydney, NSW				

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1890	20/05/1890	Thirlmere, The Home	HOSKINS	Nancy Park	Domestic	F	40	Heart & Liver	372	13	John Richmond (Stevenson)	Chemist & Druggist	Susan	Ross	At Sea	<small>John Duncan Archibald, Henry Hoskins</small>	Tamworth, Sydney	22, 37	5
1890	10/06/1890	The Home, Harmony	WEARNE	William	Mariner	M	39	Consumption	156		Joseph	Grocer	Ann	Bowen	Isle of Wight	Catherine Tauton	Sydney	29	
1890	23/06/1890	Thirlmere Home	LANGTON	George	Engineer	M	32	Consumption	72	60	Alexander	Grocer	Ann	Wardling	Warren Point, County Down, Ireland		Unmarried		
1890	06/07/1890	Thirlmere, The Home	FARNEY	Adolph George	Mariner	M	37	Consumption	324	21	George	Mill Owner	Hannah	Matson	Germany				
1890	28/07/1890	Thirlmere, The Home	DARBY	Reuben	Labourer	M	20	Consumption		3	Thomas	Laborer	Annie	Ackroid	Wilton, NSW	Harriett Parker	Wilton	19	1
1890	17/09/1890	Thirlmere, The Home	CARTER	William	Gardener	M	32	Consumption	84	36	Thomas	Farmer	Catherine	Griffiths	South Wales	Elizabeth Nunn	Pyrmont, NSW	28	
1890	28/10/1890	Thirlmere, The Home	CLARKE	John	Pattern Maker	m	48	Phthisis		12	James	Farmer	Emma	West	Sydney, NSW	Eliza Avery	Port Stephens, NSW	22	12
1890	08/11/1890	Thirlmere, The Home	RAE	Andrew	Stonecutter	M	53	Consumption	48	36	Andrew	Weaver	Mary	Muir	Lesmahagon, Lanarkshire, Scotland	Helen Haliburton	Glasgow, Scotland	22	4
1890	09/11/1890	Thirlmere, The Home	BENNETT	Elizabeth	Drew	F	32	Consumption	72	18	Robert (Hamer)	Stockringer	Emma	Ginah	Quorn, Leicestershire, England	<small>George William Bennett</small>	Sydney	29	2
1890	12/11/1890	Thirlmere, The Home	NOVERRE	George	Waiter	M	22	Consumption		36	George	Hotel Keeper	Charlotte	Wexley	Greenwich, England				
1890	22/11/1890	Thirlmere, The Home	GIBSON	Ann	Laundress	F	38	Phthisis	84	18	Timothy (Moynohan)	Farmer	Mary	Fitzgerald	Glenagalth, County Kerry, Ireland	James Gibson	Glenagarth, Ireland	27	
1890	07/12/1890	Thirlmere, The Home	HICKS	James	Miner	M	58	Consumption	396	72	Joseph	Miner	Rebecca	White	Redwith, Cornwell, England	May Ann	Redwith, Cornwell	22	2
1890	09/12/1890	Thirlmere, Home	WILSON	Joseph	Painter	M	27	Consumption	84	36	Alfred	Cabinet Maker	Sarah	England	Manchester, England	Annie Wilkison	Manchester, England	21	1
1890	30/12/1890	Thirlmere, The Home	JOHNSON	Edward William	Stonemason	M	35	Consumption	84	18	Edward William	Fisherman	Elizabeth		Banking, Essex, England				
1891	02/01/1891	Thirlmere, The Home	HOLMES	William James	Clerk	M	27	Consumption	24	96	William	Book Keeper	Margaret	Simpson	Aberdeen, Scotland				
1891	08/03/1891	Thirlmere, Home	MACDONALD	Michael	Draper	M	37	Consumption	72	15	James	Farmer	Kate	Mahen	Carlwo, Ireland				
1891	10/03/1891	Thirlmere, The Home	JOHNSON	August	Labourer	M	25	Consumption	60	18	John	Laborer	Christina	Anderson	Cland, Sweden				
1891	28/03/1891	Thirlmere, The Home	CRITCHLEY	Peter	Warehouseman	M	23	Consumption	30	36	Peter	Contractor	Elizabeth	McCulloch	St Helens, Lancashire, England				
1891	04/04/1891	Thirlmere, The Home	MALLARD	Amateur	Labourer	M	30	Consumption	60	36	Amateur	Carpenter	Rosalie	Joslice	Dinau, France		Unmarried		
1891	2/05/1891	Thirlmere, Home	WATT	John Douglas		M					John		Annie						
1891	14/05/1891	Thirlmere, Home	MCINNESS	Jessie	BootSsales woman	F	39	Consumption	72	96	Peter	Contractor	Jean	Muirhead	Glasgow, Scotland				
1891	16/05/1891	Thirlmere, Home	WILSON	Henry	Gentleman's Servant	M	31	Consumption	60	12	John	Huntsman	Elizabeth	Craigey	Essex, England	<small>Caroline Louise Summers</small>	London	25	2
1891	20/06/1891	Thirlmere, The Home	BLUE	John		M	18	Consumption		6	Robert Stephen	Printer	Emily	Murphy	Sydney, NSW		Unmarried		
1891	24/06/1891	Thirlmere, Home	WHITE	John	Footman	M	25	Consumption	2	12	John	Bricklayer	Susan	Hanneford	Mandose, Devonshire, England		Unmarried		
1891	03/08/1891	Thirlmere, The Home	SMITH	James	Shorthand Writer	M	29	Consumption	10	24	John	Mechanic	Johanna	Hipeniace	Dublin, Ireland		Unmarried		
1891	13/09/1891	Thirlmere, Home	STOKES	Samuel	Labourer	M	24	Consumption		96	Charles	Laborer	Eliza	Niblet	Yass, NSW				
1891	15/10/1891	Thirlmere, The Home	CAHILL	James Sylvester	Newspaper Reporter	M	40	Consumption		24	William Augustine	Architect	Mary A Nn	Byrne	Sydney, NSW	Jessie Isabel Nash	Orange, NSW	21	2
1891	25/10/1891	Thirlmere, The Home	HORTON	Margaret		F	33	Consumption	156	16	William (Lewis)	Soldier	Ellen	Dobson	Antrim, Ireland	<small>William James Horton</small>	Burwood, NSW	26	3
1891	13/11/1891	Thirlmere Home	PHMISTON	Alexander	Fettler	M	41	Consumption	432	12	George	Laborer	Barbara	Campbell	Lewes, Sussex, England	Maria Pell	Sydney	25	4
1891	27/11/1891	Thirlmere, The Home	FULTON	William	Police Constable	M	26	Consumption	18	24	George	Laborer	Jane	Shering	Preston, Somerset, England		Unmarried		
1891	04/12/1891	Thirlmere, Home	SCOTT	John	Engineer	M	39	Consumption		18	George	Shipwright			Sydney	Lousia Hill	Newcastle	19	6
1891	06/12/1891	Thirlmere, Home	WRIGHT	William	Clerk	M	35	Consumption	84	36	William	Cloth Mill Manager	Ann		Gilford, Co Down, Ireland		Unmarried		
1891	20/12/1891	Thirlmere, Home	WEBB	Sydney	Billiard Maker	M	23	Consumption		9	Richard	Publican	Eliza	Best	Parramatta, NSW		Unmarried		
1892	17/01/1892	Thirlmere, Home	CLARK	Annie	General Servant	F	28	Consumption		9	William (Morris)	Laborer	Mary	Downsed	Maitland, NSW	James Clark	Sydney	25	
1892	29/02/1892	Thirlmere, Home	RUTHERFORD	Charles Wesley	Salesman	M	31	Consumption	72	9	James	House Painter	Mary Ann	Matthews	Belfast, Ireland		Unmarried		
1892	16/04/1892	Thirlmere, Home	STEWART	John	Tutor	M	39	Consumption		6	Alexander		Isabella	Marshall	Edinburgh, Scotland		Unmarried		
1892	30/04/1892	Thirlmere, Home	SHIPWAY	Bertha Isabel		F	30	Consumption	12	9	Irada	Inspector Railways	Sarah	Smith	Shrewsbury, Shropshire, England				
1892	30/04/1892	Thirlmere, Home	WILLIAMS	William	Drapers Assistant	M	31	Consumption	4	24	Owan	Dock Laborer	Elizabeth Amanda	Burns	Liverpool, England				
1892	03/06/1892	Thirlmere, Home	WILSON	Hance	Sugar Worker	M	51	Phthisis	408	12	William	Artist	Clara	Foster	Camden, England	Fanny Scott	Dunedin, NZ	25	
1892	09/06/1892	Thirlmere, The Home	FITZGERALD	David	Army Tutor	M	42	Phthisis	39	54	John		Mary	O'Sullivan	Kerry, Ireland				
1892	09/06/1892	Thirlmere, The Home	MAUNDER	John	Draper	M	25	Phthisis	60	48	John				London				
1893	11/08/1892	Thirlmere, Home	SCOTT	Ebenezer Walter	Electrician	M	24	Consumption		3	Ebenezer	Tinsmith	Isabella	Foley	Sydney				
1892	13/08/1892	Thirlmere, The Home	BLAIR	Peter	Laborer	M	32	Consumption	48	18	James	Farmer	Jessie	McBain	Abernethy, Inverness, Scotland				
1892	11/09/1892	Thirlmere, The Home	CHRISTIE	James	Miner	M	53	Consumption	36	17	James	Master Mariner	Mary	Harvey	St Peters, Lancaster, England	Sarah Ann Jones	Manchester	33	2

## Appendix 1

## Deaths at the Consumptive Homes 1877-1893

Year	Date of Death	Place of Death	Last Name	Given Name(s)	Profession	M/F	Age	Cause of Death	In Colony (Mths)	Illness time (Mths)	Father's Given Name(s) & (Surname)	Father's Profession	Mother's Given Name(s)	Mother's Maiden Name	Birth Place	Spouse	Place Marriage	Age when married	Children
1892	23/09/1892	Thirlmere, The Home	GARSDIE	William	Cook	M	52	Consumption	168	15	Jeremiah	Butcher	Ann		Halifax, Yorkshire, England				
1892	15/10/1892	The Home, Harmony	TATE	Henry	Laborer	M	45	Consumption	288	24	Jonathan	Brass Finisher	Mary	Mauris	Liverpool, England	Briget O'Connor	Sydney		
1892	28/10/1892	Thirlmere, Home	SALMON	Edward Henry Pearse	Clerk	M	39	Consumption	120	120	Edward	Barrister at Law	Ermina	Isaache	Pardicherrip, India	Marie Anna Logesse	Madras, India	18	3
1892	09/11/1892	Thirlmere, The Home	FLYNN	Thomas	Sailor	M	60	Consumption	80	16	Morris	Farmer	Catherine	Horgan	Yuoghal, Co Cork, Ireland	Mary Butler	Melbourne	34	10
1892	20/12/1892	Thirlmere, The Home	EDWARDS	William	Railway Employee	M	21	Consumption	18	24	William	Plumber			Sketty, Glamorganshire, South Wales		Unmarried		
1893	28/01/1893	Thirlmere, Home	WHITEHOUSE	Ruth	Domestic Servant	F	30	Consumption	12	6	John	Manager Iron Works	Harriet	Wharton	Brierly, Staffordshire, England		Unmarried		
1893	04/02/1893	Thirlmere, The Home	HAUGHTON	Sidney	Clerk	M	24	Consumption	2	14	Thomas Edward	Portmanteau Maker	Mary Ann	Hopkins	Camberwell, London	Florence Ann Sheridan	Whitechapel, London	19	
1893	28/02/1893	The Home, Harmony	SHANNON	Edward	Religion Instruction Public Schools	M	28	Consumption	108	24	Edward	Architect	Jane Easton	McAlister	Ireland				
1893	07/04/1893	The Home, Harmony	GRIEVE	Robert	Cook	M	40	Consumption	192	24	John	Farmer	Margaret	Kay	Dumbarton, Scotland	Adeline Eva Evans	Sydney	27	5
1893	07/05/1893	The Home, Harmony	PRIEST	Helen E	General Servant	F	16	Consumption	76	66	Edward (Raven)	Chemist & Druggist	Georgina	Bouchier	Cromer, Norfolk, England				
1893	06/06/1893	Thirlmere, The Home	BOLIN (Bohn)	Maurice John	Tinsmith	M	27	Consumption		7	George John	Laborer	Mary Ann	Brown	Sydney	Kate Mitchell	St Pauls, Sydney	21	1
1893	13/06/1893	Thirlmere, Home	ANDERSON	John	Stonemason	M	71	Consumption	300	42	James	Stonemason	Isabella	Pryde	Scotland	Emma Flannigan	Sydney	45	6
1893	05/07/1893	Thirlmere, The Home	BEALE	Arthur	Clerk	M	23	Consumption	8	27	Edward Paul	Painter	Mary Ann	Farr	London		Unmarried		

## **Appendix 2**

### **Importation of Goods by *Goodlet and Smith***

*Goodlet and Smith* imported all manner of goods related to the building industry, but timber and glass were the company's main imports. Timber, mostly redwood or oregon, was imported from the United States and Canada and pine was imported from Scandinavia, New Zealand and the other Australian colonies. These timbers were imported in the early period of *Goodlet and Smith* and were brought as part of the cargo of ships coming to the colony of NSW. As the prosperity of *Goodlet and Smith* grew, and to meet demand, *Goodlet and Smith* chartered vessels which carried only *Goodlet and Smith* imports. From 1882, Goodlet used his own ship the *Nineveh* to import redwood and oregon timbers and later, as the services of shipping companies improved and the capacity of the ships expanded, he again imported timber as part loads which were shipped along with the orders of other companies.

Importation of timber and glass was, along with other commodities, published in *The Daily Commercial News and Shipping List*.<sup>1</sup> The figures have been collated for *Goodlet and Smith* in the period 1892 to 1914, but for comparison purposes selected years have been examined for all companies who imported glass and/or timber. Only two years for comparison were chosen because of the enormity of the task, but these two years provide sufficient information so that conclusions can be drawn about the extent of the *Goodlet and Smith* import business relative to other companies.

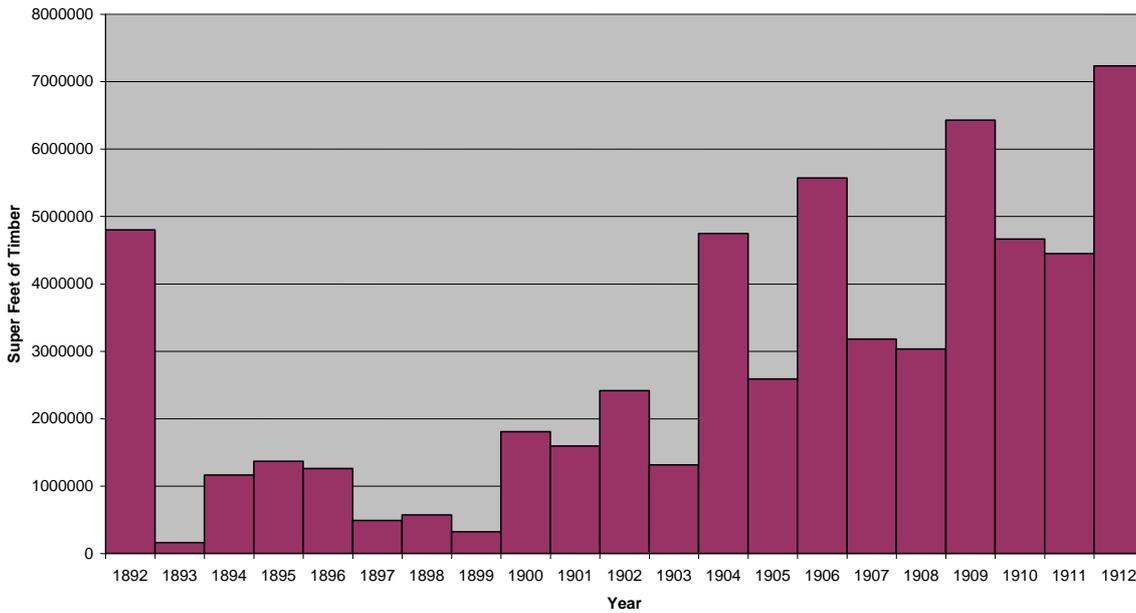
#### **Timber**

Figures 23 and 24 [page 384] demonstrate that *Goodlet and Smith* greatly reduced the importation of timber because of the effects of economic downturn in the 1890s. It was not until 1904 that the company returned to the level of importation that existed prior to the downturn with the trend of the volumes of imports being upward from about 1901. Large import volumes in one year (1904, 1906 and 1909) would reduce the need for the same level of import in the following year but the trend was clearly of increasing volumes over the 1901-1912 period. The largest source of timber for *Goodlet and Smith* was North America from which oregon was imported. Pine was imported from the Baltic States and increasingly it was imported from New Zealand in the twentieth century.

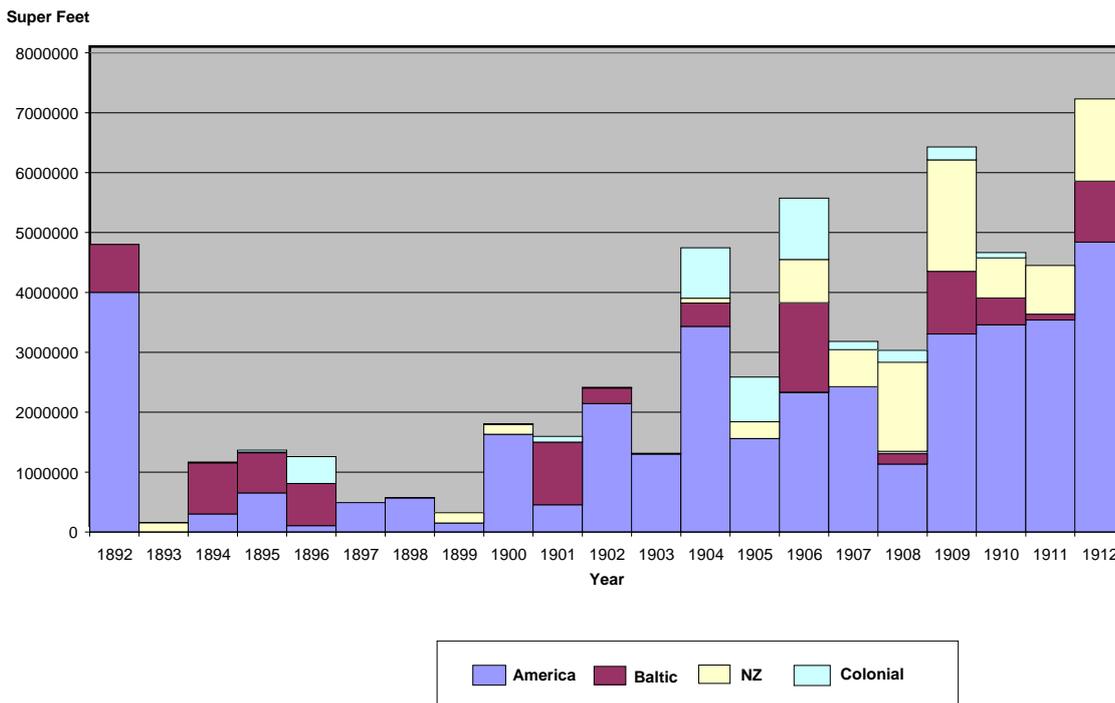
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<sup>1</sup> All the importation figures have been collated from Import Lists contained in the *The Daily Commercial News and Shipping List (Sydney, NSW) 1892-1913*.

**Figure 23: Timber Imports by Goodlet and Smith, 1892-1912**



**Figure 24: Timber Imports by Country by Goodlet and Smith, 1892-1912**

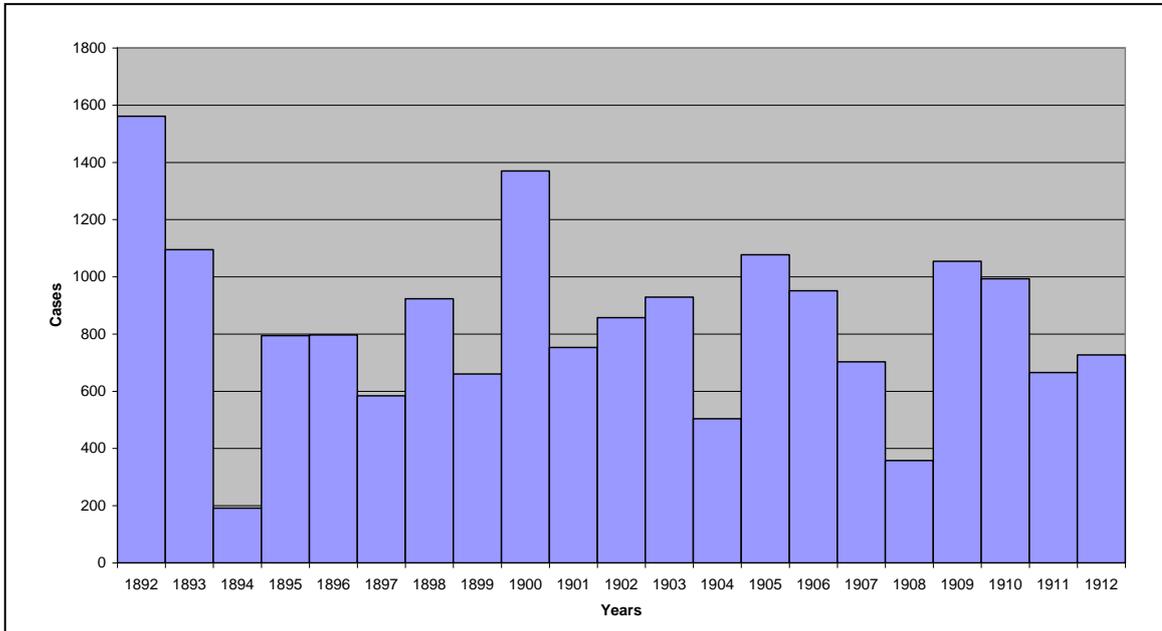


**Glass**

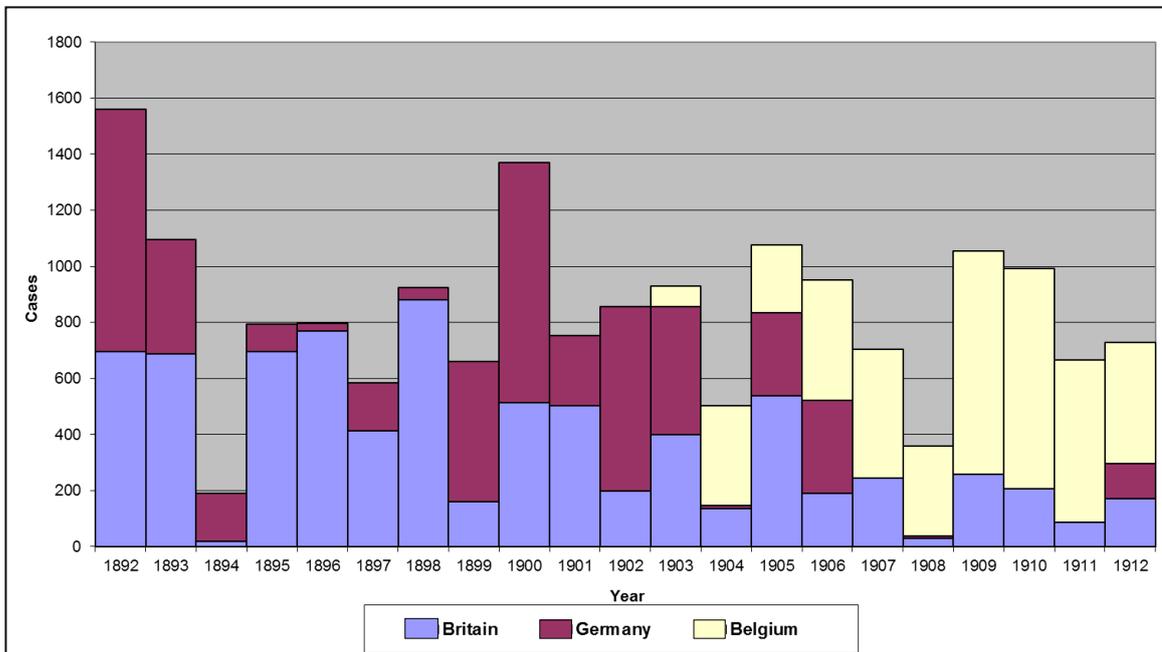
*Goodlet and Smith* imported considerable quantities of glass from Britain, Belgium and Germany. [Figures 25 and 26 page 385] Glass imports, in comparison to timber imports, were less affected by the economic downturn. This may be because *Goodlet and Smith* had its own timber mills and the company simply reduced its dependence upon imported timbers during this time. Goodlet imported his glass from three

sources. Until 1903 glass was only imported from Britain and Germany, but after 1903 Belgian glass was favoured.

**Figure 25: Glass Imports by Goodlet and Smith, 1892-1912**



**Figure 26: Glass Imports by Country by Goodlet and Smith, 1892-1912**



**Figure 27: Goodlet and Smith (G&S) Importation Ranking in top 15 Companies by volume**

	YEAR	Total Import into NSW of Timber in Million SFT	% of total import into NSW by G&S	G&S Ranking /15	% of total imported by top 15 companies
TIMBER	1897	52.8	0.9	13	95.0
	1912	176.7	4.1	7	74.1
	YEAR	Total Import into NSW of Glass in Thousands of Cases	% of total import into NSW by G&S	G&S Ranking /15	% of total top 15 companies
GLASS	1897	8.6	6.7	4	96.5
	1912	22.8	3.2	6	80.9

**Figure 28: Top 15 Companies by volume of imported timber**

Ranking	1897	Super feet	1912	Super feet
1	Davies & Fehon	10,825,599	Langdon & Langdon	20,265,175
2	Kauri Timber Co	9,564,794	George Hudson & Son	19,394,074
3	Cowlshaw Bros	7,193,369	H M'Kenzie Ltd	17,777,499
4	EF Broad	6,971,768	Saxton & Binns Ltd	12,022,404
5	Scott, Henderson & Co	5,953,307	Union Box and PC Co	9,144,313
6	JI Falk	3,445,759	JW Eaton	8,377,458
7	G Augenson	1,471,937	<b>Goodlet &amp; Smith</b>	<b>7,231,634</b>
8	Holdship & Co	962,382	Davies & Fehon Ltd	7,218,685
9	A Guthery	892,156	Bell & Frazer Ltd	6,586,455
10	JG Smith	800,500	A & E Ellis Ltd	4,981,750
11	J Barre Johnston	660,696	RS Lamb & Co	4,153,969
12	Nelson & Robertson	547,467	Federal Timber Co	4,103,816
13	<b>Goodlet &amp; Smith</b>	<b>490,239</b>	FA Sargent	4,095,955
14	JE Ellis	234,745	Binns, Wadge & Brown Ltd	2,844,433
15	Ford Adams & Co	211,435	J Rosenfield	2,696,309

**Figure 29: Top 15 Companies by volume of imported glass**

Ranking	1897	Cases	1912	Cases
1	J Barre Johnston	4,120	HH Groth & Co	1,962
2	J Sandy & Co	968	Williamson Croft & Co	1,473
3	JC Goodwin	746	JC Goodwin & Co	1,127
4	<b>Goodlet &amp; Smith</b>	<b>584</b>	Binns Wadge & Brown Ltd	792
5	Williamson Croft & Co	345	<b>Goodlet &amp; Smith</b>	<b>741</b>
6	CH Yunn	300	FW Gissing	712
7	HJ Langdon	253	A Baker	705
8	D Bernard & Co	252	HJ Lancaster	541
9	Saxton & Binns	200	AJ Baker	473
10	G Eden	150	George Hudson & Son	385
11	A Horden & Sons	149	Lyon Cottier & Co	347
12	Harrington & Co	102	Rozelle Joinery Works	308
13	Busch & Heiliger	79	J Graham & Sons	299
14	H Evans	59	W Shinfield	256
15	W Aldenhoven	50	HT Seymour	252

### **Relative Size of *Goodlet and Smith***

How significant was *Goodlet and Smith* in comparison with other companies of the time? A number of measures could be used such as profitability or volume of sales, but it is difficult to obtain comparative figures. The volume of timber and glass imported by the company in relation to competitors gives some indication of the company's relative significance in these imports. Prior to the economic depression very large volumes of both commodities were imported into NSW, but these volumes dropped significantly in the early 1890s and gradually built up again into the twentieth century. In Figure 27 [page 386] it may be seen that *Goodlet and Smith* was not the biggest importer in either of these commodities but it was significant nonetheless, importing into NSW nearly 1% of all timber in 1897 and 4% of all timber by 1912. These imports were to supplement the much larger volumes of timber produced domestically by the company. Over the same period the company imported some 7% of glass in 1897, but by 1912 was importing only 3% although both the volumes imported and the number of importers had significantly increased. [Figure 28 page 386] Of the top 15 companies importing timber *Goodlet and Smith* ranked 13 in 1897 and 7 in 1912, and in glass imports was ranked 4 in 1897 and 5 in 1912. [Figure 29 page 386]

Although by 1912 the company had increased its ranking in timber imports, and slipped only one place in terms of glass importation, these products became less and less important to *Goodlet and Smith* into the twentieth century as the manufacture of clay-based products became the company's mainstay. The company's strength lay in its diversity of product that was both imported and produced for the building industry encompassing timber, glass, cement, terracotta and brick building products.

### **Stained Glass**

A small volume of the imported glass was cathedral glass often used in stained glass windows. In May 1888, at the peak of a veritable church building boom in the country, *Goodlet and Smith* announced that it was 'in a position to supply CHURCH WINDOWS Painted & Stained, having a first-class artist, also in Cathedral quarries to any design'.<sup>2</sup> The artist was Lucien Henry and hence began a line of activity that was both business and faith for Goodlet. It was business in that it was part of the supply of building materials and was an extension of the company's extensive glass business, and faith as most of the stained glass was for ecclesiastical purposes. Not all of the stained windows were ecclesiastical, however, and one of the first major

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<sup>2</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), May 19, 1888.

commissions, which was to be an excellent promotion for *Goodlet and Smith*, were the Lucien Henry designed Captain Cook and NSW windows for the staircase of the Centennial Hall in the Sydney Town Hall. [Photo page 389] These were supplied in November 1889 along with 25 clerestory windows. It has been suggested that these centennial windows are the only completed commission for Henry for work on a public building.<sup>3</sup>

It is uncertain how long Henry worked with *Goodlet and Smith* and whether this was his only commission with the company, but his use of native Australian flora was characteristic of his work and impacted the content of Sydney stained glass windows.<sup>4</sup> By the May of 1890<sup>5</sup> the company had stopped advertising that it had 'a first class artist', but continued to advertise that it could supply stained glass windows, so it is probably at this point that Henry completed his work with the company. Interestingly, in 1890, Lucien Henry issued a prospectus for his proposed major literary work *Australian decorative arts: one hundred studies and designs* and it was published by the Photoline Printing Company (of which Alexander Goodlet was a director). Henry left Sydney in May 1891.<sup>6</sup>

*Goodlet and Smith* incorporated native flora into windows featuring the physician William Harvey and the anatomist William Hunter which were completed for Sydney Hospital in 1893, and Central Railway Station in Sydney which were completed in 1906.<sup>7</sup> The full extent of stained glass production by the company installed in churches is unknown, but given the amounts of cathedral glass imported by the company compared to other local manufacturers it could not have been large. It is of interest that the stained glass window, installed in Ashfield Presbyterian Church in 1904 to recognise Ann Alison Goodlet, was not made by *Goodlet and Smith* but by Ashwin and Faulkner,<sup>8</sup> which perhaps accounts for the fact that her name is misspelt in the glass panel.

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<sup>3</sup> Charles Pickett, 'Lucien Henry and Sydney Architecture' in *Visions of a Republic The work of Lucien Henry Paris, Noumea, Sydney*. Edited by Ann Stephen, 94 (Sydney: Powerhouse Publishing, 2001).

<sup>4</sup> Barbara Sherry, *Australia's Historic Stained Glass* (Sydney: Murray Child, 1991), 40.

<sup>5</sup> *NSW Presbyterian* (Sydney, NSW), May 10, 1890.

<sup>6</sup> Ann Stephen, 'The Legacy of a Vision From Lucien Henry to RT Baker' in *Visions of a Republic The work of Lucien Henry Paris, Noumea, Sydney*. Edited by Ann Stephen, 108 (Sydney: Powerhouse Publishing, 2001).

<sup>7</sup> Sherry, *Australia's Historic Stained Glass*, 65.

<sup>8</sup> *The Advertiser* (Ashfield, NSW), January 2, 1904.

**Goodlet and Smith**  
Stained Glass



Designs for Centenary and Captain Cook windows, Sydney Town Hall



Domestic stained glass window designs



### Appendix 3 Members of SFRS serving more than 10 years 1860-1900

Name	First Name	Designation	Nee & Other	Dates	Nationality	Arrived	Occupation/Husbands Occupation & other notes	Other	Residence	Membership
Allen	George			1800-1877	English	1816	Solicitor	Wesleyan	Glebe	1860-1877
Allen	Jane	Mrs George	Bowden	1807-1893	English	1811	Solicitor	Wesleyan	Glebe	1860-1892
Allen	Marian	Lady George Wigram	Boyce	1835-1914	English		Solicitor	Wesleyan	Glebe	1870-1900
Antrobus	Elizabeth	Mrs James	Ferguson	1822-1897	Scottish	1846	Bank Manager. Mining Interests	Presbyterian	Manly	1883-1897
Barker	George William			1826-1897	English	1838	Flour Miller	Wesleyan	Manly	1868-1897
Breilliat	Mary	Mrs Thomas Chaplin	Creed	1809-1880	English	1834	Merchant, Miller, Banking and Insurance Director, Magistrate	C of E	Annandale	1862-1880
Caldwell	Ann	Mrs John	Ward; Hurst	1816-1886	English		MLA, bankrupt on property Goulburn	Wesleyan	Goulburn	1860-1877
Callaghan	Mary Ann	Mrs Samuel	May	1812-1894	Irish	1839	Shoe manufacturer	Wesleyan	Surry Hills	1864-1884
Callaghan	Samuel			1809-1884	Irish	1839	Shoe manufacturer	Wesleyan	Surry Hills	1874-1894
Cottee	Susanna	Mrs William Alfred	Munnings	1830-1919	English	1858	Banker. Financial re: Stock and Station	C of E	Strathfield	1881-1900
Cowper	Mary	Mrs William Macquarie	Foster; French; Fortescue	1818-1897	English		Clergyman -Dean of Sydney	C of E	Sydney City	1867-1880
Crane	Hannah Martha	Mrs William	Hogg	1841-1930	English (India)	1852	Magistrate	C of E	Stanmore	1864-1900
Crane	William			1826-1914	NSW		Magistrate	C of E	Stanmore	1878-1900
Crocker	Norman John			1824-1902	English	<1850	Wholesale Grocer	C of E	Waverly	1870-1897
Dawson	Emma Fox	Mrs John	Jones	1824-1909	English	1829	Solicitor	C of E	Burwood	1861-1892
Deas Thomson	Anne Maria	Mrs Sir Edward	Bourke	1806-1884	Irish	1831	Public Servant, daughter of Governor Richard Bourke	C of E	Darlinghurst	1860-1884
Fairfax	Alfred			1828-1901	English	1841	Wholesale Grocer	Congregational	McMahon's Point	1867-1880
Fairfax	Lucy	Mrs James Reading	Armstrong	1835-1925	NSW	1835	newspaper proprietor	Congregational	Bellevue Hill	1881-1900
Fairfax	John			1804-1877	English	1838	newspaper proprietor	Congregational	Bellevue Hill	1866-1877
Foster	William John			1831-1909	Irish	1852	Lawyer , Politician	C of E	Newtown	1865-1900
Frazer	Elizabeth	Mrs John	Ewan	1835-1914	Scottish	<1850	MLC, wealthy business man	Presbyterian	Woollahra	1871-1884
Frazer	John			1827-1884	Irish	1842	Merchant	Presbyterian	Woollahra	1881-1894
Giles	Frances Mary	Mrs Francis	Soole	1828-1894	English	<1850	General Merchandise	Congregational	Burwood	1871-1894
Goodlet	Ann Alison	Mrs John Hay	Panton, Dickson	1824-1903	Scottish	1824	Merchant Manufacturer	Presbyterian	Ashfield	1888-1900
Goodlet	Annie Charlotte	Mrs Alexander	Mollwo	1837-1909	English	1861	Husband partner in Goodlet and Smith	Presbyterian	Ashfield	1860-1900
Goodlet	John Hay			1835-1914	Scottish	1852	Merchant Manufacturer	Presbyterian	Ashfield	1862-1900
Graham	Matilda	Mrs Rev John	Woods	1821-1879	English	1864	Minister	Congregational	Potts Point	1865-1875
Guy	Robert			1828-1898	English	1841	Merchant	C of E	Potts Point	1880-1897
Harris	Matilda	Mrs George	Duff	1836-1920	Ireland	1878	Ultimo House - husband was nephew of Surgeon John Harris	Presbyterian	Annandale - Ultimo	1891-1900
Harrison	James Start			1837-1902	English	>1841	Accountant	C of E	Dulwich Hill	1867-1900
Hay	Mary	Lady John	Chalmers	1807-1892	Scottish	1838	Wife of Sir John Hay	Presbyterian	Rose Bay	1864-1891
Inglis	Mary	Mrs John	Nicol	1842-1903	Scottish	<1860	Tea Merchant MLA	Presbyterian	Strathfield	1888-1900
Jones Mander	Annie Emily	Mrs David	Jones	1835-1903	English	<1857	Pastoralist	Congregational	Homebush	1867-1880
Lester	Clements			1822-1906	English	1846	Grazier, Trained as Lawyer - magistrate, Australia Club	C of E	Burwood	1880-1889
Lewis	George			1845-1925	NSW		Public Servant: Chief Electoral Officer Commonwealth	Congregational	Sydney City	1880-1900
Macafee	Richarda Bowen	Mrs Arthur Hill Coates	Allen	1841-1923	NSW		Company Director	Wesleyan	Glebe	1871-1880
MacGregor	Robina	Mrs James	Harrison	1813-1886	Scottish	<1854	Wholesale Grocer	Congregational	Balmain	1867-1887
Macintosh	Christina	Mrs James	Corner	1857-1932	NSW		Iron Work Fabrication	Presbyterian	Potts Point	1889-1900
Mansfield	Mary Annie Lorn	Mrs George Allen	McDougall	1835-1930	NSW		Architect	Wesleyan	Glebe	1871-1880
McClland	Ruth	Mrs Walter Hamilton	Wastell	1847-1926	English	1852	Draper	Wesleyan	Mosman	1878-1900
Mills	Eliza	Mrs William	Cook	1819-1907	English	<1863	Wife of Rev William Mills, Medical Missionary, Chemist	Congregational	Newtown	1864-1900
Mills	John			1829-1880	English	<1854	Wholesale Grocer	Baptist	Ashfield	1867-1880
Moon	John			1822-1875	Scottish	1853	Surgeon	Presbyterian	City	1861-1874
Nathan	Charles			1816-1872	England	1841	Doctor	C of E	Macquarie St Sydney	1862-1871
Norrie	Andrew			1854-1934	Scottish	1882	Doctor	Presbyterian ?	Killara	1881-1900

### Appendix 3 Members of SFRS serving more than 10 years 1860-1900

Name	First Name	Designation	Nee & Other	Dates	Nationality	Arrived	Occupation/Husbands Occupation & other notes	Other	Residence	Membership
Nott	Jane Callender	Mrs Randolph	Ross	1827-1911	Scottish	1840	Architect, Member Parliament	Congregational	Bowral	1881-1900
O'Reilly	Narcissa	Dr Walter le Croix	Partridge;	1824-1917	English		Doctor: second wife of Dr Walter Le Croix	Wesleyan	Newtown	1872-1894
Raymond	Jane	Mrs John Crone Raymond	Russell; McCurdy; Foss	1818-1889	English	1834	Bank Manager	C of E	London	1866-1876
Reading	Richard Grant			1810-1893	English		Bulli Coal Co Director	Congregational	Woollahra	1869-1891
Rennie	Edward Alexander			1820-1911	English	<1850	Public Servant	Presbyterian	Ashfield	1869-1900
Robinson	Sarah Ann	Mrs Rev Edwin	Bethell	1803-1894	English	1858	Businessman and clergy: Rev Edwin Robinson	Congregational	Surry Hills	1861-1893
Rollin	Thomas Bately			1828-1899	English	1857	Solicitor/Barrister	Congregational	Strathfield	1869-1886
Smith	Shepherd			1835-1886	English	1853	Banker	C of E	Sydney City	1867-1885
Speer	Margaret Annie	Mrs William	Bennett	1827-1884	Irish	>1837	Home Duties ;	C of E	Potts Point	1863-1884
Stephen	Alfred			1802-1894	English (Jamaica)	1825	Lawyer, Judge	C of E	Sydney City	1860-1881
Stephen	Matthew Henry			1828-1920	NSW	1828	Lawyer, Judge	C of E	Paddington	1862-1899
Thompson	Louisa Mary	Mrs James	Thomson	1845-1909	S. Sea Islands		Father/Grand Father Congregational Missionary, Tahiti	Congregational	Woollahra	1881-1900
Thompson	Martha	Mrs Joseph	Foss	1819-1902	NSW		Wife of Joseph Thompson	Congregational	Darlinghurst	1863-1890
Thompson	Sarah Elizabeth	Mrs John	Morris	1820-1886	NSW		Wife of John Thompson brother of Joseph Thompson	Congregational	Ashfield	1861-1886
Threlkeld	Esther Jones	Mrs Lancelot Edward	Lloyd	1831-1901	English		Auctioneer	Congregational	Elizabeth Bay	1865-1900
Torning	Andrew			1814-1900	English		Fire Brigade	Congregational	Waverly	1885-1894
Wilson	William Gilmore (Gilmour)			1817-1911	Scottish	>1861	Mechanical Engineer	Congregational	Manly	1885-1898
Wingate	Eleanor	Mrs Thomas Wingate	Rouse; Terry;	1813-1898	NSW		Daughter of Richard Rouse	C of E	Potts Point	1881-1896

## John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

### Appendix 4

#### John Goodlet's attendance record at meetings

A record of the attendance of John Goodlet at various meetings has been recorded. Where Goodlet is known to be present, either as recorded by a newspaper report or from the minutes of a committee this is indicated by a bold entry and the number 1. Where Goodlet was obligated to be present at a meeting by membership of a particular committee but was known to be absent this is marked with an entry in a grey box and with the symbol 0. From this table it is possible to track percentage attendance at various organisations and the preference of Goodlet when meetings clashed. This is commented upon within the thesis. In this table the location of Goodlet on 3,566 occasions is known.

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
24	3	1852	Leaves Glasgow		1
28	6	1852	Arrives Melbourne <i>Three Bells</i>		1
13	6	1855	Leaves Melbourne <i>Telegraph</i>		1
15	6	1855	Arrives Sydney <i>Telegraph</i>		1
28	7	1855	Leaves Sydney <i>Waratah</i>		1
1	8	1855	Arrives Melbourne <i>Waratah</i>		1
14	8	1855	Leaves Melbourne <i>Governor General</i>		1
17	8	1855	Arrives Sydney <i>Governor General</i>		1
1	5	1858	Leaves Sydney <i>City of Sydney</i>		1
4	5	1858	Arrives Hobson's Bay (Melbourne)		1
14	7	1859	Leaves Sydney <i>Northian</i>		1
17	7	1859	Arrives Melbourne <i>Northian</i>		1
25	7	1859	Leaves Melbourne <i>Wonga Wonga</i>		1
28	7	1859	Arrives Sydney <i>Wonga Wonga</i>		1
3	5	1860	Marries Ann Alison Dickson		1
14	5	1860	Leaves Sydney with Mr & Mrs Goodlet <i>Benares</i>		1
17	5	1860	Arrives Hobson's Bay <i>Benares</i>		1
22	6	1860	Arrives Sydney <i>City of Sydney</i> with Mrs Goodlet		1
3	10	1860	First Annual Meeting of Sydney Volunteer Rifles		1
23	12	1860	Presentation of Colours of 2 V I R		1
19	1	1861	Sydney Church Society Welcome to Governor		1
19	1	1861	Troop Review of Glebe Rifles Outer Domain		1
11	2	1861	Sydney Chamber of Commerce		1
22	3	1861	Welcome to Governor		1
23	3	1861	Commemoration Day Sydney University Parade		1
12	8	1861	Testimonial Meeting for McKay		1
14	9	1861	Rifle Shooting Match		1
26	10	1861	Mackintosh McKay Farewell		1
4	11	1861	Volunteers Meeting to organise encampment		1
9	11	1861	NSW Rifle Association		1
10	12	1861	Glebe Rifles Annual Meeting		1
23	12	1861	Rifle Shooting Match		1
7	2	1862	Benevolent Society General Committee		1
11	2	1862	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
18	2	1862	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
18	2	1862	Benevolent Society General Committee		1
25	2	1862	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
27	2	1862	Benevolent Society General Committee		1

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
4	3	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
6	3	1862 Benevolent Society General Committee	1
11	3	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
18	3	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
18	3	1862 Benevolent Society General Committee	1
22	3	1862 Volunteers Musket Course	1
25	3	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
25	3	1862 Formation of Dayspring Board Pitt Street Congregational Church	1
26	3	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
26	3	1862 Benevolent Society General Committee	1
1	4	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
8	4	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
8	4	1862 Benevolent Society General Committee	1
15	4	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
22	4	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
29	4	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
29	4	1862 Benevolent Society General Committee	1
6	5	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
13	5	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
13	5	1862 Benevolent Society General Committee	1
20	5	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
24	5	1862 Parade and Levee for Governor Queen Victoria's Birthday	1
26	5	1862 Benevolent Society General Committee	1
27	5	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
3	6	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
10	6	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
11	6	1862 Formation Meeting of Sydney City Mission	1
17	6	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
24	6	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
1	7	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
8	7	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
8	7	1862 Benevolent Society General Committee	1
15	7	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
16	7	1862 Sydney City Mission	1
22	7	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
23	7	1862 Sydney City Mission	1
26	7	1862 Rifle Shooting Match	1
28	7	1862 Sydney City Mission	1
29	7	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
5	8	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
7	8	1862 Sydney City Mission	1
12	8	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
14	8	1862 Sydney City Mission	1
19	8	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
26	8	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
30	8	1862 Rifle Shooting Match	1
1	9	1862 Sydney City Mission	1
2	9	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
9	9	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
16	9	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
22	9	1862 Sydney City Mission	1
23	9	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
25	9	1862 Rifle Shooting Match	1
30	9	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
6	10	1862 Sydney City Mission	1
8	10	1862 Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1

**John Goodlet Meeting Attendance**

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
14	10	1862	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
14	10	1862	Benevolent Society General Committee	1
21	10	1862	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
22	10	1862	Meeting of Officers of Volunteers	1
28	10	1862	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
3	11	1862	Sydney City Mission	1
4	11	1862	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
12	11	1862	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
17	11	1862	Sydney City Mission	1
18	11	1862	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
25	11	1862	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
1	12	1862	Sydney City Mission	0
2	12	1862	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
9	12	1862	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
16	12	1862	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
23	12	1862	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
31	12	1862	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
5	1	1863	Sydney City Mission	1
6	1	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
13	1	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
13	1	1863	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
20	1	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
27	1	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
28	1	1863	Benevolent Society Annual Meeting	1
3	2	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
3	2	1863	Sydney City Mission	1
10	2	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
10	2	1863	Benevolent Society General Committee	1
17	2	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
24	2	1863	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
3	3	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
9	3	1863	Sydney City Mission	1
10	3	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
17	3	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
24	3	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
24	3	1863	Benevolent Society General Committee	1
30	3	1863	Sydney City Mission	1
31	3	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
7	4	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
14	4	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
21	4	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
25	4	1863	Volunteer Parade	1
27	4	1863	Sydney City Mission	1
28	4	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
5	5	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
12	5	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
18	5	1863	Sydney City Mission	0
19	5	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
1	6	1863	Sydney City Mission	1
2	6	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
9	6	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
15	6	1863	Sydney City Mission	1
16	6	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
23	6	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
30	6	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
7	7	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
14	7	1863	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
20	7	1863	Sydney City Mission	1
21	7	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
29	7	1863	Protest Smoke Abatement Bill	1
4	8	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
11	8	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
18	8	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
24	8	1863	Sydney City Mission	1
25	8	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
27	8	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
31	8	1863	Sydney City Mission	1
1	9	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
7	9	1863	Sydney City Mission	1
8	9	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
15	9	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
18	9	1863	Benevolent Society General Committee	1
22	9	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
28	9	1863	Sydney City Mission	1
29	9	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
6	10	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
6	10	1863	Rifle Shooting Match	1
9	10	1863	Working Men's Club Meeting	1
13	10	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
13	10	1863	Benevolent Society General Committee	1
19	10	1863	Congregational Meeting Phillip St United Presbyterian	1
20	10	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
26	10	1863	Sydney City Mission	1
27	10	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
3	11	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
11	11	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
17	11	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
24	11	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
1	12	1863	Sydney City Mission	1
7	12	1863	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
8	12	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
11	12	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
15	12	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
22	12	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
29	12	1863	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
1	1	1864	Glebe Rifles Volunteer Picnic	1
4	1	1864	Sydney City Mission	1
5	1	1864	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
11	1	1864	Sydney City Mission	1
12	1	1864	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
12	1	1864	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
15	1	1864	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
19	1	1864	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
25	1	1864	Sydney City Mission	0
30	1	1864	In Dunedin selling <i>Xanthe</i>	1
2	2	1864	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
9	2	1864	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
9	2	1864	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
16	2	1864	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
23	2	1864	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
29	2	1864	Sydney City Mission	0
1	3	1864	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
8	3	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
15	3	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
22	3	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
29	3	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
1	4	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
5	4	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
11	4	1864 Meeting of Relief of Houseless Poor		1
11	4	1864 Sydney City Mission		1
12	4	1864 Benevolent Society General Committee		1
19	4	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
26	4	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
3	5	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
3	5	1864 Sydney City Mission		1
10	5	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
17	5	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
17	5	1864 Sydney City Mission		1
25	5	1864 Governors Levee		1
30	5	1864 Sydney City Mission		1
31	5	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
7	6	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
14	6	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
21	6	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
25	6	1864 Rifle Shooting Match		1
27	6	1864 Sydney City Mission		1
28	6	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
5	7	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
12	7	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
12	7	1864 Benevolent Society General Committee		1
18	7	1864 Sydney City Mission		1
19	7	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
26	7	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
2	8	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
9	8	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
16	8	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
23	8	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
29	8	1864 Sydney City Mission		1
30	8	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
2	9	1864 Sydney City Mission		1
5	9	1864 Sydney City Mission Lecture by Lang		1
7	9	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
15	9	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
15	9	1864 Rifle Shooting Match		1
20	9	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
27	9	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
27	9	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
29	9	1864 Sydney City Mission		1
4	10	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
6	10	1864 Mission to Aborigines		1
11	10	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
11	10	1864 Benevolent Society General Committee		0
18	10	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
19	10	1864 Pro Union Meeting United Presbyterian Church		1
25	10	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
1	11	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
8	11	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
15	11	1864 Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
22	11	1864	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
28	11	1864	Sydney City Mission	1
29	11	1864	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
6	12	1864	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
13	12	1864	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
20	12	1864	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
27	12	1864	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
3	1	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
9	1	1865	Sydney City Mission	1
10	1	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
10	1	1865	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
16	1	1865	Dayspring: New Hebrides Mission	1
17	1	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
21	1	1865	Benevolent Society General Committee	1
24	1	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
31	1	1865	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
7	2	1865	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
14	2	1865	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
21	2	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
27	2	1865	AMP Members Meeting	1
27	2	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
27	2	1865	Sydney City Mission	0
7	3	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
14	3	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
21	3	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
24	3	1865	Sydney City Mission	1
27	3	1865	AMP Members Meeting	1
28	3	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
4	4	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
11	4	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
11	4	1865	Benevolent Society General Committee	1
18	4	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
25	4	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
9	5	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
13	5	1865	Sydney City Mission	0
16	5	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
23	5	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
25	5	1865	Governors Levee	1
30	5	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
30	5	1865	Sydney City Mission	1
1	6	1865	Sydney City Mission	1
6	6	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
13	6	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
20	6	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
26	6	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
28	6	1865	Sydney City Mission	1
4	7	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
11	7	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
11	7	1865	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
18	7	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
1	8	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
8	8	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	1
14	8	1865	Sydney City Mission	0
15	8	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
22	8	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0
29	8	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee	0

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
5	9	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
12	9	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
19	9	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
20	9	1865	Benevolent Society General Committee		0
24	9	1865	Sydney City Mission		1
26	9	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
3	10	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
10	10	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
11	10	1865	Benevolent Society General Committee		0
17	10	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
24	10	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
26	10	1865	Rifle Shooting Match		1
30	10	1865	Sydney City Mission		0
31	10	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
7	11	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
14	11	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
21	11	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
27	11	1865	Sydney City Mission		0
28	11	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
5	12	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		1
12	12	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
19	12	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
26	12	1865	Benevolent Society Acting Committee		0
2	1	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
9	1	1866	Benevolent Society General Committee		1
23	1	1866	Benevolent Society General Committee		0
23	1	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
29	1	1866	Sydney City Mission		1
30	1	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
30	1	1866	Sydney Infirmary Public Meeting		1
6	2	1866	Benevolent Society General Committee		0
6	2	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		1
13	2	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		1
20	2	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
26	2	1866	Sydney City Mission		0
27	2	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
6	3	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
13	3	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
20	3	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		1
20	3	1866	Sydney Female Refuge Society Annual Meeting		1
27	3	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		1
3	4	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
10	4	1866	Benevolent Society General Committee		1
10	4	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		1
16	4	1866	Sydney City Mission		1
17	4	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
23	4	1866	AMP Annual Meeting		1
24	4	1866	AMP Members Meeting		1
24	4	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
25	4	1866	AMP Members Meeting		1
27	4	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1
1	5	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
4	5	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1
8	5	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		1
11	5	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1
15	5	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
15	5	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
18	5	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	5	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	5	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
24	5	1866 Volunteer Parade Queens Birthday	1
25	5	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	5	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	1
1	6	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	6	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
8	6	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
12	6	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	1
15	6	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	6	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
22	6	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
26	6	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	1
29	6	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	7	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
4	7	1866 Sydney City Mission	0
6	7	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	7	1866 Benevolent Society General Committee	0
10	7	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
13	7	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	7	1866 City Mission	1
17	7	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	7	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
20	7	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	7	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
27	7	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
30	7	1866 Sydney City Mission	1
31	7	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
31	7	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
31	7	1866 Home Visiting and Relief Society	1
3	8	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
7	8	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
10	8	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	8	1866 Sydney City Mission	1
14	8	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	1
17	8	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	8	1866 Sydney City Mission	0
21	8	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
22	8	1866 NSW Rifle Association	1
24	8	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	8	1866 Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	1
28	8	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
31	8	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	9	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
7	9	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	9	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	9	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	1
14	9	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	9	1866 Wrecks Relief Fund Meeting	1
18	9	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
21	9	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	9	1866 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
28	9	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	10	1866 AMP Directors Meeting	1

**John Goodlet Meeting Attendance**

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
2	10	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		1
3	10	1866	Rifle Shooting Match		1
5	10	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1
9	10	1866	Benevolent Society General Committee		0
9	10	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
9	10	1866	Sydney City Mission		1
12	10	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1
16	10	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1
16	10	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
19	10	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1
23	10	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		1
26	10	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1
30	10	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1
30	10	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
2	11	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1
6	11	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
8	11	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1
13	11	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		1
16	11	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1
20	11	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
22	11	1866	Sydney City Mission		1
23	11	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1
27	11	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		1
29	11	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1
4	12	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
7	12	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1
11	12	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
14	12	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1
15	12	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1
18	12	1866	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
28	12	1866	AMP Directors Meeting		1
4	1	1867	AMP Directors Meeting		1
7	1	1867	Sydney City Mission		1
8	1	1867	Benevolent Society General Committee		0
8	1	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
11	1	1867	AMP Directors Meeting		1
12	1	1867	Leaves Sydney <i>Wonga Wonga</i>		1
14	1	1867	Arrives Melbourne <i>Wong Wonga</i>		1
15	1	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
18	1	1867	AMP Directors Meeting		0
22	1	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
25	1	1867	AMP Directors Meeting		0
29	1	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
30	1	1867	Arrives Sydney <i>Wonga Wonga</i>		1
1	2	1867	AMP Directors Meeting		1
5	2	1867	AMP Directors Meeting		1
5	2	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
8	2	1867	Benevolent Society General Committee		0
12	2	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee		1
13	2	1867	Sydney City Mission		1
15	2	1867	AMP Directors Meeting		1
19	2	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
22	2	1867	AMP Directors Meeting		1
26	2	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
1	3	1867	AMP Directors Meeting		1
5	3	1867	Benevolent Society General Committee		0

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
5	3	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
8	3	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
12	3	1867 AMP - Public Meeting	1
12	3	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
14	3	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	3	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	3	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
22	3	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	3	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	0
26	3	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	1
29	3	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	4	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
5	4	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	4	1867 Benevolent Society General Committee	1
9	4	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	1
12	4	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	4	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
18	4	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
23	4	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
24	4	1867 AMP - Public Meeting	1
26	4	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
26	4	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
29	4	1867 Sydney City Mission	0
30	4	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
3	5	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
7	5	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
10	5	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	5	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
15	5	1867 Sydney City Mission	1
17	5	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	5	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
23	5	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	5	1867 Sydney City Mission	1
28	5	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
31	5	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	6	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
7	6	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	6	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
14	6	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	6	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
21	6	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	6	1867 Sydney City Mission	0
25	6	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
27	6	1867 Volunteer Meeting of Officers	1
28	6	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	7	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
5	7	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	7	1867 Delegation to Government re Volunteer Bill	1
9	7	1867 Benevolent Society General Committee	0
9	7	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
12	7	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	7	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	1
19	7	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1
23	7	1867 Benevolent Society House Committee	0
23	7	1867 Sydney City Mission	1
26	7	1867 AMP Directors Meeting	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
26	7	1867	Sydney City Mission	1
30	7	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
2	8	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	8	1867	International Rifle Shoot	1
6	8	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
9	8	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	8	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
16	8	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	8	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
23	8	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
30	8	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	9	1867	Sydney City Mission	0
3	9	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
6	9	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	9	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
13	9	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	9	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	1
20	9	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	9	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
27	9	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	10	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
4	10	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
7	10	1867	Sydney City Mission	1
8	10	1867	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
8	10	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
11	10	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	10	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	1
18	10	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	10	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
25	10	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
28	10	1867	Sydney City Mission	1
29	10	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
1	11	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	11	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
7	11	1867	Rifle Shooting Match	1
8	11	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	11	1867	Rifle Shooting Match	1
12	11	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
12	11	1867	Meeting Prince Alfred Visit Planning	1
15	11	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	11	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
22	11	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	0
25	11	1867	Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust	1
26	11	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
29	11	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	12	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
4	12	1867	Sydney City Mission	1
6	12	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	12	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	1
11	12	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	12	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	12	1867	Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust	1
14	12	1867	Rifle Shooting Match	1
17	12	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
20	12	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	12	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
24	12	1867	Farewell Governor	1
27	12	1867	AMP Directors Meeting	1
31	12	1867	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
3	1	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
7	1	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
7	1	1868	NSW Rifle Association	1
8	1	1868	Sydney City Mission	1
10	1	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	1	1868	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
14	1	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
17	1	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	1	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
24	1	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	1	1868	Volunteer Review Domain	1
28	1	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
30	1	1868	Sydney City Mission	1
31	1	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	2	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
7	2	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	2	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
14	2	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	2	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	1
18	2	1868	Glebe Rifles Meeting	1
21	2	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	2	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
27	2	1868	NSW Rifle Association	1
28	2	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
28	2	1868	Sydney City Mission	0
3	3	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	1
6	3	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	3	1868	Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust	1
10	3	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
13	3	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	3	1868	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
17	3	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
20	3	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
23	3	1868	New Hebrides Mission Meeting presides	1
24	3	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	3	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
24	3	1868	New Hebrides Mission Meeting presides	1
27	3	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
31	3	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
2	4	1868	Sydney City Mission	0
3	4	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
7	4	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
14	4	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	4	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
18	4	1868	Volunteer Parade	1
21	4	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	4	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
22	4	1868	AMP - Public Meeting	1
28	4	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
1	5	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	5	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
8	5	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	5	1868	Sydney City Mission	0

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
12	5	1868	Benevolent Society General Committee		0
12	5	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
15	5	1868	AMP Directors Meeting		1
16	5	1868	Volunteer Parade		1
19	5	1868	AMP - Public Meeting		1
19	5	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee		1
22	5	1868	AMP Directors Meeting		1
25	5	1868	Volunteer Parade		1
26	5	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
27	5	1868	Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust		1
29	5	1868	AMP Directors Meeting		1
1	6	1868	Sydney City Mission		1
2	6	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
5	6	1868	AMP Directors Meeting		1
9	6	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
9	6	1868	Glebe Rifles		1
12	6	1868	AMP Directors Meeting		1
15	6	1868	Chairs: Sydney City Mission Annual Meeting		1
16	6	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee		1
19	6	1868	AMP Directors Meeting		1
23	6	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
23	6	1868	Prince Alfred Hospital General Committee		1
26	6	1868	AMP Directors Meeting		1
26	6	1868	Prince Alfred Hospital General Committee		1
29	6	1868	Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust		1
29	6	1868	Sydney City Mission		1
30	6	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
3	7	1868	AMP Directors Meeting		1
6	7	1868	Sydney City Mission		0
7	7	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
10	7	1868	AMP Directors Meeting		1
13	7	1868	Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust		1
13	7	1868	Sydney Female Refuge Society Annual Meeting		1
14	7	1868	Benevolent Society General Committee		0
14	7	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
17	7	1868	AMP Directors Meeting		1
21	7	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee		1
24	7	1868	AMP Directors Meeting		1
28	7	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
29	7	1868	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting		1
31	7	1868	AMP Directors Meeting		1
4	8	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
7	8	1868	AMP Directors Meeting		1
8	8	1868	Volunteer Parade		1
11	8	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
14	8	1868	AMP Directors Meeting		1
16	8	1868	Royal Society Meeting on Hospitals		1
18	8	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee		1
19	8	1868	AMP Directors Meeting		1
21	8	1868	AMP Directors Meeting		1
21	8	1868	NSW Rifle Association		1
25	8	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
28	8	1868	AMP Directors Meeting		1
1	9	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee		0
4	9	1868	AMP Directors Meeting		1
8	9	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee		0

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
11	9	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	9	1868	Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust	1
15	9	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	9	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
22	9	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
25	9	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	9	1868	Volunteer Parade	1
29	9	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
2	10	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	10	1868	Prince Alfred Hospital Meeting	1
5	10	1868	Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust	1
6	10	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
6	10	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
9	10	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
12	10	1868	Sydney City Mission	1
13	10	1868	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
13	10	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
16	10	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	10	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
23	10	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	10	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
29	10	1868	Volunteer Parade	1
30	10	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	11	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
6	11	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	11	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
13	11	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	11	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
20	11	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	11	1868	Philip Street Session	1
23	11	1868	Sydney City Mission	1
24	11	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
25	11	1868	Philip Street Session	1
26	11	1868	NSW Rifle Association	1
27	11	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	11	1868	Meeting South Sea Inlander Indentured Labour	1
1	12	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
2	12	1868	Philip Street Session	1
4	12	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	12	1868	NSW Rifle Association	1
8	12	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
11	12	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	12	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
18	12	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	12	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
24	12	1868	AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	12	1868	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
2	1	1869	Mrs & Mrs Goodlet leave Sydney on RMS Avoca for the United Kingdom	1
5	1	1869	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
8	1	1869	AMP Directors Meeting	0
12	1	1869	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
12	1	1869	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
15	1	1869	AMP Directors Meeting	0
18	1	1869	Philip Street Session	0
19	1	1869	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
22	1	1869	AMP Directors Meeting	0

**John Goodlet Meeting Attendance**

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
26	1	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
29	1	1869 AMP Directors Meeting		0
2	2	1869 Benevolent Society General Committee		0
2	2	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
5	2	1869 AMP Directors Meeting		0
8	2	1869 Philip Street Session		0
9	2	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
12	2	1869 AMP Directors Meeting		0
16	2	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
19	2	1869 AMP Directors Meeting		0
23	2	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
26	2	1869 AMP Directors Meeting		0
2	3	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
2	3	1869 Philip Street Session		0
5	3	1869 AMP Directors Meeting		0
7	3	1869 Philip Street Session		0
9	3	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
12	3	1869 AMP Directors Meeting		0
16	3	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
19	3	1869 AMP Directors Meeting		0
23	3	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
24	3	1869 AMP Directors Meeting		0
30	3	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
2	4	1869 AMP Directors Meeting		0
6	4	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
9	4	1869 AMP Directors Meeting		0
13	4	1869 Benevolent Society General Committee		0
13	4	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
14	4	1869 AMP Directors Meeting		0
16	4	1869 AMP Directors Meeting		0
20	4	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
27	4	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
4	5	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
11	5	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
11	5	1869 Philip Street Session		0
18	5	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
25	5	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
1	6	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
8	6	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
15	6	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
23	6	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
5	7	1869 Philip Street Session		0
6	7	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
13	7	1869 Benevolent Society General Committee		0
13	7	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
20	7	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
27	7	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
2	8	1869 Philip Street Session		0
3	8	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
10	8	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
16	8	1869 Ragged Schools Annual Meeting		0
17	8	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
24	8	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
31	8	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
1	9	1869 Philip Street Session		0
7	9	1869 Benevolent Society House Committee		0

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
14	9	1869	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
21	9	1869	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
28	9	1869	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
29	9	1869	Philip Street Session	0
5	10	1869	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
12	10	1869	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
12	10	1869	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
19	10	1869	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
26	10	1869	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
2	11	1869	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
9	11	1869	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
16	11	1869	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
23	11	1869	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
30	11	1869	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
1	12	1869	<b>Mrs &amp; Mrs Goodlet leave Galle (Colombo) on the Geelong</b>	1
1	12	1869	Philip Street Session	0
7	12	1869	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
14	12	1869	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
21	12	1869	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
24	12	1869	<b>Mrs &amp; Mrs Goodlet arrive Sydney on the Geelong</b>	1
4	1	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
11	1	1870	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
11	1	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
18	1	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
18	1	1870	<b>Meeting of Glebe Branch British &amp; Foreign Bible Society</b>	1
25	1	1870	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
25	1	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
1	2	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
2	2	1870	<b>Philip Street Session</b>	1
8	2	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
12	2	1870	<b>Volunteer Drill Competition</b>	1
15	2	1870	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
15	2	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
22	2	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
1	3	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
2	3	1870	<b>Philip Street Session</b>	1
8	3	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
11	3	1870	<b>Philip Street Session</b>	1
12	3	1870	Benevolent Society General Committee	0
15	3	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
19	3	1870	<b>Volunteer Parade</b>	1
22	3	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
29	3	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
5	4	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
12	4	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
19	4	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
26	4	1870	<b>AMP - Public Meeting</b>	1
26	4	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
3	5	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
4	5	1870	<b>Philip Street Session</b>	1
7	5	1870	<b>Volunteer Parade</b>	1
9	5	1870	<b>Benevolent Society General Committee</b>	1
10	5	1870	<b>Benevolent Society House Committee</b>	1
17	5	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
24	5	1870	Benevolent Society House Committee	0
27	5	1870	<b>Philip Street Session</b>	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
31	5	1870 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
7	6	1870 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
14	6	1870 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
28	6	1870 Benevolent Society House Committee		0
12	7	1870 Benevolent Society General Committee		0
8	8	1870 Ragged Schools Annual Meeting		0
11	8	1870 NSW Rifle Association		1
24	8	1870 Philip Street Session		0
1	9	1870 Philip Street Session		0
21	9	1870 Inaugural Meeting Chamber of Manufactures		1
22	9	1870 NSW Rifle Association		1
22	9	1870 Philip Street Session		1
30	9	1870 Opening of Inter-Colonial Exhibition		1
3	10	1870 Sydney City Mission		1
27	10	1870 Sydney City Mission		1
9	11	1870 GANSW		1
11	11	1870 Benevolent Society General Committee		0
21	11	1870 Chairs: Chamber of Manufactures		1
23	11	1870 Philip Street Session		1
24	11	1870 NSW Rifle Association		1
25	11	1870 NSW Rifle Association		1
26	11	1870 NSW Rifle Association		1
29	11	1870 St Andrews College Council		1
20	12	1870 St Andrews College Council		1
2	1	1871 Highland Society Gathering		1
7	1	1871 St Andrews College Council		1
10	1	1871 Benevolent Society General Committee		0
24	1	1871 Benevolent Society General Committee		0
7	2	1871 Benevolent Society General Committee		0
20	2	1871 Meeting to form Lay Association		1
21	2	1871 St Andrews College Council		0
1	3	1871 Chairs: Prof Smith Lecture at Dobroyde		1
1	3	1871 Philip Street Session		1
21	3	1871 St Andrews College Council		0
27	3	1871 Volunteer Parade		1
18	4	1871 St Andrews College Council		1
2	5	1871 Philip Street Session		1
16	5	1871 St Andrews College Council		1
22	5	1871 Governors Levee		1
24	5	1871 Volunteer Parade		1
5	6	1871 Philip Street Session		1
20	6	1871 St Andrews College Council		1
28	6	1871 Sydney City Mission		1
11	7	1871 Benevolent Society General Committee		0
15	7	1871 Volunteer Parade		1
18	7	1871 St Andrews College Council		1
21	7	1871 Sydney City Mission		1
22	7	1871 Volunteer Parade		1
1	8	1871 Sydney Female Refuge Society Annual Meeting		1
7	8	1871 St Andrews College Council		1
14	8	1871 NSW Rifle Association		1
14	8	1871 Ragged Schools Annual Meeting		0
15	8	1871 St Andrews College Council		1
17	8	1871 Philip Street Session		1
30	8	1871 Philip Street Session		1
5	9	1871 Sydney City Mission		1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
10	9	1871	Philip Street Session	1
16	9	1871	Volunteer Parade	1
19	9	1871	St Andrews College Council	1
22	9	1871	Sydney City Mission	1
25	9	1871	Chairs: Chamber of Manufactures	1
2	10	1871	Chairs: As President Chamber of Manufactures	1
3	10	1871	St Andrews College Council	1
14	10	1871	Deaf Dumb and Blind Annual Meeting	1
17	10	1871	St Andrews College Council	1
21	10	1871	Volunteer Parade	1
26	10	1871	Meeting Rifle Association	1
31	10	1871	St Andrews College Council	1
4	11	1871	Institution Deaf Dumb Blind Annual Meeting	1
6	11	1871	St Andrews College Council	1
20	11	1871	Philip Street Session	1
21	11	1871	NSW Rifle Association Shoot	1
21	11	1871	St Andrews College Council	1
5	12	1871	St Andrews College Council	1
15	12	1871	Sydney City Mission	1
19	12	1871	St Andrews College Council	1
16	1	1872	St Andrews College Council	1
20	1	1872	St Andrews College Council	1
23	1	1872	St Andrews College Council	1
11	2	1872	Volunteer Parade	1
27	2	1872	St Andrews College Council	1
2	3	1872	Volunteer Parade	1
5	3	1872	St Andrews College Council	1
10	5	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	5	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	5	1872	Presentation of Volunteers Colours	1
20	5	1872	Philip Street Session	1
21	5	1872	St Andrews College Council	1
23	5	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	5	1872	Volunteer Parade	1
29	5	1872	Philip Street Session	1
31	5	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	6	1872	Sydney City Mission	1
4	6	1872	Governors Levee	1
4	6	1872	St Andrews College Council	1
7	6	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	6	1872	Sydney Female Refuge Society Annual Meeting	1
14	6	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	6	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	6	1872	Philip Street Church meeting Governor	1
21	6	1872	Sydney City Mission	1
28	6	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	6	1872	NSW Rifle Association	1
5	7	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
12	7	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	7	1872	Volunteer Parade	1
19	7	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	7	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	7	1872	Volunteer Parade	1
30	7	1872	Chairs: Meeting of Rifle Association	1
2	8	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	8	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
15	8	1872	NSW London Exhibition Meeting	1
15	8	1872	St Andrews College Council	1
16	8	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	8	1872	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	0
17	8	1872	Volunteer Parade	1
19	8	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	8	1872	NSW Rifle Association	1
23	8	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	8	1872	Philip Street Session	0
30	8	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	9	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	9	1872	St Andrews College Council	1
6	9	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	9	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	9	1872	St Andrews College Council	1
20	9	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	9	1872	Volunteer Parade	1
23	9	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	9	1872	St Andrews College Council	1
27	9	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	10	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	10	1872	Funeral: Major Fitzsimons	1
11	10	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	10	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	10	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
30	10	1872	GANSW	1
1	11	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
7	11	1872	Leaves Sydney on <i>Macedon</i> for Melbourne	1
8	11	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	0
10	11	1872	Arrives Melbourne on <i>Macedon</i>	1
14	11	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	0
22	11	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	0
22	11	1872	Arrives Sydney <i>Wonga Wonga</i>	1
29	11	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
6	12	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	12	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	12	1872	Ragged Schools Opening Kent Street	1
20	12	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	12	1872	Inter- Colonial Shield Shooting Dinner	1
23	12	1872	Chairs: Philip Street Presbyterian Church Annual Meeting	1
26	12	1872	Philip Street Session	1
27	12	1872	AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	1	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	1	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	1	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	1	1873	Volunteer Parade	1
19	1	1873	Delegation to Colonial Secretary re St Andrews College	1
24	1	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
31	1	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
6	2	1873	St Andrews College Council	1
7	2	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	2	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	2	1873	Philip Street Session	1
21	2	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
28	2	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	3	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
6	3	1873	St Andrews College Council	1
7	3	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	3	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	3	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	3	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
28	3	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	4	1873	St Andrews College Council	1
4	4	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	4	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	4	1873	Catches train for Richmond with troops for Parade	1
11	4	1873	Volunteer Parade Richmond	1
12	4	1873	Volunteer Parade Richmond	1
13	4	1873	Volunteer Parade Richmond	1
14	4	1873	Volunteer Parade Richmond	1
15	4	1873	St Andrews College Council	0
15	4	1873	Volunteer Parade Richmond	1
16	4	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	4	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
23	4	1873	AMP Annual Meeting	1
25	4	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	4	1873	St Andrews College Council	1
2	5	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	5	1873	Philip Street Session	1
9	5	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	5	1873	St Andrews College Council	1
14	5	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	5	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	5	1873	St Andrews College Council	1
23	5	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
23	5	1873	Deputation Colonial Secretary re Volunteers	1
27	5	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
28	5	1873	Philip Street Session	1
28	5	1873	Volunteer Parade	1
30	5	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	6	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	0
5	6	1873	St Andrews College Council	1
6	6	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	6	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	6	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	6	1873	St Andrews College Council	1
20	6	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	6	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	6	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	7	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	7	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	0
9	7	1873	St Andrews College Council	1
9	7	1873	Sydney City Mission	1
11	7	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	7	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	7	1873	Volunteer Parade	1
22	7	1873	St Andrews College Council	1
25	7	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	7	1873	St Andrews College Council	1
1	8	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	8	1873	Society for Promotion of Public Morality	1
8	8	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
11	8	1873	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	1
14	8	1873	Sydney City Mission	1
15	8	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	8	1873	St Andrews College Council	1
22	8	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	8	1873	Sydney City Mission	1
26	8	1873	AMP - Public Meeting	1
27	8	1873	AMP - Public Meeting	1
28	8	1873	AMP - Public Meeting	1
29	8	1873	AMP - Public Meeting	1
29	8	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	9	1873	AMP - Public Meeting	1
5	9	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	9	1873	AMP - Public Meeting	1
11	9	1873	Sydney City Mission	1
12	9	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	9	1873	St Andrews College Council	0
19	9	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	9	1873	Volunteer Parade	1
25	9	1873	Sydney City Mission	1
26	9	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	9	1873	Chairs: Philip Street farewell to Adam Thomson	1
30	9	1873	St Andrews College Council	1
3	10	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	10	1873	Sydney City Mission	1
10	10	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	10	1873	NSW Rifle Association Shoot	1
11	10	1873	Rifle Shoot Dinner given by Irish Team	1
17	10	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	10	1873	Brigade Meeting re protest shooting matches	1
21	10	1873	Rifle Association Meeting	1
21	10	1873	St Andrews College Council	1
24	10	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	10	1873	AMP - Public Meeting	1
27	10	1873	Inauguration of St Andrews College	1
31	10	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	11	1873	GANSW	1
7	11	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	11	1873	Sydney City Mission	1
14	11	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	11	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	11	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	11	1873	Volunteer Parade	1
25	11	1873	St Andrews College Council	0
28	11	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	12	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	12	1873	In Goulburn Captain Rossi Enquiry	1
2	12	1873	NSW Association for Promotion of Morality	1
3	12	1873	In Goulburn Captain Rossi Enquiry	1
4	12	1873	St Stephens Session	1
5	12	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	12	1873	In Goulburn Captain Rossi Enquiry	1
6	12	1873	In Goulburn Captain Rossi Enquiry	1
6	12	1873	Volunteer Parade	1
8	12	1873	St Andrews College Council	1
12	12	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
19	12	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	12	1873	Picnic for Intercolonial Rifle Competition	1
20	12	1873	Rifle Association Meeting	1
23	12	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	1
30	12	1873	AMP Directors Meeting	0
30	12	1873	In Goulburn Captain Rossi Enquiry	1
31	12	1873	In Goulburn Captain Rossi Enquiry	1
9	1	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	1	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	1	1874	St Andrews College Council	0
23	1	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	1	1874	AMP - Public Meeting	1
30	1	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
6	2	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	2	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	2	1874	St Stephens Session	0
17	2	1874	St Andrews College Council	1
20	2	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	0
26	2	1874	St Stephens Session	1
27	2	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
28	2	1874	Volunteer Parade	1
1	3	1874	St Stephens Communion	1
2	3	1874	St Stephens Session	0
6	3	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	3	1874	NSW Rifle Association	1
13	3	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	3	1874	St Andrews College Council	0
20	3	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	3	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	3	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	4	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
7	4	1874	AMP - Public Meeting	1
9	4	1874	AMP - Public Meeting	1
10	4	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	4	1874	Metropolitan Inter-colonial Exhibition	1
14	4	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	4	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	4	1874	St Stephens Session	1
20	4	1874	St Stephens Session	1
21	4	1874	St Andrews College Council	1
24	4	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
30	4	1874	AMP - Public Meeting	1
1	5	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	5	1874	AMP - Public Meeting	1
8	5	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	5	1874	Foundation Stone Laying St Andrews College	1
15	5	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	5	1874	St Andrews College Council	0
22	5	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	5	1874	Encamped at Campbell Fields	1
23	5	1874	Volunteer Parade Campbell fields	1
24	5	1874	Volunteer Parade Campbell fields	1
25	5	1874	Volunteer Parade Campbell fields	1
28	5	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	5	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	6	1874	Sydney Female Refuge Society Annual Meeting	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
2	6	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
3	6	1874	Chairs: public lecture Spiritism Weighed in balances		1
5	6	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
7	6	1874	Communion		1
12	6	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
16	6	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
16	6	1874	St Andrews College Council		1
19	6	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
22	6	1874	St Stephens Session		0
24	6	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
26	6	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
3	7	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
10	7	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
11	7	1874	Volunteer Parade		1
12	7	1874	St Stephens Session		1
16	7	1874	St Stephens Session		0
17	7	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
21	7	1874	St Andrews College Council		1
24	7	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
25	7	1874	Volunteer Parade		1
31	7	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
7	8	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
10	8	1874	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting		0
13	8	1874	Sydney City Mission		1
14	8	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
15	8	1874	Volunteer Parade		1
18	8	1874	St Andrews College Council		1
19	8	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
21	8	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
28	8	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
30	8	1874	St Stephens Communion		1
1	9	1874	Chairs: Public Meeting re Uniform Education System		1
2	9	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
2	9	1874	St Stephens Session		1
3	9	1874	St Stephens Session		1
4	9	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
11	9	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
15	9	1874	St Andrews College Council		1
18	9	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
22	9	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
25	9	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
25	9	1874	St Stephens Session		1
30	9	1874	AMP - Public Meeting		1
2	10	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
3	10	1874	Volunteer Parade		1
6	10	1874	St Andrews College Council		1
9	10	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
16	10	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
20	10	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
23	10	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
26	10	1874	GANSW		1
28	10	1874	GANSW		1
29	10	1874	GANSW		1
30	10	1874	AMP Directors Meeting		1
30	10	1874	GANSW		1
3	11	1874	St Stephens Session		1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
4	11	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	0
4	11	1874	GANSW	1
4	11	1874	Rifle Association Meeting	1
6	11	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
7	11	1874	International Rifle Match	1
13	11	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	11	1874	Captains Scotch Team at Shooting Match	1
16	11	1874	Opening Ashfield Public School	1
17	11	1874	Public School League meeting Burwood	1
20	11	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	11	1874	St Andrews College Council	1
28	11	1874	Volunteers Parade	1
1	12	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	12	1874	St Andrews College Council	0
5	12	1874	St Stephens Session	0
6	12	1874	Communion	1
8	12	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	12	1874	Chairs: GR Dibbs Electioneering Meeting	1
8	12	1874	St Andrews College Council	1
15	12	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	12	1874	Volunteer Parade	1
21	12	1874	Sydney City Mission	1
22	12	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	0
26	12	1874	Presentation Rifle Shooting Prizes Suburban Battalion	1
29	12	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
31	12	1874	AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	1	1875	Highland Society Gathering	1
5	1	1875	AMP Directors Meeting	1
12	1	1875	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	1	1875	AMP Directors Meeting	1
23	1	1875	Volunteer Parade	1
25	1	1875	AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	1	1875	St Andrews College Council	1
28	1	1875	AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	2	1875	AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	2	1875	AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	2	1875	AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	2	1875	City Mission Tea - presides	1
10	2	1875	Presides Temperance Meeting	0
15	2	1875	St Stephens Session	1
16	2	1875	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	2	1875	Volunteer Parade	1
22	2	1875	St Andrews College Council	1
23	2	1875	AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	3	1875	AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	3	1875	St Stephens Session	0
7	3	1875	Communion	1
8	3	1875	Suburban Battalion Meeting to establish Rifle Club	1
9	3	1875	AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	3	1875	AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	3	1875	St Andrews College Council	1
23	3	1875	AMP Directors Meeting	1
30	3	1875	AMP - Public Meeting	1
31	3	1875	AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	4	1875	St Stephens Session	0
2	4	1875	AMP - Public Meeting	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
6	4	1875	AMP Directors Meeting		1
7	4	1875	AMP - Public Meeting		1
9	4	1875	AMP - Public Meeting		1
13	4	1875	AMP Directors Meeting		1
15	4	1875	AMP Directors Meeting		1
20	4	1875	AMP Directors Meeting		1
20	4	1875	St Andrews College Council		1
25	4	1875	St Stephens Session		0
27	4	1875	AMP - Public Meeting		1
27	4	1875	AMP Directors Meeting		1
18	5	1875	St Andrews College Council		1
3	6	1875	St Stephens Session		0
6	6	1875	Communion		1
14	6	1875	Sydney City Mission		1
15	6	1875	St Andrews College Council		1
24	6	1875	AMP Members Meeting		1
24	6	1875	St Stephens Session		0
28	6	1875	St Stephens Session		0
15	7	1875	AMP - Public Meeting		1
20	7	1875	St Andrews College Council		1
2	8	1875	St Stephens Session		1
5	8	1875	Meeting to sent Rifleman to Philadelphia competition		0
9	8	1875	St Stephens Session		1
17	8	1875	St Andrews College Council		1
24	8	1875	Funeral: Goonenough		1
30	8	1875	St Stephens Session		1
5	9	1875	Communion		1
7	9	1875	St Andrews College Council		1
15	9	1875	St Stephens Annual Tea		1
21	9	1875	St Andrews College Council		1
30	9	1875	St Stephens Session		0
13	10	1875	NSW Rifle Association Shoot		1
19	10	1875	St Andrews College Council		1
13	11	1875	St Stephens Session		1
16	11	1875	St Andrews College Council		0
27	11	1875	Volunteer Parade		1
2	12	1875	St Stephens Session		0
20	12	1875	At Laying Foundation Ashfield Public School		1
20	12	1875	St Stephens Session		1
21	12	1875	St Andrews College Council		1
6	1	1876	Entertained by Volunteers on his promotion to Lt Colonel		1
22	1	1876	Benevolent Society General Committee		0
22	1	1876	Volunteer Parade		1
14	2	1876	Presbyterian Sabbath Teachers Association		1
15	2	1876	St Andrews College Council		0
28	2	1876	St Stephens Session		1
2	3	1876	St Stephens Session		1
5	3	1876	Communion		1
11	3	1876	Parade Moore Park Volunteers		1
16	3	1876	St Stephens Session		0
19	3	1876	St Stephens Session		1
21	3	1876	St Andrews College Council		1
27	3	1876	St Stephens Session		0
18	4	1876	St Andrews College Council		0
26	4	1876	AMP - Public Meeting		1
13	5	1876	Volunteer Parade		1

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
16	5	1876 St Andrews College Council	1
22	5	1876 St Stephens Session	0
24	5	1876 Governors Levee celebration re: Queen Victoria	1
24	5	1876 Volunteer Parade	1
26	5	1876 Funeral: Ewan Wallace Cameron	1
1	6	1876 St Stephens Session	0
3	6	1876 Volunteer Inspection	1
4	6	1876 Communion	1
12	6	1876 St Stephens Session	0
18	6	1876 St Stephens Session	0
20	6	1876 St Andrews College Council	1
27	6	1876 Sydney City Mission	1
28	6	1876 St Andrews College Council	0
29	6	1876 St Stephens Session	0
18	7	1876 St Andrews College Council	1
22	7	1876 St Andrews College Council	0
11	8	1876 Sydney City Mission	1
15	8	1876 St Andrews College Council	1
28	8	1876 St Stephens Session	0
3	9	1876 Communion	1
4	9	1876 Chairs: Ragged School Annual Meeting	1
12	9	1876 YMCA Lecture	1
14	9	1876 St Stephens Session	1
14	9	1876 Sydney City Mission	1
18	9	1876 Ashfield Community Meeting re Recreation ground	1
19	9	1876 St Andrews College Council	1
27	9	1876 Deputation Minister for Lands re Ashfield Recreation Ground	1
2	10	1876 St Stephens Session	1
6	10	1876 St Stephens Session	1
10	10	1876 YMCA Lecture	1
13	10	1876 Burns Lecture attended	1
14	10	1876 Volunteer Parade	1
17	10	1876 St Andrews College Council	1
26	10	1876 St Stephens Session	0
27	10	1876 Gilchrist Lecture William of Orange	1
28	10	1876 Volunteer Exercises	1
31	10	1876 GANSW	1
31	10	1876 NSW Rifle Association Shoot	1
1	11	1876 GANSW	1
3	11	1876 GANSW	1
16	11	1876 St Stephens Session	0
21	11	1876 St Andrews College Council	0
30	11	1876 St Stephens Session	0
3	12	1876 Communion	1
18	12	1876 Deaf Dumb and Blind Examination	1
19	12	1876 St Andrews College Council	0
16	1	1877 St Andrews College Council	1
20	1	1877 Goodlet and Smith Annual Picnic	1
10	2	1877 Volunteer Parade	1
12	2	1877 St Stephens Session	1
20	2	1877 St Andrews College Council	1
22	2	1877 British and Foreign Bible Society, Annual Meeting	1
1	3	1877 St Stephens Session	1
17	3	1877 St Patricks Day Cricket Match	1
20	3	1877 St Andrews College Council	1
24	3	1877 NSW Rifle Association Shoot	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
16	4	1877	Chairs: New Hebrides Missionary Association: Meeting for Inglis & Copeland	1
17	4	1877	St Andrews College Council	1
19	4	1877	AMP - Public Meeting	1
21	4	1877	Volunteer Parade	1
26	4	1877	AMP - Public Meeting	1
1	5	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	5	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	5	1877	Public Meeting re Park for Ashfield	1
15	5	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	5	1877	St Andrews College Council	0
18	5	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	5	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	5	1877	Volunteer Parade	1
25	5	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
28	5	1877	St Stephens Session	0
29	5	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
31	5	1877	St Stephens Session	0
3	6	1877	Communion	1
5	6	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
6	6	1877	Railway extension meeting Ashfield	1
12	6	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	6	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
23	6	1877	Volunteer Parade	1
26	6	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	7	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	7	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	7	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	7	1877	St Andrews College Council	1
21	7	1877	Volunteer Presentation Victoria Barracks	1
24	7	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
31	7	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
31	7	1877	Sydney Night Refuge and Soup Kitchen	1
7	8	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	8	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	8	1877	St Stephens Session	0
21	8	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	8	1877	St Andrews College Council	0
28	8	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
30	8	1877	St Stephens Session	0
1	9	1877	St Stephens Communion	1
3	9	1877	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	0
4	9	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	9	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	9	1877	Chairs: Dr Somerville Lecture on Bible	1
18	9	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	9	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	9	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	10	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	10	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	10	1877	NSW Rifle Association Shoot	1
15	10	1877	St Stephens Session	0
16	10	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	0
23	10	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	0
30	10	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	11	1877	GANSW	1
6	11	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
6	11	1877	Chairs: Meeting on Suburban Train timetable	1
13	11	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	11	1877	St Stephens Session	1
20	11	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	11	1877	St Andrews College Council	0
25	11	1877	St Stephens Session	0
27	11	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
28	11	1877	St Stephens Session	0
2	12	1877	Communion	1
4	12	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
6	12	1877	Chairs: Meeting re Railway Timetable	1
11	12	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
12	12	1877	NSW Rifle Association	1
15	12	1877	Volunteer Parade	1
18	12	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	12	1877	St Andrews College Council	0
27	12	1877	AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	12	1877	St Andrews College Council	1
3	1	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	1	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	1	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	1	1878	Chairs: City Mission Meeting	1
21	1	1878	St Stephens Session	0
22	1	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	1	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	2	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
12	2	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
12	2	1878	Sydney City Mission	1
19	2	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	2	1878	St Andrews College Council	0
26	2	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	3	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
12	3	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	3	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	3	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	3	1878	St Andrews College Council	0
26	3	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	4	1878	Sabbath Observance Committee	1
2	4	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	4	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	4	1878	Meeting Hon Michael Fitzpatrick re Volunteers & Cricket Ground	1
16	4	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	4	1878	St Andrews College Council	1
20	4	1878	Sydney Female Refuge Society Annual Meeting	1
23	4	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	4	1878	AMP - Public Meeting	1
30	4	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
7	5	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	5	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	5	1878	Annual Meeting Sydney Female Refuge Society	1
21	5	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	5	1878	St Andrews College Council	0
23	5	1878	AMP - Public Meeting	1
24	5	1878	Governors Levee celebration re: Queen Victoria	1
24	5	1878	Volunteer Parade	1
28	5	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
4	6	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
6	6	1878	Glebe Volunteers Annual Dinner		1
11	6	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
18	6	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
18	6	1878	St Andrews College Council		0
25	6	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
30	6	1878	Ashfield Session		1
2	7	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
9	7	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
12	7	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
16	7	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
16	7	1878	St Andrews College Council		0
18	7	1878	Sydney City Mission		1
22	7	1878	Ashfield Session		1
23	7	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
23	7	1878	Dr Steel 16th Anniversary at St Stephens		1
29	7	1878	Ashfield Session		1
30	7	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
6	8	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
8	8	1878	Sydney City Mission		1
10	8	1878	Funeral: John Dunmore Lang		1
12	8	1878	NSW Association for Promotion of Morality		1
13	8	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
19	8	1878	Ulladulla and Clyde with Copeland		1
20	8	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
20	8	1878	Arrives Sydney from Ulladulla and Clyde with Copeland		1
20	8	1878	St Andrews College Council		0
24	8	1878	Volunteer Parade		1
27	8	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
2	9	1878	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting		1
3	9	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
10	9	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
14	9	1878	Lays foundation of Pymont Church		1
17	9	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
24	9	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
24	9	1878	St Andrews College Council		0
1	10	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
8	10	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
15	10	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
15	10	1878	St Andrews College Council		1
18	10	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
22	10	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
29	10	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
29	10	1878	GANSW		1
30	10	1878	GANSW		1
31	10	1878	GANSW		1
1	11	1878	Ashfield Session		0
4	11	1878	St Andrews Dinner during Assembly		1
5	11	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
7	11	1878	AMP - Public Meeting		1
12	11	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
17	11	1878	Ashfield Session		1
19	11	1878	AMP Directors Meeting		1
19	11	1878	St Andrews College Council		1
21	11	1878	Ashfield Session		1
24	11	1878	Ashfield Session		1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
26	11	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	12	1878	Ashfield Session	1
3	12	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	12	1878	Ashfield Church Meeting	1
17	12	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	12	1878	St Andrews College Council	0
24	12	1878	AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	1	1879	Ashfield Session	0
7	1	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	1	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	1	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	1	1879	Glasgow Bank Relief Fund Meeting	1
28	1	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
30	1	1879	Dinner honour Major Jaques	1
4	2	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	2	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	2	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	2	1879	St Andrews College Council	0
26	2	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	2	1879	Ashfield Session	1
4	3	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	3	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	3	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	3	1879	Sydney City Mission	1
24	3	1879	NSW Zoological Society	1
25	3	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	3	1879	Benefit Concert Volunteers	1
31	3	1879	Meeting of Mission to New Hebrides Dayspring	1
1	4	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	4	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	4	1879	Volunteer Training Camp	1
12	4	1879	Volunteer Training Camp	1
13	4	1879	Volunteer Training Camp	1
14	4	1879	Volunteer Training Camp	1
15	4	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	0
15	4	1879	St Andrews College Council	0
15	4	1879	Volunteer Training Camp	1
16	4	1879	Volunteer Training Camp	1
22	4	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	4	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
6	5	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	5	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	5	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	5	1879	Ashfield Session	1
23	5	1879	AMP - Public Meeting	1
24	5	1879	Governors Levee celebration re: Queen Victoria	1
24	5	1879	Volunteer Parade Queen Victoria's Birthday	1
27	5	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	0
28	5	1879	AMP - Public Meeting	1
29	5	1879	AMP - Public Meeting	1
3	6	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	6	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	6	1879	YMCA Lecture	1
12	6	1879	Sydney City Mission	1
17	6	1879	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	6	1879	St Andrews College Council	1

**John Goodlet Meeting Attendance**

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
24	6	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
27	6	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
1	7	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
8	7	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
8	7	1879	Chairs: YMCA Lecture		1
15	7	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
22	7	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
29	7	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
4	8	1879	Volunteer Parade Arrival of Governor Loftus		1
6	8	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
12	8	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
13	8	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
13	8	1879	Sustentation Scheme Conference		1
19	8	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
19	8	1879	St Andrews College Council		0
24	8	1879	Meeting of proposed Sustentation Fund PCNSW		1
25	8	1879	Proposal of Christian Convention during International Exposition		1
26	8	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
26	8	1879	Conference of Sabbath School Teachers		1
1	9	1879	Executive Committee of Christian Convention		1
2	9	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
2	9	1879	Jefferis Lecture Pitt Street Congregational Church		1
9	9	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
11	9	1879	Sydney City Mission		1
16	9	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
19	9	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
23	9	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
26	9	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
30	9	1879	AMP - Public Meeting		1
7	10	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
13	10	1879	Deaf Dumb and Blind Institute		1
14	10	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
17	10	1879	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
21	10	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
21	10	1879	St Andrews College Council		0
22	10	1879	Volunteer Court of Inquiry - Goulburn		1
23	10	1879	Ashfield Presbyterian Church Annual Meeting		1
28	10	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
28	10	1879	GANSW		1
31	10	1879	GANSW		1
4	11	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
4	11	1879	GANSW		1
8	11	1879	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
8	11	1879	Volunteer Parade		1
11	11	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
12	11	1879	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
12	11	1879	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
17	11	1879	Chairs: Session of Christian Convention		1
18	11	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
20	11	1879	Ashfield Session		1
24	11	1879	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
24	11	1879	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
25	11	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
2	12	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1
4	12	1879	Ashfield Session		1
9	12	1879	AMP Directors Meeting		1

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
9	12	1879 Annual Meeting of Justices	1
13	12	1879 Meeting St Andrews College	1
16	12	1879 AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	12	1879 St Andrews College Council	0
18	12	1879 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	12	1879 Ashfield Session	1
22	12	1879 Formation of Ashfield School of Arts	1
23	12	1879 AMP Directors Meeting	1
30	12	1879 AMP Directors Meeting	1
6	1	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
6	1	1880 Meeting to Defray expenses of Kinross to Pan Presbyterian Council	1
6	1	1880 St Andrews College Council	0
7	1	1880 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
12	1	1880 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
12	1	1880 Sydney City Mission	1
13	1	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	1	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	1	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
28	1	1880 AMP - Public Meeting	1
3	2	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	2	1880 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
9	2	1880 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
10	2	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	2	1880 Volunteer Parade	1
17	2	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	2	1880 St Andrews College Council	0
18	2	1880 Ashfield Session	1
20	2	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	2	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	3	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	3	1880 Ashfield Session	1
8	3	1880 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
9	3	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	3	1880 St Andrews College Council	0
11	3	1880 Sydney City Mission	1
12	3	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	3	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	3	1880 Chairs: Chalmers Centenary	1
23	3	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	3	1880 Volunteer Encampment	1
30	3	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	0
6	4	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	4	1880 Sydney City Mission	1
12	4	1880 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
12	4	1880 Welcome to John Miller Ross	1
13	4	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	4	1880 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
19	4	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	4	1880 St Andrews College Council	1
21	4	1880 AMP - Public Meeting	1
21	4	1880 AMP - Public Meeting	1
27	4	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
28	4	1880 AMP - Public Meeting	1
4	5	1880 AMP - Public Meeting	1
4	5	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	5	1880 Ashfield Session	1

**John Goodlet Meeting Attendance**

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
5	5	1880 Sydney City Mission	1
10	5	1880 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
11	5	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
12	5	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	5	1880 Annual Meeting of Sydney City Mission	1
18	5	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	5	1880 Volunteer Parade	1
25	5	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
28	5	1880 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
1	6	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	6	1880 Ashfield Session	1
6	6	1880 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
8	6	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	6	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	6	1880 St Andrews College Council	0
22	6	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	6	1880 Chairs: Sabbath School Centenary Meeting	1
26	6	1880 Chairs: Raikes Celebration	1
29	6	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
6	7	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
12	7	1880 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
13	7	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	7	1880 At Laying Cornerstone of Canterbury Presbyterian Church	1
20	7	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	7	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
31	7	1880 colonial secretary Visit to Ashfield	1
3	8	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
7	8	1880 Chairs: Lecture YMCA	1
9	8	1880 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
10	8	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	8	1880 Volunteer Parade	1
17	8	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	8	1880 St Andrews College Council	0
19	8	1880 Ashfield Session	1
20	8	1880 Chairs: NSW Sunday School Union	1
24	8	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
28	8	1880 Volunteer Parade	1
31	8	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	9	1880 Ashfield Session	1
4	9	1880 Volunteer Parade	1
6	9	1880 Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	0
7	9	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	9	1880 Sydney City Mission	1
13	9	1880 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	9	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	9	1880 Rife Association presentation of prizes	0
21	9	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	9	1880 St Andrews College Council	1
28	9	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	10	1880 Ashfield Session	0
5	10	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	10	1880 Sabbath Observance Committee	1
11	10	1880 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
11	10	1880 Sabbath Observance Society reformation	1
15	10	1880 Ashfield Session	1
19	10	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	0

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
19	10	1880 St Andrews College Council	0
26	10	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	10	1880 GANSW	1
28	10	1880 GANSW	1
2	11	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	11	1880 Ashfield Session	1
8	11	1880 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
10	11	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	11	1880 Sydney City Mission	1
13	11	1880 Alfred Allan Canterbury Electorate Meeting	1
16	11	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	11	1880 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
23	11	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	11	1880 Sunday School Picnic	1
30	11	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	12	1880 No 2 School Board Meeting Ultimo	1
2	12	1880 Ashfield Session	1
7	12	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	12	1880 Ashfield Session	1
11	12	1880 Foundation Stone Laying Ashfield School of Arts	1
13	12	1880 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	12	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	12	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	12	1880 St Andrews College Council	0
28	12	1880 AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	1	1881 AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	1	1881 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
11	1	1881 AMP Directors Meeting	0
18	1	1881 AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	1	1881 Congregational Union Sunday School Teachers union	1
25	1	1881 AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	1	1881 Ashfield Session	1
1	2	1881 AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	2	1881 AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	2	1881 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	2	1881 AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	2	1881 St Andrews College Council	1
22	2	1881 AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	2	1881 Ashfield Session	1
26	2	1881 Volunteer Parade	1
27	2	1881 Ashfield Session	1
28	2	1881 Chairs: Raikes' Centenary Committee	1
1	3	1881 AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	3	1881 Meeting of Sunday School Superintendents	1
3	3	1881 Ashfield Session	1
8	3	1881 AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	3	1881 Ashfield Session	1
14	3	1881 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
15	3	1881 AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	3	1881 AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	3	1881 AMP Directors Meeting	1
26	3	1881 Volunteers Commandants Parade	1
28	3	1881 Meeting re: Opposition to Sabbath Openings of Museum	1
29	3	1881 AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	4	1881 AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	4	1881 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
13	4	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	4	1881	Volunteer Training Camp	1
16	4	1881	Volunteer Training Camp	1
17	4	1881	Volunteer Training Camp	1
18	4	1881	Volunteer Training Camp	1
19	4	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	0
19	4	1881	St Andrews College Council	0
19	4	1881	Volunteer Training Camp	1
20	4	1881	Volunteer Training Camp	1
26	4	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	4	1881	AMP - Public Meeting	1
3	5	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	5	1881	Protest Meeting re removal Pyrmont Bridge	1
9	5	1881	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
10	5	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	5	1881	Volunteer Parade	1
17	5	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	5	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	5	1881	Volunteer Parade: Queens Birthday	1
25	5	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
26	5	1881	Ashfield Session	1
30	5	1881	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
31	5	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	6	1881	Ashfield Session	1
7	6	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	6	1881	Sydney City Mission	1
10	6	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	6	1881	Volunteer Parade	1
13	6	1881	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
14	6	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	6	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	6	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	6	1881	St Andrews College Council	1
24	6	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	6	1881	Volunteer Parade	1
27	6	1881	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
28	6	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	7	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	7	1881	Funeral: Lt Col Watson Wilson	1
11	7	1881	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
12	7	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	7	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
26	7	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
31	7	1881	Ashfield Session	1
31	7	1881	Ashfield Session	1
2	8	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	8	1881	YMCA lecture Goodlet presiding	1
4	8	1881	Ashfield Session	1
8	8	1881	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	0
8	8	1881	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
9	8	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	8	1881	Ashfield Session	1
16	8	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	8	1881	Sabbath School Committee	1
16	8	1881	St Andrews College Council	0
18	8	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
18	8	1881	Ashfield Session	1
21	8	1881	Ashfield Session	1
23	8	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	8	1881	Chairs: Presbyterian Sunday School Conference	1
29	8	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
30	8	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
30	8	1881	Chairs: Provisional Presbyterian Sabbath School Committee	1
1	9	1881	Ashfield Session	1
5	9	1881	Opening Ashfield School of Arts	1
6	9	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	9	1881	Ashfield Session	1
12	9	1881	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	9	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	9	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	9	1881	Chairs: meeting of Provisional Presbyterian Sabbath School Committee	1
23	9	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	9	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	10	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
6	10	1881	Ashfield Session	1
10	10	1881	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
11	10	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	10	1881	Game of Frisquette Canterbury House	1
18	10	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	10	1881	St Andrews College Council	0
20	10	1881	Ashfield Session	1
25	10	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	10	1881	GANSW	1
27	10	1881	GANSW	1
31	10	1881	Chairs: lecture Ashfield School of Arts	1
31	10	1881	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
1	11	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	11	1881	Ashfield Session	1
8	11	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	11	1881	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	11	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	11	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	11	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	12	1881	Ashfield Session	1
6	12	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
12	12	1881	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	12	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	12	1881	Sydney City Mission	1
20	12	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	12	1881	St Andrews College Council	0
29	12	1881	AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	1	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	1	1882	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
10	1	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	1	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	1	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
31	1	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	2	1882	Ashfield School of Arts	1
4	2	1882	Volunteer Parade	1
7	2	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	2	1882	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
14	2	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
21	2	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
21	2	1882	St Andrews College Council		0
24	2	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
26	2	1882	AMP - Public Meeting		1
28	2	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
2	3	1882	Ashfield Session		1
7	3	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
13	3	1882	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
14	3	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
21	3	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
28	3	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
30	3	1882	Ashfield Session		1
30	3	1882	Sabbath School Committee		1
3	4	1882	AMP - Public Meeting		1
3	4	1882	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
4	4	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
7	4	1882	Volunteer Encampment		1
8	4	1882	AMP - Public Meeting		1
8	4	1882	Volunteer Encampment- Victoria Barracks		1
11	4	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		0
18	4	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
18	4	1882	Meeting of 3rd General Conference of Pres. Church of Australasia		1
18	4	1882	St Andrews College Council		0
21	4	1882	Chairs: Session of 3rd General Conference of Pres. Church of Australasia		1
25	4	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
26	4	1882	AMP Annual Meeting		1
2	5	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
8	5	1882	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
9	5	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
12	5	1882	Highland Society Dinner Archibald Forbes		1
15	5	1882	Annual Meeting Sydney City Mission		0
16	5	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
23	5	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
25	5	1882	Ashfield Session		0
30	5	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
1	6	1882	Ashfield Session		1
6	6	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
12	6	1882	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
13	6	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		0
15	6	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
20	6	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
20	6	1882	St Andrews College Council		0
20	6	1882	YWCA Meeting		1
27	6	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
4	7	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
6	7	1882	Ashfield Session		1
10	7	1882	Dr Renwick Lecture		1
10	7	1882	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
11	7	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
14	7	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
18	7	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
25	7	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
27	7	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
2	8	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1
5	8	1882	Volunteer Parade		1
8	8	1882	AMP Directors Meeting		1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
9	8	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	8	1882	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
15	8	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	8	1882	St Andrews College Council	0
17	8	1882	Ashfield Session	1
18	8	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	8	1882	St Andrews College Council	0
22	8	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	8	1882	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	0
26	8	1882	Funeral: S.D. Gordon	1
29	8	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
31	8	1882	Ashfield Session	1
1	9	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	9	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	9	1882	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
12	9	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	9	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	9	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
26	9	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	9	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	10	1882	Ashfield Session	1
2	10	1882	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
3	10	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	10	1882	Sabbath School Committee	1
9	10	1882	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
10	10	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
12	10	1882	Ashfield Session	0
17	10	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	10	1882	St Andrews College Council	0
24	10	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	10	1882	Grim lecture at Ashfield School of Arts	1
31	10	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
7	11	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	11	1882	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	11	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	11	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	11	1882	AMP - Public Meeting	1
22	11	1882	Ashfield Session	1
24	11	1882	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
27	11	1882	Chairs: Presbyterian Sabbath Schools Committee	1
28	11	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
30	11	1882	Ashfield Session	1
4	12	1882	Sabbath School Association	1
5	12	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	12	1882	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
12	12	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	12	1882	Meeting to determine need for Local Option League	1
19	12	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	12	1882	St Andrews College Council	0
28	12	1882	AMP Directors Meeting	0
2	1	1883	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	1	1883	AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	1	1883	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
9	1	1883	AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	1	1883	St Andrews College Council	1
10	1	1883	AMP - Public Meeting	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
15	1	1883 Chairs: Young Men's Sabbath Morning Association	1
16	1	1883 AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	1	1883 Ashfield Session	1
23	1	1883 AMP Directors Meeting	1
23	1	1883 Dinner GA Mansfield	1
29	1	1883 Chairs: Inaugural Meeting Local Options League	1
30	1	1883 AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	2	1883 Ashfield Session	0
1	2	1883 Banquet to Colonel Raymond	1
6	2	1883 AMP Directors Meeting	1
7	2	1883 Sabbath Schools Committee	1
8	2	1883 Ashfield Session	1
12	2	1883 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
13	2	1883 AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	2	1883 Trip to Coerwull Academy	1
18	2	1883 Ashfield Session	1
20	2	1883 AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	2	1883 St Andrews College Council	0
27	2	1883 AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	3	1883 Ashfield Session	1
6	3	1883 AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	3	1883 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
9	3	1883 GANSW	1
12	3	1883 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	3	1883 AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	3	1883 AMP Directors Meeting	1
23	3	1883 Volunteer Encampment	1
24	3	1883 Volunteer Encampment	1
25	3	1883 Volunteer Encampment	1
26	3	1883 Volunteer Encampment	1
27	3	1883 AMP Directors Meeting	0
27	3	1883 Volunteer Encampment	1
28	3	1883 Volunteer Encampment	1
30	3	1883 Licensing Bill Meeting	1
3	4	1883 AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	4	1883 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
9	4	1883 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
10	4	1883 AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	4	1883 AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	4	1883 St Andrews College Council	0
24	4	1883 AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	4	1883 AMP - Public Meeting	1
30	4	1883 Presbyterian Sabbath Schools Committee	1
31	4	1883 Ashfield Session	1
14	5	1883 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
24	5	1883 Volunteer Parade Queens Birthday	1
6	6	1883 Presbyterian of Australian & Tasmania, 4th Conference - Melbourne	1
7	6	1883 Presbyterian of Australian & Tasmania, 4th Conference - Melbourne	1
11	6	1883 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
12	6	1883 Union Conference Presbyterian church - Melbourne	1
19	6	1883 St Andrews College Council	1
19	7	1883 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
13	8	1883 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
15	8	1883 St Andrews College Council	1
30	8	1883 Ashfield Session	1
31	8	1883 Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	0

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
10	9	1883	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
29	9	1883	Distributes prizes for Sabbath School Association	1
1	10	1883	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
7	10	1883	Ashfield Session	1
15	10	1883	Addresses Mrs Hampson's Mission	1
17	10	1883	St Andrews College Council	1
23	10	1883	Breakfast to Welcome Dr James White	1
29	10	1883	Ashfield Session	1
12	11	1883	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
4	12	1883	Welcome to Rev A Osborne School of Arts Burwood	1
6	12	1883	Ashfield Session	1
10	12	1883	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
19	12	1883	St Andrews College Council	0
14	1	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
21	1	1884	Chairs: Local Option League as president	1
22	1	1884	Chairs: Young Men's Fellowship Union	1
7	2	1884	Ashfield Session	1
11	2	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
12	2	1884	Sydney City Mission	1
12	2	1884	Sydney City Mission	1
13	2	1884	Farewell to James Cosh	1
20	2	1884	St Andrews College Council	0
28	2	1884	Ashfield Session	1
5	3	1884	GANSW	1
6	3	1884	GANSW	1
7	3	1884	GANSW	1
10	3	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	3	1884	GANSW	1
20	3	1884	Ashfield Session	1
24	3	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
28	3	1884	Local Option deputation to Premier	1
30	3	1884	Ashfield Session	1
7	4	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
8	4	1884	Sydney Presbytery	1
11	4	1884	Volunteer Encampment	1
12	4	1884	Volunteer Encampment	1
13	4	1884	Volunteer Encampment	1
14	4	1884	Volunteer Encampment	1
15	4	1884	Volunteer Encampment	1
16	4	1884	St Andrews College Council	0
23	4	1884	AMP - Public Meeting	1
29	4	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	5	1884	Chairs: Gospel Temperance Meeting	1
5	5	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
6	5	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
6	5	1884	Gospel Temperance Meeting	1
8	5	1884	Ashfield Session	1
12	5	1884	Gospel Temperance Meeting	1
12	5	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	5	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	5	1884	Chairs: Local Option R Booth address	1
20	5	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
23	5	1884	Inaugural Lecture YMCA	1
27	5	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	5	1884	Ashfield Session	1
2	6	1884	Chairs: Local Option League Meeting	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
2	6	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
3	6	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	6	1884	Formation of Ashfield Temperance Society	1
9	6	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
10	6	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	6	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	6	1884	St Andrews College Council	1
24	6	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
30	6	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
1	7	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	7	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	7	1884	Meeting of Sydney Presbytery	1
9	7	1884	Ashfield Session	1
9	7	1884	Fifth Conference of the Presbyterian Churches, Sydney	1
10	7	1884	Chairs: Session of Fifth Conference of the Presbyterian Churches of Aus. & Tas	1
13	7	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	7	1884	Fifth Conference of the Presbyterian Churches, Sydney	1
14	7	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
18	7	1884	Lords Day Observance Committee visit to Premier	1
22	7	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	7	1884	Visit to Narrabeen Powder and Explosives Works	1
29	7	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	8	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	8	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
12	8	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
12	8	1884	Sydney Presbytery	1
18	8	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
19	8	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	8	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
20	8	1884	St Andrews College Council	1
23	8	1884	Volunteer Parade	1
26	8	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	8	1884	AMP - Public Meeting	1
1	9	1884	Concert Opening of new wing Blind Deaf Society	1
2	9	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	9	1884	Chairs: Welcome to Rev David Smith to Chalmers	1
8	9	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
9	9	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
12	9	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	9	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
23	9	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
30	9	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	10	1884	Sabbath School Committee	1
7	10	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	10	1884	Volunteer Parade	1
13	10	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	10	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	10	1884	St Andrews College Council	1
21	10	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
28	10	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	11	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	11	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	11	1884	Ashfield Session	0
17	11	1884	Chairs: Establishment of Local Option League, Ashfield	1
17	11	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
18	11	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent	
25	11	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	11	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
2	12	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	12	1884	Ashfield Session	1
8	12	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
9	12	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	12	1884	Mission meeting on New Guinea	1
15	12	1884	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
16	12	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	12	1884	St Andrews College Council	1
23	12	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
30	12	1884	AMP Directors Meeting	1
6	1	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
12	1	1885	Chairs: Young Men's Fellowship Association Annual Meeting	1
12	1	1885	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
13	1	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	1	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	1	1885	Chairs: Local Option League Meeting	1
20	1	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	1	1885	Ashfield Session	1
21	1	1885	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
27	1	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	2	1885	Chairs: Newspaper Company Limited	1
3	2	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	2	1885	Volunteer visit to Admiral Tyron	1
5	2	1885	Ashfield Session	1
8	2	1885	Ashfield Session	0
9	2	1885	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
10	2	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	2	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	2	1885	St Andrews College Council	1
20	2	1885	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
24	2	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	2	1885	Ashfield Session	1
26	2	1885	Ashfield Session	1
2	3	1885	Bible Society Distribution to Troops for Sudan	1
2	3	1885	GANSW	1
3	3	1885	Departure of Sudan Troops	1
4	3	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	3	1885	GANSW	1
6	3	1885	GANSW	1
9	3	1885	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
9	3	1885	St Andrews College Council	1
10	3	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	3	1885	GANSW	1
13	3	1885	GANSW	1
17	3	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	3	1885	Ashfield School of Arts	1
18	3	1885	Ashfield School of Arts	1
20	3	1885	Volunteer Parade	1
24	3	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
31	3	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	4	1885	Volunteer Encampment	1
4	4	1885	Volunteer Encampment	1
5	4	1885	Volunteer Encampment	1
6	4	1885	Volunteer Encampment	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
7	4	1885 Volunteer Encampment	1
8	4	1885 Volunteer Encampment	1
9	4	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	4	1885 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	4	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	4	1885 St Andrews College Council	1
21	4	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
23	4	1885 Ashfield Session	1
28	4	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	4	1885 AMP - Public Meeting	1
30	4	1885 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
2	5	1885 Volunteers Manoeuvres Moore Park	1
5	5	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	5	1885 Ashfield Session	1
12	5	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	5	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	5	1885 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
21	5	1885 Ashfield Session	1
23	5	1885 Volunteer Parade	1
25	5	1885 Volunteer Parade Moore Park	1
26	5	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	6	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	6	1885 Patriotic Fund Meeting	1
4	6	1885 Ashfield Session	1
8	6	1885 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
9	6	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	6	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	6	1885 St Andrews College Council	1
24	6	1885 AMP - Public Meeting	1
24	6	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	6	1885 Banquet to Colonial Representatives to welcome home Sudan Soldiers	1
25	6	1885 Volunteer Meeting	0
30	6	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
7	7	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	7	1885 Commission of GANSW	1
13	7	1885 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	7	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	7	1885 Patriotic Fund Meeting	1
21	7	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
28	7	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	8	1885 Lays Foundation Stone St John's Paddington enlargement transept	1
4	8	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	8	1885 Social Purity Society	1
10	8	1885 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
11	8	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	8	1885 Volunteer Parade	1
17	8	1885 Formation of Free Trade Association	1
17	8	1885 Ratepayers of Ashfield Meeting re Gas supplies	1
18	8	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	8	1885 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
19	8	1885 St Andrews College Council	1
25	8	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1
26	8	1885 Patriotic Fund Meeting	1
27	8	1885 Ashfield Session	1
28	8	1885 Free Trade Association Meeting	1
1	9	1885 AMP Directors Meeting	1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
3	9	1885	Ashfield Session	1
8	9	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	9	1885	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	9	1885	Major Gen Richardson dinner	1
14	9	1885	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	9	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	9	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	9	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	10	1885	Free Trade Association Meeting	1
6	10	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
12	10	1885	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	10	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	10	1885	Nominates Alex Kethel West Sydney Electorate Meeting	1
17	10	1885	Lays foundation stone Ashfield Church	1
20	10	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	10	1885	Patriotic Fund Meeting	1
21	10	1885	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
21	10	1885	St Andrews College Council	1
22	10	1885	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
23	10	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
26	10	1885	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
27	10	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
28	10	1885	Sunday School Picnic	1
29	10	1885	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
3	11	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
6	11	1885	Farwell Levee Governor Loftus	1
10	11	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	11	1885	Presbytery of Sydney	1
12	11	1885	Ashfield Session	0
17	11	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	11	1885	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
21	11	1885	Sunday School Teachers to Canterbury House	1
24	11	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	12	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	12	1885	Ashfield Session	1
8	12	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	12	1885	Sydney Presbytery	1
10	12	1885	Party to welcome remains Major General Scratchley	1
12	12	1885	Volunteer Parade to Welcome Governor Carrington	1
14	12	1885	Governors Levee	1
14	12	1885	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	12	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	12	1885	St Andrews College Council	0
18	12	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	12	1885	Volunteer Parade	1
22	12	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
23	12	1885	Mayors Banquet for Governor	1
30	12	1885	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	1	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	1	1886	Sabbath School Committee	1
11	1	1886	Ashfield Session	1
11	1	1886	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
12	1	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
12	1	1886	Free Trade Association Meeting	1
16	1	1886	Fellowship Union JHG Presiding	1
19	1	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1

**John Goodlet Meeting Attendance**

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
27	1	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	1	1886 At laying foundation stone by Mrs Goodlet, Chippendale City Mission	1
1	2	1886 Ashfield Session	1
1	2	1886 Chairs: shareholder meeting of Presbyterian	1
2	2	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	2	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	2	1886 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
9	2	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
10	2	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	2	1886 Volunteer Parade	1
16	2	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	2	1886 St Andrews College Council	1
23	2	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	2	1886 Sydney Female Refuge Society Annual Meeting	1
2	3	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	3	1886 Ashfield Session	1
5	3	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	3	1886 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
9	3	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	3	1886 GANSW	1
16	3	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	3	1886 GANSW	1
19	3	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
30	3	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	4	1886 New Hebrides Question Meeting Town Hall	1
6	4	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
6	4	1886 Majority Fund Meeting of PCNSW	1
10	4	1886 Volunteer Parade	1
11	4	1886 Ashfield Session	1
12	4	1886 Free Trade Association Meeting	1
12	4	1886 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	4	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	4	1886 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
20	4	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	4	1886 AMP - Public Meeting	1
22	4	1886 AMP - Public Meeting	1
23	4	1886 Volunteer Encampment	1
28	4	1886 Volunteer Encampment	1
29	4	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	5	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	5	1886 AMP - Public Meeting	1
5	5	1886 St Andrews College Council	0
10	5	1886 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
11	5	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	5	1886 Ashfield Session	1
18	5	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	5	1886 Speaks Majority Fund Meeting at Ashfield	1
24	5	1886 Volunteer Parade	1
25	5	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
26	5	1886 Speaks Majority Fund Meeting at Burwood	1
1	6	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	6	1886 Ashfield Session	1
7	6	1886 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
8	6	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	6	1886 AMP - Public Meeting	1
16	6	1886 AMP Directors Meeting	1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
16	6	1886	St Andrews College Council	0
20	6	1886	Volunteer Parade	1
21	6	1886	Mayors Banquet Queen Victoria's Birthday	1
22	6	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	6	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
6	7	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
6	7	1886	Sabbath School Committee	1
12	7	1886	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	7	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
14	7	1886	Federal Assembly, Sydney	1
17	7	1886	Entertains Members of Federal Assembly at Canterbury House	1
20	7	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
24	7	1886	Chairs: YMCA Lecture	1
27	7	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
27	7	1886	Chairs: YMCA meeting	1
28	7	1886	Chairs: Free Trade Association	1
3	8	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	8	1886	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
10	8	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	8	1886	Gospel Temperance Mission`	1
17	8	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	8	1886	St Andrews College Council	0
20	8	1886	Opening of Picton Home	1
21	8	1886	Volunteer Parade	1
24	8	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
30	8	1886	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
2	9	1886	Ashfield Session	1
3	9	1886	Free Trade Association Meeting	1
7	9	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	9	1886	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	9	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	9	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
22	9	1886	Ashfield Session	1
27	9	1886	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	1
28	9	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	10	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	10	1886	Sabbath School Committee	1
11	10	1886	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
12	10	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	10	1886	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
18	10	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	10	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	10	1886	St Andrews College Council	0
21	10	1886	Ashfield Session	1
21	10	1886	City Mission Committee	1
26	10	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
2	11	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	0
4	11	1886	Ashfield Session	1
5	11	1886	Rifle Association Skirmish Paddington	1
10	11	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	11	1886	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
16	11	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
21	11	1886	Ashfield Session	1
22	11	1886	Ashfield Session	1
23	11	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
30	11	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1

**John Goodlet Meeting Attendance**

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
3	12	1886	Ashfield Session	1
3	12	1886	Ashfield Session	1
7	12	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
13	12	1886	Chairs: Annual Meeting Young Men's Fellowship Union	1
13	12	1886	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
14	12	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	12	1886	St Andrews College Council	1
17	12	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	12	1886	Ashfield Session	1
21	12	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	12	1886	AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	1	1887	Evangelical Alliance Prayer Meeting	1
4	1	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
4	1	1887	Sabbath School Committee	1
10	1	1887	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
11	1	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	1	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
18	1	1887	Ashfield Session	1
21	1	1887	Free Trade Association Meeting	0
25	1	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
31	1	1887	Ashfield Session	1
31	1	1887	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
1	2	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
1	2	1887	Chairs: Mayor Riley election meeting	1
2	2	1887	Mr Abigail's Political Meeting	1
8	2	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
15	2	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
16	2	1887	St Andrews College Council	1
21	2	1887	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
22	2	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
23	2	1887	AMP - Public Meeting	1
1	3	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	3	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
3	3	1887	Ashfield Session	1
8	3	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
11	3	1887	GANSW	1
14	3	1887	Free Trade Association Banquet	1
14	3	1887	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
15	3	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
17	3	1887	GANSW	1
18	3	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
19	3	1887	Volunteer Parade	1
22	3	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	3	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
28	3	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
29	3	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	4	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
8	4	1887	Volunteer Encampment	1
12	4	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	0
12	4	1887	Volunteer Encampment	1
13	4	1887	Volunteer Encampment	1
14	4	1887	Volunteer Encampment	1
16	4	1887	Volunteer Encampment	1
18	4	1887	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
19	4	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
20	4	1887	St Andrews College Council	1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
22	4	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
25	4	1887	AMP - Public Meeting	1
26	4	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
28	4	1887	Ashfield Session	0
3	5	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
5	5	1887	Ashfield Session	0
6	5	1887	AMP Directors Meeting	1
9	5	1887	AMP - Public Meeting	1
9	5	1887	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
16	5	1887	YWCA Lecture	1
19	5	1887	Ashfield Session	0
26	5	1887	Ashfield Session	1
2	6	1887	Ashfield Session	0
7	6	1887	Deputation to Mayor	1
9	6	1887	Ashfield Session	1
13	6	1887	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	6	1887	Loyalist Demonstration Meeting	1
15	6	1887	St Andrews College Council	1
25	6	1887	Volunteer Parade & Dinner to Major Chisholm	1
30	6	1887	Ashfield Session	0
5	7	1887	Ashfield Session	0
11	7	1887	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
5	8	1887	Queens Jubilee Fund Meeting	0
8	8	1887	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
11	8	1887	Ashfield Session	1
12	8	1887	Deputation on Social Purity to Premier	1
17	8	1887	St Andrews College Council	1
1	9	1887	Ashfield Session	1
5	9	1887	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	0
12	9	1887	Hospital for Sick Children	1
12	9	1887	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
16	9	1887	Federal Assembly, Melbourne	1
16	9	1887	On train to Melbourne	1
20	9	1887	On Express from Melbourne to Adelaide	1
21	9	1887	Chairs: Society prevention cruelty animals (possibly Mrs Goodlet?)	1
27	9	1887	On Express from Melbourne to Sydney	1
4	10	1887	Bulli Colliery Disaster Fund	1
10	10	1887	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
19	10	1887	St Andrews College Council	1
20	10	1887	NSW Rifle Association	1
24	10	1887	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
27	10	1887	Rourkes Drift Volunteers	1
29	10	1887	Picton for Visit of Minister of Public Works	1
3	11	1887	Ashfield Session	1
10	11	1887	Ashfield Session	1
14	11	1887	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
30	11	1887	St Andrews Night Highland Society	1
1	12	1887	Ashfield Session	1
3	12	1887	Volunteer Parade	1
12	12	1887	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	12	1887	St Andrews College Council	0
9	1	1888	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	1	1888	Opening of Lawson Congregational Church	1
29	1	1888	Centennial church Service with Volunteers	1
3	2	1888	Ashfield Session	1
9	2	1888	Ashfield Session	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
9	2	1888	PLC	1
12	2	1888	Ashfield Session	1
13	2	1888	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	2	1888	St Andrews College Council	1
23	2	1888	Ashfield Session	0
1	3	1888	Ashfield Session	1
7	3	1888	GANSW	1
8	3	1888	GANSW	1
12	3	1888	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
13	3	1888	GANSW	1
14	3	1888	GANSW	1
15	3	1888	St Andrews College Council	1
20	3	1888	YMCA annual meeting	1
24	3	1888	Robert Johnston gets 5 pound from Goodlet under false pretences	1
2	4	1888	Volunteer Encampment	1
6	4	1888	Volunteer Encampment	1
7	4	1888	Volunteer Encampment	1
9	4	1888	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
19	4	1888	Ashfield Session	1
19	4	1888	PLC	1
24	4	1888	Carington Hospital General Committee	1
14	5	1888	Chairs: Opening Session International Temperance Conference	1
14	5	1888	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
17	5	1888	Chairs: International Temperance Conference Breakfast	1
22	5	1888	PLC	1
31	5	1888	Ashfield Session	1
11	6	1888	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	6	1888	Deputation Colonial Secretary New Hebrides Mail service	1
16	6	1888	Volunteer Manoeuvres	1
18	6	1888	Chairs: YMCA meeting	1
20	6	1888	City Rail Meeting	1
20	6	1888	St Andrews College Council	1
21	6	1888	Chairs: PLC Concert	1
5	7	1888	Ashfield Session	0
9	7	1888	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
9	8	1888	PLC	1
13	8	1888	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
15	8	1888	St Andrews College Council	1
23	8	1888	PLC	1
25	8	1888	Volunteer Parade	1
30	8	1888	Ashfield Session	1
10	9	1888	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
15	9	1888	Volunteer Parade	1
17	9	1888	Board of Advice YWCA	1
17	9	1888	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	0
19	9	1888	Federal Assembly, Sydney	1
20	9	1888	Federal Assembly, Sydney	1
8	10	1888	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	10	1888	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
17	10	1888	St Andrews College Council	1
31	10	1888	Sunday School Picnic, Parramatta Park	1
9	11	1888	Volunteer Parade	1
12	11	1888	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	11	1888	Chairs: Sydney Ministers Annual Conference	1
22	11	1888	Ashfield Session	1
29	11	1888	Ashfield Session	1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
30	11	1888	Delegation to Henry Parkes Premier re Military Institute	1
10	12	1888	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	12	1888	Dunas /Boyce Allen Wedding	0
14	12	1888	PLC	1
18	12	1888	PLC Annual Prize Giving	1
19	12	1888	St Andrews College Council	1
20	12	1888	Welcome To David Walker	1
8	1	1889	Sydney Presbytery	1
9	1	1889	YWCA Lecture	1
10	1	1889	Ashfield Session	1
14	1	1889	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
24	1	1889	Ashfield Session	1
24	1	1889	PLC	1
31	1	1889	Ashfield Session	1
31	1	1889	West Sydney Electorate nominator Abigail	1
6	2	1889	PLC	1
11	2	1889	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	2	1889	PLC	1
18	2	1889	Foundation Stone Laying Carrington Home	1
20	2	1889	PLC	1
20	2	1889	St Andrews College Council	1
28	2	1889	Ashfield Session	1
6	3	1889	GANSW	1
7	3	1889	Assembly Garden Party Canterbury House	1
7	3	1889	GANSW	1
11	3	1889	PLC	1
11	3	1889	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
12	3	1889	GANSW	1
13	3	1889	GANSW Goodlet resigns standing committees	1
21	3	1889	Ashfield Session	1
22	3	1889	Chairs: Farewell to Rev. A. Osborn Imperial Hotel	1
8	4	1889	Dinner for Abigail to mark service to colony	1
8	4	1889	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
9	4	1889	YMCA Lecture	1
20	4	1889	Volunteer Encampment	1
21	4	1889	Volunteer Encampment	1
22	4	1889	Volunteer Encampment	1
9	5	1889	Ashfield Session	1
13	5	1889	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
16	5	1889	Chairs: International Conference YMCA	1
20	5	1889	Chairs: Sydney City Mission Annual Meeting	1
28	5	1889	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
30	5	1889	Ashfield Session	1
5	6	1889	PLC	1
5	6	1889	United Service Institute Lecture	1
8	6	1889	Volunteer Manoeuvres	1
10	6	1889	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
13	6	1889	Ashfield Session	1
19	6	1889	St Andrews College Council	1
2	7	1889	Ashfield Session	1
3	7	1889	PLC	1
4	7	1889	Chairs: Rainy Meeting Wesleyan Centenary Hall	1
4	7	1889	Rainy Garden Party Canterbury House	1
7	7	1889	Prize Presentation Pyrmont Church	1
8	7	1889	Rainy lecture St Andrews	1
8	7	1889	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
19	7	1889	Chairs: Matthew Burnett Lecture	1
3	8	1889	PLC	1
10	8	1889	Volunteer Manoeuvres	1
12	8	1889	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
15	8	1889	Chairs: Bush Missionary Society Meeting, Ashfield	1
18	8	1889	Sunday School Meeting HA Robertson	1
21	8	1889	St Andrews College Council	1
27	8	1889	Free Trade Association Public Meeting	1
29	8	1889	Ashfield Session	1
30	8	1889	Speech Sir H Parkes Liberalism	1
5	9	1889	PLC	1
21	9	1889	Kiama Volunteers Inspection at Blow Hole Point	1
24	9	1889	Pitt St Church Varley Meeting	1
2	10	1889	PLC	0
10	10	1889	Goodlet in Court on Book non payment	1
14	10	1889	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
16	10	1889	St Andrews College Council	0
16	10	1889	YMCA Gym display	1
21	10	1889	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
7	11	1889	Ashfield Session	0
11	11	1889	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	11	1889	Board of Advice YWCA	1
26	11	1889	Nominates candidate for municipal elections	1
26	11	1889	PLC	1
28	11	1889	Ashfield Session	1
9	12	1889	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
17	12	1889	PLC Annual Prize Giving	1
18	12	1889	St Andrews College Council	1
8	1	1890	PLC	1
9	1	1890	Ashfield Session	1
13	1	1890	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
19	1	1890	PLC	1
6	2	1890	Ashfield Session	1
10	2	1890	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
18	2	1890	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
19	2	1890	PLC	1
20	2	1890	St Andrews College Council	1
25	2	1890	Carrington Homes General Committee	1
27	2	1890	Ashfield Session	1
10	3	1890	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
20	3	1890	Quarterly Officers Mess Dinner 2nd Regiment	1
21	3	1890	PLC	1
22	3	1890	Flemmington Rifle Range 2nd Regiment	1
4	4	1890	Volunteer Encampment	1
7	4	1890	Volunteer Encampment	1
14	4	1890	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	4	1890	City Railway Commission Meeting	1
30	4	1890	St Andrews College Council	1
5	5	1890	Royal Commission on City Railways	1
12	5	1890	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
23	5	1890	PLC	1
26	5	1890	Foundation Stone Laying Neutral Bay Mossman Presbyterian Church	1
26	5	1890	Governors Levee Queen Victoria's Birthday	1
29	5	1890	Ashfield Session	1
30	5	1890	Royal Commission on City Railways	1
2	6	1890	Farewell to Henry George	1

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent	
2	6	1890	Royal Commission on City Railways	1
8	6	1890	Ashfield Session	1
9	6	1890	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
10	6	1890	PLC	1
15	6	1890	Royal Commission on City Railways	1
17	6	1890	Harbour Cruise for Prof. Henry Drummond	1
18	6	1890	St Andrews College Council	1
20	6	1890	Royal Commission on City Railways	1
23	6	1890	Royal Commission on City Railways	1
30	6	1890	Royal Commission on City Railways	1
4	7	1890	Royal Commission on City Railways	1
14	7	1890	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
17	7	1890	Royal Commission on City Railways	1
21	7	1890	Free Trade Association Public Meeting	1
22	7	1890	PLC	1
25	7	1890	Royal Commission on City Railways	1
31	7	1890	Ashfield Session	0
5	8	1890	Mission to Aborigines Queensland	1
11	8	1890	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
20	8	1890	St Andrews College Council	0
2	9	1890	Meeting of Manufacturers/ Industries re strike	1
4	9	1890	Ashfield Session	1
8	9	1890	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
9	9	1890	PLC	1
11	9	1890	Ashfield Session	1
19	9	1890	Deputation of Employers to Premier re Strike	1
22	9	1890	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	0
10	10	1890	Military Banquet to Lord Carrington	1
13	10	1890	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	10	1890	St Andrews College Council	0
21	10	1890	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
25	10	1890	Inspection of Cooma Volunteers	1
28	10	1890	Lord Carrington Farewell	1
1	11	1890	Levee to Lord Carrington	1
4	11	1890	Chairs: Free Trade and Liberal Association	1
5	11	1890	Ashfield Sunday School Picnic Parramatta Park	1
6	11	1890	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
21	11	1890	Deputation to H Parkes re Boxing	1
4	12	1890	Ashfield Session	1
8	12	1890	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
9	12	1890	PLC	1
10	12	1890	Royal Society Social Meeting	1
13	12	1890	Inspects Goulburn Volunteers	1
17	12	1890	St Andrews College Council	0
12	1	1891	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
20	1	1891	YWCA Annual Meeting	1
22	1	1891	Ashfield Session	1
22	1	1891	PLC	1
27	1	1891	Free Trade and Liberal Association chairman	1
27	1	1891	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
9	2	1891	Chairs: Meeting of Shareholders of The Presbyterian	1
9	2	1891	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
18	2	1891	St Andrews College Council	1
19	2	1891	St Andrews College Council	0
24	2	1891	Chairs: Free Trade and Liberal Association meeting	1
24	2	1891	PLC	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
26	2	1891	Ashfield Session		1
3	3	1891	GANSW		1
5	3	1891	PLC		1
7	3	1891	Volunteer Inspection		1
9	3	1891	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
10	3	1891	Opening of PLC		1
11	3	1891	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
16	3	1891	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
24	3	1891	YMCA Annual Tea Meeting		1
26	3	1891	Volunteer Encampment		1
27	3	1891	Volunteer Encampment		1
28	3	1891	Volunteer Encampment		1
29	3	1891	Volunteer Encampment		1
30	3	1891	Volunteer Encampment		1
31	3	1891	Volunteer Encampment		1
1	4	1891	Volunteer Encampment		1
2	4	1891	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
2	4	1891	Volunteer Encampment		1
2	4	1891	Volunteer Encampment		1
3	4	1891	Volunteer Encampment		1
8	4	1891	PLC		1
9	4	1891	Ashfield Session		1
13	4	1891	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
15	4	1891	St Andrews College Council		0
17	4	1891	Royal Commission on City Railways		1
21	4	1891	Ashfield Session		1
23	4	1891	Ashfield Congregational Meeting		1
25	4	1891	Volunteer Manoeuvres		1
1	5	1891	Royal Commission on City Railways		1
8	5	1891	Royal Commission on City Railways		1
11	5	1891	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
15	5	1891	Royal Commission on City Railways		1
18	5	1891	Chairs: YMCA Meeting		1
24	5	1891	12nd Volunteer Regiment 5th Annual Social		1
26	5	1891	Royal Commission on City Railways		1
28	5	1891	Ashfield Session		1
29	5	1891	Royal Commission on City Railways		1
4	6	1891	Ashfield Session		1
8	6	1891	Free trade and Liberal Association		1
8	6	1891	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
15	6	1891	Political Meeting proposed Mr Abigail		1
16	6	1891	YMCA Lecture		1
17	6	1891	St Andrews College Council		0
2	7	1891	Ashfield Session		1
3	7	1891	Royal Commission on City Railways		1
13	7	1891	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
16	7	1891	Ashfield Session		1
1	8	1891	Farewell Sunday School Picnic - Cruise		1
5	8	1891	Goodlet and Smith, 1st Annual Meeting		1
10	8	1891	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
19	8	1891	St Andrews College Council		1
29	8	1891	PLC		1
3	9	1891	Ashfield Session		1
8	9	1891	YMCA Display		1
9	9	1891	PLC		1
14	9	1891	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
18	9	1891	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	0
20	9	1891	Ashfield Session	1
12	10	1891	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
17	10	1891	Volunteers Inspection Goulburn	1
20	10	1891	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	10	1891	St Andrews College Council	1
29	10	1891	Rifle Association Annual Competition	1
3	11	1891	Ashfield Presbyterian Temperance	1
3	11	1891	Chairs: Temperance Society Lecture, Ashfield	1
5	11	1891	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
7	11	1891	Volunteers Inspection Bowral	1
14	11	1891	Volunteers Inspection Kiama	1
21	11	1891	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
25	11	1891	PLC	1
28	11	1891	Volunteers Inspection Ulladulla	1
2	12	1891	St Andrews College Council	1
3	12	1891	Ashfield Session	0
5	12	1891	Volunteers Inspection Cooma	1
12	12	1891	Volunteer Parade	1
14	12	1891	Deaf, Dumb and Blind Institute Directors Meeting	1
14	12	1891	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
15	12	1891	PLC Speech Day	1
4	1	1892	YMCA Special week of United Prayer	1
11	1	1892	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
12	1	1892	PLC	1
18	1	1892	Catches Oonah to Hobart with Mrs Goodlet and Misses Copeland (2)	1
22	1	1892	Funeral: Sir John Hay	0
24	1	1892	Ashfield Session	0
28	1	1892	Ashfield Session	0
28	1	1892	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
4	2	1892	Ashfield Session	0
8	2	1892	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
22	2	1892	Arrives Sydney from Hobart with Mrs Goodlet and Misses Copeland (2)	1
22	2	1892	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
3	3	1892	Ashfield Session	1
9	3	1892	Mayors Luncheon	1
10	3	1892	GANSW	1
11	3	1892	GANSW	1
14	3	1892	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	3	1892	YMCA Annual Tea Meeting	1
22	3	1892	Farewell to Alex Osborne	1
23	3	1892	St Andrews College Council	1
29	3	1892	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
31	3	1892	Ashfield Session	0
5	4	1892	PLC	1
5	4	1892	PLC	1
11	4	1892	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
20	4	1892	St Andrews College Council	1
23	4	1892	Volunteer Parade	1
27	4	1892	St Andrews College Council	1
9	5	1892	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
10	5	1892	PLC	1
12	5	1892	Ashfield Session	1
24	5	1892	Volunteer Parade	1
25	5	1892	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
2	6	1892	Ashfield Session	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
4	6	1892 Ashfield Rifles	1
7	6	1892 Chairs: YMCA Lecture by Prof David	1
13	6	1892 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
16	6	1892 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	6	1892 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
22	6	1892 St Andrews College Council	1
23	6	1892 St Andrews College Council	1
25	6	1892 Hoists: YMCA Presidents reception	1
28	6	1892 Farewell Sir Arthur Renwick	1
28	6	1892 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
11	7	1892 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	7	1892 Chairs: United Missionary Meeting in YMCA Hall	1
15	7	1892 2nd Regiment Annual Ball	1
17	7	1892 Ashfield Session	1
30	7	1892 Volunteer Parade	1
1	8	1892 Chairs: Lecture at Ashfield- Professor Anderson Stuart	1
8	8	1892 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
9	8	1892 Meeting to Support Mr Eddy of Railways	1
10	8	1892 Annual Meeting Goodlet and Smith	1
11	8	1892 City Mission Meeting in afternoon at Goodlets Ashfield	1
11	8	1892 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	8	1892 Volunteer Parade	1
17	8	1892 St Andrews College Council	1
27	8	1892 Musical Town Hall for Chinese Ministry of John Wai	1
31	8	1892 Ashfield Session	1
1	9	1892 Ashfield Session	1
8	9	1892 Deputation to Minister for Justice - re merchants gripes	1
8	9	1892 Eddy Demonstration Meeting	1
9	9	1892 Chairs: Farewell Missionaries to China	1
12	9	1892 Eddy Demonstration Meeting	1
12	9	1892 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	9	1892 Chairs: Rev Dr Lucas meeting on Temperance	1
26	9	1892 Chairs: Ragged School Annual Meeting	1
28	9	1892 PLC	1
28	9	1892 PLC	1
8	10	1892 Volunteer Parade	1
10	10	1892 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
19	10	1892 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
19	10	1892 St Andrews College Council	1
24	10	1892 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
30	10	1892 Volunteer Parade Inspection Kiama	1
2	11	1892 Sunday School Picnic	1
4	11	1892 YMCA farewell dinner to Goodlet	1
7	11	1892 Leaves for Europe	1
14	11	1892 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
22	11	1892 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
1	12	1892 Ashfield Session	0
12	12	1892 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
17	12	1892 Funeral: Alexander Leith Forbes	0
21	12	1892 St Andrews College Council	0
9	1	1893 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
12	1	1893 Ashfield Session	0
19	1	1893 Ashfield Session	0
1	2	1893 PLC	0
2	2	1893 Ashfield Session	0
7	2	1893 Ashfield Session	0

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
13	2	1893	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
15	2	1893	St Andrews College Council		0
17	2	1893	Leaves London on <i>Arcadia</i>		1
21	2	1893	St Andrews College Council		0
23	2	1893	Ashfield Session		0
1	3	1893	Ashfield Session		0
2	3	1893	Ashfield Session		0
13	3	1893	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
30	3	1893	PLC		1
30	3	1893	Returns from Europe <i>Arcadia</i>		1
6	4	1893	Ashfield Session		1
10	4	1893	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
11	4	1893	Executive YMCA		1
19	4	1893	St Andrews College Council		1
26	4	1893	Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust		1
4	5	1893	Ashfield Session		1
6	5	1893	Volunteer Parade		1
8	5	1893	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
22	5	1893	YMCA meeting		1
25	5	1893	Lt Governors Levee		1
29	5	1893	Welcome to Sir Robert Duff, Governor		1
30	5	1893	Sydney City Mission		1
1	6	1893	Ashfield Session		1
12	6	1893	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
20	6	1893	Welcome to Major General Hutton		1
21	6	1893	St Andrews College Council		0
24	6	1893	2nd Regiment Inspection -- Goodlets Last parade		1
6	7	1893	Ashfield Session		1
10	7	1893	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
12	7	1893	Chairs: PLC Council Meeting		1
12	7	1893	Funeral: John McCredie		1
14	7	1893	Highland Society Meeting with Governor		1
25	7	1893	Funeral: Colonel Jacques		1
1	8	1893	Meets with JT Walker & others re: Thirlmere		1
8	8	1893	YMCA meeting		1
14	8	1893	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
23	8	1893	St Andrews College Council		1
29	8	1893	Presides at Lecture on New Hebrides at Ashfield		1
29	8	1893	Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust		1
30	8	1893	Goodlet and Smith, 3rd Annual Meeting		1
11	9	1893	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
14	9	1893	Meeting Town Hall for Thirlmere		1
21	9	1893	Opening of Thomas Walker Convalescent Hospital		1
9	10	1893	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
11	10	1893	Funeral: Robert Steel		1
16	10	1893	Chairs: Meeting for Steel Memorial		1
18	10	1893	St Andrews College Council		1
18	10	1893	Volunteer Concert		1
23	10	1893	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
25	10	1893	PLC		1
28	10	1893	Presentation to Goodlet by Volunteer 2 Regiment Domain		1
3	11	1893	Thirlmere Consumptive Home Meeting		1
13	11	1893	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
18	11	1893	Harbour Cruise for Mr Bowtell of Canada		1
23	11	1893	Thirlmere Consumptive Home Meeting		1
30	11	1893	Ashfield Session		1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
30	11	1893	Opening of Extensions to St Andrews College	1
7	12	1893	Thirlmere Consumptive Home Meeting	1
11	12	1893	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
12	12	1893	PLC Speech Day	1
16	12	1893	Inspection of Thirlmere Lady Windeyer	1
20	12	1893	Military Conversazione for Goodlet on retirement from Military	1
20	12	1893	St Andrews College Council	0
1	1	1894	At Thirlmere	1
1	1	1894	Highland Society Meeting	0
4	1	1894	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
7	1	1894	Commission of GANSW	1
8	1	1894	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
10	1	1894	Chairs: Welcome home to Mr & Mrs Auld	1
12	1	1894	Farewell lunch James Inglis MLA	1
14	1	1894	PLC	1
17	1	1894	PLC	1
22	1	1894	Executive YMCA	1
24	1	1894	Ashfield Session	0
30	1	1894	Chairs: YMCA Meeting	1
1	2	1894	Ashfield Session	0
8	2	1894	Ashfield Session	1
8	2	1894	Thirlmere Consumptive Home Meeting	1
12	2	1894	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
19	2	1894	Ashfield Session	0
27	2	1894	Chairs: Temperance Society Ashfield	1
1	3	1894	Ashfield Session	1
6	3	1894	GANSW	1
6	3	1894	Ragged Schools Meeting	1
7	3	1894	St Andrews College Council	0
8	3	1894	GANSW	1
12	3	1894	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	3	1894	GANSW	1
14	3	1894	GANSW	1
16	3	1894	GANSW	1
3	4	1894	Chairs: YMCA	1
6	4	1894	Executive YMCA	1
9	4	1894	Banquet for Dr Renwick	1
9	4	1894	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
12	4	1894	Ashfield Session	1
16	4	1894	Chairs: YWCA Meeting	1
18	4	1894	St Andrews College Council	1
19	4	1894	Thirlmere Consumptive Home Meeting	1
25	4	1894	Ashfield Session	1
1	5	1894	Executive YMCA	1
3	5	1894	Ashfield Session	1
3	5	1894	Evangelical Alliance	1
10	5	1894	Thirlmere Consumptive Home Meeting	1
14	5	1894	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	5	1894	Sydney City Mission	1
22	5	1894	PLC	1
24	5	1894	2nd Regiment 2nd Annual Dinner	0
27	5	1894	Ashfield Session	0
29	5	1894	Executive YMCA	1
31	5	1894	Ashfield Session	1
5	6	1894	YMCA Prayer meeting	1
6	6	1894	Chairs: and Addresses YMCA Jubilee Celebration	1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
11	6	1894	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
11	6	1894	YMCA old members dinner	1
14	6	1894	Evangelical Alliance	1
15	6	1894	YMCA meeting	1
20	6	1894	St Andrews College Council	1
21	6	1894	Thirlmere Consumptive Home Meeting	1
5	7	1894	Ashfield Session	0
9	7	1894	NSW Institute of Deaf, Dumb and Blind monthly board meeting	1
9	7	1894	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
24	7	1894	Welcome to Dr Talmage & son	1
2	8	1894	Presides at YWCA	1
9	8	1894	Ashfield Session	0
13	8	1894	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	8	1894	St Andrews College Council	0
16	8	1894	Ashfield Session	1
28	8	1894	Fourth Annual Meeting of Goodlet and Smith	1
30	8	1894	Ashfield Session	1
31	8	1894	Chairs: Highland Society Meeting	1
3	9	1894	Chairs: McNeill Mission Committee	1
10	9	1894	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
11	9	1894	Funeral: William Seaward	1
20	9	1894	YMCA Lecture	1
4	10	1894	Ashfield Session	0
7	10	1894	McNeill Mission Meeting	1
8	10	1894	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	0
8	10	1894	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
12	10	1894	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
17	10	1894	Funeral: Sir Alfred Stephen	1
17	10	1894	St Andrews College Council	1
20	10	1894	McNeill Mission Meeting	1
23	10	1894	PLC	1
26	10	1894	Organising Meeting for McNeill Mission YWCA Hall	1
1	11	1894	Ashfield Session	0
12	11	1894	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
23	11	1894	PLC	1
23	11	1894	St Andrews College Council	1
29	11	1894	Ashfield Session	1
30	11	1894	St Andrews College Council	0
30	11	1894	St Andrews Commemoration	1
4	12	1894	Executive YMCA	1
7	12	1894	2nd Regiment Dinner	1
10	12	1894	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
12	12	1894	PLC	1
1	1	1895	Highland Society Gathering	1
10	1	1895	Ashfield Session	1
11	1	1895	Evangelical Alliance Prayer Meeting	1
14	1	1895	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	1	1895	Bush Missionary Society Meeting	0
24	1	1895	Ashfield Session	1
29	1	1895	YMCA Annual Meeting	1
31	1	1895	Ashfield Session	1
1	2	1895	Ashfield Session	1
5	2	1895	Executive YMCA	1
11	2	1895	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
20	2	1895	St Andrews College Council	0
21	2	1895	PLC	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
28	2	1895 Ashfield Session		1
5	3	1895 Executive YMCA		1
8	3	1895 GANSW		1
11	3	1895 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
13	3	1895 GANSW		1
14	3	1895 WP Manning Banquet		0
4	4	1895 Ashfield Session		0
8	4	1895 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
17	4	1895 St Andrews College Council		1
30	4	1895 YMCA Annual Meeting		1
2	5	1895 PLC		1
13	5	1895 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
13	5	1895 YMCA Lecture		1
15	5	1895 Funeral: James Anderson		1
16	5	1895 Ashfield Session		0
30	5	1895 Ashfield Session		1
4	6	1895 Executive YMCA		1
10	6	1895 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
11	6	1895 Evangelical Alliance		1
19	6	1895 St Andrews College Council		0
4	7	1895 GANSW Commission		1
5	7	1895 GANSW Commission		1
8	7	1895 Funeral: Mrs Kinross		1
8	7	1895 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
11	7	1895 Ashfield Session		0
12	7	1895 Address Political Meeting re his election Ashfield		1
14	7	1895 Funeral: Edward Holland		1
17	7	1895 Address Political Meeting re his election Croydon		1
19	7	1895 Address Political Meeting re his election Ashfield		1
22	7	1895 St Andrews College Council		0
6	8	1895 Executive YMCA		1
8	8	1895 Ashfield Session		1
12	8	1895 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
21	8	1895 St Andrews College Council		0
23	8	1895 Chairs: Highland Society Meeting		1
29	8	1895 Ashfield Session		1
5	9	1895 Federal Assembly, Sydney		1
9	9	1895 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
12	9	1895 Foreign Missions Conference		1
15	9	1895 Ashfield Session		1
23	9	1895 Chamber of Manufacturers Dinner		1
23	9	1895 Ragged Schools Annual Meeting		0
24	9	1895 Chairs: YWCA Ashfield Branch		1
26	9	1895 PLC		0
29	9	1895 Ashfield Session		1
1	10	1895 Executive YMCA		1
3	10	1895 Webb Allen Wedding		1
8	10	1895 Banquet A Kethel		1
8	10	1895 Executive YMCA		1
10	10	1895 Ashfield Session		0
14	10	1895 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
15	10	1895 Ashfield Session		1
16	10	1895 St Andrews College Council		1
17	10	1895 Thomas Walker Home Inspection		1
21	10	1895 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
31	10	1895 Evangelical Alliance		1

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
5	11	1895 Executive YMCA	1
7	11	1895 Ashfield Session	1
11	11	1895 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
28	11	1895 Ashfield Session	0
28	11	1895 Evangelical Alliance	1
31	11	1895 St Andrews College Commemoration	1
3	12	1895 Executive YMCA	1
9	12	1895 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
16	12	1895 PLC Social	1
16	12	1895 PLC Speech Day	1
18	12	1895 Lady Hampton Garden Party Government House	1
18	12	1895 St Andrews College Council	0
1	1	1896 Highland Society Gathering	1
2	1	1896 Ashfield Session	0
4	1	1896 St Andrews College Annual Commemoration	1
7	1	1896 Executive YMCA	1
13	1	1896 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	1	1896 Funeral: William Inglis	1
30	1	1896 Chairs: Annual Meeting of YMCA	1
4	2	1896 Dayspring: Board Meeting	1
5	2	1896 Past Volunteers Gathering	1
6	2	1896 PLC	1
10	2	1896 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
19	2	1896 Meeting Chamber of Commerce	1
19	2	1896 St Andrews College Council	0
25	2	1896 Farewell to Major General Hutton	1
27	2	1896 Ashfield Session	1
9	3	1896 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
10	3	1896 GANSW	1
21	3	1896 Banquet Granville celebrate Alexander Copeland's marriage	1
7	4	1896 Luncheon for Chamber of Commerce	1
10	4	1896 Chairs: popular lecture PLC	1
13	4	1896 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	4	1896 YMCA Social Evening	1
15	4	1896 St Andrews College Council	1
21	4	1896 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	4	1896 YMCA Governor Meeting	1
6	5	1896 Chamber of Commerce Meeting	1
7	5	1896 Ashfield Session	0
11	5	1896 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
12	5	1896 Dayspring: Board Meeting	1
13	5	1896 PLC	1
18	5	1896 YMCA Lecture	1
19	5	1896 Ashfield Session	1
4	6	1896 Ashfield Session	0
8	6	1896 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
11	6	1896 Funeral: Major General Richardson	1
14	6	1896 St Andrews College Council	0
16	6	1896 YMCA Lecture	1
17	6	1896 YMCA Gym Display	1
18	6	1896 Royal Society Dinner	1
27	6	1896 Meeting with JR Mott at Archbishops residence	1
30	6	1896 Ashfield Session	1
30	6	1896 Lecture at Presbyterian Church Ashfield	1
7	7	1896 City Rail Extension Meeting Ashfield	1
9	7	1896 Commission of GANSW	1

**John Goodlet Meeting Attendance**

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
13	7	1896	Ashfield Session		1
13	7	1896	Rosedale Church Meeting		1
13	7	1896	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
16	7	1896	Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust		1
19	7	1896	Ashfield Session		1
21	7	1896	Burns Celebration		0
21	7	1896	Chairs: Bush Missionary Society		1
29	7	1896	Chamber of Commerce Meeting		1
30	7	1896	Funeral: Lt Col Burnet of 2 VI Regiment		1
31	7	1896	Ashfield Session		0
3	8	1896	Ashfield Session		1
3	8	1896	Protectionist Meeting at Ashfield Town Hall		1
4	8	1896	YMCA Lecture		1
5	8	1896	PLC		0
6	8	1896	Ashfield Session		1
6	8	1896	Sydney City Mission		1
7	8	1896	Funeral: John Barron		1
8	8	1896	St Andrews College Council		1
9	8	1896	St Andrews College Council		1
10	8	1896	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
26	8	1896	Goodlet and Smith Annual Meeting		1
3	9	1896	Lunch for Kinross prior to departure 6 months leave		1
8	9	1896	YMCA Dinner		1
14	9	1896	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
21	9	1896	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting		0
6	10	1896	Government House Garden Party		1
12	10	1896	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
17	10	1896	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
21	10	1896	St Andrews College Council		1
29	10	1896	PLC		1
10	11	1896	PLC		1
16	11	1896	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
14	12	1896	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
15	12	1896	PLC Speech Day		1
16	12	1896	Funeral: Rev Archibald Gilchrist		1
23	12	1896	St Andrews College Council		0
29	12	1896	Stockton Relief Committee		1
1	1	1897	Ashfield Session		0
7	1	1897	Commission of GANSW		1
11	1	1897	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
12	1	1897	Executive YMCA		1
28	1	1897	Ashfield Session		0
7	2	1897	Ashfield Session		0
8	2	1897	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
17	2	1897	PLC		1
17	2	1897	St Andrews College Council		1
18	2	1897	Ashfield Session		1
26	2	1897	Funeral: Mrs Henry Drake		1
8	3	1897	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
12	4	1897	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
21	4	1897	St Andrews College Council		1
26	4	1897	Chairs: Annual Meeting NSW Auxiliary of British & Foreign Bible Society		1
28	4	1897	Lady Carrington Meeting to from Hospital		1
30	4	1897	Farewell to Rev J.D. & Mrs Landels to New Hebrides		1
5	5	1897	Fund raising for Jubilee Celebration		1
8	5	1897	Foundation Stone Laying Waverly Presbyterian Church		1

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
10	5	1897 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
11	5	1897 GANSW	1
17	5	1897 Home for Consumptives Public Meeting	1
18	5	1897 Annual Meeting Sydney City Mission	0
20	5	1897 Funeral: Mrs Hunter Baillie	1
25	5	1897 PLC	1
26	5	1897 Queen Victoria Home Fund Raising meeting	1
28	5	1897 Wedding of Rev. James Cosh	1
30	5	1897 Consumptive Home Management Committee	1
3	6	1897 Ashfield Session	1
3	6	1897 Funeral: George Grimm	1
4	6	1897 Lunch on Monna - new ship in fleet of Union SS Of NZ	1
14	6	1897 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
15	6	1897 Ragged Schools Meeting	1
16	6	1897 Jubilee of Cosh's settlement	1
16	6	1897 St Andrews College Council	1
17	6	1897 Ashfield Session	1
17	6	1897 Consumptive Home Management Committee	0
21	6	1897 Thanksgiving service for Queen Victoria's reign	1
24	6	1897 Funeral: Eddy, Edward Miller Gard	1
25	6	1897 Funeral: George Renwick MP	1
25	6	1897 YMCA Lecture on Queen Victoria	1
1	7	1897 Ashfield Session	1
11	7	1897 Assists at Communion at Picton	1
12	7	1897 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
29	7	1897 St Stephens Annual Congregational Festival	1
30	7	1897 Railway extension to Hyde Park meeting	1
2	8	1897 YMCA Lecture by Prof Harper	1
3	8	1897 Chairs: lecture on Scottish Literature given by Rev John Ferguson	1
9	8	1897 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
13	8	1897 Evangelical Alliance deputation re Sabbath Trading	1
18	8	1897 Ashfield Session	1
18	8	1897 PLC	1
18	8	1897 St Andrews College Council	0
28	8	1897 Lecture at Ashfield Presbyterian by Dr Spiers Kirkland on "The Eye"	1
2	9	1897 Ashfield Session	1
3	9	1897 Governors Converzone	1
9	9	1897 Mayors Luncheon	1
13	9	1897 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
20	9	1897 Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	0
23	9	1897 Ashfield Session	0
25	9	1897 Ashfield Session	1
11	10	1897 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	10	1897 Ashfield Session	0
18	10	1897 Balmain West Congregational Visitation by Presbytery	1
19	10	1897 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
20	10	1897 St Andrews College Council	1
29	10	1897 Glebe Ragged School	1
8	11	1897 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
10	11	1897 Visit to see demonstration of rock excavator	1
16	11	1897 PLC	1
18	11	1897 Ashfield Session	0
24	11	1897 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
30	11	1897 St Andrews College Commemoration	1
2	12	1897 Ashfield Session	1
13	12	1897 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
14	12	1897	PLC Speech Day	1
15	12	1897	St Andrews College Council	1
9	1	1898	Ashfield Session	0
10	1	1898	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	1	1898	Ashfield Session	1
25	1	1898	Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust	1
27	1	1898	Ashfield Session	1
31	1	1898	Chairs: YMCA	1
3	2	1898	Ashfield Session	1
14	2	1898	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
15	2	1898	Chairs: PLC Council Meeting	1
15	2	1898	PLC	1
17	2	1898	Funeral: James Balfor Ephinstone	1
3	3	1898	Ashfield Session	0
3	3	1898	Farewell to Major Stack	1
9	3	1898	Delegation to Minister for public instruction	1
11	3	1898	Pictou Presbyterian Church Annual Meeting	1
11	3	1898	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
14	3	1898	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
29	3	1898	Chairs: Missionary Meeting for Farewell to New Hebrides Missionaries	1
30	3	1898	St Andrews College Council	1
3	4	1898	Ashfield Session	1
5	4	1898	Thirlmere Consumptive Home Meeting	1
6	4	1898	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
9	4	1898	At Easter Encampment Parade	1
13	4	1898	Funeral: John Booth, timber merchant	1
14	4	1898	Ashfield Session	1
20	4	1898	Executive Queen Victoria Homes	1
20	4	1898	St Andrews College Council	1
26	4	1898	Sydney City Mission	1
3	5	1898	GANSW	1
4	5	1898	PLC	1
5	5	1898	Thirlmere Consumptive Home Meeting	1
6	5	1898	Ragged Schools Quarterly Meeting	1
9	5	1898	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
11	5	1898	Goodlet and Smith: Extraordinary Meeting	1
16	5	1898	Sydney City Mission Annual Meeting	1
18	5	1898	St Andrews College Council	0
25	5	1898	Goodlet and Smith: Extraordinary Meeting	1
25	5	1898	Levee Queen's Birthday Government House	1
2	6	1898	Ashfield Session	1
6	6	1898	Queen Victoria Home for Consumptives Meeting	1
11	6	1898	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	6	1898	PLC	1
27	6	1898	Queen Victoria Consumptive Home 1st Annual Meeting subscribers	1
7	7	1898	Commission of GANSW	1
11	7	1898	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	7	1898	Queen Victoria Home for Consumptives Meeting	1
19	7	1898	YMCA Lecture	1
20	7	1898	St Andrews College Council	1
25	7	1898	Queen Victoria Home for Consumptives Meeting	1
29	7	1898	Farewell to Miss Maclean	1
30	7	1898	Funeral: James Little	1
30	7	1898	Funeral:: AC Geikie	1
8	8	1898	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
11	8	1898	Mr Wise's Supporters banquet	1

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent	
15	8	1898	Close of year St Andrews Theological Hall	1
18	8	1898	Auld's Silver Wedding Anniversary Celebration	1
24	8	1898	Chairs: Annual Meeting YWCA	1
25	8	1898	Evangelical Alliance	0
30	8	1898	Goodlet and Smith Annual Meeting	1
1	9	1898	Ashfield Session	0
8	9	1898	Federal Assembly, Sydney	1
12	9	1898	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
18	9	1898	Ashfield Session	1
19	9	1898	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	0
22	9	1898	Ashfield Session	1
28	9	1898	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
12	10	1898	Cosh's son's wedding with Mrs Goodlet	1
17	10	1898	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
19	10	1898	St Andrews College Council	0
24	10	1898	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
26	10	1898	Ashfield Session	1
1	11	1898	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
2	11	1898	PLC	1
5	11	1898	Leaves by train for Adelaide	1
8	11	1898	Leaves for England <i>R.M.S. Oceana</i> leaves from Adelaide	1
14	11	1898	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	11	1898	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
26	11	1898	Goodlet and Smith Annual Picnic	0
7	12	1898	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
12	12	1898	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	12	1898	St Andrews College Council	0
9	1	1899	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
29	1	1899	Ashfield Session	0
2	2	1899	Ashfield Session	0
8	2	1899	Leaves Britain for America	1
13	2	1899	PLC	0
13	2	1899	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	2	1899	St Andrews College Council	0
17	2	1899	Arrives New York	1
2	3	1899	Ashfield Session	0
13	3	1899	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	3	1899	St Andrews College Council	0
23	3	1899	Leaves San Francisco	1
10	4	1899	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
16	4	1899	Returns from England	1
19	4	1899	St Andrews College Council	1
20	4	1899	Ashfield Session	1
24	4	1899	Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust	1
25	4	1899	YMCA, 21 Anniversary of General Secretary appointment	1
30	4	1899	Funeral: John Gardiner-Garden late chief examiner in Department of Instruction	1
1	5	1899	Consumptive Home Management Committee	1
2	5	1899	Executive YMCA	1
2	5	1899	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
5	5	1899	PLC	1
8	5	1899	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
12	5	1899	GANSW	1
1	6	1899	Ashfield Session	1
6	6	1899	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
9	6	1899	Chairs: Highland Society Meeting	1
12	6	1899	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
14	6	1899	Carrington Homes Meeting		1
16	6	1899	Chairs: YMCA Lecture		1
19	6	1899	Federation Meeting		1
21	6	1899	St Andrews College Council		1
27	6	1899	Woollahra Presbyterian Church re Walker appointment		1
4	7	1899	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
4	7	1899	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting		1
10	7	1899	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
19	7	1899	Conversazione at Sydney University		1
27	7	1899	Jubilee of St Stephen's speaks of early days		1
1	8	1899	YWCA TEA		1
14	8	1899	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
16	8	1899	Presbyterian Centenary Fund Glebe		1
16	8	1899	St Andrews College Council		1
23	8	1899	Goodlet and Smith Annual Meeting		1
31	8	1899	Ashfield Session		1
6	9	1899	Chairs: Queen Victoria Hospital Meeting		1
9	9	1899	GANSW		1
11	9	1899	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
14	9	1899	Ashfield Session		1
18	9	1899	Chairs: Ragged Schools Annual Meeting		1
27	9	1899	Farwell to Dr Cosh at Balmain		1
30	9	1899	Ashfield Session		1
9	10	1899	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
12	10	1899	Naval Ball Garden Island		1
13	10	1899	Deputation to Colonial Secretary re; Queen Victoria Home		1
17	10	1899	Chairs: Annual Meeting of Sydney City Mission		1
18	10	1899	Deputation to Premier re Railway extension		1
18	10	1899	St Andrews College Council		1
23	10	1899	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
30	10	1899	YMCA Demonstration		1
5	11	1899	Commission of GANSW		1
11	11	1899	Review of Boys Brigade Richmond Kurrajong		1
14	11	1899	YWCA Board of Advice		1
15	11	1899	PLC		1
15	11	1899	Speaks at Centenary Fund in Town Hall		1
18	11	1899	Goodlet and Smith Annual Meeting		1
20	11	1899	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
28	11	1899	YWCA Board of Advice		1
30	11	1899	YMCA farewell to James Fairfax		1
6	12	1899	At Driving First Pile Pyrmont Bridge		1
6	12	1899	Farewell social for Misses Aitken at Ashfield Church		1
6	12	1899	St Andrews College Council		0
10	12	1899	Ashfield Session		0
11	12	1899	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
4	1	1900	Bushman's Contingent Meeting		1
8	1	1900	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
25	1	1900	Ashfield Session		0
1	2	1900	Ashfield Session		1
12	2	1900	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
21	2	1900	Farewell JHG Auld to South Africa		1
21	2	1900	St Andrews College Council		1
22	2	1900	Welcome to Rev JG Meharry, Paddington Town Hall		1
28	2	1900	Carrington Homes Meeting		1
1	3	1900	Ashfield Session		1
6	3	1900	Chairs: Sydney Female Refuge Society Annual Meeting		1

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
6	3	1900 Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
8	3	1900 Ashfield Session	1
12	3	1900 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	3	1900 PLC	1
28	3	1900 Federal Assembly, Melbourne	1
3	4	1900 Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
11	4	1900 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
24	4	1900 Goodlet Presides at YMCA Meeting for Meharry	1
25	4	1900 Queen Victoria Home for Consumptives Meeting	1
25	4	1900 St Andrews College Council	1
1	5	1900 Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
2	5	1900 Indian Famine Committee	1
3	5	1900 Ashfield Session	0
4	5	1900 Federal Assembly Union Committee	1
9	5	1900 GANSW	1
14	5	1900 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
31	5	1900 Ashfield Session	1
1	6	1900 Party on Burns Philip Mambare new steamer	1
3	6	1900 Ashfield Session	1
11	6	1900 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
11	6	1900 YMCA Lecture SMH 12/06/1900	1
20	6	1900 St Andrews College Council	1
21	6	1900 Ashfield Session	1
3	7	1900 Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
9	7	1900 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
16	7	1900 Chamber of Manufactures	1
23	7	1900 Indian Famine Committee	1
24	7	1900 Chamber of Manufactures	1
26	7	1900 Ashfield Session	1
31	7	1900 Meeting Chamber of Manufactures	1
1	8	1900 St Andrews College Council	1
1	8	1900 YWCA Trustees	0
3	8	1900 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	8	1900 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
15	8	1900 St Andrews College Council	1
17	8	1900 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
28	8	1900 Chamber of Manufactures	1
30	8	1900 Ashfield Session	1
3	9	1900 Deputation to Colonial Secretary re Thirlmere	1
4	9	1900 Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
6	9	1900 Ashfield Session	0
10	9	1900 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
11	9	1900 PLC	1
14	9	1900 Queen Victoria Homes Executive	1
18	9	1900 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
18	9	1900 Welcome to Rev W Clow as locum tends Woolaraha	1
21	9	1900 Funeral: Rev Prof James Cosh	1
24	9	1900 Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	0
25	9	1900 Executive YMCA	1
26	9	1900 Queen Victoria Home for Consumptives Meeting	1
8	10	1900 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
9	10	1900 Chamber of Manufactures	1
10	10	1900 St Andrews College Council	1
16	10	1900 Delegation to Minister for Justice re Marriage Registration	1
16	10	1900 Goodlet and Smith Annual Picnic	1
20	10	1900 Goodlet and Smith Annual Meeting	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent	
21	10	1900	YWCA Board of Advice	1
22	10	1900	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
26	10	1900	Timber Conference Colonial Secretary Office	1
30	10	1900	Timber Conference	1
4	11	1900	Commission of GANSW	1
4	11	1900	GANSW pro renata	1
6	11	1900	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
14	11	1900	St Andrews College Council	1
19	11	1900	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	11	1900	Executive YMCA	1
27	11	1900	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
29	11	1900	Ashfield Session	1
10	12	1900	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
18	12	1900	PLC Speech Day	1
19	12	1900	St Andrews College Council	1
20	12	1900	Animal Protection Society	1
30	12	1900	National Thanksgiving	1
14	1	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
16	1	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
24	1	1901	Ashfield Session	1
5	2	1901	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
7	2	1901	Ashfield Session	1
11	2	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
19	2	1901	Executive YMCA	1
20	2	1901	Ashfield Session	1
20	2	1901	PLC	1
20	2	1901	St Andrews College Council	1
26	2	1901	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
1	3	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
3	3	1901	Ashfield Session	1
5	3	1901	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
5	3	1901	Timber Trade Protest	1
11	3	1901	Annual Meeting Sydney Female Refuge Society	1
11	3	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	3	1901	Ashfield Session	1
25	3	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
25	3	1901	St Andrews College Council	1
27	3	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
28	3	1901	Ashfield Session	1
28	3	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
2	4	1901	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
12	4	1901	Ashfield Session	1
15	4	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
16	4	1901	British and Foreign Bible Society	1
18	4	1901	Ashfield Session	1
25	4	1901	Ashfield Session	0
10	5	1901	Semi Jubilee of Ashfield Church	1
13	5	1901	Professorship Meeting at St Stephens	1
13	5	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
20	5	1901	Chairs: YMCA lectures	1
22	5	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
29	5	1901	Levee Duke of Cornwell & York	1
30	5	1901	Ashfield Session	1
30	5	1901	Governors reception Duke Cornwell and York	1
30	5	1901	Timber Industries Association, 1st Annual Meeting	1
31	5	1901	St Andrews College Council	1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
4	6	1901	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
9	6	1901	Assists in ordination of elders at Picton	1
12	6	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
24	6	1901	St Andrews College Council	1
2	7	1901	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
3	7	1901	Balmain Campbell Street unveiling window to Cosh	1
8	7	1901	Funeral: Henry Drake	1
8	7	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
11	7	1901	YWCA Board of Advice	1
15	7	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
17	7	1901	Annandale Mayoral Banquet first state elections	1
24	7	1901	GAA, Sydney	1
5	8	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
5	8	1901	St Andrews College Council	1
20	8	1901	Ashfield Session	1
3	9	1901	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
9	9	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
23	9	1901	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	0
26	9	1901	Ashfield Session	0
27	9	1901	Annual Meeting Queen Victoria Home	1
28	9	1901	PLC	1
29	9	1901	GAA, Melbourne	1
30	9	1901	Public Meeting on Consumption	1
1	10	1901	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
4	10	1901	Simultaneous Mission meeting Ashfield	1
11	10	1901	Meeting of Simultaneous Mission for Ashfield area	1
11	10	1901	Moore Street Improvement Commission	1
14	10	1901	Timber Trade Protest	0
17	10	1901	Chairs: Temperance Meeting	1
20	10	1901	Granville Church	1
21	10	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	10	1901	St Andrews College Council	1
24	10	1901	Conversazione for Kinross	1
25	10	1901	Deputation to Premier re Consumptive Hospital	1
27	10	1901	Presentation Sunday School Prizes Granville	1
30	10	1901	Board of Missions Meeting	1
3	11	1901	GANSW pro renata	1
12	11	1901	Sydney Presbytery	1
18	11	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
19	11	1901	Highland Society Diner for Major General Sir H McDonald	1
19	11	1901	with Mrs JHG at wedding of Robert Auld	1
25	11	1901	Luncheon Simultaneous Mission in Town Hall	1
30	11	1901	St Andrews College Commemoration	1
3	12	1901	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
5	12	1901	Ashfield Session	1
9	12	1901	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
9	12	1901	St Andrews College Council	1
10	12	1901	Sydney Presbytery	1
12	12	1901	Annual examination of children Blind Deaf society	1
19	12	1901	Timber Industry Association	1
24	12	1901	Timber Industry meeting Board of Works	1
2	1	1902	Ashfield Session	1
7	1	1902	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
8	1	1902	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	1	1902	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
17	1	1902	St Andrews College Council	1

**John Goodlet Meeting Attendance**

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
29	1	1902 Carrington Homes Meeting	1
11	2	1902 Sydney Presbytery	1
13	2	1902 Ashfield Session	1
17	2	1902 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
25	2	1902 PLC	1
26	2	1902 Ashfield Session	1
1	3	1902 Annual Meeting Sydney Female Refuge Society	1
7	3	1902 Funeral: James Start Harrison	1
10	3	1902 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
12	3	1902 Timber Association Meeting	1
19	3	1902 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
21	3	1902 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
22	3	1902 Welcome to Principal Harper, St Andrews	1
1	4	1902 Sydney Female Refuge Society Annual Meeting	1
7	4	1902 St Andrews College Council	1
8	4	1902 Sydney Presbytery	1
9	4	1902 Queen Victoria Home for Consumptives Meeting	1
14	4	1902 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
16	4	1902 PLC	1
16	4	1902 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
17	4	1902 Ashfield Session	1
17	4	1902 Chairs: welcome home to John HG Auld from South Africa	1
22	4	1902 Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust	1
24	4	1902 Ashfield Session	1
1	5	1902 Presides at Lecture by JHG Auld on South Africa	1
4	5	1902 Ashfield Session	1
6	5	1902 Dinner at Rev & Mrs J Walkers	1
6	5	1902 Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	0
7	5	1902 Sydney Presbytery	1
8	5	1902 GANSW	1
11	5	1902 Ashfield Session	0
12	5	1902 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	5	1902 Sydney Presbytery	1
20	5	1902 Presentation to William Wood	1
21	5	1902 St Andrews College Council	0
28	5	1902 Funeral: David Barron, Elder at Ashfield	1
29	5	1902 Ashfield Session	1
2	6	1902 YWCA Presidents Reception	1
5	6	1902 Ashfield Session	1
9	6	1902 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
9	6	1902 YWCA Reception	1
10	6	1902 Sydney Presbytery	1
17	6	1902 Governors Levee	1
17	6	1902 YMCA Annual Festival	1
18	6	1902 Ashfield Session	1
18	6	1902 St Andrews College Council	1
21	6	1902 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
25	6	1902 Timber Association Meeting	1
26	6	1902 Funeral: Henry Gilfillan	1
3	7	1902 Ashfield Session	0
3	7	1902 Service of National Intercession for King Edward VII	1
8	7	1902 Funeral: Rev S Fox with brother Alex	1
9	7	1902 Deputation to Inspector General Police	1
14	7	1902 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
16	7	1902 St Andrews College Council	1
22	7	1902 Executive YMCA	1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
27	7	1902	Ashfield Session	1
31	7	1902	Ashfield Session	0
1	8	1902	YWCA Trustees	1
4	8	1902	Chairs: YMCA Lecture	1
5	8	1902	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
6	8	1902	PLC	0
7	8	1902	Deputation to Minister for Lands	1
11	8	1902	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
12	8	1902	Executive YMCA	1
14	8	1902	Ashfield Session	0
20	8	1902	St Andrews College Council	0
22	8	1902	Closing of Session of St Andrews and Hall	1
22	8	1902	Funeral: GA Murray	1
22	8	1902	St Andrews College Council	1
29	8	1902	Executive YMCA	1
4	9	1902	Ashfield Session	1
8	9	1902	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
17	9	1902	GAA, Melbourne	1
18	9	1902	GAA, Melbourne	1
20	9	1902	GAA, Melbourne	1
22	9	1902	GAA, Melbourne	1
22	9	1902	Mission Meeting GAA- Melbourne	1
22	9	1902	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	0
24	9	1902	GAA, Melbourne	1
7	10	1902	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
9	10	1902	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	10	1902	Executive YMCA	1
15	10	1902	St Andrews College Council	1
19	10	1902	GAA, Melbourne	1
20	10	1902	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	10	1902	YWCA	1
28	10	1902	Executive YMCA	1
29	10	1902	Ashfield Sunday School Picnic	1
15	11	1902	Goodlet and Smith Annual Picnic	1
17	11	1902	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
18	11	1902	Queen Victoria Home for Consumptives Meeting	1
19	11	1902	British and Foreign Bible Society	1
24	11	1902	Deputation to wait on Premier	1
26	11	1902	Chairs: Lang Ward Addresses	1
1	12	1902	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
1	12	1902	St Andrews College Commemoration	1
2	12	1902	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
4	12	1902	Ashfield Session	0
8	12	1902	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	12	1902	PLC Speech Day	1
15	12	1902	PLC Speech Day	1
16	12	1902	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
19	12	1902	St Andrews College Council	1
5	1	1903	Funeral: Ann Alison Goodlet	1
6	1	1903	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
10	1	1903	Funeral: James Waugh member of Ashfield	1
11	1	1903	Ashfield Session	0
12	1	1903	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	1	1903	Funeral: Sir Frederick Sargood	1
29	1	1903	Ashfield Session	1
6	2	1903	Funeral: George McCredie	1

**John Goodlet Meeting Attendance**

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
9	2	1903	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
10	2	1903	Executive YMCA		1
12	2	1903	Ashfield Session		1
13	2	1903	Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust		1
18	2	1903	Opening of Wentworth Falls (Kings tableland) Sanatorium		1
18	2	1903	St Andrews College Council		0
26	2	1903	Ashfield Session		1
29	2	1903	PLC		1
2	3	1903	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting		1
9	3	1903	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
25	3	1903	Conference on New Hebrides		1
26	3	1903	St Andrews College Council		1
2	4	1903	YMCA Conference		1
8	4	1903	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
20	4	1903	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
21	4	1903	Executive YMCA		1
22	4	1903	St Andrews College Council		1
23	4	1903	Ashfield Session		0
1	5	1903	Annual Bible Society Auxiliary Meeting		1
7	5	1903	Dinner for General Assembly		1
8	5	1903	Forward Movement of PCNSW meeting		1
8	5	1903	PLC		1
11	5	1903	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
20	5	1903	Ashfield Fellowship Meeting		1
4	6	1903	Ashfield Session		1
11	6	1903	St Andrews College Council		1
15	6	1903	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
16	6	1903	Funeral: Joseph Abbot - congregational church Croydon ex MP; AMP		1
20	6	1903	Ashfield Session		1
1	7	1903	Annual Meeting Sydney Female Refuge Society		1
9	7	1903	Ashfield Session		1
12	7	1903	Ashfield Session		1
13	7	1903	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
20	7	1903	St Andrews College Council		1
23	7	1903	Ashfield Session		1
1	8	1903	Funeral: PLC Shepherd		1
10	8	1903	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
17	8	1903	Funeral: Peter Reid		1
17	8	1903	St Andrews College Council		1
18	8	1903	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
30	8	1903	Funeral: Sarah Fox with Alexander his brother		1
1	9	1903	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting		1
3	9	1903	Ashfield Session		1
6	9	1903	Ashfield Session		1
7	9	1903	Chamber of Manufactures Dinner		1
11	9	1903	Ashfield Session		1
14	9	1903	PLC		1
14	9	1903	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
21	9	1903	St Andrews College Council		1
22	9	1903	Entertains members of YMCA in associations Hall, Pitt St.		1
23	9	1903	GANSW		1
25	9	1903	GAA, Sydney		1
29	9	1903	GAA, Sydney		1
2	10	1903	Cameron 50 years Ministry		0
8	10	1903	GANSW Commission		1
12	10	1903	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
13	10	1903	Executive YMCA	1
19	10	1903	St Andrews College Council	1
23	10	1903	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
29	10	1903	Ashfield Session	1
5	11	1903	Ashfield Session	1
16	11	1903	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
16	11	1903	St Andrews College Council	1
20	11	1903	Ashfield Session	0
26	11	1903	Ashfield Session	1
3	12	1903	Ashfield Session	1
6	12	1903	Ashfield Session	1
10	12	1903	Ashfield Session	1
14	12	1903	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
17	12	1903	PLC Speech Day	1
17	12	1903	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	12	1903	St Andrews College Council	1
23	12	1903	PLC	1
11	1	1904	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
19	1	1904	Ashfield Session	1
19	1	1904	Opening of YWCA at Ashfield	1
28	1	1904	Ashfield Session	1
29	1	1904	PLC	1
3	2	1904	Marries Elizabeth Mary Forbes	1
4	2	1904	Goes to Harmony	1
8	2	1904	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	2	1904	Concert at Consumptive Home	1
15	2	1904	St Andrews College Council	0
3	3	1904	Ashfield Session	0
6	3	1904	Ashfield Session	0
14	3	1904	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	3	1904	St Andrews College Council	0
28	3	1904	YMCA special meeting with CE leader	1
14	4	1904	Ashfield Session	1
15	4	1904	Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust	1
16	4	1904	Funeral: Mrs E Vickery	1
18	4	1904	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
18	4	1904	St Andrews College Council	1
29	4	1904	Ashfield Session	1
1	5	1904	Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
6	5	1904	Sydney Female Refuge Society Annual Meeting	1
9	5	1904	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	5	1904	Ashfield Session	1
20	5	1904	Ashfield Session & Farewell to Mr & Mrs Henry Fox	1
23	5	1904	St Andrews College Council	1
2	6	1904	Ashfield Session	1
5	6	1904	Ashfield Session	1
10	6	1904	YWCA tree planting	1
19	6	1904	Ashfield Session	1
22	6	1904	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
30	6	1904	St Andrews College Council	1
3	7	1904	Ashfield Session	0
11	7	1904	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
18	7	1904	St Andrews College Council	1
5	8	1904	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
8	8	1904	Delegation to W.M. Hughes re: New Hebrides	1
11	8	1904	YMCA Jubilee Meeting Town Hall	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
14	8	1904 Ashfield Session	1
22	8	1904 St Andrews College Council	0
1	9	1904 Ashfield Session	1
4	9	1904 Ashfield Session	1
12	9	1904 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
19	9	1904 St Andrews College Council	1
20	9	1904 Opening of Church Offices	1
26	9	1904 Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	0
10	10	1904 Chairs: Meeting to form Elders Association	1
10	10	1904 St Andrews College Council	1
11	10	1904 National Society for Prevention of Consumption	1
13	10	1904 YWCA Rose Show	1
14	10	1904 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
17	10	1904 St Andrews College Council	1
21	10	1904 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
23	10	1904 Ashfield Session	1
25	10	1904 Chairs: Queen Victoria Homes - British Medical Association Building	1
27	10	1904 Funeral: Rev Peter Falconer Mackenzie	1
9	11	1904 Deputation Chief Sec re increase subsidy Consumptive Home	1
11	11	1904 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	11	1904 St Andrews College Council	1
27	11	1904 Ashfield Session	1
30	11	1904 Conference re deadlock labour/management over steam	1
1	12	1904 Ashfield Session	1
3	12	1904 PLC Social	1
4	12	1904 Ashfield Session	1
12	12	1904 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
12	12	1904 St Andrews College Council	1
13	12	1904 PLC Speech Day	1
8	1	1905 Ashfield Session	0
9	1	1905 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
19	1	1905 Ashfield Session	1
29	1	1905 Ashfield Session	0
2	2	1905 Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust	1
2	2	1905 St Andrews College Council	1
7	2	1905 Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
10	2	1905 PLC	1
13	2	1905 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
20	2	1905 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
2	3	1905 Ashfield Session	0
5	3	1905 Ashfield Session	1
6	3	1905 Ashfield Session	1
10	3	1905 St Andrews College Council	1
13	3	1905 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	3	1905 St Andrews College Council	1
28	3	1905 Annual Meeting Sydney Female Refuge Society	1
4	4	1905 Foreign Missions Committee	1
4	4	1905 Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
10	4	1905 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
13	4	1905 Subscribers Queen Victoria Hospital	1
16	4	1905 Ashfield Session	1
17	4	1905 St Andrews College Council	1
27	4	1905 Ashfield Session	1
2	5	1905 Deputation Chief Sec re BDDI Subsidy	1
8	5	1905 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
12	5	1905 GANSW Knox Celebrations	1

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
12	5	1905 PLC	1
22	5	1905 St Andrews College Council	1
1	6	1905 Ashfield Session	1
3	6	1905 Queen Victoria Hospital New Wing Opened	0
4	6	1905 Ashfield Session	1
19	6	1905 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	6	1905 PLC	0
26	6	1905 St Andrews College Council	0
9	7	1905 Ashfield Session	0
10	7	1905 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	7	1905 Funeral: Rev Andrew Armstrong	1
17	7	1905 St Andrews College Council	1
24	7	1905 PLC	1
5	8	1905 Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
15	8	1905 Theological Hall visitation	1
16	8	1905 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	8	1905 St Andrews College Council	0
23	8	1905 Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust	1
31	8	1905 Ashfield Session	1
3	9	1905 Ashfield Session	1
5	9	1905 Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
11	9	1905 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
18	9	1905 Leaves on Express for Melbourne	1
20	9	1905 GAA, Melbourne	1
25	9	1905 GAA, Melbourne	1
29	9	1905 GAA, Melbourne	1
4	10	1905 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
9	10	1905 Funeral: Rev James Cameron	1
16	10	1905 St Andrews College Council	1
19	10	1905 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
28	10	1905 Goodlet and Smith Annual Picnic	1
2	11	1905 Ashfield Session	1
4	11	1905 Garden Fete for Missions Glebe	1
5	11	1905 Commission of GANSW	1
17	11	1905 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
20	11	1905 St Andrews College Council	1
30	11	1905 Ashfield Session	0
3	12	1905 Ashfield Session	1
10	12	1905 Ashfield Session	1
11	12	1905 PLC Speech Day	1
11	12	1905 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
18	12	1905 St Andrews College Council	0
20	12	1905 Presentation Philip Sydney Jones	1
28	12	1905 Sydney Hospital Board Meeting	1
7	1	1906 Ashfield Session	1
8	1	1906 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
9	1	1906 Foreign Missions Committee	1
23	1	1906 Ashfield Session	1
29	1	1906 Arrives Hobart <i>Westralia</i>	1
1	2	1906 Ashfield Session	0
12	2	1906 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
19	2	1906 St Andrews College Council	0
25	2	1906 Ashfield Session	0
1	3	1906 Ashfield Session	0
1	3	1906 Sail <i>Loongana</i> for Melbourne from Hobart	1
8	3	1906 Ashfield Session	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
14	3	1906 Ashfield Session		1
14	3	1906 YMCA Lunch		1
19	3	1906 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
19	3	1906 St Andrews College Council		1
20	3	1906 Farewell to Rev George Campbell Burwood		1
22	3	1906 Presentation George Campbell		1
24	3	1906 At Home with the Goodlets		1
25	3	1906 Ashfield Session		1
27	3	1906 Conversazione for John Auld		1
30	3	1906 Annual Meeting Sydney Female Refuge Society		1
3	4	1906 Foreign Missions Committee		1
4	4	1906 Executive YMCA		1
9	4	1906 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
10	4	1906 At Laying Foundation Stone Sydney Hospital Extensions		1
19	4	1906 Ashfield Session		1
23	4	1906 St Andrews College Council		1
25	4	1906 Queen Victoria Home for Consumptives Meeting		1
3	5	1906 St Andrews College Council		0
4	5	1906 PLC		1
10	5	1906 GANSW		1
11	5	1906 Elders Association, 2nd Annual Dinner		1
11	5	1906 GANSW		1
12	5	1906 Moderators Reception		1
14	5	1906 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
14	5	1906 WMA Harbour Excursion Clifton Gardens		1
21	5	1906 St Andrews College Council		1
7	6	1906 Ashfield Session		0
10	6	1906 Ashfield Session		0
18	6	1906 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
19	6	1906 YMCA Special Meeting - DA Budge Canadian General Secretary		1
25	6	1906 PLC		1
25	6	1906 St Andrews College Council		1
1	7	1906 Funeral: Isabella Copeland		0
3	7	1906 Sydney Hospital Board Meeting		1
5	7	1906 Executive YMCA		1
5	7	1906 Queen Victoria Home for Consumptives Meeting		1
6	7	1906 Ashfield Session		0
9	7	1906 Executive YMCA		1
9	7	1906 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
24	7	1906 St Andrews College Council		1
30	7	1906 Foreign Missions Committee		1
31	7	1906 Executive YMCA		1
6	8	1906 St Andrews College Council		1
20	8	1906 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
29	8	1906 Ashfield Session		0
2	9	1906 Ashfield Session		1
10	9	1906 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
13	9	1906 Executive YMCA		1
17	9	1906 St Andrews College Council		0
6	10	1906 Funeral: Alderman Whitney		1
9	10	1906 Foreign Missions Committee		1
15	10	1906 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
15	10	1906 St Andrews College Council		1
19	10	1906 Ashfield Session		1
22	10	1906 Funeral: E Vickery		1
22	10	1906 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
1	11	1906 St Andrews College Council	1
2	11	1906 PLC	1
19	11	1906 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
19	11	1906 St Andrews College Council	1
21	11	1906 British and Foreign Bible Society	1
29	11	1906 Executive YMCA	1
29	11	1906 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
6	12	1906 Ashfield Session	1
10	12	1906 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
11	12	1906 Treasurership Committee	1
20	12	1906 St Andrews College Council	1
24	12	1906 Principal Rainy Memorial Service St Stephens	1
9	1	1907 Foreign Missions Committee	1
10	1	1907 Treasurership Committee	1
16	1	1907 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
17	1	1907 Executive YMCA	1
21	1	1907 YMCA Meeting	1
1	2	1907 Ashfield Session	1
11	2	1907 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
18	2	1907 St Andrews College Council	1
23	2	1907 Funeral: HC Russell ex Government Astronomer	1
27	2	1907 PLC	1
4	3	1907 Treasurership Committee	1
6	3	1907 Executive YMCA	1
7	3	1907 Ashfield Session	1
7	3	1907 Foreign Missions Committee	1
10	3	1907 Ashfield Session	1
11	3	1907 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
18	3	1907 St Andrews College Council	1
2	4	1907 Foreign Missions Committee	1
13	4	1907 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	4	1907 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	4	1907 St Andrews College Council	1
29	4	1907 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
4	5	1907 Treasurership Committee	1
10	5	1907 Ashfield Session	0
13	5	1907 Executive YMCA	1
13	5	1907 GANSW Missions Meeting	0
13	5	1907 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
14	5	1907 Executive YMCA	1
20	5	1907 St Andrews College Council	1
20	5	1907 YMCA Festival	1
23	5	1907 Ashfield Session	1
27	5	1907 Queen Victoria Home for Consumptives Meeting	1
6	6	1907 Ashfield Session	1
8	6	1907 Funeral: John Campbell	1
10	6	1907 Executive YMCA	1
17	6	1907 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
17	6	1907 St Andrews College Council	0
20	6	1907 PLC	0
26	6	1907 Ashfield Session	1
2	7	1907 Foreign Missions Committee	1
5	7	1907 Executive YMCA	1
8	7	1907 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	7	1907 St Andrews College Council	0
16	7	1907 Executive YMCA	1

**John Goodlet Meeting Attendance**

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
23	7	1907	Executive YMCA		1
26	7	1907	Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust		1
29	7	1907	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
30	7	1907	Foundation Stone Laying YMCA		1
14	8	1907	PLC		0
15	8	1907	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
19	8	1907	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
19	8	1907	St Andrews College Council		0
3	9	1907	Executive YMCA		1
15	9	1907	Ashfield Session		0
18	9	1907	GAA, Adelaide		1
19	9	1907	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
20	9	1907	GAA, Adelaide		1
24	9	1907	GAA, Adelaide		1
25	9	1907	GAA, Adelaide		1
27	9	1907	Visiting around Adelaide		1
7	10	1907	Arrives <i>Mooltan</i> in Melbourne		1
11	10	1907	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
20	10	1907	Funeral: Mrs R.S. Patterson		1
21	10	1907	Executive YMCA		1
21	10	1907	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
21	10	1907	St Andrews College Council		0
18	11	1907	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
18	11	1907	St Andrews College Council		1
21	11	1907	PLC		1
28	11	1907	Ashfield Session		1
29	11	1907	St Andrews Commemoration		1
1	12	1907	Ashfield Session		1
3	12	1907	Executive YMCA		1
5	12	1907	Ashfield Session		1
5	12	1907	Treasurership Committee		1
9	12	1907	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
9	12	1907	St Andrews College Council		0
10	12	1907	Executive YMCA		1
17	12	1907	Deaf Dumb and Blind Institute		1
20	12	1907	Presentation Ben Howe Goodlet and Smith		1
6	1	1908	Executive YMCA		1
7	1	1908	Foreign Missions Committee		1
9	1	1908	Treasurership Committee		1
12	1	1908	Ashfield Session		1
13	1	1908	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
16	1	1908	Executive YMCA		1
26	1	1908	PLC		1
3	2	1908	Queen Victoria Homes - special Meeting`		1
3	2	1908	St Andrews College Council		1
10	2	1908	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
13	2	1908	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
17	2	1908	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
27	2	1908	Ashfield Session		0
1	3	1908	Ashfield Session		0
9	3	1908	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
16	3	1908	St Andrews College Council		0
23	3	1908	Treasurership Committee		1
24	3	1908	Executive YMCA		1
27	3	1908	Queen Victoria Homes - Annual Meeting`		1
27	3	1908	Walker Farewell		1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
31	3	1908	Executive YMCA	1
2	4	1908	Ashfield Session	1
2	4	1908	PLC	1
7	4	1908	Executive YMCA	1
7	4	1908	Foreign Missions Committee	1
9	4	1908	Treasurership Committee	1
13	4	1908	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
14	4	1908	Sydney Female Refuge Society Annual Meeting	1
21	4	1908	Executive YMCA	1
23	4	1908	St Andrews College Council	1
5	5	1908	Executive YMCA	1
6	5	1908	Master Builders Dinner	1
7	5	1908	GANSW	1
11	5	1908	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
11	5	1908	Sydney Female Refuge Society Annual Meeting	1
13	5	1908	Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust	1
18	5	1908	St Andrews College Council	1
1	6	1908	Funeral: George MacInnes	1
2	6	1908	Executive YMCA	1
4	6	1908	Ashfield Session	1
7	6	1908	Ashfield Session	1
15	6	1908	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
15	6	1908	St Andrews College Council	0
17	6	1908	PLC	1
19	6	1908	Alexander Chapman Harbour Cruise	1
19	6	1908	Harbourside Picnic for Chapman-Alexander Party	1
28	6	1908	Ashfield Session	1
7	7	1908	Foreign Missions Committee	1
9	7	1908	Treasurership Committee	1
20	7	1908	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
20	7	1908	St Andrews College Council	1
12	8	1908	PLC	1
17	8	1908	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
17	8	1908	St Andrews College Council	1
3	9	1908	Ashfield Session	0
6	9	1908	Ashfield Session	0
14	9	1908	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
28	9	1908	St Andrews College Council	1
30	9	1908	PLC	1
6	10	1908	Foreign Missions Committee	1
8	10	1908	Treasurership Committee	1
11	10	1908	Ashfield Session	0
12	10	1908	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
12	10	1908	St Andrews College Council	1
21	10	1908	Ashfield Session	1
27	10	1908	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
31	10	1908	Goodlet and Smith Annual Picnic	1
10	11	1908	Executive YMCA	1
12	11	1908	Ashfield Session	1
16	11	1908	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
16	11	1908	St Andrews College Council	1
25	11	1908	Sir Arthur Renwick Funeral- Woodstock Burwood	1
4	12	1908	Ashfield Session	1
10	12	1908	Institute of Deaf Dumb Blind	1
11	12	1908	Ashfield Session	1
14	12	1908	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1

**John Goodlet Meeting Attendance**

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
18	12	1908 St Andrews College Council	0
5	1	1909 Foreign Missions Committee	1
11	1	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
13	1	1909 Ashfield Session	1
18	1	1909 Treasurership Committee	1
19	1	1909 Executive YMCA	1
19	1	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
21	1	1909 Ashfield Session	1
8	2	1909 Foreign Missions Committee	1
8	2	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
15	2	1909 St Andrews College Council	1
18	2	1909 Ashfield Session	1
23	2	1909 Ashfield Session	0
24	2	1909 Leaves for Holiday in Hobart	1
4	3	1909 Ashfield Session	0
8	3	1909 Ashfield Session	0
8	3	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
11	3	1909 PLC	0
14	3	1909 Ashfield Session	0
17	3	1909 St Andrews College Council	0
26	3	1909 St Andrews College Council	0
27	3	1909 Sails Malwa from Hobart to Melbourne	1
6	4	1909 Foreign Missions Committee	1
8	4	1909 Treasurership Committee	1
11	4	1909 Ashfield Session	1
19	4	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
21	4	1909 St Andrews College Council	1
1	5	1909 Commemoration Day for Sydney University	1
5	5	1909 St Andrews College Council	1
10	5	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
24	5	1909 St Andrews College Council	1
2	6	1909 PLC	1
3	6	1909 Ashfield Session	1
6	6	1909 Ashfield Session	1
14	6	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
18	6	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
23	6	1909 St Andrews College Council	0
24	6	1909 PLC	0
8	7	1909 PLC	1
12	7	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
13	7	1909 YMCA Lunch for Chapman Alexander Mission	1
14	7	1909 Executive YMCA	1
15	7	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
19	7	1909 St Andrews College Council	1
29	7	1909 Ashfield Session	0
1	8	1909 Ashfield Session	1
4	8	1909 Ashfield Session	1
5	8	1909 Ashfield Session	0
9	8	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
11	8	1909 Chapman Alexander Mission Farewell	1
16	8	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
16	8	1909 St Andrews College Council	1
31	8	1909 Foreign Missions Committee	1
31	8	1909 Treasurership Committee	1
1	9	1909 Ashfield Session	0
8	9	1909 Ashfield Session	1

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
15	9	1909 PLC	1
20	9	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
20	9	1909 St Andrews College Council	0
22	9	1909 GAA, Melbourne	1
24	9	1909 GAA, Melbourne	1
27	9	1909 GAA, Melbourne	1
29	9	1909 GAA, Melbourne	1
8	10	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
12	10	1909 Foreign Missions Meeting	1
15	10	1909 PLC Speech Day	1
18	10	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
18	10	1909 St Andrews College Council	0
8	11	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
10	11	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
17	11	1909 Ashfield Session	1
18	11	1909 St Andrews College Council	1
27	11	1909 Sydney Female Refuge Society Garden Party	1
1	12	1909 Ashfield Session	1
1	12	1909 PLC	1
4	12	1909 Caledonian Fair Granville	1
5	12	1909 Ashfield Session	1
6	12	1909 St Andrews College Council	1
8	12	1909 Ashfield Session	0
13	12	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
21	12	1909 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
2	1	1910 PLC	1
4	1	1910 Foreign Missions Committee	1
6	1	1910 Treasurership Committee	1
9	1	1910 Ashfield Session	1
10	1	1910 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
24	1	1910 YMCA meeting	1
27	1	1910 Ashfield Session	1
29	1	1910 Leaves for Europe with Mrs Goodlet	1
1	2	1910 Evening Farewell to Goodlets at Canterbury House	1
14	2	1910 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	2	1910 St Andrews College Council	0
2	3	1910 Ashfield Session	0
7	3	1910 Ashfield Session	0
14	3	1910 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
16	3	1910 Ashfield Session	0
29	3	1910 St Andrews College Council	0
31	3	1910 PLC	0
11	4	1910 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
18	4	1910 St Andrews College Council	0
21	4	1910 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
2	5	1910 St Andrews College Council	0
8	5	1910 Ashfield Session	0
9	5	1910 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
29	5	1910 Welcome by General Assembly Church of Scotland	1
30	5	1910 Appears before General Assembly Church of Scotland	1
2	6	1910 Ashfield Session	0
13	6	1910 Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
16	6	1910 PLC	0
20	6	1910 St Andrews College Council	0
28	6	1910 St Andrews College Council	0
8	7	1910 PLC	0

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date		ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
10	7	1910	Ashfield Session	0
11	7	1910	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
25	7	1910	St Andrews College Council	0
3	8	1910	Ashfield Session	0
15	8	1910	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
1	9	1910	Ashfield Session	0
7	9	1910	Ashfield Session	0
12	9	1910	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
21	9	1910	Ashfield Session	0
26	9	1910	Ashfield Session	0
26	9	1910	St Andrews College Council	0
10	10	1910	PLC	0
11	10	1910	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
17	10	1910	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
24	10	1910	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	11	1910	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	11	1910	St Andrews College Council	0
16	11	1910	PLC	0
28	11	1910	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
1	12	1910	Ashfield Session	0
5	12	1910	St Andrews College Council	0
11	12	1910	Ashfield Session	0
12	12	1910	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
22	12	1910	Ashfield Session	0
11	1	1911	Returns home from Europe	1
16	1	1911	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
18	1	1911	Ashfield Session	1
25	1	1911	Ashfield Session	1
13	2	1911	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
23	2	1911	Goodlet reported as seriously ill Canterbury House	1
1	3	1911	PLC	0
2	3	1911	Ashfield Session	0
5	3	1911	Ashfield Session	0
13	3	1911	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
20	3	1911	St Andrews College Council	0
27	3	1911	Tercentenary of AV Town Hall Celebrations	0
7	4	1911	Ashfield Session	0
10	4	1911	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
23	4	1911	Ashfield Session	0
26	4	1911	St Andrews College Council	0
27	4	1911	Ashfield Session	0
8	5	1911	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
11	5	1911	GANSW	1
22	5	1911	Welcome to Mr Harold Earlam	1
24	5	1911	St Andrews College Council	0
1	6	1911	Ashfield Session	0
4	6	1911	Ashfield Session	1
9	6	1911	Ashfield Session	0
12	6	1911	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
14	6	1911	PLC	1
17	6	1911	Opening Burnside Homes	1
26	6	1911	Ashfield Session	0
6	7	1911	Treasurership Committee	1
10	7	1911	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
24	7	1911	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
31	7	1911	St Andrews College Council	1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
3	8	1911	Ashfield Session	0
9	8	1911	Ashfield Session	0
10	8	1911	Evangelistic Committee	1
10	8	1911	PLC	1
11	8	1911	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
17	8	1911	Sydney City Mission	1
27	8	1911	Ashfield Session	1
31	8	1911	Ashfield Session	1
3	9	1911	Ashfield Session	1
11	9	1911	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
13	9	1911	Ashfield Session	0
18	9	1911	St Andrews College Council	1
25	9	1911	St Andrews College Council	0
27	9	1911	Deaf Dumb and Blind Institute visit Governor General	1
3	10	1911	Foreign Missions Committee	1
5	10	1911	Treasurership Committee	1
6	10	1911	Ragged Schools Annual Meeting	0
9	10	1911	PLC	1
10	10	1911	Reception John Kirk Ragged Schools	1
11	10	1911	Ashfield Session	1
15	10	1911	Ashfield Session	1
16	10	1911	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
23	10	1911	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
30	10	1911	St Andrews College Council	1
31	10	1911	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
12	11	1911	Ashfield Session	1
19	11	1911	Ashfield Session	1
20	11	1911	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
20	11	1911	St Andrews College Council	1
22	11	1911	Entertain children of DDB Institute, Canterbury House	1
24	11	1911	PLC	1
29	11	1911	Ashfield Session	1
29	11	1911	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
30	11	1911	Ashfield Session	1
3	12	1911	Ashfield Session	1
8	12	1911	St Andrews College Council	1
11	12	1911	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
8	1	1912	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
14	1	1912	Ashfield Session	0
15	1	1912	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
24	1	1912	Ashfield Session	0
9	2	1912	St Andrews College Council	0
12	2	1912	Ashfield Session	0
12	2	1912	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
22	2	1912	PLC	0
3	3	1912	Ashfield Session	0
10	3	1912	Ashfield Session	0
11	3	1912	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
18	3	1912	St Andrews College Council	0
1	4	1912	PLC	0
2	4	1912	Foreign Missions Committee	1
2	4	1912	YWCA Special Dinner	1
3	4	1912	Ashfield Session	0
4	4	1912	Treasurership Committee	1
15	4	1912	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
16	4	1912	Foreign Missions Committee	1

### John Goodlet Meeting Attendance

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present	0 = absent
23	4	1912	St Andrews College Council		1
2	5	1912	YWCA Dinner		1
7	5	1912	GANSW		1
10	5	1912	GANSW		1
13	5	1912	GANSW		1
13	5	1912	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
14	5	1912	Jubilee of Sydney City Mission		1
20	5	1912	St Andrews College Council		1
20	5	1912	Sydney Female Refuge Society Annual Meeting		1
25	5	1912	Foundation Stone Laying Sydney City Mission		1
29	5	1912	Ashfield Session		1
2	6	1912	Ashfield Session		1
10	6	1912	PLC		1
10	6	1912	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
11	6	1912	Foreign Missions Committee		1
17	6	1912	St Andrews College Council		1
21	6	1912	Laying Foundation Stone Ashfield Sunday School		1
22	6	1912	Foreign Missions Committee		1
24	6	1912	Eviction of Governor General Meeting		1
4	7	1912	Ashfield Session		0
8	7	1912	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
15	7	1912	St Andrews College Council		1
15	7	1912	Treasurership Committee		1
18	7	1912	Ashfield Session		0
2	8	1912	PLC		1
12	8	1912	Evangelistic Committee		1
13	8	1912	Goodlet and Smith Annual Meeting		1
14	8	1912	YWCA Board of Advice		1
15	8	1912	John Auld's Funeral		1
19	8	1912	PLC		0
19	8	1912	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
19	8	1912	St Andrews College Council		0
20	8	1912	Bible Society Meeting		1
26	8	1912	Chairs: Meeting of Goodlet and Smith		1
26	8	1912	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		0
27	8	1912	Foreign Missions Meeting		1
28	8	1912	At Home Meeting for Miss McLean		1
29	8	1912	Ashfield Session		0
1	9	1912	Ashfield Session		1
4	9	1912	Ashfield Session		0
9	9	1912	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
12	9	1912	Rookwood Presbyterian Cemetery Trust		1
16	9	1912	St Andrews College Council		1
18	9	1912	Ashfield Session		0
8	10	1912	Foreign Missions Committee		1
10	10	1912	Treasurership Committee		1
14	10	1912	PLC		0
14	10	1912	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
14	10	1912	St Andrews College Council		0
18	10	1912	YWCA Ashfield Branch 25 year celebrations		1
22	10	1912	Ashfield Session		0
23	10	1912	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1
3	11	1912	Ashfield Session		1
8	11	1912	St Andrews College Meeting		1
9	11	1912	PLC		1
11	11	1912	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind		1

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
18	11	1912	St Andrews College Council	1
20	11	1912	Ashfield Session	1
22	11	1912	Opening Ashfield Sunday School Hall	1
26	11	1912	Foreign Missions Committee	1
26	11	1912	St Andrews College Council	1
1	12	1912	Ashfield Session	1
2	12	1912	St Andrews College Council	1
4	12	1912	Ashfield Session	1
9	12	1912	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
12	12	1912	Treasurership Committee	1
19	12	1912	City Sydney Council Meeting	1
19	12	1912	Goodlet taken seriously ill	1
22	12	1912	Goodlet reported as improved but seriously ill	1
7	1	1913	Foreign Missions Committee	1
9	1	1913	Treasurership Committee	1
13	1	1913	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
14	1	1913	Ashfield Session	1
14	1	1913	Sub-committee of Foreign Missions Committee	1
21	1	1913	Foreign Missions Committee	1
23	1	1913	Ashfield Session	1
5	2	1913	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
10	2	1913	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
17	2	1913	St Andrews College Council	0
24	2	1913	Ashfield Session	0
2	3	1913	Ashfield Session	0
10	3	1913	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
12	3	1913	PLC	0
17	3	1913	St Andrews College Council	0
31	3	1913	Foreign Missions Committee	1
1	4	1913	Ashfield Session	0
7	4	1913	PLC	1
14	4	1913	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
15	4	1913	St Andrews College Council	1
21	4	1913	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
29	4	1913	Foreign Missions Committee	1
30	4	1913	Ashfield Session	0
5	5	1913	Foreign Missions Committee	1
7	5	1913	GANSW	1
12	5	1913	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
13	5	1913	GANSW	1
19	5	1913	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
20	5	1913	Ashfield Session	1
21	5	1913	St Andrews College Council	1
22	5	1913	PLC	1
27	5	1913	Foreign Missions Committee	1
1	6	1913	Ashfield Session	1
6	6	1913	Candidates Sub-committee Foreign Missions Committee	1
16	6	1913	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
16	6	1913	St Andrews College Council	0
17	6	1913	Foreign Missions Committee	1
20	6	1913	PLC	1
21	6	1913	Lays Foundation Stone Ashfield Sunday School Hall	1
22	6	1913	Auld Memorial Table Unveiling Auburn	0
24	6	1913	Ashfield Session	0
24	6	1913	Protest over eviction of Governor General from residence	1
14	7	1913	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0

**John Goodlet Meeting Attendance**

Date			ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
21	7	1913	St Andrews College Council	0
28	7	1913	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
29	7	1913	Ashfield Session	0
29	7	1913	Foreign Missions Committee	1
30	7	1913	Treasurership Committee	1
11	8	1913	PLC	1
11	8	1913	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
18	8	1913	St Andrews College Council	0
25	8	1913	Foreign Missions Committee	1
26	8	1913	Foreign Missions Committee	1
3	9	1913	Ashfield Session	1
7	9	1913	Ashfield Session	1
8	9	1913	PLC	1
8	9	1913	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
10	9	1913	Ashfield Session	1
15	9	1913	St Andrews College Council	1
24	9	1913	Ashfield Session	1
30	9	1913	Foreign Missions Committee	1
5	10	1913	Ashfield Session	1
7	10	1913	Foreign Missions Committee	1
13	10	1913	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
20	10	1913	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
20	10	1913	St Andrews College Council	1
28	10	1913	Ashfield Session	0
28	10	1913	Foreign Missions Committee	1
28	10	1913	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
30	10	1913	PLC	1
10	11	1913	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
17	11	1913	St Andrews College Council	1
22	11	1913	Opens Sunday School Hall Ashfield	1
25	11	1913	Foreign Missions Committee	1
1	12	1913	PLC	1
1	12	1913	St Andrews College Council	0
3	12	1913	Ashfield Session	1
6	12	1913	Ashfield Session	1
8	12	1913	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	1
19	12	1913	Goodlet taken ill	1
21	12	1913	Unveiling Auld Window at Ashfield	0
12	1	1914	Royal Institute for Deaf, Dumb & Blind	0
13	1	1914	Dies at Canterbury House	1
			<b>Total Number of Meetings Attended</b>	<b>3566</b>
			<b>Total Number of Meetings Absent</b>	<b>1092</b>

Date	ORGANISATION	1 = present 0 = absent
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## Appendix 5

### Elizabeth Mary Goodlet (nee Forbes)

In January 1903 Ann Goodlet, John's wife and companion of almost 43 years, died. Ann had been unwell for the previous five years and she had resigned from her active roles in various organisations. When she died at Canterbury House she was 81 and John was 67 years old. Over the past ten years during the depression, John had managed to save his business from collapse and it had now returned to profitability. But now that funds were available once again to continue philanthropic work in partnership with Ann, she had gone to be with the Lord whom she had served.

In December 1903, a memorial window to Ann Goodlet was unveiled at the Ashfield Presbyterian Church. The Rev John Walker gave a short address after which Miss Forbes, at the request of the Rev John Auld, MA, minister of the church, unveiled the window.<sup>19</sup> The Forbes family were close friends of the Goodlets and Elizabeth Forbes had laboured side-by-side with Ann in missionary endeavours within the Presbyterian Church so such a choice may have seemed the natural one to make. Shortly afterward the local newspaper gossip column was hinting that 'Cupid's darts have been flying rather freely again in Ashfield during the week'. Then rather more explicitly, that 'the engagement of some of our Ashfield friends who are well known in local religious circles'<sup>20</sup> was about to be announced, and that Goodlet's namesake John Hay Goodlet Auld, had returned to his parish in Bombala, but that he would revisit Ashfield next month for a fashionable wedding that is to take place in Ashfield.<sup>21</sup>

Though the word 'fashionable' was perhaps not the most appropriate descriptor, on February 5, 1904, at Canterbury House John Hay Goodlet and Elizabeth Mary Forbes wed. [Photo page 243] The Rev James Cameron, a close friend of the Forbes family, officiated and the Rev John Hay Goodlet Auld was a witness. The marriage took place 13 months after Ann's death, when John was 68 and Elizabeth was 49 years old. After the wedding they set off for a three week honeymoon at 'Harmony', Picton where on their arrival a special arch was erected and the patients and nursing staff gave the newlyweds three cheers.<sup>22</sup> Not that the couple were left in peace, for a

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<sup>19</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, January 2, 1904.

<sup>20</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, January 16, 1904.

<sup>21</sup> *The Advertiser (Ashfield, NSW)*, January 2, 1904.

<sup>22</sup> *The Picton Post (Picton, NSW)* February 10, 1904.

letter arrived from St Andrews Council reminding Goodlet he had been appointed to represent St Andrews College Council and to exercise the vote in connection with the Municipal election in Lawson Ward, Waverley. The Council thought the vote was a matter of some importance and, while realising that it would require a special journey, did not mention that such a journey would also interrupt his honeymoon. It is not recorded what the bride or groom thought, but given their mutual dedication to the cause of the Presbyterian Church it is difficult to imagine them objecting.

Elizabeth Mary Forbes was born in Singleton October 15, 1854, to Alexander Leith Forbes and Jean (nee Clark).<sup>23</sup> The Forbes family were of Free Presbyterian background. While Alexander was ordained at Methlick Free Church, he resigned in 1852 just prior to coming to Australia and when he and his wife Jane arrived in Sydney on 'The Boomer' in July 1853, he commenced a new life as a school master.<sup>24</sup>

Alexander Forbes was conservative in theology, a strong-minded, honest man, fearless and straightforward and outspoken to friends and foes alike, but he was not a 'people person' which may explain why he did not persist in the ordained ministry.<sup>25</sup> As part of the Goodlet inner circle, John Walker would have known Alexander well and described him as

a man of competent knowledge and strict integrity, with a warm heart. As a friend, he was as true as steel, and hospitable to a degree. Those who did not know Mr Forbes were often misled by his manner; but those who knew him

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<sup>23</sup> There is no record of her birth. This is the date on her headstone in Rookwood Cemetery, Sydney.

<sup>24</sup> Letter of A. Murray dated September 8, 1989, Forbes File, Ferguson Library. Alexander was born December 24, 1822 at Strathdon, Aberdeenshire to Charles Forbes and Elizabeth McRobbie. He gained an MA at Aberdeen University, he was licensed in 1847 by the Free Church Presbytery at Ellon in the heat of the aftermath of the disruption and served as a probationer at Methlick. He was ordained at Methlick Free Church, married Jane Clark on January 19, 1852 at the Methlick Church. He resigned in 1852 just prior to coming to Australia. After a brief period in Sydney as a private teacher he was on November 1, 1853 employed by the Colonial Council of Education to teach at the newly opened School at Singleton. It was conducted in the vacant Presbyterian Manse until the building was erected. In 1861 he was appointed to Goulburn to the office of Inspector of Schools in Goulburn District but failing health caused him to relinquish the position. He resumed teaching at Richmond where he was near to his old and valued friend Rev. Dr. James Cameron with whom he had trained for the ministry. He became a District Inspector of Cumberland on January 1, 1867 and an Examiner Assistant on October 1, 1872. NSW Blue Book 1872, 22. He was appointed senior examiner in 1881 and was charged with the classification of teachers of the Department of Public Instruction and held this office until 1889. *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)* December 24, 1895. He died on December 17, 1892. *SMH*, December 20, 1892. He was conservative in his theology and churchmanship. He opposed the introduction of a hymnbook at *Ashfield*. *Ashfield Presbyterian Church, Session Minutes* May 8, 1884, the singing of the Amen and was in favour of the introduction of pew rents. On each of these issues Goodlet took the opposite point of view.

<sup>25</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)*, December 24, 1892.

best, loved and trusted him most.<sup>26</sup>

By contrast his wife, Jane Forbes (born April 1, 1827 and dying April 3, 1889), was modest, shrinking and unobtrusive in disposition with a faith that delighted in the 'old paths', in the Sabbath and the Bible. She had been the one who was the homemaker of the Forbes household and found satisfaction in the domestic sphere and in hospitality.<sup>27</sup> Elizabeth Mary was effectively an only child as a brother died in infancy. In character and opportunity she was much more like her father than her mother, and her mother's commitment to the domestic sphere permitted Elizabeth to pursue her Christian interests. In 1877, the Forbes family moved to King Street, Ashfield, and joined the newly formed Presbyterian Church at Ashfield on December 4, 1877.<sup>28</sup>

In a church such as Ashfield where Goodlet was prominent, the Forbes and the Goodlet families had many interactions. The connections between the families were ones of faith, church, Scottish origins, common ministry and ideals. In particular, by 1883, 'Bessie'<sup>29</sup> Forbes was teaching Sunday School where John Goodlet had been the superintendent since 1877 and she was the Sustentation Collector in the district which included the Goodlet family.<sup>30</sup> The Goodlets and the Forbes were both involved in the YWCA, local political activity, temperance organisations, Ministering Children's League, the Women's Missionary Association, the *Band of Mercy* as well as the Trusteeship of the Ashfield Church property.<sup>31</sup>

Ann Goodlet had expressed her interest in missions the year after she arrived in the colony of NSW, becoming the foundation and only president of the Ladies Association on behalf of the New Hebrides Mission. It is probable that she encouraged Elizabeth's interest in mission through encouraging her to join the Ladies Association. When in 1891 the Women's Missionary Association of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (WMA) was formed, and the Ladies Association on behalf of the New Hebrides was amalgamated with this body, Elizabeth became the secretary of the WMA and was its

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<sup>26</sup> *The Woollahra Presbyterian Messenger* (Sydney, NSW), January 1893.

<sup>27</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW), April 6, 1889.

<sup>28</sup> Ashfield Presbyterian Church, Sydney, *50<sup>th</sup> Annual Report* (1926) np.

<sup>29</sup> On John Goodlet's resignation as Sunday School Superintendent in 1891 he was presented with an illuminated address on which Elizabeth Forbes signs her name as Bessie Forbes.[PLC Archives]. Forbes resigned in 1897. Ashfield Presbyterian Church *Session Minutes* September 23, 1897.

<sup>30</sup> Ashfield Presbyterian Church, Sydney, *10<sup>th</sup> Annual Report* (1886).

<sup>31</sup> Presbyterian Church in the State of NSW, BB 1886 GANSW, 126.

central figure for the next 35 years. Elizabeth had been involved in the YWCA at a local and State level, but her primary and greatest interest was Foreign Missions. After the formation of the WMA she gave herself to the task of encouraging the formation of local branches throughout the State by her indefatigable visiting. The assessment was that

our Church can surely never forget what it owes to her missionary interest and zeal. It is almost impossible to overstate what our New South Wales Presbyterian missions owe to her.<sup>32</sup>

Elizabeth's interest in missions was motivated by a clear and unclouded evangelical understanding of the gospel and the responsibility of the believer to their Lord. She believed that one's interest in sending the gospel was in proportion to one's understanding of the gospel for she said

if we have found Him to be indeed the power of God unto salvation in our own lives, if though faith in Him we have been delivered from the spirit of bondage into the glorious liberty of the children of God, if He is our strong refuge from every storm and the one sure Foundation on which we are building for Eternity, then we must pass on the glad tidings to others. And, above all, if Christ is to us Lord and Master, we are bound to obey His commands.<sup>33</sup>

She was irritated by the common response of congregations who were reticent to form branches of the WMA as they had a heavy debt on their buildings and did not think they could pay for a church building and support missions. Her response was forthright and a reflection of her total commitment to missions

Is it to His glory to build a house for His worship which we know we can not afford? I think we need to learn over again the old lesson 'To obey is better than sacrifice.'<sup>34</sup>

Buildings could wait but the urgency of the task could not as she asked

is it nothing to us that now, at the close of this nineteenth century of the

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<sup>32</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)* August 13, 1926.

<sup>33</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)* November 4, 1895.

<sup>34</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness (Sydney, NSW)* November 4, 1895.

Christian era, no less than a thousand millions of people are living without the Gospel of Christ? Is it nothing to us that they are: Dying! Yes, dying in thousands! A hopeless, despairing death: Can we not hear them calling.<sup>35</sup>

Such was the zeal that drove Elizabeth. Her plan was simply to form a WMA branch in every congregation for she believed that 'if we had in each of our congregations just one earnest-hearted woman, full of zeal for the cause, she could ... arouse interest in others and form a branch' so that together they might have the privilege of sharing in the work of 'giving to Christ the heathen for His inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for His possession.'<sup>36</sup>

This movement that Elizabeth sought to encourage was not just about raising money for missions, it was also about prayer for she wanted each group to have a monthly meeting of prayer

when we may together joining earnest supplication for a baptism of God's Spirit upon ourselves and our Church, so that apathy and indifference may be swept away, and we may feel the love of Christ constraining us to whole-hearted service. And let our prayers also rise up to God for those whom we have sent out to preach His Gospel in the dark places of the earth; for if we, with all our Christian privileges and helps, find it so easy to grow cold, how must they feel, with no such helps, and surrounded instead by all the deadening influences of heathenism!<sup>37</sup>

Such were the driving motivations behind the zeal of Elizabeth Forbes, driving motivations put with an eloquence that John Goodlet could not muster, but which would have had his total support.

In April 1893, Elizabeth left on a trip to Scotland, the place of her parent's birth. Her father had died in December of the previous year and she was now independent. Her trip was not just sightseeing and visiting the homeland of her parents, for true to her great interest in missions she visited various missions in Cairo, and was particularly interested in the great work being accomplished there by the American missionaries. She reported having had much kindness shown her during her visit to

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<sup>35</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW) November 4, 1895.

<sup>36</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW) November 4, 1895.

<sup>37</sup> *The Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (Sydney, NSW) November 4, 1895.

Scotland by members of the Aberdeen Auxiliary of the Church of Scotland's Women's Missionary Association among her father's people.<sup>38</sup>

On her return she was zealous in the work of the WMA, keeping in contact with the WMA missionaries, writing articles for the Presbyterian newspaper, entertaining missionaries on furlough and praying for them. Missions were the focus of her life and her consuming passion and the WMA was a vehicle for expressing that commitment. Though not robust in health she travelled extensively throughout NSW seeking to interest women in the work of missions:

her energy, enthusiasm, and devotion to Christ and to the cause of Missions, have enabled her – notwithstanding feeble health – to establish a considerable number of Missionary Associations in the country parishes, as well as in Sydney and suburbs.<sup>39</sup>

In the report to the Assembly Elizabeth Forbes, as Honorary Secretary of the WMA, expressed the views of many:

in the early days of this new century, whose very dawning has been so strikingly eventful, we would express the earnest prayer that God would richly bless United Australia, and make our United Church a power for righteousness in our own land, and the bearer of Christ's Light to so many dark places ... we thank God for signs of growth, and we take courage for the future, believing that the year on which we have entered will be better than any previous one. May God grant it, and enable us to go forward and take up yet a little more of the 'very much land' which still remaineth to be possessed for Him!<sup>40</sup>

Miss Forbes was thanked and God praised and the Foreign Missions Committee was able to 'heartily rejoice in the success of the Hon Organising Secretary in establishing Missionary Associations throughout the Church'.<sup>41</sup> The branches formed as a result of Miss Forbes' efforts were in that year Graham Memorial (Waverley), MacNeil Memorial (Waverley), Pitt Street, Nowra, Mount Kembla, Bowral, Moss Vale,

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<sup>38</sup> Presbyterian Church in the State of NSW, *Report of the Women's Missionary Association* GANSW 1895 70-72.

<sup>39</sup> Presbyterian Church in the State of NSW, *Report of Foreign Missions Committee 1900*, BB GANSW 1901, 85.

<sup>40</sup> Presbyterian Church in the State of NSW, *Women's Missionary Association, 1900 Ninth Annual Report* BB GANSW 1901, 119-121.

<sup>41</sup> Presbyterian Church in the State of NSW, BB GANSW 1901, Min 112, 51.

Goulburn, Yalbraith, Taralga, Chatsbury, Crookwell, Queanbeyan, Cooma and Adaminaby.<sup>42</sup>

In 1902, she was again commended for 'The earnest and self-denying efforts of the Hon. Organising Secretary, Miss Forbes, have been crowned with success, and a goodly number of new Branches have been formed.'<sup>43</sup> In the Tenth Annual Report the closing words of the report no doubt are those of Forbes herself, speaking not just to the Church but to herself:

In closing, we would say to each branch, each worker, each member, 'Let not thine hands be slack.' There is much to do, and it is well worth the doing, for are we not called to the high honour of being co-workers with God in gathering in that 'Great multitude of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues,' who shall stand before His Throne, arrayed in robes, washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb?<sup>44</sup>

So Elizabeth continued her work with zeal, but her constitution was beginning to show the strain for she had never been a naturally robust person. As a child, she had prayed that God would carry on His work in her, even though it be through suffering.<sup>45</sup> In 1903, her health gave way as it was reported that

the Hon. Secretary of the Women's Missionary Association continued the work of visiting and the formation of new branches. More of this work would have been accomplished but, unfortunately, the health of the Hon. Secretary could not stand the strain of continuous travelling and speaking, and, when she reached Dubbo on her Western tour she broke down completely and had to return to Sydney leaving the work unfinished. This was a great disappointment to the Hon. Secretary, and also to the Congregations to be visited.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Presbyterian Church in the State of NSW, *Report of the Missionary Association Central Committee 1900* BB GANSW 1901, 123.

<sup>43</sup> Presbyterian Church in the State of NSW, *Report of the Foreign Missions Committee, 1901* GANSW 1902, 83-85.

<sup>44</sup> Presbyterian Church in the State of NSW, *Women's Missionary Association, Tenth Annual Report* BB GANSW 1902, 125-126.

<sup>45</sup> *The Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in NSW (Sydney, NSW)* August 13, 1926.

<sup>46</sup> Presbyterian Church in the State of NSW, *Report of the Missionary Association Central Committee, 1903*. GANSW 1904, 120.

Elizabeth would, however, discern in these events that the Lord was leading her to a new sphere of activity and would provide for her resources to carry on the work of missions. Sometime after her return and her recuperation, the widowed John Goodlet asked Elizabeth to be his wife and while Elizabeth had no need of marriage to support her, being the sole beneficiary of her father's estate, she agreed to marry him.

So in May 1904, Elizabeth Mary Forbes married John Hay Goodlet, a man who had numerous philanthropic interests, but who also shared her deep concern for missions. Later that year she retired as the Secretary of the WMA<sup>47</sup> and became, in succession to Ann, the President of the WMA.

The Assembly resolved that

the Hon. Secretary for the Women's Missionary Association (Mrs. Goodlet) be specially thanked for the very able service rendered by her in the completing of organization, and forming new branches.<sup>48</sup>

Marriage to Goodlet meant that Elizabeth retired from travelling the countryside promoting missions, but she now had a partner who had the resources that could materially affect the work of missions and in the time of their marriage John was to make some very substantial financial commitments to missions. In the last decade of his life he was considering how he might use his remaining wealth to best advantage. He may well have made such financial commitments to missions anyway, but Elizabeth no doubt reinforced his desire to materially assist missions with his wealth. Her marriage also meant that she broadened her horizons in terms of her charitable activities for those activities which were John's, and many of them Ann's before they were John's, became hers. Thus she became involved in the Consumptive Home, the Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution, and the Sydney Female Refuge Society eventually becoming President of the Ladies Committee of the Sydney Female Refuge Society in 1908, but missions remained her central interest. She died on July 26, 1926, at Canterbury House, aged 71 years.

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<sup>47</sup> Presbyterian Church in the State of NSW, *Report of the Missionary Association Central Committee, 1904*. GANSW 1905, 132.

<sup>48</sup> Presbyterian Church in the State of NSW, GANSW 1904 Min 104.

## Appendix 6

### John Goodlet's membership of Committees of the Presbyterian Church

Committee Name	Date
Advice on Revenue Increase Home Missions	1894
Aged and Infirm Ministers Fund	1888, 1885
Applications for Admission to Ministry of Church	1901,02
Assembly Expenses	1870-71
Association for the Relief of Widows and Orphans of Ministers of the Presbyterian Church of NSW	1870-81, 83-96, 99-1912
Camden Compensation	1883
Catechism of Presbyterianism	1897-1908
Central Church and Assembly Hall In Sydney	1906-07
Change Date of Assembly	1881
Church and Manse Loan Fund	1876-1881, 84-85
Church Architecture	1897-05
Church Extension and Supplementary Stipend Fund	1874-79
Church Property	1876
Church Property, Law and Documents	1881, 84-5, 1904-5
College for Boys	1891-92
Commission to confer with Woollahra re: John Walker Assembly Commissioner Appointment	1899
Commission to determine new Goulburn Charge Locality	1886
Commissioner's Advisory Committee	1902-05, 07
Commissionership of Assembly	1906-07
Committee of Management of the Aged and Infirm Ministers Fund	1885
Committee on Limited Pastorates	1909-12
Communication with Presbyterian body of colony	1879
Confer with J Walker re Commission Centenary Fund	1902
Continuance of Office of Agent of Church	1883
Council of Churches	1894-95, 1901-2
Council of Education	1908-13
Course of Instruction in Public Schools	1884
Delegate Council of Churches	1899
Delegate to Conference re: Union in Melbourne June 1884	1883
Deputation to Minister of Works re: Sabbath Traffic on Tramways and Railways	1883
Deputation to wait upon the Minister of Justice re: Matrimonial Agencies	1900
Deputation to wait upon the Premier re: Raising Age of Consent	1898
Deputy to Baptist Union of NSW	1879
Deputy to General Assembly of VIC & Presbyterian Conference	1880
Elders Association	1905
Establishment of Superior Boarding Schools	1884
Evangelistic Committee	1910-13
Extension of Higher Education	1903-07
Federal Assembly of Presbyterian Churches of Australia and Tasmania	1886
Federal Conference 1894	1894
Federal Conference 1895	1895

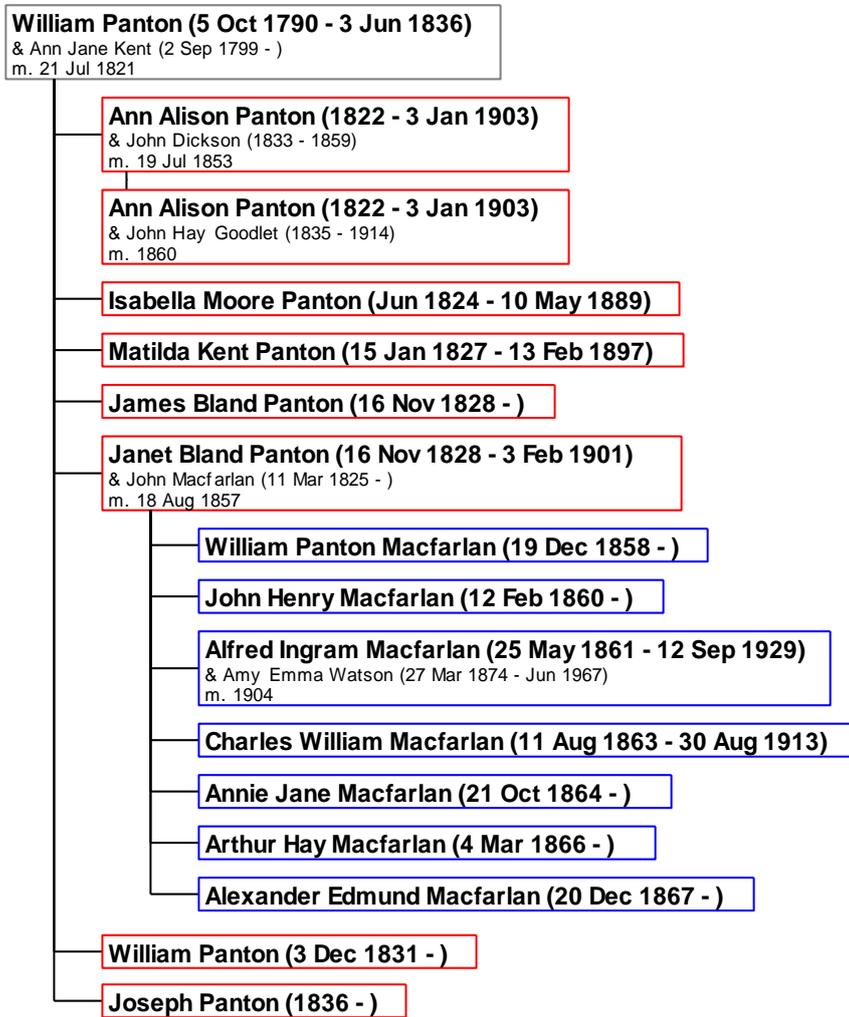
Federal Conference 1896	1896
Federal Conference 1898	1898
Federal Conference 1900	1899
Fire Insurance Trust	1903-13
Foreign Missions	1899-13
GAA 1902	1902
GAA 1905	1905
GAA 1906	1906
GAA 1907	1907
GANSW 1870	1870
GANSW 1871	1871
GANSW 1872	1872
GANSW 1873	1873
GANSW 1874	1874
GANSW 1875	1875
GANSW 1876	1876
GANSW 1877	1877
GANSW 1878	1878
GANSW 1879	1879
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GANSW 1902	1902
GANSW 1903	1903
GANSW 1904	1904
GANSW 1905	1905
GANSW 1906	1906
GANSW 1907	1907
GANSW 1908	1908
GANSW 1909	1909
GANSW 1911	1911
GANSW 1912	1912
GANSW 1913	1913
General Agent Search	1877
Granville Commission	1901-04

Guarantor Ladies College	1887
Hunter-Baillie Professorship	1901
Institutional Churches	1905
Intercourse with other Churches	1884, 1896-01
Jubilee of Union	1911-13
Kinross Minute of Appreciation	1901
Lay Preachers	1896-97
Majority Fund	1886-88
Management of the Aged and Infirm Minsters Fund	1884
Manse Loan Building Fund	1874
Memorial Minute for Steel, Ross, Inglis	1894
Minister to be Presbyterian Chaplain to the Volunteer Forces	1887
Missions to the Heathen	1870-4, 77-79, 84-85, 87-88
NSW Member Board of Missions	1901
NSW Member Judicial Commission	1901
Organising the Financial and Secretarial Work of the Church	1894
Presbyterian Co-operative Colony	1894
Presbyterian Ladies College	1885-13
Professorship Endowment Fund	1906-07
Public Questions	1902-03
Purchase of The Scots College	1903
Religion and Morals	1887, 1904-05
Religious Instruction of Presbyterian Children in Randwick Asylum	1888-90
Religious Periodical	1873
Revision	1870
Ross Continuance Committee	1883
Sabbath School and Religious Instruction	1873-77, 80-85
Selection of Evangelistic Deputies	1884
Special Committee on Service Book	1888-89
Special Committee to Confer the General Agent re: overture	1890
Special Committee to consider the duties of the General Agent	1888
Standing Committees - Special Committee	1880
State of Religion	1870
Statistics	1871
Steel Memorial	1894
Sustentation and Statistics	1885-88
Sustentation Fund	1876-81
Sydney Presbytery Representative to Federal Assembly 1887	1887
Temporalities Act and Church Property	1879-80
Theological Hall	1887-88, 94-07
Theological Hall Visitation	1905
Theological Professorship Endowment Fund	1908-09
Theological Tutorships	1897
Transference	1881
Treasurership and Finance	1881-88, 93-13
Trustee McKinnon Bequest Picton	1894-97
Trustee Picton Church	1893-97
Trustee Presbyterian Ladies College, Sydney	1890
Trustee Presbyterian Portion Thirlmere Cemetery	1893
Trustee, Aged and Infirm Ministers Fund	1883
Union	1893
Women having a seat in Committees of Management	1898
Women's Work in the Church	1892-93

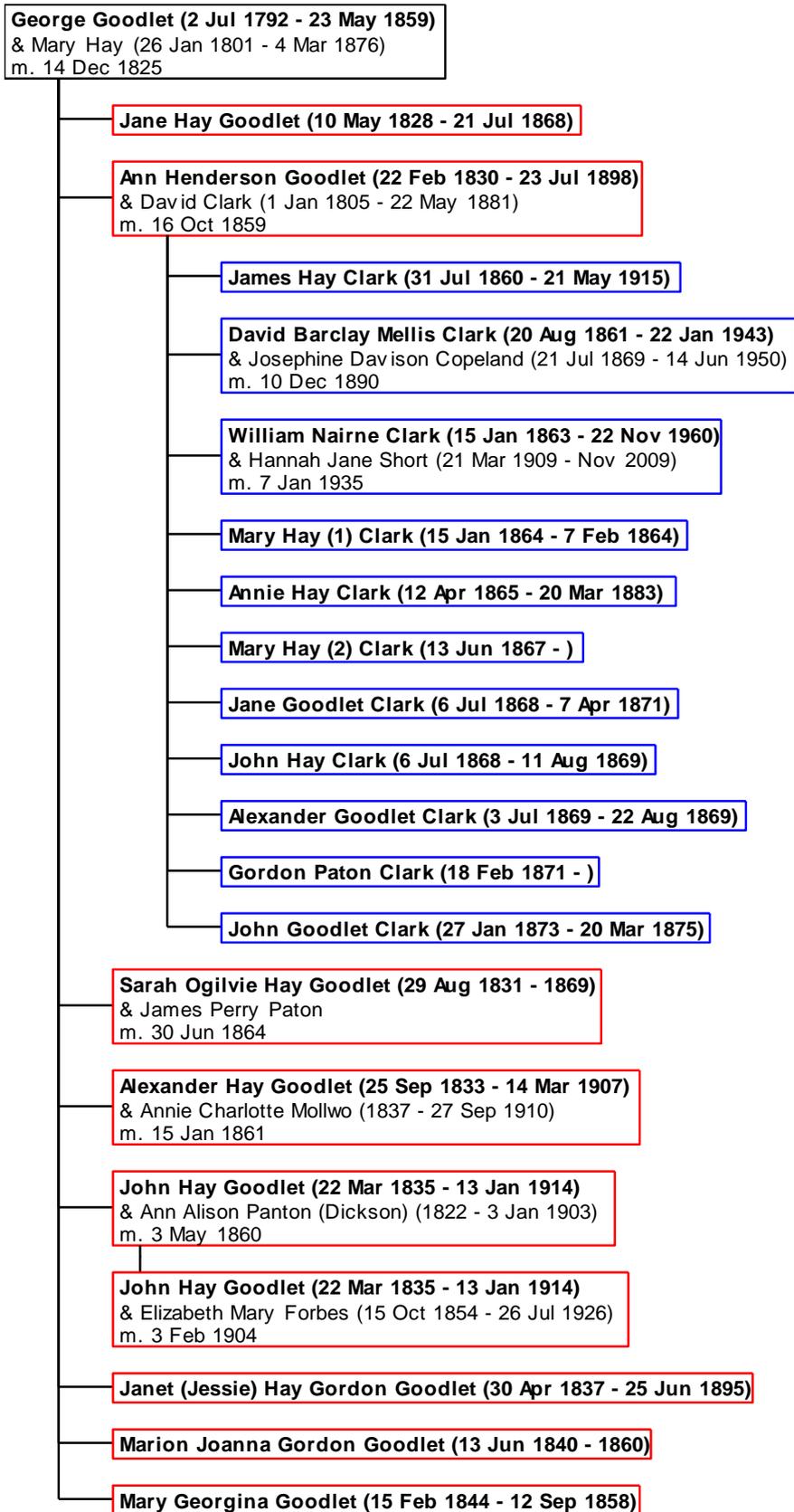


## Appendix 7

### The Family of Ann Alison Goodlet (nee Panton)



## The Family of John Hay Goodlet



## The Family of Joseph Copeland

