

Philanthropy in Birmingham and Sydney, 1860-1914: Class, Gender and Race

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This thesis is submitted for the degree of PhD

I, Elizabeth Abigail Harvey, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

Philanthropy in Birmingham and Sydney, 1860-1914: Class, Gender and Race

This thesis considers philanthropic activities directed towards new mothers and destitute children both “at home” and in a particular colonial context. Philanthropic encounters in Birmingham and Sydney are utilised as a lens through which to explore the intersections between discourses of race, gender and class in metropole and colony. Moreover, philanthropic and missionary efforts towards women and children facilitate a broader discussion of ideas of citizenship and nation. During the period 1860 to 1914 the Australian colonies federated to become the Australian nation and governments in both Britain and Australia had begun to assume some responsibility for the welfare of their citizens/subjects. However, subtle variations in philanthropic practices in both sites reveal interesting differences in the nature of government, the pace of transition towards collectivism, as well as forms of inclusion and exclusion from the nation.

This project illuminates philanthropic and missionary men and women, as well as the women and children they attempted to assist. Moreover, the employment of “respectable” men and women within charities complicates the ways in which discourses of class operated within philanthropy. Interactions between philanthropic and missionary men and women reveal gendered divisions of labour within charities; the women and children they assisted were also taught to replicate normative (middle-class) gendered forms of behaviour. Specific attention is paid to the ways in which race impacted upon philanthropic activities: throughout the experiences of Aboriginal women and children on mission stations interweave with white women and children’s experiences of philanthropy in

Birmingham and Sydney. Comparisons of philanthropic efforts towards white and Aboriginal women and children highlights the “whitening” of philanthropy in the colony of New South Wales and the existence of a *differentiated* philanthropy. Discourses of race were also crucial to philanthropic practices in Birmingham, which strove to create good subject/mothers and citizen/children for the British nation.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

This thesis investigates how responsibilities to the poor were imagined, lived and enacted by urban middle-class men and women in Britain and Australia between 1860 and 1914, focusing on two specific sites of philanthropy, Birmingham and Sydney. Poverty and the responsibilities associated with it are at the heart of my exploration, particularly in relation to the position of new mothers and destitute children. Placing metropolitan and colonial philanthropic practices in a singular frame of analysis enables not only a comparison of philanthropic activities in two specific sites at home and in the empire, but a broader analysis of how philanthropic practices in both sites were shaped by ideas in constant flow between Britain, its colonies and the wider world.

Philanthropy facilitates explorations of discourses of class, gender and race. Philanthropists were often middle-class men and women, and those they sought to assist were often - although not always - members of the working classes. However, philanthropic activities are complicated by the presence of respectable men and women, often from the upper-working classes or lower-middle classes who were employed by charities. Interactions between and within these various groups provide a useful entry point for exploring the complex articulations of class. Discourses of gender are also readily visible within philanthropy, for philanthropic men and women often attempted to teach the women and children they assisted gender-appropriate forms of behaviour. Furthermore, interactions between the middle-class men and women who formed philanthropic committees facilitate an analysis of the gendered division of labour within charities. An exploration of the differences and similarities in philanthropic provision for Aboriginal and white women and children in NSW reveals the ways in which discourses of race operated

in the white settler colony. Furthermore, in Britain the racialisation of white pauper children enables a deeper analysis of the complexities of race and forms of Othering.

Between 1860 and 1914, during an era of transition towards collectivism, the governments of Britain and NSW had begun to take responsibility for the welfare of their citizens/subjects. Concepts of nation, race, empire and citizenship informed philanthropic practices directed towards white and Aboriginal women and children. As some women and children became integral to the future of the nation - as mothers and future citizens respectively, philanthropic practices informed who would be included and who would be excluded from the 'imagined community' of the nation.¹

Literature Review

This project has benefitted from, and attempts to marry together several different, but related strands of historiography including the history of philanthropy, poverty and the transition to collectivism; childhood, women's history, urban history and middle-class culture, mediated through broader discourses of class, gender and race. However, the overarching influence for this thesis is the growing field of research imperfectly termed "new imperial history". Initiated by historians such as Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, this growing body of literature has emerged in the last fifteen years. This approach places Britain and its empire in 'one analytic frame', thus rendering it distinct from

¹ The term "imagined community" is coined by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006).

traditional imperial history.² This thesis, firmly situated within this historiographical trend, thinks across metropole and colony by placing philanthropic practices in Birmingham and Sydney within a singular frame of analysis. New imperial history *thinks* about Britain and the empire differently, and is alert to the ways in which they were mutually constitutive. This budding historiography has also prompted studies of imperial/colonial networks. Alan Lester, David Lambert and Zoë Laidlaw, for example, have explored how identities and careers were shaped through colonial experiences.³ More recently, useful research has been conducted into the relationships *between* colonies.⁴ This varied research has been invaluable to thinking about the ways in which philanthropic ideas were shaped within and between metropole and colony, and their subsequent manifestation in Birmingham and Sydney.

More specifically, the historiography on philanthropy and charity has been fundamental to formulating initial research questions, and I am indebted to the well established and varied literature, particularly in relation to Britain. Although somewhat dated, David Owen's *English Philanthropy* remains an excellent starting point, providing a

² Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, 'Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda', in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler eds, *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 1-56. Other historians have utilised this framework in their research: Catherine Hall *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002); Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); Alison Twells, *The Civilising Mission and the English Middle Class, 1792-1850: The "Heathen" at Home and Overseas* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Clare Midgley, *Feminism and Empire: Women Activists in Imperial Britain 1790-1865* (London: Routledge, 2007); Hilary M. Carey ed., *Empires of Religion* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

³ Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain* (London: Routledge, 2001); David Lambert and Alan Lester eds, *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Career in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Zoë Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections 1815-1845: Patronage, The Information Revolution and Colonial Government* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

⁴ Alan Lester has contributed much to this growing field of research. See 'Historical Geographies of British Colonisation: New South Wales, New Zealand and the Cape in the Early Nineteenth Century', in Simon J. Potter ed., *Imperial Communication: Australia and Britain* (London: Menzies Centre, 2004), pp. 91-120; 'Colonial Settlers and the Metropole: Racial Discourse in the Early Nineteenth Century Cape Colony, Australia and New Zealand', *Landscape Research*, 27 (2002), pp. 39-50. See also Kirsten McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies: Sydney and Cape Town, 1820-1850* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2004).

broad survey of philanthropy over time.⁵ More recently a number of historians have illuminated the actions of philanthropists and voluntary organisations in Britain, ranging from the early-nineteenth century into the twentieth century.⁶ This large field of literature has numerous strands, including gender and philanthropy and women and philanthropy.⁷ For the Australian colonies the literature on philanthropy and charity is more sparse, although Brian Dickey and Stephen Garton have made important contributions.⁸

Whilst these texts provide detailed accounts of philanthropic activities in Britain and Australia, there was a consistent lack of awareness about the ways in which philanthropic ideas travelled - and how they shifted in transit - between metropole and colony. I was intrigued by the ways in which forms of voluntary action at home were shaped by, and indeed shaped, forms of voluntary action in the colonies. Such considerations are absent from much of the historiography on charity, and it is only in recent years that historians such as Clare Midgley have begun to think about voluntary action within an imperial framework.⁹ This thesis has benefitted greatly from this small but growing body of

⁵ David Owen, *English Philanthropy, 1660-1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).

⁶ Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988); Jane Lewis, *The Voluntary Sector, The State and Social Work in Britain: The Charity Organisation Society/Family Welfare Association since 1869* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1995); Martin Daunton ed., *Charity, Self-Interest and Welfare in the English Past* (London: UCL Press, 1996).

⁷ Dorice Williams Elliott, *The Angel Out of the House: Philanthropy and Gender in Nineteenth-Century England* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002) Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (London: Routledge, 2002, revised edn), chapter 10; Anne Summers, *Female Lives, Moral States: Women, Religion and Public Life in Britain, 1800-1930* (Newbury: Threshold, 2000); Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (London: Virago, 1985), chapter 6; Jane Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1991); Frank Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

⁸ Brian Dickey, *No Charity There: A Short History of Social Welfare in Australia* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987, revised edn); Stephen Garton, *Out of Luck: Poor Australians and Social Welfare* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1990); Richard Kennedy ed., *Australian Welfare History: Critical Essays* (Melbourne: Macmillan Company, 1982).

⁹ Midgley, *Feminism and Empire*. See also David Lambert and Alan Lester, 'Geographies of Colonial Philanthropy', *Progress in Human Geography*, 28 (2004), pp. 320-341; Helen Gilbert and Chris Tiffin eds, *Burden or Benefit: Imperial Benevolence and its Legacies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008). Alison Twells and Susan Thorne have considered missionary activities at home and in the empire in "one analytic frame". See Twells, *The Civilising Mission* and Thorne, *Congregational Missions*.

literature which prompted my primary research question: what were the differences and similarities in philanthropic provision for women and children in metropole and colony, specifically Birmingham and Sydney?

Philanthropic efforts directed towards white and Aboriginal women and children were heavily gendered. This project is alert to the varied manifestations of gender, evident in the aims and actions of philanthropists and the ways in which they attempted to mould female and child recipients. Gender is a socially constructed discourse which prescribes acceptable and appropriate forms of behaviour for men, women, girls and boys: from dress, speech, work, and leisure activities to all other forms of *being*. It signifies ‘what it means to be a woman or a man and the qualities of person that make one more or less womanly or more or less manly’.¹⁰ It informs all aspects of society, including politics, economics, culture, religion, race, class and ethnicity. Gender norms also shape how men and women interact with each other, and with society more broadly. Varying according to time and place, gender renders femininity inferior and subordinate to masculinity. This thesis poses the following question: to what extent did philanthropists attempt to instill normative (defined as middle-class) concepts of gender in women and boys and girls?

In the British historiography, much of the research on gender has centered on the extent to which separate spheres were a major organising principle of nineteenth-century British society.¹¹ The ideology of separate spheres remains part of a set of useful

¹⁰ Sonya O. Rose, *Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in Nineteenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 11.

¹¹ Davidoff and Hall argue that gender and the ideology of separate spheres were fundamental to middle-class identities in *Family Fortunes*. However, other historians such as Amanda Vickery have questioned how far this ideology permeated the everyday lives of women in Britain. See ‘Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women’s History’, *The Historical Journal*, 36 (1993), pp. 383-414. For more general explorations of gender during this period in Britain see Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Rose, *Limited Livelihoods*; Michael Roper and John Tosh eds, *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London: Routledge, 1991); John Tosh, *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (London: Yale University Press, 1999).

conceptual tools for explaining the inequalities of power between men and women and gendered concepts of space in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. In Australia, the historiography of gender has followed a slightly different path. Here the focus has largely rested on intersections between gender and nation. Due to the early sex imbalance of the penal colony of NSW and the continual depiction of the Australian colonies as places of adventure, discovery and a *workingman's* paradise, an 'excessively masculine culture' became dominant.¹² This overtly masculine culture has continued to seep into depictions of the nation, which still celebrates a 'particular style of white masculinity'.¹³

In the 1970s Miriam Dixson sought to challenge the predominant view in Australia that 'a book could be about national identity, or it could be about women in Australian history. It could not be about both'.¹⁴ In an on-going process subsequent feminist historians, such as the authors of *Creating a Nation* have sought to refute the notion that nation-building was 'men's business' by emphasising the contribution of women - both white and Aboriginal - to the nation.¹⁵ This thesis adopts elements from both historiographical trends in Britain and Australia by exploring the inherently gendered nature of philanthropic activities, in addition to situating women as historical actors in the nation by exploring their role as philanthropists, recipients and employees within charities.

¹² Christina Twomey, *Deserted and Destitute: Motherhood, Wife Desertion and Colonial Welfare* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing Ltd, 2002), p. xiii. Marilyn Lake has explored the masculine character of the Australian nation in her article: 'Mission Impossible: How Men Gave Birth to the Australian Nation: Nationalism, Gender and Other Seminal Acts', *Gender & History*, 4 (1992), pp. 305-22.

¹³ Patricia Grimshaw, Marilyn Lake, Ann McGrath and Marian Quartly, 'Introduction', in Patricia Grimshaw *et al*, *Creating a Nation* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1996), p. 2. Until the 1970s there was little room for women in histories of Australia. If they did appear they were frequently dichotomised as "damned whores" or "God's police". See Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police: The Colonization of Women in Australia* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1975).

¹⁴ Miriam Dixson, *The Real Matilda: Woman and Identity in Australia, 1788 to the Present* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1999, 4th edn), p. 2.

¹⁵ Grimshaw, Lake, McGrath and Quartly, 'Introduction', in Grimshaw *et al*, *Creating a Nation*, p. 1.

Philanthropic efforts directed towards women are a fruitful source of analysis for several reasons. White women and women of colour were frequently represented as deserving of assistance by philanthropists and missionaries. From the late-eighteenth century Scottish Enlightenment theorists linked the treatment of women in societies to levels of civilisation.¹⁶ The depiction of the brutal treatment of women of colour within indigenous societies was connected to the failure of those societies to achieve levels of civilization dictated by stadial theories of development.¹⁷ Women were not only deemed to be indicators of levels of civilisation, they could also be its agents by exerting a ‘good moral influence’ over their families.¹⁸ Thus, in order to improve the civilisation of society as a whole, particular efforts had to be directed towards women. Those women whom philanthropists considered to be a danger to civilisation were targeted for improvement and reform. Unmarried mothers were a particular threat because they were perceived by philanthropists to represent the kinds of overt and unrestricted sexual activity associated with women of colour.¹⁹ Such representations served to mark these women as distinct from

¹⁶ John Stuart Mill (ed., Sue Mansfield) *The Subjection of Women* (Illinois: AHM Publishing Corporation, 1980).

¹⁷ For instance Patricia Grimshaw has argued that European depictions of the brutal treatment of Aboriginal women at the hands of Aboriginal men were significant in the categorisation of Aboriginal societies as hunter-gatherer societies, the lowest rung of societal development. See ‘Maori Agriculturalists and Aboriginal Hunter Gatherers: Women and Colonial Displacement in Nineteenth Century Aotearoa/New Zealand and South Eastern Australia’, in Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri eds, *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender & Race* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), pp. 21-40. Stadial theory detailed four stages of development, which began with hunter-gatherer societies, then pastoralist, agricultural, and finally commercial societies which were deemed to be most civilised.

¹⁸ Midgley, *Feminism and Empire*, p. 15.

¹⁹ Representations of the Hottentot Venus, with her enlarged buttocks and genitals, represent the ways in which women of colour were frequently sexualised in Europe and throughout the empire in the nineteenth century. See Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and The Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Richard Phillips, *Sex, Politics and Empire: A Postcolonial Geography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995); Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (London: Routledge, 2003). For the sexualisation of white working-class women see Paula Bartley, ‘Preventing Prostitution: The Ladies’ Association for the Care and Protection of Young Girls in Birmingham, 1887-1914’, *Women’s History Review*, 7 (1998), pp. 37-60 and Paula Bartley, ‘Moral Regeneration: Women and the Civic Gospel in Birmingham 1870-1914’, *Midland History*, 25 (2000), pp. 143-161; Koven, *Slumming* and Poovey, *Uneven Developments*.

the 'sexually passive' depictions of middle-class white women as the Angel in the House.²⁰

Such assumptions were exacerbated by changing ideas about waged work during the nineteenth century in Britain. The growing expectation (propounded largely by the middle classes) that women should not work outside the home was linked with the growth of the individual male wage and the gradual restriction of some forms of paid work for women. Inequalities of sex and gender meant that 'women, like children, represented the innocence of the natural world which active masculinity must support, protect - and oversee'.²¹ Like femininity, masculinity was also reconfigured in this era, and men's ability to provide financially for their families became central to expectations of masculinity. As working-class men were increasingly conceptualised as wage-earners, they were denied indoor assistance by charities.²² Indeed the workings of the New Poor Law of 1834 were based on gendered assumptions that able bodied men should work; women and children were represented as their dependents. As a result, there were a considerable number of philanthropic societies providing indoor assistance to deserving women and children in Birmingham and Sydney.

There are a number of studies which explore philanthropic efforts directed towards women in Britain and the Australian colonies. For Britain, Jane Lewis' research is currently unrivaled in its detailed analysis of the experiences of working-class women and

²⁰ Jane Lewis, 'Introduction: Reconstructing Women's Experience of Home and Family', in Jane Lewis ed., *Labour and Love: Women's Experiences of the Home and Family, 1850-1940* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), p. 5.

²¹ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 28.

²² Increasing numbers of philanthropic societies providing indoor assistance for women coincided with decreasing numbers of similar charities for men. This was in part a result of the introduction of public works schemes by the NSW government for men, particularly during periods of high unemployment. See Stuart Macintyre, *Winners and Losers: The Pursuit of Social Justice in Australian History* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985)

their interactions with both voluntary societies and the state.²³ In addition, historians such as Ellen Ross have conducted much needed research into working-class experiences of motherhood and Anna Davin was one of the first historians to explore notions of motherhood in terms of nation, race, and empire.²⁴ For the Australian colonies I am indebted in particular to Shurlee Swain and Christina Twomey who have shaped my understanding of the experiences of unmarried mothers.²⁵ However Swain and Twomey's research is based on the state of Victoria, and little research has been conducted into working-class mothers as recipients of philanthropy in either Sydney or Birmingham more specifically.

Within the Australian colonies, the complexities of Aboriginal motherhood are explored by Anna Haebich and Ann McGrath.²⁶ However, there has been a tendency to consider the experiences of Aboriginal and white mothers separately; very few texts consider their experiences together in a *single* frame of analysis.²⁷ Thus, in this project, the experiences of Aboriginal and white women are compared throughout, rather than

²³ See in particular Lewis ed., *Labour and Love* and Jane Lewis, *The Politics of Motherhood: Child and Maternal Welfare in England, 1900-1939* (London: Croom Helm, 1980).

²⁴ Ellen Ross, *Love & Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London 1870-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', in Raphael Samuel ed., *The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity, vol. 1: History and Politics* (3 vols., London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 203-235. See also Frank Prochaska, 'A Mother's Country: Mothers' Meetings and Family Welfare in Britain, 1850-1950', *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, 74 (1989), pp. 379-99; Rose, *Limited Livelihoods*; Jane Lewis, 'The Working-Class Wife and Mother and State Intervention, 1870-1918', in Lewis ed., *Labour and Love*, pp. 99-120. Seth Koven and Sonya Michel eds, *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States* (London: Routledge, 1993); Lara Marks and Hilary Marland eds, *Women and Children First: International Maternal and Infant Welfare, 1870-1945* (London: Routledge, 1992). For Birmingham see Carl Chinn, *They Worked All Their Lives: Women and the Urban Poor in England, 1880-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), chapter 2.

²⁵ Shurlee Swain (with Renate Howe) *Single Mothers and Their Children: Disposal, Punishment and Survival in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Twomey, *Deserted and Destitute*. See also Lynette Finch, *The Classing Gaze: Sexuality, Class and Surveillance* (St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1993), chapter 6.

²⁶ Anna Haebich, *Broken Circles: Fragmenting Indigenous Families 1800-2000* (Freemantle: Freemantle Arts Centre Press, 2000), Ann McGrath, 'Birthplaces' and 'Sex, Violence and Theft: 1830-1900', in Grimshaw et al, *Creating a Nation*, pp. 7-26 and pp. 131-50.

²⁷ Grimshaw et al, *Creation a Nation* is one exception.

ghettoising Aboriginal women in a separate chapter.²⁸ Similarly to the ways in which white women were believed to be deserving of philanthropic assistance, missionaries often targeted indigenous women because of such gendered assumptions that *all* women required protection and care. Growing numbers of Aboriginal women on mission stations fueled the common missionary belief that Aboriginal women were particularly susceptible to conversion and civilisation.²⁹ Thus, philanthropic activities specifically devoted to white and Aboriginal women facilitate the exploration of ideas of race and gender. During the late-nineteenth century in both Britain and the Australian colonies the suffrage movement was active and contemporaries in both sites were re-assessing women's place within the nation. Thus, how were philanthropic practices utilised in both sites to incorporate/exclude women from the nation? What place - if any - would these women assume within the nation as citizens/subjects?

Children, like women, were also considered to be deserving in both Britain and the Australian colonies due to shifts in normative concepts of childhood (always thought of in terms of white middle-class childhood) which occurred up to and during the nineteenth century. Several historians have traced such changes within Britain and the Australian colonies.³⁰ However, there are few studies which consider philanthropic practices for

²⁸ "Ghettoising" refers not only to physical separation and containment of ethnic groups, but also historiographically, where one specific chapter is used to contain peoples of colour so their experiences remain separate from the history of the majority.

²⁹ Susan Thorne states that indigenous women were believed to be the key to converting entire families and communities. See *Congregational Missions*, p. 95.

³⁰ For Britain Hugh Cunningham's *The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991) is an excellent starting point. See also Pamela Horn, *The Victorian Town Child* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1999); Eric Hopkins, *Childhood Transformed: Working-Class Children in Nineteenth-Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); Harry Hendrick, *Children, Childhood and English Society, 1880-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Anna Davin, *Growing up Poor: Home, School and Street in London 1870-1914* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996). For the Australian colonies Jan Kociumbas' *Australian Childhood: A History* (St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1997) provides a comprehensive survey of Australian childhood from white settlement into the twentieth century. See also John Ramsland, *Children of the Back Lanes: Destitute and Neglected Children in Colonial New South Wales* (Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1986) and Finch, *The Classing Gaze*, chapter 4.

children in Britain *and* its colonies. Moreover, little attention is paid to the ways in which philanthropic ideas concerning children travelled between and within sites of empire. Thus, I sought to explore the following questions: what were the differences and similarities in philanthropic provision for children in Birmingham and Sydney? To what extent did ideas about philanthropy travel between Britain and the Australian colonies and Birmingham and Sydney? The development of schooling, increasing numbers of charities for children and legislative changes were part of a growing trend of viewing white children as future *citizens* in both sites.³¹ In addition to concepts of citizenship, the child emigration movement, popular in Britain during this period, is a useful entry point for thinking about concepts of race, nation and empire in Birmingham.³² The varied body of literature on childhood in Britain and the Australian colonies prompted me to ask: how was the relationship between children, parents and the state reconfigured during the period 1860-1914 in Britain and NSW? Was this relationship reconfigured in the same ways in Britain and NSW - and later the Australian nation? What impact did legislative changes have on philanthropic activities and parental rights in both sites?

In the Australian colonies, debates during the late-nineteenth century focusing on the decline of the white birth rate occurred simultaneously with the formation of the nation,

³¹ George K. Behlmer, *Child Abuse and Moral Reform in England, 1870-1908* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982); Jon Lawrence and Pat Starkey eds, *Child Welfare and Social Action in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: International Perspectives* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001); Keith McClelland and Sonya O. Rose 'Citizenship and Empire, 1867-1928', in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose eds, *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 275-297; Deborah Dwork, *War is Good for Babies and Other Young Children: A History of the Infant and Child Welfare Movement in England 1898-1918* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1987) See also Brian Dickey, 'Care for Deprived, Neglected and Delinquent Children in New South Wales, 1901-1915', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 63 (1977), pp. 167-183; John Ramsland, 'The Development of Boarding-out Systems in Australia: A Series of Welfare Experiments in Child Care 1860-1910', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 60 (1974), pp. 186-198; and Margaret Barbalet, *Far From a Low Gutter Girl: The Forgotten World of State Wards: South Australia 1887-1940* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1983).

³² Gillian Wagner, *Children of the Empire* (London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd, 1983); Phillip Bean and Joy Melville, *Lost Children of the Empire* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989); Roy Parker, *Uprooted: The Shipment of Poor Children to Canada, 1867-1917* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2008). See also Stephen Heathorn, *For Home, Country, and Race: Constructing Gender, Class and Englishness in the Elementary School, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

revealing intersections between race and nation.³³ For the Australian colonies, historians such as Peter Read and Anna Haebich have traced the harrowing experiences of Aboriginal child removal during white settlement.³⁴ These removed children became part of the stolen generations, the effects of which continue to have a devastating and lasting impact on Aboriginal communities in the present.³⁵ Similarly to the current literature on white and Aboriginal women, there has been a historiographical tradition of separating the experiences of white and Aboriginal children. Naomi Parry's doctoral thesis represents an important juncture in the historiography because it considers early welfare provisions for white *and* Aboriginal children in Tasmania and NSW.³⁶ This thesis also links the experiences of white and Aboriginal children to consider the ways in which race shaped philanthropic provision. However, a metropolitan dimension is added to reflect on the ways in which white children and Aboriginal children were deemed by philanthropists and missionaries to need forms of civilisation.

This project also seeks to illuminate male and female philanthropists by exploring their aims and actions. For Britain and the Australian colonies, a number of historians have sought to explore the contribution made by middle-class/elite women to philanthropic

³³ Neville Hicks, *"This Sin and Scandal" Australia's Population Debate 1891-1911* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1978); Stephen Garton, 'Sir Charles Mackellar: Psychiatry, Eugenics and Child Welfare in New South Wales', 1900-1914, *Historical Studies*, 22 (1986), pp. 21-34.

³⁴ Peter Read, *The Stolen Generations: The Removal of Aboriginal Children in New South Wales 1883 to 1969* (Sydney: Government Printer, 1982); Haebich, *Broken Circles*. See also Heather Goodall, 'New South Wales', in Ann McGrath ed., *Contested Ground: Australian Aborigines under the British Crown* (St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1995), pp. 55-120, and Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1982), esp. chapter 7.

³⁵ Haebich, *Broken Circles*.

³⁶ Naomi Parry, 'Such A Longing: Black and White Children in Welfare in New South Wales and Tasmania, 1880-1940', unpublished PhD thesis (University of New South Wales, 2007).

activities.³⁷ Historians such as Paula Bartley and Judith Godden have focused on philanthropic women in Birmingham and Sydney, respectively.³⁸ Middle-class and elite women were encouraged to engage in philanthropy, which was heralded as their ‘rightful mission’ to society.³⁹ Indeed, the use of the word mission conveys the importance of religion to philanthropists and their works, and of course groups of religious sisters and priests made significant contributions to philanthropy.⁴⁰ Some of the literature on female philanthropists was initiated by feminist historians motivated to explore women’s history, and more recently, discourses of gender.⁴¹ Thus, philanthropy is a useful entry point for accessing women’s presence in the public sphere during a period in which middle-class and elite women’s opportunities to enter that sphere were restricted.

³⁷ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*; Frank Prochaska, ‘Body and Soul: Bible Nurses and the Poor in Victorian London’, *Historical Research: The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 60 (1987), pp. 336-348; Koven, *Slumming*; For Australia see Anne O’Brien, ‘Militant Mothers: Faith, Power and Identity in the Mothers’ Union in Sydney, 1896-1950’, *Women’s History Review*, 9 (2000), pp. 35-53; Elizabeth Windschuttle, ‘Women and the Origins of Colonial Philanthropy’, in Kennedy ed., *Australian Welfare History*, pp. 10-31.

³⁸ Bartley, ‘Moral Regeneration’, pp. 143-161 and ‘Preventing Prostitution’, pp. 37-60. Judith Godden, ‘Philanthropy and the Women’s Sphere, Sydney, 1870 - circa 1900’, unpublished PhD thesis (Macquarie University, 1983) and ‘“The Work for Them, and the Glory for Us!”: Sydney Women’s Philanthropy, 1870-1900’, in Kennedy ed., *Australian Welfare History*, pp. 84-102.

³⁹ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, p. 11.

⁴⁰ For Britain several texts explore the importance of religion to philanthropy, and in particular the impact of evangelicalism: Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*; Summers, *Female Lives*; Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact of the Victorians* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1976). For Birmingham, the importance of the Quakers to philanthropic activities required some consideration of Quakerism. Thomas C. Kennedy’s *British Quakerism 1860-1920: The Transformation of a Religious Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) is a useful resource, and Judy Lloyd’s thesis provides a useful case study of the Lloyd family, one of the most prominent Quaker families in Birmingham during this period. See ‘The Lloyds of Birmingham: Quaker Culture and Identity 1850-1918’, unpublished PhD thesis (University College London, 2006). Clyde Binfield’s *So Down to Prayers: Studies in English Nonconformity 1780-1920* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1977) illuminated Nonconformity, a crucial part of the history of Birmingham in this era. For religious sisters and the importance of religion to women in Australia see Anne O’Brien, *God’s Willing Workers: Women and Religion in Australia* (Sydney: NSW University Press, 2005); Leslie Patricia Hughes, ‘To Labour Seriously: Catholic Sisters and Social Welfare in Late Nineteenth Century Sydney’, unpublished PhD thesis (University of New South Wales, 2003). For more general studies of religion in Australia see Roger C. Thompson, *Religion in Australia: A History* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2002, 2nd edn); Hans Mol, *The Faith of Australians* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1985); James Waldersee, *Catholic Society in New South Wales 1788-1860* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1974).

⁴¹ Summers, *Female Lives*; Williams Elliott, *The Angel Out of the House*; Lewis, *Women and Social Action*; Vicinus, *Independent Women*, in particular chapter 6. See also Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, in particular chapter 10.

I am interested in the ways in which *gender* impacted upon philanthropic activities, which requires close attention to the actions of both female and male philanthropists. Conversely, attention needs to shift to male philanthropists, particularly the ways in which philanthropic engagement enabled middle-class men to make a claim for - and increase - their status in the public sphere.⁴² Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's *Family Fortunes* is one of the few texts to discuss the importance of philanthropic efforts to increasing the status of middle-class men.⁴³ Thinking about gender and philanthropy provoked the following questions: what impact did gender have on the way charities operated? More specifically, what difference did gender make to the establishment of philanthropic committees and how decisions were made within charities? Was there a gendered division of labour within philanthropic committees? What impact did men and women's philanthropic activities have on their wider status within the community?

A study of philanthropy has little meaning without close attention to discourses of class. Broadly speaking, most of the philanthropists were comprised of men and women from the middle classes. Class remains a vital conceptual tool for explaining the unequal economic position of individuals, which shapes every aspect of their lives, as well as their interactions with society more broadly. E. P. Thompson's definition of class remains pertinent: 'class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared) feel and articulate the identity of their interests between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs'.⁴⁴ Gareth Stedman Jones' *Outcast London* has also been useful in thinking about the ways in which

⁴² In *English Philanthropy* David Owen explores the life of George Cadbury of Birmingham whose 'whole career was, in the broad sense, a venture in philanthropy', pp. 434-40.

⁴³ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, chapter 10.

⁴⁴ E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1980, new edn), pp. 10-11.

class was articulated through language.⁴⁵ His exploration of the varying terms used to depict the poor in Victorian London has been particularly valuable, given that terms such as “deserving” and “undeserving” were ‘a central tenet of middle-class social philosophy’ in this era.⁴⁶

Whilst the class system in Britain permitted some movement both up and down the scale, it was predominantly viscous, allowing for small movements; traversing the entire social scale was almost impossible. During this period, inequalities between philanthropists and recipients of philanthropy are effectively highlighted by discourses of class. Moreover, inequalities of class - always mediated through gender - were *the* primary organising factor of society in Britain, and to some extent in the Australian colonies during this period. Studies of philanthropy enable an exploration of the ways in which men and women from the middle classes interacted with the poor outside of the mistress/servant and employer/employee relationship.

Thinking about class in the Australian colonies presented its own set of conceptual problems, namely the manifestations of class in a colonial context. Many historians have attempted to grapple with such issues.⁴⁷ Whilst in Britain, since the 1980s, many historians (predominantly feminist historians) have explored intersections between class and gender,

⁴⁵ Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, chapters 15 and 16.

⁴⁷ R. W. Connell and T. H. Irving’s *Class Structure in Australian History: Documents, Narrative and Argument* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1980) is a good place to start. See also C. M. H. Clark, *A History of Australia, Volume V: The People Make Laws 1888-1915* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1981) chapter 7 for a discussion of the growth of trade unions and working-class consciousness. Both Brian Dickey and Stephen Garton introduce colonial concepts of class in *No Charity There* and *Out of Luck*, respectively.

for Australia this remains an underdeveloped field of research.⁴⁸ Australian colonists imagined themselves to be more egalitarian than their counterparts in Britain, and in many respects the class system was less viscous than in Britain; individuals could more easily negotiate the social ladder. As such, a greater sensitivity is required to consider other forms of social/moral hierarchies in operation in colonial society. Until the end of transportation, one of the main distinctions in NSW society was between free and unfree. This is not to undermine the importance and widespread operation of class in the Australian colonies but rather to explore ways in which other hierarchies operated alongside and within it.

Throughout I have used the plural *classes* which reflects more accurately the wide range of peoples within one overarching economic/social class. For instance, many working-class women applied for assistance, from the habitual poor to upper-working-class women from families that had fallen on hard times. Employing a greater sensitivity to the intricate nature of class can also complicate the philanthropic relationship, which historiographically has often been conceptualised as interactions between philanthropists and recipients.⁴⁹ This study attempts to respond to Colin Jones' call to disrupt this dichotomy by considering the various classed interactions which took place in philanthropic societies; between philanthropists, the staff they employed - from lady superintendents to domestic servants - and the recipients of philanthropy.

⁴⁸ For Britain see Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*; Rose, *Limited Livelihoods*; Ross, *Love & Toil*; Eileen Janes Yeo, *The Contest For Social Science: Representations of Gender and Class* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996); Summers, *Female Lives*; Koven, *Slumming*; Williams Elliott, *The Angel Out of the House*; Lewis ed., *Labour and Love*. For the Australian colonies. Penny Russell's "*A Wish of Distinction*": *Colonial Gentility and Femininity* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1994) and Twomey's *Deserted and Destitute* are among the few texts which explore the intersections between class and gender, but much more research is needed.

⁴⁹ Colin Jones argues for the disruption of this dichotomy in 'Some Recent Trends in the History of Charity', in Daunton ed., *Charity*, p. 51.

Class, as a theory, has little real meaning without exploring the ways in which it impacted on, and shaped the lives, of ‘real people... in a real context’.⁵⁰ That context is philanthropy and the “real people” are the philanthropists and recipients whose class identities were lived culturally. In recent years a growing historiography has emerged which considers urban middle-class culture during the nineteenth century in Britain. Simon Gunn’s *The Public Culture* is an excellent resource which explores how middle-class power, knowledge and authority were expressed through the development of forms of bourgeois culture in urban space.⁵¹ His research, some of which was influenced by Gramscian concepts of hegemony, investigates the continual efforts made by middle-class men and women to assert - and continually *re-assert* - their claims for authority within the urban space.⁵² Patrick Joyce’s argument that such acts of benevolence were ‘only meaningful when performed in public’ has presented new ways of thinking about the performance of *the public*.⁵³ However, such studies are concerned with a broad conception of performance of knowledge and authority in the public sphere. This study focuses in detail on one form of middle-class performance in the public sphere, philanthropy. A study of philanthropy enables an exploration of the ways in which middle-class men and women articulated their claims for knowledge and authority over those men and women they employed in their institutions *and* those they sought to assist.

⁵⁰ Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p. 10. Thompson argues that class needs to be understood as a relationship between individuals or groups rather than a “thing”, pp. 11-2.

⁵¹ Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the English Industrial City* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

⁵² Derek Fraser, *Power and Authority in the Victorian City* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979); R. J. Morris, *Men, Women and Property in England, 1780-1870* and *A Social and Economic History of Family Strategies amongst the Leeds Middle Classes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); R. J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party: The Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds 1820-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990); Anne Anderson, ‘Victorian High Society and Social Duty: The Promotion of “Recreative Learning and Voluntary Teaching”’, *History of Education*, 31 (2002), pp. 311-334. For Birmingham see Anne B. Rodrick, *Self-Help and Civic Culture: Citizenship in Victorian Birmingham* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). See also Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*; Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830-1864* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

⁵³ Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London: Verso, 2003).

Much of the literature on urban middle-class culture has emerged from a wider historiography of British urban history which encompasses a myriad of themes including the physical development of urban centers, slums, as well as concepts of civilising and uncivilising spaces.⁵⁴ This project has benefitted from specific studies of Birmingham's urban history, although similar studies are lacking for Sydney.⁵⁵ Urban spaces were significant because they rendered paupers visible, both on a large scale and for the first time, to middle-class men and women. Thus how did urban middle-class men and women imagine their responsibilities to the poor?

For the Australian colonies recent research on performance and behaviour in the public sphere has centered on concepts of respectability, behaviour and manners in colonial society.⁵⁶ This research has less of a class focus because the various permutations of urban

⁵⁴ Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (London: Odhams Press, 1963) was an innovative study of the city. Subsequent studies followed such as Alan Everitt ed., *Perspectives in English Urban History* (London: Macmillan, 1973); H. J. Dyos and Michael Wolff eds, *The Victorian City: Images and Realities, Volumes One and Two* (London: Routledge, 1973); Fraser, *Power and Authority*; R. J. Morris and Richard Rodger eds, *The Victorian City: A Reader in British Urban History 1820-1914* (London: Longman, 1993). Alan Mayne, *The Imagined Slum: Newspaper Representation in Three Cities, 1870-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993).

⁵⁵ Comprehensive overviews of Birmingham history are found in Asa Briggs, *History of Birmingham. Volume 2: Borough and City 1865-1938* (3 vols., London: Oxford University Press, 1952); Carl Chinn ed., *Birmingham: Bibliography of a City* (Birmingham: Birmingham University Press, 2003); W. B. Stephens ed., *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Warwickshire, Volume Seven: The City of Birmingham* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964). See also Roger Ward, *City-State and Nation: Birmingham's Political History, 1830-1940* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co., 2005); Eric Hopkins 'Industrial Change and Life at Work in Birmingham 1850-1914', *Midland History*, 27 (2002), pp. 112-127; Clive Behagg, 'Myths of Cohesion: Capital and Compromise in the Historiography of Nineteenth-Century Birmingham', *Social History*, 11 (1986), pp. 375-384; Victor Skipp, *The Making of Victorian Birmingham* (Birmingham: published privately, 1983). Only a handful of books and articles explore Sydney's urban history, including Shirley Fitzgerald, *Rising Damp: Sydney, 1870-90* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987). See also E. C. Fry, 'The Growth of Sydney', in J. W. McCarty and C. B. Schedvin eds, *Australian Capital Cities: Historical Essays* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1978), pp. 26-47.

⁵⁶ McKenzie's *Scandal in the Colonies* provides an excellent analysis of colonial society and its preoccupation with behaviour, scandals and the desire for respectability. See also her most recent work, *A Swindler's Progress: Nobles and Convicts in the Age of Liberty* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2009). In addition, Penny Russell has completed important research into the performance of behaviour and manners in colonial NSW and Victoria. See 'The Brash Colonial: Class and Compartment in Nineteenth-Century Australia', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), pp. 431-53 and "A Wish of Distinction".

middle-class culture were less evident in the Australian colonies.⁵⁷ This small but extremely useful body of literature provides an opportunity to think about the differences and similarities in the performance of behaviour in public society at home and in a particular colonial context. Moreover, such research is useful for exploring the importance of behaviour, manners and respectability to philanthropists and missionaries in both sites. Did respectability and morality mean the same in Birmingham and Sydney?

Many of the women and children who approached philanthropic societies did so because they were poor. This project has benefitted from the varied historiography of poverty, particularly relating to Britain. Ellen Ross, Jane Lewis and Anna Davin's work in particular has illuminated working-class women and children's experiences of poverty in Britain.⁵⁸ More specifically, Carl Chinn's focus on working-class women in Birmingham has proved particularly useful.⁵⁹ The historiography on philanthropy and poverty is considerable for Britain, due to the 'faith in voluntary institutions' which 'ran deep in the English mentality'.⁶⁰ However, for the Australian colonies the colonial myth of the worker's paradise has endured to such an extent that until recently, studies of poverty have been neglected in the Australian historiography.⁶¹ It is only in the last twenty years that historians have begun to shift their attention to studies of poverty and philanthropy in

⁵⁷ The themes of manners, morals and behaviour are less developed in the British historiography. M. J. D. Roberts', *Making English Morals: Voluntary Association and Moral Reform in England, 1787-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) is an important exception, although much more research is needed, particularly for the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

⁵⁸ Ross, *Love & Toil*; Lewis, 'The Working-Class Wife'; Davin, *Growing up Poor*. See also Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Poverty and Compassion: The Moral Imagination of the Late Victorians* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991) which focuses on broader conceptions of poverty.

⁵⁹ Chinn, *They Worked All their Lives*.

⁶⁰ David Roberts, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State* (London: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 24.

⁶¹ Judith Godden argues that 'Australian colonists strove to preserve the myth that provision for the poor was not needed in a new land of opportunity' in "'The Work for Them'", p. 87. Moreover, the reputation of the Australian colonies as a "worker's paradise" was built around the notion that 'few were rich but all were comfortable', Garton, *Out of Luck*, p. 1. Dickey adds that 'Poverty has been a sustained component of the history of Australia. This fact has rarely been acknowledged either by contemporaries or observers', in *No Charity There*, p. xvi.

Australia, with important contributions from Stephen Garton, Brian Dickey and Anne O'Brien in particular.⁶² It is only through ongoing research into the lives of poor men, women and children in the Australian colonies that the myths of unequivocal prosperity can finally be dismantled.

The period chosen for this study, 1860 to 1914, provides an opportunity to explore the growing numbers of philanthropic societies for working-class women and children. Furthermore, this period facilitates an exploration of the gradual transition to collectivism in Britain, NSW and later the Australian nation. By 1914 in both Britain and the newly federated Australian nation, governments had begun to assume some responsibility for the welfare of their citizens and subjects through the introduction of old age pensions and maternity bonuses.⁶³ In NSW, the government financially supported many charities throughout the nineteenth century. This provides interesting points of contrast with the strong voluntary sector in Britain and provokes questions about the *nature* of government itself in both sites. Thus, how did the respective governments in Britain and NSW imagine their duties to their poorer citizens/subjects? Furthermore, what was the relationship between the government and charities in both sites during the transition to collectivism? What effect did increasing legislation in this period - in particular relating to children - have on philanthropic activities?

⁶² Dickey, *No Charity There*; Anne O'Brien, *Poverty's Prison: The Poor in New South Wales 1880-1918* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1988); Garton, *Out of Luck*. See also Fitzgerald, *Rising Damp*, chapter 7; Twomey's *Deserted and Destitute* considers the experiences of deserted women in colonial Victoria.

⁶³ Pat Thane provides an excellent survey in *Foundations of the Welfare State* (Harlow: Longman, 1982). See also Roberts, *Victorian Origins*; Lewis, *The Voluntary Sector*; Linda Mahood, *Policing Gender, Class and Family: Britain, 1850-1940* (London: Routledge, 1995) and Paul Johnson, 'Risk, Distribution and Social Welfare in Britain from the Poor Law to Beveridge', in Daunton ed., *Charity, Self-Interest and Welfare*, pp. 225-248. For Australia see M. A. Jones, *The Australian Welfare State* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1980), chapter 2. Jill Roe, 'Leading the World? 1901-1914', in Jill Roe ed., *Social Policy in Australia: Some Perspectives 1901-1975* (Stanmore: Cassell Australia Limited, 1976), pp. 3-23; Francis G. Castles, *The Working Class and Welfare: Reflections on the Political Development of the Welfare State in Australia and New Zealand, 1890-1980* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1985).

Race is also central to explorations of philanthropic provision for women and children in both sites, providing both fruitful and complex intersections with discourses of class and gender. Alongside gender and class, race also facilitates explorations of power and identity. Moreover, it addresses questions of national belonging and Otherness, identifying ‘outsiders and strangers’ in particular societies.⁶⁴ Thus, race does not simply apply to skin colour; it is both biological *and* cultural. Ideas about race are infused throughout nineteenth- and early-twentieth century concepts of civilisation, barbarism, degeneration, extinction and eugenics.⁶⁵ However, there is a notable absence in the current historiography on the impact of racial thinking upon philanthropy. What were the differences in philanthropic provision between white women and children and Aboriginal women and children in NSW? For the Australian colonies, historians have focused overwhelmingly on race as biological and cultural difference, by exploring interactions between Aboriginal peoples and white settlers.⁶⁶ This study utilises literature on whiteness to consider how the Australian colonies constructed themselves as *white*, which required a

⁶⁴ Ali Rattansi, *Racism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 3. In addition, a number of broad studies of race have shaped this study, such as C. A. Bayly, ‘The British and Indigenous Peoples, 1760-1860: Power, Perception and Identity’, in Rick Halpern and Martin Daunton eds, *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850* (London: UCL Press Limited, 1999), pp. 19-41; Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800-1960* (London: Macmillan, 1982); Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (London: Routledge, 1971); Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c.1848-c.1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁶⁵ Richard Nile explores civilisation and barbarism in his ‘Introduction’, in Richard Nile ed., *Australian Civilization* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 1-23. For extinction discourses see Patrick Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003). For degeneration see Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*. For eugenics, see Garton, ‘Sir Charles Mackellar’, pp. 21-34.

⁶⁶ Inga Clendinnen details the first interactions between convicts, Governor Phillip, military staff and Aboriginal peoples during the early months of settlement in *Dancing With Strangers: Europeans and Australians at First Contact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Comprehensive surveys of Aboriginal/white relations are provided by Richard Broome, *Aboriginal Australians: Black Responses to White Dominance 1788-2001* (Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2001); Haebich, *Broken Circles*; McGrath ed., *Contested Ground*; Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier*. For the period up to 1850 see Jean Woolmington, *Aborigines in Colonial Society: 1788 to 1850. From “Noble Savage” to “Rural Pest”* (Melbourne: Cassell Australia, 1973); Fergus Robinson and Barry York, *The Black Resistance: An Introduction to the History of the Aborigines’ Struggle against British Colonialism* (Camberwell: Widescope, 1977); Keith Willey, *When the Sky Fell Down: The Destruction of the Tribes in the Sydney Region 1788-1850* (Sydney: Collins, 1979).

great deal of sustained effort. It is also concerned with intersections between race and nation in Australia, in particular exploring the extent to which race impacted upon the process of nation-building in Australia.

Race was also crucial to notions of identity in the metropole; race does not simply apply to peoples of colour located somewhere else. As Catherine Hall has argued, race ‘was deeply rooted in English culture’, central to the ways in which English men and women imagined themselves.⁶⁷ Moreover, cultural constructions of race were at the heart of the creation of the categories of self and other famously proposed by Edward Said.⁶⁸ Culturally and biologically determined discourses of race were also in operation at home to denote Otherness which performed the function of identifying threats to society from within - termed ‘internal enemies’ by Ann Laura Stoler.⁶⁹ Philanthropists identified and aimed to temper such threats through philanthropic works, but in doing so they also embedded them. Philanthropists and missionaries were engaged in similar endeavours to improve and civilise working-class white women and children *and* Aboriginal peoples alike. In Britain and throughout the empire, discourses of gender and class could be racialised, for instance members of the working classes (along with the Irish) were depicted as racially different. In addition, the urban slums were represented ‘as foreign lands full of “swamps” and “wilderness”... requiring similar degrees of policing and social control’.⁷⁰ Thus, the question is raised: to what extent were the urban poor racialised in Birmingham? To what extent did concerns about whiteness and citizenship motivate

⁶⁷ Hall, *Civilising Subjects*.

⁶⁸ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985).

⁶⁹ Ann Laura Stoler, ‘Cultivating Bourgeois Bodies and Racial Selves’, in Catherine Hall ed., *Cultures of Empire, Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Reader* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 87-8.

⁷⁰ Rattansi, *Racism*, p. 46.

philanthropic efforts directed towards women and children in Birmingham and Sydney?⁷¹

Discourses of race continue to have a lasting impact on British and Australian societies, although legacies of race have been particularly problematic in Australia. During the “History Wars” of the 1990s the writing of Australian history became extremely contentious. Depictions of the relationship between settlers and Aboriginal peoples and the question of settlement/invasion acquired even more potency.⁷² The brutal treatment of Aboriginal peoples at the hands of white settlers - which involved violence, dispossession and genocide - made uncomfortable reading for some Australians. Led by Keith Windschuttle and supported by former prime minister John Howard, they maintained that this version of history had simply been fabricated by academics who sought to promote “black armband” history.⁷³ Until recent decades, histories of the nation signified the history of white settlers. Aboriginal histories were linked with the past and anthropology; if Aboriginal peoples were included within a broader history, they were usually relegated to a specific chapter. *Creating a Nation* was the first attempt to dismantle the image that the Australian nation was forged by white men by exploring the many and varied ways in

⁷¹ Much of the literature on whiteness focuses on the United States such as Ruth Frankenberg ed., *Displacing Whiteness: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism* (London: Duke University Press, 1997); Mike Hill ed., *Whiteness: A Critical Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Birgit Brander Rasmussen, Eric Klinenberg, Irene J. Nexica and Matt Wray eds, *The Making and Unmaking of Whiteness* (London: Duke University Press, 2001). Richard Dyer’s *White* (London: Routledge, 1997) is an extremely useful resource, in addition to Vron Ware’s *Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism and History* (London: Verso, 1992). For whiteness in the Australian colonies see Warwick P. Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2005); Marilyn Lake, ‘On Being a White Man, Australia, circa 1900’, in Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White eds, *Cultural History in Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2003), pp. 98-112; Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity, 1688-1980* (St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1981), chapters 5 and 7. Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds’ recent book *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men’s Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) is a pioneering study of transnational concepts of whiteness.

⁷² For a broad analysis of the history wars see Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2004, new edn), and Bain Attwood, *Telling the Truth About Aboriginal History* (Crow’s Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2005).

⁷³ Keith Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (Sydney: Macleay, 2002). The term “black armband” was coined by Geoffrey Blainey in 1993, derived from the Australian Rules football tradition of wearing a black armband when in mourning. Windschuttle’s supporters adopted this term to argue that academics have presented Aboriginal and white relations in purely negative and critical terms, seeking to engender feelings of guilt among the white population for past actions.

which Aboriginal peoples and white women had played their part in the nation.⁷⁴ However, the literature on philanthropy and early welfare histories has largely retained this existing dichotomy between Aboriginal and white experiences.⁷⁵ Thinking about white and Aboriginal philanthropic provisions side by side can be particularly fruitful for what it reveals about the operation of discourses of race and identity within the Australian colonies, and particularly how they were mobilised to both include and exclude from the nation.

Methods

The primary aim of this project is to think *across* metropole and colony by exploring the ways in which philanthropic practices were implemented in two sites, one metropolitan and one colonial. This approach raises many methodological issues such as ‘how to connect people, places and events analytically in the ways that colonial relations had constructed them historically’.⁷⁶ The growing field of new imperial history has produced important methodological frameworks for exploring the varied ways in which the metropole, colonies and wider world were connected by a vast web which resulted in the continual movement of peoples, commodities, information and ideas. Thinking about the connections between different sites has required close attention to notions of space and place.⁷⁷ Indeed, conceptions of space and place are particularly relevant to this study,

⁷⁴ Grimshaw *et al*, *Creating a Nation* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1996).

⁷⁵ Tim Rowse is one of the few historians to explore Aboriginal access to welfare. See *White Flour, White Power: From Rations to Citizenship in Central Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). See also Jeff Collmann, *Fringe-Dwellers and Welfare: The Aboriginal Response to Bureaucracy* (London: University of Queensland Press, 1988). One of the few historians to have compared white and Aboriginal children’s experiences of welfare is Parry in ‘Such A Longing’.

⁷⁶ David Lambert and Alan Lester, ‘Introduction: Imperial Spaces, Imperial Subjects’, in Lambert and Lester eds, *Colonial Lives*, p. 5.

⁷⁷ Alan Lester, David Lambert and Doreen Massey have made important contributions. See Lambert and Lester, ‘Introduction’; Lester, *Imperial Networks*. Doreen Massey, *For Space*, and *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994).

which considers philanthropic practices in two places. Philanthropic ideas themselves were also in constant flow in and between the *spaces* of empire.

Doreen Massey's reconfiguration of notions of space, particularly the idea of space as 'a social dimension' - a sphere of continual interaction - has been beneficial to historians of empire.⁷⁸ Space according to Massey is far from static; rather, it is endlessly shifting, altered by the simple act of a person moving *through* it.⁷⁹ This approach has been important in thinking about the ways in which ideas about philanthropic practices were shaped and altered as they travelled between and within Britain and the Australian colonies. Moreover, specific attention needs to be paid to Birmingham and Sydney as *places*. David Lambert and Alan Lester's notion of place, which they conceptualise as 'constellations of multiple trajectories' has been influential.⁸⁰ Trajectories are comprised of both theoretical and physical phenomena such as ideas, peoples, rock, air and texts, which 'in their ever-changing coming together... produce combinations that are unique and thus give "character" to each place'.⁸¹

Lester has also made important contributions to our understanding of the ways in which the empire was connected by numerous and intersecting networks which were constantly shifting, continually being formed and reformed.⁸² The notion of a web as a conceptual framework - coined by Lester and Tony Ballantyne - has been invaluable to situating Sydney and Birmingham within a series of inter-connected networks which were

⁷⁸ Massey, *For Space*, p. 61.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁸⁰ Lambert and Lester, 'Introduction', pp. 13-4. Lambert and Lester have borrowed Massey's conceptualisation of space as a 'multiplicity of trajectories', *For Space*, p. 63.

⁸¹ Lambert and Lester, 'Introduction', pp. 13-4.

⁸² Lester, *Imperial Networks*.

in constant flow between metropole, colony, between colonies, and the wider world.⁸³

Such approaches have been particularly valuable for thinking across the spaces of metropole and colony.

Approaches utilised by new imperial history share similarities with transnational history or, as Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor have termed it, cross-national history.⁸⁴ Like new imperial history, transnational history explores the flows of information, peoples, and ideas between sites. However, it is distinct from new imperial history because it explores connections between *nations* rather than the more ambiguous spaces - such as colonies and other sites of empire - often the subject of new imperial history. There is a danger, however, in utilising the term transnational for this project, because for the majority of the period covered Australia is comprised of a group of colonies, which were federated in 1901. Moreover, transnational histories can be in danger of neglecting the local which, collectively, are a crucial force in shaping national histories.⁸⁵ This project aims to avoid such pitfalls by returning *to* the local through an exploration of two specific sites.

Metropolitan/colonial approaches, as well as transnational histories, by nature incorporate aspects of comparison, because 'without some comparative starting point, how can one really understand the nature of a given transfer?'⁸⁶ Comparative histories illuminate the local, the unique and other specificities often missing from geographically

⁸³ Lester, *Imperial Networks*; Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).

⁸⁴ Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor, 'Introduction: Comparative History, Cross-National History, Transnational History - Definitions', in Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor eds, *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. ix-xxiv.

⁸⁵ Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake, 'Introduction', in Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake eds, *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective* (Canberra: ANU, 2005), p. 14.

⁸⁶ Cohen and O'Connor, 'Introduction', p. xiv.

broader studies. Marc Bloch, an advocate of comparative history, stipulated that sites should be selected carefully to ensure they have elements of similarity but also dissimilarity.⁸⁷ Thus, Britain and the Australian colonies provide excellent opportunities for comparison. Both places were linked through a shared lineage; until the twentieth century, immigrants to Australia were overwhelmingly white Irish or British.⁸⁸ Nonetheless, in this act of migration, the status of Britons and Irish men and women was rendered more complex. They became *colonists* whose interests were rendered ‘subordinate’ to their counterparts in the metropole.⁸⁹ Settlement of the land resulted in the dispossession and slaughter of the indigenous Aboriginal peoples which complicated the perceived identity of white British/Irish settlers as civilised. Moreover, ‘the British state was not simply transplanted into Australia’, and in the process of migration men and women re-imagined themselves as colonists which altered their whole world view.⁹⁰ They sought to make the colony of NSW similar to, but also distinct from (and in many cases better than) home. How did the relationship between Britain and the Australian colonies change over the period 1860 to 1914 and how did such shifts affect philanthropic practices in both sites?

Whilst adopting elements of comparison, transnational histories and new imperial histories remain distinct from the field of comparative studies. Often, the aim of comparative studies is to uncover differences and similarities, thus limiting their appeal to

⁸⁷ Marc Bloch, ‘Toward a Comparative History of European Societies’, in Frederic C. Lane and Jellie C. Riemersma eds, *Enterprise and Secular Change: Readings in Economic History* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1953), pp. 496-8.

⁸⁸ Many historians have studied the changing relationship between Britain, the Australian colonies and later the Australian nation. For the early period see John Manning Ward, *Colonial Self-Government: The British Experience, 1759-1856* (London: Macmillan, 1976) and Peter Cochrane, *Colonial Ambition: Foundations of Australian Democracy* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2007). For the late-nineteenth century towards federation see A. F. Madden and W. H. Morris-Jones eds, *Australia and Britain: Studies in a Changing Relationship* (London: Frank Cass, 1980); Luke Trainor, *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism: Manipulation, Conflict and Compromise in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁸⁹ Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections*, p. 7.

⁹⁰ Connell and Irving, *Class Structure*, p. 31.

scholars wishing to study the same sites or phenomena. The wide approach of comparative history can also permit mindless comparisons, ‘as if comparison were a worthy aim in itself rather than a means to a larger end’.⁹¹ This project aims to reduce some of the limitations of a comparative approach by grounding it within a wider methodological framework advocated by the new imperial history.

Birmingham and Sydney were selected as case studies for a number of reasons, both historiographical and practical. The dominance of Quakers and other Nonconformist communities in Birmingham initiated a strong commitment to philanthropic good works, yet there are relatively few specific histories of philanthropy in Birmingham.⁹² Perhaps not surprisingly, London has featured strongly in the historiography of philanthropy and poverty in Britain.⁹³ The middle classes had substantial authority within Birmingham, partly because the town lacked a strong aristocratic presence. Moreover, like many other British towns and cities, Birmingham had strong ties to the empire, evident in its economy, culture, politics and identity.⁹⁴ Sydney too has been neglected in the literature on philanthropy and charity in the Australian colonies. Many historians have preferred to study Melbourne which had a reputation for ‘an extraordinary and atypical level of

⁹¹ Deborah Cohen, ‘Comparative History: Buyer Beware’, *GHI Bulletin*, 29 (2001), p. 25.

⁹² Paula Bartley is one of the few historians to have explored philanthropy in Birmingham. See her two articles ‘Preventing Prostitution’, and ‘Moral Regeneration’. However, her research is limited to female philanthropists in the town. Judy Lloyd’s thesis considers philanthropy as part of a wider study of the Lloyd family in ‘The Lloyds of Birmingham’. Davidoff and Hall’s *Family Fortunes* briefly details philanthropic practices in Birmingham in chapter 10 but as part of a much wider study of middle-class culture.

⁹³ See for instance Frank Prochaska, ‘Body and Soul’; Jane Martin, ‘Gender, the City and the Politics of Schooling: Towards a Collective Biography of Women “Doing Good” as Public Moralists in Victorian London’, *Gender and Education*, 17 (2005), pp. 143-164; Koven, *Slumming*; Ross, *Love & Toil*; Davin, *Growing up Poor*.

⁹⁴ See Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, in particular part II. See also Ward, *City-State and Nation*, chapter 8.

voluntary benevolence'.⁹⁵

Sydney, like Birmingham, was a new urban centre in the nineteenth century, which experienced rapid population growth. Therefore philanthropic institutions and societies were required to attend to the needs of the growing numbers of deserving women and children. Furthermore, the middle classes in Sydney also gained authority in the urban public sphere due to the lack of an indigenous aristocracy. However, Birmingham was a provincial town. It did not officially gain its city status until 1889. In contrast, Sydney was a colonial capital and a port city. Moreover, religious influences and composition were different in both sites. How did the differing statuses of Sydney and Birmingham affect philanthropic activities and the political opportunities available to philanthropists? These questions - and the thesis itself - relies upon the close reading of archival material and published primary sources.

Sources

Charities were selected primarily for practical reasons, such as adequate and accessible primary material, often in the form of committee minute books, letters,

⁹⁵ Roe, 'Leading the World?', p. 13. For histories of philanthropy, charity and social action in Melbourne see Renate Howe and Shurlee Swain, *The Challenge of the City: The Centenary History of Wesley Central Mission 1893 to 1993* (Melbourne: Hyland House, 1993); Swain, *Single Mothers*; Richard Kennedy ed., *Australian Welfare: Historical Sociology* (Melbourne: Macmillan Company, 1989). Graeme Davison, David Dunstan and Chris McConville eds, *The Outcasts of Melbourne: Essays in Social History* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985). Twomey's *Deserted and Destitute* focuses in particular on the gold rush era in Melbourne and Victoria. See also Russell's "*A Wish of Distinction*", chapter 5.

published annual reports and occasionally staff diaries.⁹⁶ As far as possible within the limitations of material available, charities were chosen which represented different religious groups and which were run by philanthropic men and/or women. The charities selected facilitate comparisons but also render differences visible. Seven charities were selected from Birmingham and eight from Sydney, all of which aimed to assist new mothers, destitute or deserted women, and/or children. For Birmingham, the Lying-in Charity gave assistance to married women during their confinements, and the Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women provided a home for unmarried mothers. In Sydney the Benevolent Society's Asylum and the Infants' Home provided similar services. In Sydney the Female Refuge housed various women who did not conform to respectable colonial society such as unmarried mothers and prostitutes. In addition, several children's homes were chosen: for Birmingham the Working Boys' Home, the Crowley Orphanage, the Middlemore Emigration Homes, the Maryvale Orphanage and St. Vincent's Home for Working Boys. For Sydney, the Female School of Industry was selected, along with the Dalmar Children's Home, the Benevolent Society, the Waitara Foundling Home and the Infants' Home. In Sydney there was no equivalent to the Middlemore Emigration Homes of Birmingham, revealing interesting differences in philanthropic practices.

⁹⁶ Much of the archival material for Sydney is located in the Mitchell Library in the State Library of New South Wales, and for Birmingham at the City Archives. However, material for the Catholic charities of Birmingham is held elsewhere: for instance material relating to the St. Vincent's Home for Working Boys is held by Archdiocesan archives in Birmingham, and the Maryvale Orphanage material by the Sisters of Mercy in Handsworth, Birmingham. For the Sydney charities, annual reports and other documents relating to the Waitara Foundling Home are located at the Sisters of Mercy archive at Monte Sant' Angelo Mercy College in North Sydney. Whilst a selection of annual reports are available at the Mitchell Library for the Female School of Industry, a complete set of annual reports and additional archival material is kept in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney archives. Archival material from the charities themselves were augmented by histories of specific charities often written "in house". For the Infants' Home see Susan Lorne-Johnson, *Betrayed and Forsaken: The Official History of the Infants' Home, Ashfield Founded in 1874 as the Sydney Foundling Institution* (Sydney: The Infants' Home Ashfield, 2001) and for the Benevolent Society see Ron Rathbone, *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 Press, 1994). For the Lying in Charity of Birmingham see J. Ernest Jones, *History of the Hospitals and Other Charities of Birmingham* (Birmingham: Midland Educational Co. Ltd, 1909) pp. 55-58; For the Middlemore Homes see Anon, *One Hundred Years of Care: The Story of the Middlemore Homes, 1872-1972* (privately published, n.d).

Archival material for the Sydney charities soon raised a serious empirical problem. Aboriginal women and children were conspicuously absent from the annual reports and minute books of charities. It soon became apparent that urban philanthropy had been whitened and that alternative sources were required to explore Aboriginal women and children's experiences of philanthropy. Mission stations, such as the Maloga Mission, run by Daniel and Janet Matthews, and the Warangesda Mission run by the Rev. J. B. Gribble were two of the few missions in existence for Aboriginal peoples in NSW at this time. Indeed, in many respects missions *were* charities, raising funds from private individuals to assist those they considered to be deserving. Moreover, missions were a form of philanthropy, designed to raise Aboriginal peoples through civilising, just as philanthropists sought to civilise white women by teaching them to be good mothers and domestic workers. However, missions differed from charities in one crucial aspect. Whilst most of the urban charities in Birmingham and Sydney sought to create good, Christian citizen/subjects, sustained and explicit attempts at conversion were rare. For missionaries however, conversion was central to the process of civilising. The use of missions raised important conceptual questions such as the validity of comparing missions with philanthropic societies, as well as the location of the Maloga and Warangesda missions, both of which were a considerable distance from Sydney in rural NSW.

Fortunately, historians such as Alison Twells and Susan Thorne have already begun to make connections between missions and other forms of voluntary action at home.⁹⁷ Missions and voluntary action were inextricably linked: 'the philanthropic impulse at the base of foreign mission societies had its roots in the benevolent organisations'.⁹⁸ The idea

⁹⁷ Thorne, *Congregational Missions* and Twells, *The Civilising Mission*.

⁹⁸ Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 14.

of a broad civilising mission towards paupers in Britain and others in the colonies can be explored through the attempted creation of middle-class hegemony. Britain's imperial status prompted philanthropists to reform problematic sections of the working classes, such as unmarried mothers and orphans, through philanthropic intervention, moulding them into future citizens (children) or mothers of future citizens (women). The detailed historiography focusing on missionary activities abroad - some of which directly relates to the Australian colonies - provided an important context for Matthews' and Gribble's missions.⁹⁹ Although missionary and philanthropic activities are not a perfect fit, together they enable a comparison of voluntary action directed towards white women and children and Aboriginal women and children that would have been impossible through the records of charities alone. So much of the current historiography of Australia is divided by lines of colour that it seemed important to marry these differing strands of social action to present a more encompassing picture of voluntary action in colonial New South Wales.

Despite a range of varied archival material, frustrating gaps appeared in annual reports, minute books and mission reports. Only sporadic annual reports exist for the Waitara Foundling Home within an otherwise large and detailed collection of material relating to the Sisters of Mercy at Monte Sant' Angelo Mercy College in North Sydney. Similarly, in a comprehensive collection of material relating the the Middlemore

⁹⁹ For general surveys of missionary activities see Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004); Norman Etherington ed., *Missions and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Twells, *The Civilising Mission*; Thorne, *Congregational Missions*; For missionary activities in the Australian colonies see Deborah Bird Rose and Tony Swain eds, *Aboriginal Australians and Christian Missions: Ethnographic and Historical Studies* (Penrith: Association for the Study of Religions, 1988); Hilary Carey, 'Companions in the Wilderness? Missionary Wives in Colonial Australia, 1788-1900', *Journal of Religious History*, 19 (1995), pp. 227-248; Annette Hamilton, 'Bond-slaves of Satan: Aboriginal Women and the Missionary Dilemma', in Margaret Jolly and Martha Macintyre eds, *Family and Gender in the Pacific: Domestic Contradictions and the Colonial Impact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 236-258; Johnston, *Missionary Writing*, part 4; Alex Tyrrell, *A Sphere of Benevolence: The Life of Joseph Orton, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary, 1795-1842* (Melbourne: State Library of Victoria, 1993), chapters 6 and 7; Keith Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society of Australia* (Melbourne: Church Missionary Historical Publications, 1971).

Emigration Homes at Birmingham City Archive, the annual reports of the charity during the 1880s are absent. Whilst a great deal of material exists for the Maloga Mission at the State Library of South Australia, little archival material remains for the Warangesda Mission. Much of the evidence from Warangesda in this study is restricted to the manager's diary and J. B. Gribble's selected publications.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, given the extremely small number of missions to Aboriginal peoples in NSW at this time any archival material was worthy of inclusion.

The primary material utilised by this thesis was overwhelmingly written by philanthropists and missionaries, and perhaps unsurprisingly there are few records written directly by recipients of philanthropy or Aboriginal peoples during this period. However, despite their natural bias, missionary reports, annual reports and minute books of charities provide a wealth of information about Aboriginal peoples and white recipients of philanthropy. It is possible to read such material against the grain to partially access working-class women and children's experiences of the philanthropic relationship, in addition to Aboriginal women and children's experiences of interactions with missionaries.¹⁰¹ Careful analysis of the primary sources available reveals the assumptions, aims, beliefs and blindnesses of philanthropists and missionaries.

¹⁰⁰ State Library of South Australia, Daniel Matthews collection, PRG 359: series 1-4 for the Maloga Mission, and Daniel Matthews, *An Appeal of Behalf of the Australian Aboriginals* (Echuca: Haverfield & Co, 1873). For the Warangesda Mission see Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, MS 1786: Warangesda Mission: Manager's Diary March 18 1887 - April 11 1897. Typed by D. E. Barwick. See also John Brown Gribble, *A Plea for the Aborigines of New South Wales* (Jerilderie: Samuel Gill & Co, 1879), and *Dark Deeds in a Sunny Land, or, Blacks and Whites in North-West Australia* (Perth: Daily News, 1905).

¹⁰¹ Thompson advocates reading material against the grain to access those often obscured from history. See *The Making of the English Working Class*.

Chapter Structure

Chapter 2. “Setting the Scene” explores Birmingham and Sydney as places, providing a grounding for the following chapters. For any meaningful analysis, philanthropic practices need to be contextualised within the broader political, economic, social, religious and cultural character of both sites. This chapter contains biographical detail about prominent philanthropists and philanthropic families, as well as presenting additional details about the charities and missions selected for this study.

Chapter 3 explores philanthropic practices directed towards white and Aboriginal women. The chapter begins by considering the recipients of philanthropy; who they were and their experiences of the unequal power dynamics which were a fundamental part of the philanthropic relationship. Although the agency of the recipients was limited, there is some evidence of white and Aboriginal women’s capacity for action. Concerns about respectability among philanthropists reveal interesting differences in both sites. The aims of philanthropists and missionaries are explored at length, as well as the gendered interactions between philanthropic/missionary men and women. An analysis of the role of lady superintendents, increasingly employed by philanthropic societies, displays the complexities of class interactions within charities. The impact of religion, as a motive for philanthropists and as a civilising tool for missionaries, is also considered. The NSW government’s financial contribution to charities in Sydney provides an opportunity to think about the ways in which charities were funded, which in turn uncovers significant differences in the nature of government in both sites. The final section of this chapter considers motherhood and the increasing scrutiny of mothers by philanthropists and the state. Moreover motherhood provides a window through which to access increasingly powerful ideas about race and nation in Britain and the new Australian nation.

Philanthropic practices directed towards white and Aboriginal children in Birmingham and Sydney are the subject of chapter 4. The experiences of white and Aboriginal children are compared throughout to explore variations in philanthropic provision and the impact of perceived racial difference. This chapter explores the reasons why philanthropists/missionaries removed children and their aims for the reform and improvement of such children. Many of these aims reveal a deep commitment to the installation of gender-appropriate forms of behaviour. The imagining of some children as future citizens had important consequences for their training within philanthropic institutions and on mission stations. This chapter also assesses the reconfiguration of the relationship between children, their parents and the state during this period. Legislative changes had important consequences for mission stations and charities, as well as for Aboriginal and white parents. Moreover, legislative differences and variations in philanthropic practices in both sites reveal a differing pace towards collectivism in Britain and NSW.

Chapter 5 connects the work of chapters 3 and 4 within a more explicit imperial framework, situating Birmingham and Sydney within a broad web of imperial connections. Birmingham and Sydney were not selected for their apparent imperial connections; rather they seek to demonstrate the ubiquitous nature of metropolitan and colonial connections. Like goods, peoples and capital, philanthropic ideas were in constant flow between metropole and colony, between colonies, and internationally. Thus, this chapter explores the ways in which philanthropic practices were influenced by developments at home, within the empire, and internationally. Attention is also paid to local philanthropic networks within Birmingham and Sydney and the importance of connections between philanthropic families. This chapter places Birmingham within national philanthropic

networks within Britain, and likewise explores philanthropic networks operating between NSW and the other Australian colonies. Philanthropic networks between men are explored within wider economic and political networks, to assess the ways in which philanthropic activities facilitated entry into, and status within, the public sphere for middle-class men. The importance of women and families to philanthropic societies is also carefully noted. The chapter concludes with three case studies which encompass the themes of the chapter.

My primary focus has been to demonstrate the many ways in which philanthropic efforts were classed, gendered and raced in two sites, one metropolitan and one colonial. Although these chapters reveal many similarities in philanthropic practices for white women and children in Birmingham and Sydney they also render key differences apparent. Partly specificities of place, these differences also demonstrate shifts in the relationship between Britain and the Australian colonies. The conclusion considers the ways in which many of the themes explored in this thesis, such as the inequalities of welfare and child emigration, continue to have an impact in the present in Britain and Australia.

A Note on Terminology

The term *philanthropy* is used throughout, and has been selected rather than *charity* for a number of reasons. Distinguishing between the terms can be difficult, and some historians have settled on the explanation that there is ‘very little’ difference.¹⁰² However, there are subtle differences which require clarification.¹⁰³ The *Oxford English Dictionary* describes the origins of the word charity as ‘love to mankind’ and developed over time to

¹⁰² Richard Kennedy argues that there is ‘very little’ difference between the terms. See ‘Introduction: Against Welfare’ in Kennedy ed., *Australian Welfare History*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰³ Judith Godden advocates a slightly different explanation of the differences in terms. She argues that “‘charity’ is restricted to the distribution of material aid whilst the broader context of such distribution is referred to as philanthropy”. See ‘Philanthropy’, p. ii.

signify ‘benevolence to one’s neighbours, especially the poor’.¹⁰⁴ Inextricably bound up with Christianity, charity is often limited to a single interaction between giver and receiver. However, the giving of food or assistance could also be part of a series of interactions rooted in paternalistic relations, for instance between a landlord and his tenants in the early modern era.¹⁰⁵ Crucially however, there is little expectation on the part of the giver that the recipient should alter or change his/her behaviour in return for assistance.

More commonly associated with the Victorian era, philanthropy implies a reciprocal relationship which was linked to the potential for reform or improvement of the recipient and, by extension, society itself. This concept of the greater good is crucial to distinguishing philanthropy from charity. Thus philanthropy is defined as the ‘active effort to promote the happiness and well-being of one’s fellow men’.¹⁰⁶ It is this desire to improve society as a whole, as well as reciprocal *expectations* enmeshed within philanthropy, that more effectively encapsulates the interactions between members of the middle classes and pauper women and children during the period 1860 to 1914.

Discourses of gender, race and class and the various ways in which they permeated philanthropic activities form a central part of this thesis. Initially I placed “class”, “gender” and “race” in double inverted commas, as a way of indicating that they are problematic and contested terms. In addition, I utilise late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century discursive terms such as “respectability”, “civilisation”, “deserving” and “fallen”. Likewise, placing these terms in double inverted commas seemed to ensure that the meanings behind, and connotations invoked by, these terms were not read as my own. However, these double

¹⁰⁴ *Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. III (XX vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, 2nd edn), pp. 42-3.

¹⁰⁵ For charity in the early modern period see Steve Hindle, *On the Parish? The Micro-Politics of Poor Relief in Rural England c. 1550-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), in particular part 2.

¹⁰⁶ *Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. XI, p. 679.

inverted commas soon dominated the text and served only to distract the reader. Therefore I have omitted them in the hope that the reader will be able to recognise the complex meanings imbued within these discourses and terms.

Evidence from the charities in Birmingham and Sydney are interwoven throughout the chapters. To avoid any confusion, I have elected to use (Birmingham) or (Sydney) following the name of the charity to ensure clarity where needed.

Chapter 2. Setting the Scene: Birmingham and Sydney

Part One: Birmingham

'The public spirit of Birmingham is never more signally and successfully displayed than in the work of charity and benevolence'.¹

For John Langford, philanthropy was at the very heart of Birmingham's identity; the town evidently took great pride in creating a benevolent reputation. A relatively small number of Nonconformist families in the town were crucial to the establishment and continuation of this strong benevolent tradition. Indeed, Chamberlain Square, Bournville and Cadbury World, Middlemore Road, Kenrick Library and Lloyds Bank are just some of the places and institutions through which a number of these prominent families have left their mark upon the town and the nation in the twenty-first century. Located in the centre of England, Birmingham was known as a provincial town² for much of the period, manufacturing goods for use in Britain or the wider world. Due the lack of a strong indigenous aristocracy, the municipal life of the town was dominated by a number of middle-class men. Many of these men, along with their wives, mothers and daughters were united by their dissent from the Church of England. These Nonconformist families, largely comprised of Quakers and Unitarians, demonstrated a strong commitment to both the physical and moral improvement of the town, more commonly known as the civic gospel. More broadly, the relationship between the middle and working classes and the political and religious character of the town resulted in a fertile soil in which to sow the seeds of philanthropy.

¹ John Alfred Langford, *Birmingham: A Handbook for Residents and Visitors* (Birmingham: The Midland Educational Company, 1879), p. 126.

² Birmingham was not granted city status until 1889. To avoid confusion and alternating between using the terms "town" for events to describe Birmingham until 1889 and "city" from this date onwards I have decided to use the term town throughout.

History to 1860

It was in the sixteenth century that the metal industry - for which Birmingham came to be well known - was first developed, and the flourishing settlement benefitted from supplying weaponry for the Civil War. The population steadily increased throughout the eighteenth century, which Eric Hopkins attributes to the pioneering use of hand technology - especially the hand operated press, lathe and drawbench. He maintains that 'these machines, combined with a strict division of labour, permitted a level of productivity unattained elsewhere at the time'.³ Birmingham's growing industries were fueled by the coal and iron ore of the nearby Black Country, and the canal network facilitated the transportation of raw materials and locally made goods. By 1770 Birmingham had become one of the most populated towns in the country, only surpassed in population by Bristol and London.⁴ It was this busy, industrial midlands hub which greeted Arthur Young, and prompted him to claim in 1791 that Birmingham was 'the first manufacturing town in the world'.⁵ The opening of the Bull Ring market in the centre of the town in 1806 created a central area of trade, and trading networks and migration of people were facilitated with the nearby towns of Leamington Spa, Nuneaton and Coventry.

³ Hopkins, 'Industrial Change', p. 112.

⁴ Ward, *City-State and Nation*, p. 2.

⁵ Hopkins, 'Industrial Change', p. 112, cited from Arthur Young, *Tours in England and Wales, Selected from the Annals of Agriculture* (London: London School of Economics, 1932), p. 55.

Map One: Birmingham, 1778.⁶



In terms of the political, social and religious character of the town, Birmingham had gained a reputation for dissent and reform in the eighteenth century. The Lunar Society was established there in 1766 and the Priestley Riots of 1791 brought to the fore underlying tensions between dissenters, who supported the French Revolution, and pro-monarchists.⁷ Birmingham's location in the middle of England meant that the men and women of the town were 'especially sensitive to the flow and counterflow of ideas'.⁸ Moreover, the town was unincorporated which made it an attractive place for Nonconformists to settle, for in Birmingham they avoided the 'civil disabilities' imposed on them in incorporated towns.⁹ During Queen Victoria's reign Nonconformist men would

⁶ Birmingham City Archive, Maps Collection, D4: Plan of Birmingham, Survey by Thomas Hanson, 1778.

⁷ For more information on the Priestley Riots see Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 15, 19.

⁸ Dennis Smith, *Conflict and Compromise: Class formation in English Society 1830-1914. A Comparative Study of Birmingham and Sheffield* (London: Routledge, 1982), p. 34.

⁹ Ward, *City-State and Nation*, p. 2.

assert a powerful influence on municipal politics. Whilst Nonconformity played a crucial part in the character of the town in the late-Victorian era, as we shall see, the Anglican and Catholic communities were also important to the history of the town.

Birmingham was famed for its reforming agenda in the early-nineteenth century. The town had no representation in Parliament until 1832, when two seats were created. Thomas Attwood, who campaigned for political reform and created the Birmingham Political Union (BPU), held one of those first seats. The town was finally incorporated in 1838 which enabled the election of a local town council and mayor. Until the 1860s the political landscape in Birmingham was dominated by periods of reform alongside conservative reaction. Although Chartism and political reform flourished in the town, during the 1850s, Joseph Allday, a fiscal conservative, rose to prominence in the town council. He successfully campaigned to halt much of the spending on municipal improvements, and by the 1860s Birmingham was ‘notoriously backward’ both in terms of municipal improvements and administration.¹⁰

By the middle of the nineteenth century Birmingham’s population was approaching 250,000.¹¹ This population was spread over the areas of Deritend, Nechells, Duddeston, Bordesley and Edgbaston. Throughout the period, the area to the east of the town, close to the Warwick and Birmingham canal (such as Deritend), was home to various workshops and industries. Indeed, remnants of pottery manufacture have been found in the area dating back to the thirteenth century.¹² The rapid growth in the town’s population caused overcrowding, particularly in working-class areas such as Nechells, Saltley and Duddeston.

¹⁰ Fraser, *Power and Authority*, p. 101.

¹¹ Mayne, *The Imagined Slum*, p. 19.

¹² Peter Leather, ‘The Historic Environment: Archaeological Sites and Historic Buildings’, in Chinn ed., *Birmingham*, p. 18.

Some of the worst quality housing was found in the area around the Duddeston viaduct.¹³

These visible forms of poverty began to concern contemporaries, who were already critical of the government's methods of dealing with poverty under the New Poor Law. Many began to speculate that workhouses simply created a 'pauper atmosphere'.¹⁴

Map Two: Birmingham, 1855.¹⁵



¹³ C. R. Elrington and P. M. Tillott, 'The Growth of the City' in Stephens ed., *The Victoria History*, vol. 7, p. 10; Skipp, *The Making of Victorian Birmingham*, p. 78.

¹⁴ Alfred Hill, 'Some Thoughts on Pauperism', in *Essays by Members of the Birmingham Speculative Club* (London: Williams & Northgate, 1870), p. 105. Hill expressed concern that despite social advances made in the first half of the nineteenth century, there had been no corresponding decrease in pauperism.

¹⁵ Birmingham City Archive, Maps Collection, D5: Guest's Map of the Borough of Birmingham, 1855.

During the second half of the nineteenth century the town expanded further. As the railway network developed, areas located further from the town centre were developed for industry, such as Nechells for the jewellery and gun trades, and Bournville opened in 1879 in the borough of Northfield. Ladywood, to the west of the town, (located near Edgbaston) was initially industrial in the early-nineteenth century, but in the second half of the century attracted artisan and lower-middle class housing. Its population grew rapidly from 8,787 to 42,779 between 1841 and 1871.¹⁶ From the early decades of the nineteenth century, areas outside of the town centre, principally Aston and Edgbaston, flourished as the more prosperous members of the middle classes began their migration to the suburbs. Edgbaston - also known as “Birmingham’s Belgravia” - was the principal and most desirable suburb, and this was reflected in its rapid population growth from 6,609 to 22,760 between 1841 and 1881.¹⁷ It was home to many notable families such as the Cadburys, Chamberlains and Kenricks.

Industry

By the second half of the nineteenth century, although the metal trades continued to be dominant, there were a wide range of different trades in the town, from the manufacture of glass, to screws and buttons, earning the town the name ‘the Great Toyshop of Europe’.¹⁸ Moreover, many of its civilising goods were exported to the colonies.¹⁹ From the end of the nineteenth century, new industries such as bicycle manufacture had begun to emerge in the town. Large factories were relatively unusual in Birmingham throughout the

¹⁶ Skipp, *The Making of Victorian Birmingham*, p. 75.

¹⁷ Peter Leather uses the term “Birmingham’s Belgravia” in ‘The Historic Environment: Archaeological Sites and Historic Buildings’, in Chinn ed., *Birmingham*, p. 19. The population figures for Edgbaston are cited from Skipp, *The Making of Victorian Birmingham*, p. 80.

¹⁸ Ward, *City-State and Nation*, p. 1.

¹⁹ Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, p. 271.

period, although Chance Brothers Glassworks, and Cadburys were two of the exceptions, the latter employing six thousand workers by 1914.²⁰ More common however, were the small-scale workshops comprised of skilled workers, along with semi-skilled and unskilled outworkers operating from their own home, which explains the high proportion of women involved in Birmingham's industries.²¹

Map Three: Birmingham, 1918.²²



²⁰ Hopkins, 'Industrial Change', p. 118.

²¹ D. E. C. Eversley, 'Industry and Trade, 1500-1880', in Stephens ed., *The Victoria History*, vol. 7, p. 110.

²² Birmingham City Archive, Maps Collection, D6: Kelly's Directory Map of Birmingham, 1918.

Women were vital to many trades in Birmingham. In 1893 the town had a higher number of girls aged between ten and fifteen in employment than the national average.²³ Many women and girls worked in the manufacturing industries, making and assembling items from buttons to beds and firearms to bicycles. At the turn of the century, fifty-three per cent of all working women living in the Kings Norton, Smethwick and Handsworth areas were employed in manufacture. For women, least preferable was employment in factories and workshops manufacturing guns, for they ended the working day covered in fine metal shavings.²⁴ The average wage for a woman working in the town at the turn of the century was approximately ten to eleven shillings per week.²⁵ Similarly to many other towns and cities in Britain, women in Birmingham were marginalised as workers, earning less than their male counterparts and frequently barred from trade guilds and denied many forms of employment after marriage. Indeed, most married women performed casual forms of work, such as outwork which could be performed in the home alongside domestic chores. A married woman engaged in this form of employment could only expect to earn an average of 4s 7d per week.²⁶ Even unskilled male workers were paid between 18s and 20s per week.²⁷ Despite these limitations, some women employed in the pen-making trade established their own trade union in 1895.²⁸

²³ Chinn, *They Worked All Their Lives*, p. 86.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-7. This figure is based upon Chinn's estimates of average wages for women working in bedstead and cycling manufacture in 1905.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

²⁷ Catriona M. Parratt, 'Little Means or Time: Working-Class Women and Leisure in Victorian and Edwardian England', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 15 (1998), p. 30.

²⁸ Chinn, *They Worked All Their Lives*, p. 88.

Working-class children also contributed to the family income. At mid-century, approximately two thousand children under the age of ten were in employment.²⁹ The Factory Acts of the mid-nineteenth century had little impact on child employment in the town because they applied to the larger factories more commonly found in the North of England. Rather, it was the introduction of compulsory education for children which began to restrict the employment of children in Birmingham.

Class

The middle classes were the dominant forces in the town during the period. Of course, more broadly, the urban space itself was in many respects a middle-class place where men engaged in commerce and the professions which thrived in towns and cities.³⁰ Whilst some aristocratic families displayed a considerable influence in urban areas, their dominance was more commonly exercised over rural areas.³¹ Birmingham itself had very few indigenous aristocratic families. The Calthorpes were the most prominent of this small group, owning land in the Edgbaston area. However, they resided for the most part at their ancestral home in Sussex and ‘never provided drive, initiative, or self-conscious, coherent policy or leadership’.³² David Cannadine suggests that the fifth Lord Calthorpe received such a bad press in the town because he failed to engage in philanthropic activities.³³ This aristocratic absence from Birmingham life enabled middle-class men to dominate

²⁹ Hopkins, ‘Industrial Change’, p. 121.

³⁰ R. J. Morris and Richard Rodger, ‘An Introduction to British Urban History, 1820-1914’, in Morris and Rodger eds, *The Victorian City*, p. 35. David Cannadine argues similarly that ‘ideally, the aristocratic world was static, oligarchic, hierarchical, limited and intimate. Urban society, by contrast, was mobile, democratic, egalitarian, broad and impersonal’, in *Lords and Landlords: The Aristocracy and the Towns, 1774-1967* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1980), p. 27.

³¹ Smith notes that aristocrats such as the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Wharncliffe and the Duke of Devonshire owned land in and surrounding Sheffield. Moreover, figures such as Lord Wharncliffe were a dominant force in municipal politics. See *Conflict and Compromise*, p. 27.

³² Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords*, p. 157.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

municipal politics and, alongside their wives and daughters, to take the initiative in philanthropic efforts from the early-nineteenth century.

Despite the variety of trades and relatively generous wages for skilled labourers, the working classes in the town did not display a strong sense of collective class identity, possibly because of the strength of their employers. Unlike other towns and cities, the abolition of Saint Monday did not provoke widespread agitation in the 1860s and, more broadly, artisan institutions were relatively 'weak' in this period.³⁴ Moreover, later in the century, neither trade unionism nor the Labour Party was particularly powerful.³⁵ Ultimately, the working-class labourer in Birmingham was 'certainly ready to go on strike if he thought it necessary, but he was usually prepared to try negotiation first'.³⁶

Indeed, Asa Briggs has argued that the predominance of workshops in the town, rather than large scale factories, meant that 'there was frequently no hard and fast line between employers and employed', resulting in a 'a high degree of social mobility'.³⁷ Moreover there is some evidence of shared interests between the middle classes and the working classes, in particular in the quest for self-improvement and also politically, in organisations such as the BPU.³⁸ It is significant that class conflict was not rampant in the town, compared to other towns and cities such as Sheffield.³⁹ However, it is also important to acknowledge that despite the image of collaboration between the classes in Birmingham,

³⁴ Smith, *Conflict and Compromise*, p. 106.

³⁵ Ward, *City-State and Nation*, pp. 114-5.

³⁶ Hopkins, 'Industrial Change', p. 127.

³⁷ Briggs, *History of Birmingham*, vol. 2, p. 6, 55. Briggs pioneered the argument of inter-class co-operation in Birmingham.

³⁸ Asa Briggs, 'Social History since 1815', in Stephens ed., *The Victoria History*, vol. 7, p. 225. Many other historians of the town, such as Neil Moreland have also followed the Briggs thesis. See 'Petite Bourgeois Hegemony in Birmingham in the Nineteenth Century: A Case Study of the Birmingham Charity Organisation Society', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Warwick, 1982).

³⁹ Smith, *Conflict and Compromise*, chapter 3.

‘the workshop could be the scene of fierce class conflict’.⁴⁰ The employment of women and children in factories could also provoke disputes between masters and men.⁴¹ For the most part, class relationships in the town were complex and multi-layered, at times resulting in co-operation and at other times in conflict.⁴²

In the absence of both a dominant local aristocracy and a strong, united working-class, middle-class men dominated the civic life of the town, economically, socially, culturally and politically. In Birmingham it is possible to discern what Simon Gunn calls a ‘local, public bourgeois culture’.⁴³ Involvement in philanthropy was one of the means for middle-class men - and the only means for women - to create their own authority within the public sphere. Middle-class men in particular, enfranchised since 1832, were anxious to bolster the status of their public selves through philanthropic activities by responding to the perceived needs of women and children in the town.⁴⁴ For middle-class men, philanthropy provided one arena of interaction with the working classes outside of the workplace. For middle-class women, philanthropy provided an opportunity to engage with working-class men and women in the public sphere, fulfilling both their *civic* duty to the town and their *gendered* duty to care for others.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Clive Behagg, *Politics and Production in the Early Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 7. However, Behagg’s main criticism of the Asa Briggs thesis is found in his article ‘Myths of Cohesion’, pp. 375-384.

⁴¹ Fiona Terry-Chandler, ‘An Introduction to Birmingham Women’s History’, in Chinn ed., *Birmingham*, pp. 126-145. See also Chinn, *They Worked all Their Lives*; Maxine Berg, *The Age of Manufactures, Industry, Innovation and Work in Britain 1700-1820* (London: Routledge, 1994, 2nd edn), part 2; Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), pp. 94-107.

⁴² Many historians have argued for this more nuanced and cautious approach. See Smith, *Conflict and Compromise*, p 225; Rodrick, *Self-Help*, p. 17; Fraser, *Power and Authority*, p. 84.

⁴³ Gunn, *The Public Culture*, p. 26.

⁴⁴ Davidoff and Hall have made a similar argument in *Family Fortunes* for the earlier period: for middle-class men, philanthropic works were one means of asserting their claims for the public sphere and citizenship before they were enfranchised in 1832. After their enfranchisement, they sought to consolidate their claims for the public sphere through a variety of actions, including philanthropy. See pp. 416-449.

⁴⁵ This notion is explored further in Summers, *Female Lives*.

Religion and the civic gospel

The families who dominated the economic, political and social life of the town were predominantly Quakers and Unitarians. Despite their civic dominance, numerically they were small groups. In 1851 almost 50% of the town were Anglicans; Catholics comprised 6.9%. The Unitarians and Quakers formed 3.7% and 1.2% of the town's population, respectively.⁴⁶ Nonconformist surnames such as Lloyd, Baker, Sturge, Kenrick and Cadbury were common among Birmingham mayors in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, with three different Lloyd men occupying this office from 1859 to 1902.⁴⁷ Indeed, from 1872 to 1900 Quaker and Unitarian men dominated the mayoral office.⁴⁸ Strongly allied to the Liberal party, many Nonconformist men sat on the municipal council and others provided municipal leadership as Aldermen and Justices of the Peace. As Nonconformists, these men sought to challenge the 'institutional arrangements of the old order'.⁴⁹ In order to stake their claims for authority in the public sphere they relentlessly pursued municipal reforms as part of a wider Liberal agenda, positioning themselves against the established Tory and Anglican interests. In addition, their civic and religious duties were persuasively connected by two influential Nonconformist ministers in the town, George Dawson and R. W. Dale, who preached the civic gospel. The dominance of the Nonconformists, and of Liberalism, in the town was not significantly eroded until the 1880s, following the catastrophic national split in the Liberal party.

⁴⁶ E. P. Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons: Ideal and Reality in Nineteenth-Century Urban Government* (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), p. 357. Other Nonconformist groups in the town, such as the Baptists comprised 10.9%, Congregationalists: 9.4%, Wesleyan: 10.5%. Together, Nonconformist groups in the town were numerically strong.

⁴⁷ For instance Thomas Lloyd from 1859-60, George Braithwaite Lloyd from 1870-1 and John Henry Lloyd from 1901-2.

⁴⁸ Briggs, *History of Birmingham*, vol. 2, p. 129.

⁴⁹ Smith, *Conflict and Compromise*, p. 11.

In many respects, whilst the character of Birmingham was dominated by a small number of Liberal, Nonconformist families, it is important to remember that the Anglican and Catholic communities also played their part in civic life. Despite the numerical strength of Anglicans in the town, it was neglected by the administration of the Church of England. Until 1905 Birmingham was administered from Worcester ‘whose heart, in terms of both geography and ethos, was very remote from the realities of Birmingham life’.⁵⁰ However, in some areas of Birmingham life, such as education, the Church of England exercised considerable power and influence. For instance, Anglicans controlled the King Edward VI Foundation which managed the four free grammar schools in the town. In the 1850s Nonconformist men sought to challenge the Foundation by setting up the Free Grammar School Association and the Birmingham School Association, which campaigned for compulsory, nondenominational schooling.⁵¹

The Catholic community in Birmingham also devoted considerable effort to the question of education. From the seventeenth century small Catholic communities could be found in Edgbaston, Northfield, Solihull and Harborne, although these communities expanded following emancipation in 1829.⁵² In 1870, dismayed by the Nonconformist agenda of secular education, Bishop Ullathorne established a Diocesan Committee to discuss the problem.⁵³ Moreover, the Catholic community feared the effects of the 1870 Education Act which encouraged the establishment of non-denominational schools.⁵⁴ The

⁵⁰ Clive D. Field, ‘The Protestant Churches’, in Chinn ed., *Birmingham*, p. 79.

⁵¹ For more information on the disputes between Anglicans and Nonconformists in Birmingham over the question of education see Smith, *Conflict and Compromise*, particularly chapters 5, 7 and 8; also Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons*, pp. 80-101.

⁵² Marie Rowlands, ‘Roman Catholics in Birmingham from 1558 to the Present Day’, in Chinn ed., *Birmingham*, p. 111.

⁵³ Sylvia M. Pinches, *Father Hudson and His Society: A History 1898 - 1998* (Birmingham: Archdiocese of Birmingham Historical Commission, 1998), p. 9.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Catholic community were also active in philanthropy. Groups such as the Sisters of Mercy and Sisters of Charity, in addition to other Catholic philanthropic men and women, played an important role in relieving the distress of pauper Catholic families in the town.

Despite the importance of Anglican and Catholic communities in the town, it was Nonconformism, with its overwhelming political commitment to Liberalism, which was instrumental to the civic gospel. Preached by Dawson and Dale, the civic gospel was most notably performed during Joseph Chamberlain's mayoralty from 1873-6. It was this period which defined Birmingham's character and reputation for years to come. Put simply, the civic gospel 'goaded citizens to social action' by connecting religious duty and municipal responsibility.⁵⁵ Thus, the civic gospel in Birmingham was based on a form of municipal socialism; advocating a new ideology of civic responsibility towards the newly conceived 'social town'.⁵⁶ This included involvement in municipal affairs, to 'raise the tone of local government', and a commitment to the physical improvement of the town which was explicitly linked to the moral health of the population.⁵⁷

Liberalism

The civic gospel relied upon a 'a new and more aggressive Liberalism', calling for collective, democratic action.⁵⁸ Liberalism advocated the paradoxical concept of government as the 'rule of freedom' to adopt Joyce's phrase; ruling by the 'absence of restraint as a form of restraint'.⁵⁹ The civic gospel called for the creation of a civic-minded

⁵⁵ Briggs, *History of Birmingham*, vol. 2, p. 3.

⁵⁶ Hamish Fraser, 'Municipal Socialism and Social Policy', in Morris and Rodger eds, *The Victorian City*, pp. 258-280.

⁵⁷ Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p. 211. Hennock argues that for Chamberlain, physical improvements to the town went hand in hand with moral improvement and self-improvement. See *Fit and Proper Persons*, p. 141.

⁵⁸ Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p. 211.

⁵⁹ Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*, pp. 1-2.

population that was both self-monitoring and self-improving. Philanthropic activities were encouraged as part of the broader framework of the civic gospel. Philanthropy served as a two-fold vehicle for self-improvement: both for the philanthropists who could publicly perform a service for the community, and for the recipients.

The Liberal party itself was important to the implementation of the civic gospel. Birmingham had long been a centre for dissent, and Whigs and radicals occupied every seat in the first town council, established in 1838.⁶⁰ Whilst the Liberal party did dominate municipal affairs during the 1860s and 1870s, too much emphasis is often placed on the municipal reforms initiated by Chamberlain from 1873-6. Often, as Behagg has argued, Birmingham's history is recounted as 'a monument to the triumphant progress of the radical urban bourgeoisie'.⁶¹ In reality, the town's history in this period is more complex. There were periods of conservative influence on the town council, most notably in the 1850s and 1890s, and municipal spending was virtually halted at mid-century. As a result, when Chamberlain entered the mayoral office in 1873 Birmingham 'was ready for a period of civic spending' for it lagged far behind other towns and cities in terms of municipal improvements.⁶² Some of Chamberlain's major achievements, such as the municipalisation of gas, had already been carried out in other British cities such as Glasgow.⁶³ Behagg maintains that Chamberlain's real achievement lay in the application of his commercial experience to municipal affairs.⁶⁴ Despite the formation of the Birmingham Liberal Association and the establishment of the Liberal Caucus, during Chamberlain's mayoralty

⁶⁰ Fraser, *Power and Authority*, p. 86.

⁶¹ Behagg, *Politics and Production*, p. 16.

⁶² Briggs, *History of Birmingham*, vol. 2, p. 71.

⁶³ Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons*, p. 117. Moreover, Smith argues that Isaac Ironside of Sheffield campaigned for a greater role for civic authorities in the 1840s, which Chamberlain later famously implemented in Birmingham. See *Conflict and Compromise*, p. 226.

⁶⁴ Smith, *Conflict and Compromise*, p. 226.

he encountered strong opposition from the Conservatives over his proposed improvement scheme, in particular the development of Corporation Street in 1875.⁶⁵

After the heydays of the late 1860s and 1870s, the Liberal party suffered a catastrophic national split over the question of Irish Home Rule from which it never fully recovered. In Birmingham the key Liberal families were divided, with the Cadburys siding with Gladstone over Home Rule, and others, such as the Chamberlains, forming a new group of Liberal Unionists in the town.⁶⁶ At this time there was an ‘astonishing transformation’ in Birmingham politics which facilitated increased Conservative support. This paved the way for a wave of Conservatism which arrived in the town in the 1890s, through to the early-twentieth century, a reflection of the national trend.⁶⁷

The town within a nation and an empire

Birmingham’s character during this period was created as a result of a handful of Nonconformist families - committed to Liberalism - who made such an impact upon the life of the town. Birmingham men and women were committed to reform, both politically and socially. It is no accident that the Bournville model village experiment flourished here, which reflected a new concept of employer responsibility towards employees. Politically, Chamberlain’s mayoralty has become significant in the ways in which we think about the history of municipal government more broadly in Britain, specifically the concept that local authorities should undertake municipal improvements.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Fraser, *Power and Authority*, pp. 108-9.

⁶⁶ Ward, *City-State, Nation*, p. 117.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.127.

⁶⁸ Fraser, ‘Municipal Socialism’.

However, we need to return to the beginning of this section to Langford's quote to find the real source of pride for many men and women in their town, philanthropy. Birmingham's benevolence was seemingly boundless, reaching the 'local, national, and general'.⁶⁹ In this way, for many men and women, Birmingham's civic gospel was not limited to the moral improvement of the town itself; it contained an explicitly national and imperial agenda. Langford proclaimed that men and women in the town had 'willingly rendered help' to various causes: nationally, to the Holmfirth flood in Yorkshire in 1852 and the Lancashire cotton famine in 1861-5; imperially, to 'various' Indian families, and internationally to the great fire of Chicago in 1871.⁷⁰ This benevolence was of course in addition to the numerous local charities established and supported by men and women in the town. This vision of benevolence was bound up in Chamberlain's vision of the civic gospel. As Colonial Secretary in the 1890s he viewed the empire as "a voluntary organisation based on a community of interests and community of sacrifices, to which all should bring their contribution to the common good".⁷¹

⁶⁹ Langford, *Birmingham*, p. 126.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Smith, *Conflict and Compromise*, p. 229, cited from J.L Garvin and J. Amery, *Life of Joseph Chamberlain*, vol. 5 (London: Macmillan, 1932-1969), p. 45, 148.

Philanthropic Families

The Cadburys⁷²

Various members of the Quaker chocolate-manufacturing family exercised a powerful influence in the town. Richard Tapper Cadbury (1768-1860) and his wife Elizabeth Head moved to the town in 1794. Richard was active in municipal life as a Street Commissioner. His grandson, George Cadbury (1839-1922) was a member of the Town Council. George Cadbury and his brother Richard (1835-1899) established Bournville, a purpose-built village located outside of the town centre for the workers of Cadburys. Moreover, they established a pension scheme for loyal workers. As a committed Liberal he campaigned more broadly for a national old age pension scheme. Many of the Cadbury men occupied the mayoral office, such as Barrow Cadbury (Richard's son) in 1888 and his brother William from 1919-1921. From the mid-nineteenth century the family lived in the prosperous suburb of Edgbaston.

Many members of the family were engaged in philanthropic activities, such as teaching at the Severn Street Adult Day School. They are highly visible in the charities explored in this thesis. Richard Cadbury subscribed to the Lying-in Charity and his cousin, Sarah, sat on the ladies' committee of the same charity from 1902-3. Barrow Cadbury's wife, Geraldine Southall, donated considerable amounts of money to the Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women. Moreover she sat on the board of management of the Lying-in Charity from 1903, and donated £1000 to the new maternity hospital. She

⁷² There are many accounts of the Cadbury family in this era, see Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, Catherine Hall, "'Turning a Blind Eye': Memories of Empire", in Patricia Fara and Karalyn Patterson eds, *Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 27-46; Maggie Goodrich, *Geraldine Cadbury, 1865-1941, The Problem of Deprived and Delinquent Children* (London: Quaker Home Service, 1974); Iolo A. Williams, *The Firm of Cadbury, 1831-1931* (London: Constable, 1931); John F. Crossfield, *A History of the Cadbury Family* (privately published, 1985).

was deeply interested in the welfare of juvenile criminals, and became a juvenile court magistrate in 1920.

The Chamberlains⁷³

Similarly to the Cadburys, the Chamberlains were highly influential in Birmingham. Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914) in particular contributed significantly to the political life of the town and the nation as a whole. He began his political career as a Liberal and was a member of the Birmingham Liberal Association and the National Education League. During 1873-6 he occupied the mayoral office, famously implementing the civic gospel as preached by Dawson and Dale. He moved into national politics, representing North Birmingham in parliament from 1876. Following the split in the Liberal party in the 1880s he joined the Conservative and Unionist party and was appointed Colonial Secretary from 1895 to 1903. His son, Arthur Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940) followed in his father's footsteps, becoming mayor from 1915 to 1917, and subsequently a Conservative MP. He was elected Prime Minister in 1937. The family were Unitarians and they had strong connections through marriage to other prominent Unitarian families in the town, notably the Kenricks. They lived in Edgbaston.

Although Joseph Chamberlain was often occupied with politics, he subscribed to various charities in the town, such as the Middlemore Emigration Homes. His brother, Herbert (1845-1904) sat on the committee of the Working Boys' Home in the 1890s. Mrs. Chamberlain - it is unclear if this is Mrs. Joseph or Mrs. Herbert Chamberlain - was an active member of the ladies' committee of the Crowley Orphanage.

⁷³ See D. H. Elletson, *The Chamberlains* (London: John Murray, 1966), and also Garvin and Amery, *Life of Joseph Chamberlain*.

The Hills

Matthew Davenport Hill (1792-1872) was influential in Birmingham in the early-nineteenth century. He was the recorder of the town in 1839 but in 1851 he moved to Bristol. The Hills were a Unitarian family, and were very active in public life in Birmingham and Bristol. In particular they were interested in measures to combat juvenile crime and methods of caring for pauper children.⁷⁴ Matthew's son, Alfred and daughter, Joanna had remained in Birmingham and were prominent in many local charities.

Alfred Hill (1821-1907) trained as a doctor and was deeply interested in child poverty. He was a committee member of the Working Boys' Home as well as the Middlemore Emigration Homes. He was active in municipal politics as a registrar in the Birmingham court of bankruptcy. His sister, Joanna Margaret (1836-1901), was a regular subscriber to the Working Boys' Home, in addition to donating gifts and other foodstuffs to the boys. Subsequently, in the 1980s, she was secretary of the boarding-out committee of the Kings Norton Union.

The Lloyds⁷⁵

The Lloyds, like the Cadburys, were one of the most influential Quaker families in the town. They made an important and lasting contribution to the commercial, religious, municipal and philanthropic character of the town. Sampson Lloyd arrived in the town in 1698 and his son established Lloyds Bank in 1765. The family were also engaged in

⁷⁴ M. D. Hill penned numerous tracts such as *Suggestions for the Repression of Crime* (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1857). See Alfred Hill, 'Some Thoughts on Pauperism', pp. 99-118; Florence Hill, *Children of the State* (London: Macmillan, 1868) and *The Boarding-out System &c.*, (Bristol: Arrowsmith, 1869); Joanna M. Hill, *Remarks upon Mr. Murray Browne's Statistics in the Annual Report of the Local Government Board, 1898-99, on the After Life of Boarded-Out Children* (Birmingham: Lawrence, 1900) and *How Can We Eradicate the Pauper Taint from our Workhouse Children? By Joanna Margaret Hill. A Paper read at the Social Science Congress held at Birmingham, 1868* (Birmingham: Josiah Allen, 1868).

⁷⁵ For more information on the Lloyds in the town see Lloyd, 'The Lloyds of Birmingham'.

industry, forming the family firm Lloyd & Lloyd, manufacturing tubes. George Braithwaite Lloyd (1824-1903) sat on the town council as a Liberal and was elected mayor in 1871. He was also a director of the Midland Railway Company. His brother, Sampson Samuel (1820-1899), was an MP for Warwickshire and a Justice of the Peace. George's son, John Henry (1855-1944), followed in his father's footsteps entering municipal politics and rising to the office of Mayor in 1901.

The family made their home in Sparkbrook and were committed to philanthropic work. Lloyds was the official bank of the Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women, the Middlemore Emigration Homes and the St. Vincent's Home for Working Boys. Sampson Samuel sat on the committee of the Working Boys' Home, and was chairman of the general committee from 1892 until his death in 1899. His brother, George Braithwaite was a member of the board of management of the Lying-in Charity, elected vice-president in 1872, and subsequently president in 1878. His wife, Mary Hutchinson was treasurer of the ladies' committee of the Crowley Orphanage from 1871. In addition, she donated money to the Lying-in Charity. A distant family member, Edyth Mary Lloyd was a committee member of the Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women from 1909.

The Middlemores⁷⁶

William Middlemore (1802-1887), set a precedent for a Middlemore family tradition of involvement in civic life. William Middlemore sat on the first Town Council of Birmingham in 1839, and was a founding member of the Birmingham School Association and subsequently a member of the National Education League and the Birmingham Liberal

⁷⁶ W. P. W. Phillimore (assisted by F. Carter), *Some Account of the Family of Middlemore of Warwickshire and Worcestershire* (London: Phillimore & Co, 1901).

Association. William Middlemore was also influential in the commercial life of the town, holding positions in many of the leading manufacturing companies in the town, including Muntz's metal company, Birmingham Joint Stock Bank (later part of Lloyds Bank) as well as Chairman of the Birmingham Wagon Company. The Middlemores were originally a Roman Catholic family with ties to the Midlands since the early modern period.⁷⁷ However William became a Baptist and the family lived in Edgbaston.

Illustration One: J. T. Middlemore.⁷⁸



His son, John Throgmorton Middlemore (1844-1924) trained as a doctor in the United States and he was baptised there in 1867. Upon his return to Britain he married Marian Bagnall in 1878 although she died the following year. He remarried to Mary Price and they had eight children. He followed in his father's footsteps and entered municipal politics. He sat on the Town Council from 1883 to 1892. He became a JP for Worcester and Birmingham and was elected an MP for North Birmingham in 1899. He departed from his father's politics by joining the Liberal Unionists and formed part of the tariff reform

⁷⁷ Phillimore, *Some Account of the Family of Middlemore*.

⁷⁸ Image of J. T. Middlemore reproduced from Anon, 'J. T. Middlemore', *Edgbastonia Magazine*, 3 (1883).

movement led by Chamberlain in 1905. He was a keen philanthropist and strongly advocated the system of child emigration. In this vein, he established the Middlemore Emigration Homes in 1872. His contributions to philanthropy earned him a baronetcy in 1919. His wife, Mary sat on the committee for the Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women and the Crowley Orphanage. In addition she was a member of the ladies' committee of the family charity, the Middlemore Emigration Homes.

The Nettlefolds⁷⁹

The Nettlefolds had close business and personal links with one of the other prominent Unitarian families in Birmingham, the Chamberlains. They founded Nettlefold & Chamberlain - the screw manufacturing firm, and Joseph Henry Nettlefold (1827-1881) was a cousin of Joseph Chamberlain. Joseph Henry entered the family manufacturing business and rose to the position of Chairman. He was mindful of his philanthropic duties and donated money to the Middlemore Homes and the Lying-in Charity. His nephew, John Sutton Nettlefold (1866-1930), was also philanthropically minded, and became a committee member of the Working Boys' Home in the 1890s. He was also interested in municipal politics and was appointed a member of the Birmingham Housing Committee in 1910. He assisted in drafting the 1909 Town Planning Act and campaigned for the clearance of slum housing. Mrs. J. S. Nettlefold donated money to the Lying-in Charity. John Sutton's brother Godfrey sat on the board of management of the Lying-in Charity from 1904, and his wife also donated money towards the building fund for the new maternity hospital.

⁷⁹ See C. Anthony Crofton, *The Nettlefolds: A Genealogical Account of the Family of Nettlefold Settled in the County of Surrey by Record from the 14th Century, and In Particular of the Family and Descendants to the Present Day of Edward Netyfold of Dorking Who was There Buried 28th October 1581* (privately published, 1962), pp. 28-9, 33-4.

The Charities

The Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women (ARTYW)

The Association was set up by members of the Birmingham Workhouse Magdalen Charity, which assisted unmarried pregnant women who were admitted to workhouses in the parishes of Aston, Birmingham and Kings Norton. Members of this charity discussed opening a home for these women, where they could reside for a short time and receive guidance on how to look after their baby. If required, the committee also assisted women who wished to find employment in domestic service. The home, called Hope Lodge, was opened in Ladywood Road in 1906. In addition to Hope Lodge, the Association ran an outside relief programme for women who could not be admitted to the Home. The outside worker for the Home - a member of the committee - gave women advice on matters such as finding suitable lodgings as well as legal advice on bringing affiliation orders to court. The home was run by a group of Birmingham women, including Mrs. Middlemore and Mrs. Archibald Kenrick.

The Crowley's Orphanage for Poor Girls

The Orphanage was established in 1869 by Thomas Crowley, a timber merchant in the town. In his will he left a sum of £10,000 to educate orphan girls - born in wedlock and between the ages of six and thirteen - in domestic skills. It was hoped that the girls would seek employment as domestic servants upon leaving the Orphanage. When they had found a suitable situation, the girls were encouraged to save a portion of their wages. On her twenty-first birthday, the girl was entitled to receive 21 shillings from the charity, but only if she had saved an equivalent amount and had maintained a good character. The charity was overseen by a committee of management, comprised of prominent Nonconformist

men in the town, supported by a ladies' committee. The institution was run on a day-to-day basis by a Matron and a teacher.

The Lying-in Charity

The Lying-in Hospital was founded in 1842. It was originally located in Whittall Street and provided a place for poor, married women to spend their confinements. However, in 1867 the in-patient department was abolished. The charity restricted its work to out-patient work, employing midwives to assist married women with their confinements in their own homes. As such, the name of the charity changed to the Lying-in Charity. On average, the midwives of the charity attended approximately one hundred confinements every month. The charity was administered from a building on New Hall Street, where committee meetings were held. The charity was run by a board of management, comprised of doctors and other men prominent in Birmingham life, such as J. G. Goodman and George Braithwaite Lloyd. In 1901 a ladies' committee was established, primarily to oversee the midwives. From 1902 women were permitted to sit on the board of management, and several women were elected, including Mrs. Barrow Cadbury.

Subscribers to the charity were given a number of tickets based on the amount that they had subscribed, which they could then distribute. In 1904 however this system was abolished, in favour of a registration fee of 2 shillings and sixpence. The Charity was also instrumental in calling for a maternity hospital to be built in the town; the Loveday Street Maternity Hospital was opened in 1907.

The Maryvale Orphanage

The Orphanage was established in 1851 by a group of Sisters of Mercy, at the invitation of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Birmingham, W. B. Ullathorne. The Orphanage was situated in the old seminary at Oscott, in the Catholic heart of the town, approximately 5 miles from the centre of Birmingham. The Sisters ran the Orphanage, which was located a short distance from the convent. Maryvale had the capacity to care for approximately 40 orphaned girls, usually admitted between the ages of three and fifteen. The girls were taught various skills by the Sisters such as needlework and domestic tasks. The girls also regularly attended mass and received religious instruction in the Catholic faith. Similar to the Crowley Orphanage, Maryvale also admitted some non-orphan girls for a payment of £10 per annum. The Catholic community was encouraged to subscribe to the Orphanage and, if £1 or more was pledged, this entitled subscribers to cast a vote in the admission process of the Orphanage.

The Middlemore Emigration Homes

An emigration home was established by J. T. Middlemore in 1872, financed by Miss Ann Middlemore's bequest. It was located in St. Luke's Road and was primarily designed to assist destitute children between the ages of ten and thirteen, who were too young to be admitted to industrial schools but were not obliged to go to school. The children admitted were either destitute - their parents unable to care for them - or they had been recommended to the Home by the police or magistrates. In 1877 an additional home was erected to separate the boys and girls. The girls' home was located in Spring Street, a short distance from St. Lukes Road. The Homes were run by female matrons, and the charity was overseen by a small group of Birmingham men such as Alfred Hill, George Baker and,

of course, Middlemore himself. A ladies' committee also assisted in the administration of the Homes from 1875.

Middlemore was convinced that emigration was the only means of ensuring a better future for these children, and he personally escorted the first party of children from Birmingham to Canada in 1873. A reception home - the Guthrie Home - was established in London, Ontario for the children once they had arrived in Canada. They remained in the Guthrie Home until they were adopted into Canadian families or employed as farm hands or domestic servants. In the 1890s the reception home was moved to Rockingham, near Halifax, Nova Scotia.

St. Vincent's Home for Working Boys

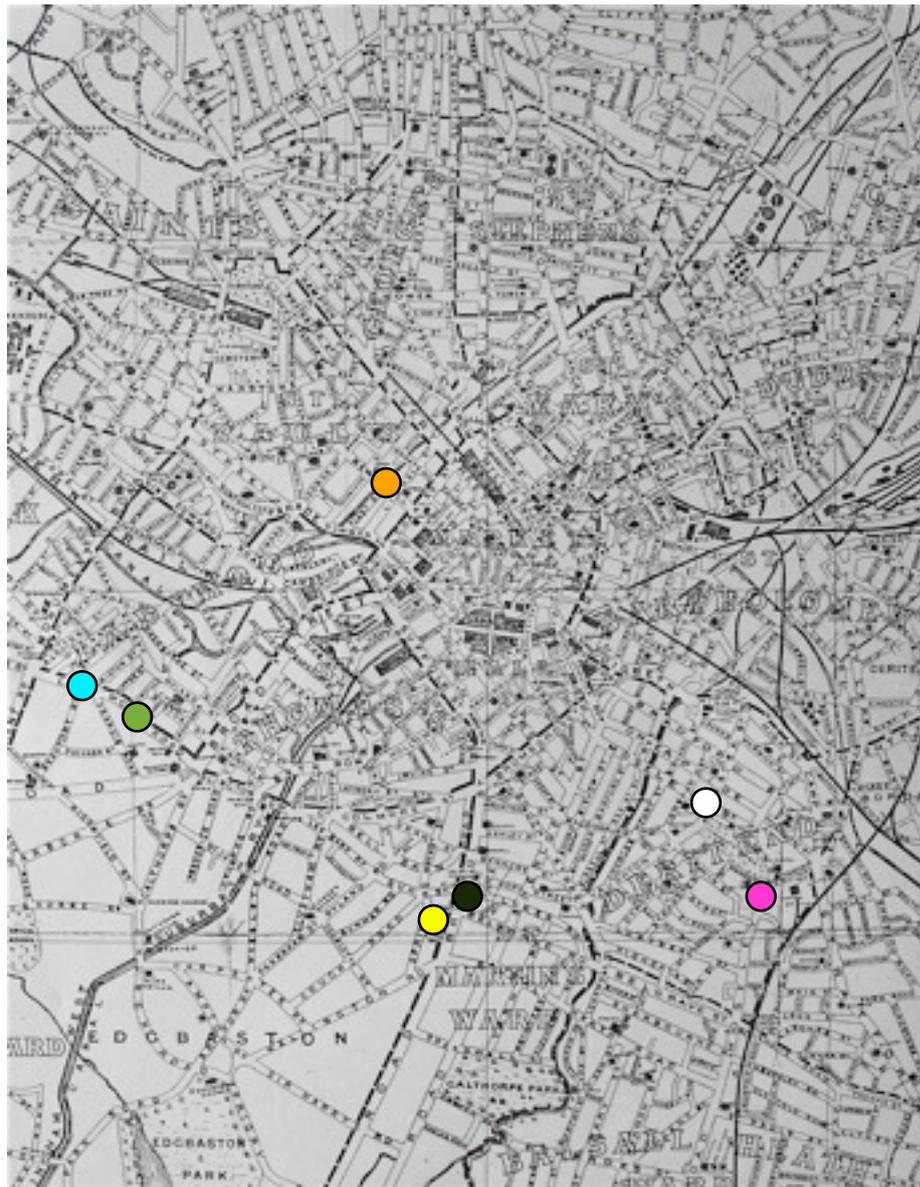
The Home was set up by Father Hudson in 1901, a Catholic priest in the town. The charity was established for those boys aged 14 and above who had grown up in St. Paul's Catholic Homes but who had finished schooling and did not have the means to live independently. As its name suggests, the Home was designed not only to care for the boys, but to apprentice them to local employers to learn a trade. With this outcome in mind, St. Vincent's was conveniently located at Moseley Road in the heart of Deritend, one of the main industrial areas of the town. If requested, the charity helped the boys to find permanent lodgings on leaving the Home. Those who ran the Home considered it to be a bridge over 'the dangerous period between boyhood and manhood'.⁸⁰ The Home was relatively small, accommodating up to 45 boys, run by a Superintendent and Matron, and overseen by Fathers Hudson and Sandy.

⁸⁰ *St. Vincent's Home for Working Boys Annual Report 30th June 1908 to 30th July 1909* (Birmingham: The Midland Counties Herald Ltd, 1909), p. 4.

The Working Boys' Home

The Home was founded in 1880 by Alfred Victor Fordyce. It was located at Gordon Hall in Deritend. Its location in the industrial area of the town was fundamental to its aim, to provide a home for destitute boys between the ages of 12 and 16, who were apprenticed to various local businesses. Those who ran the Home hoped that the boys would learn a trade which could sustain them for the rest of their working life. A portion of the boys' wages was retained by the Home, but they were permitted to keep a small amount for pocket money. The boys were encouraged to save a portion of their wages each week, which was held in a fund by the committee and returned to each boy who had earned a "good report" during his time in the Home. The charity was overseen by a small group of prominent Nonconformist men, such as Herbert Chamberlain, Alfred Hill, Samuel Sampson Lloyd and John Sutton Nettlefold. The Home was run by Mr and Mrs. Butter who acted as Superintendent and Matron respectively. The Home had the capacity to house approximately 30 boys.

Map Four: The location of charities in Birmingham.⁸¹



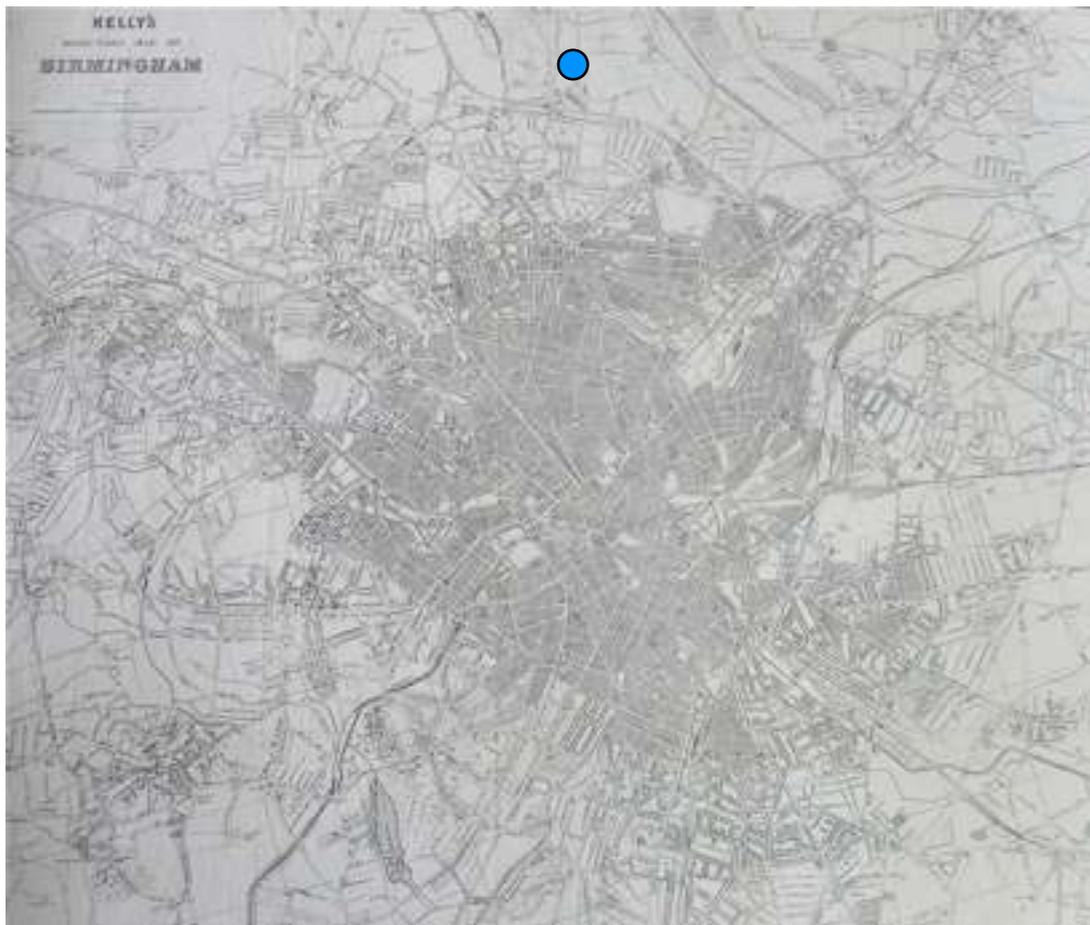
Key

Scale: 3.5cm = 1 mile

- **Lying in Charity** (established 1842, moved to New Hall Street in 1867)
- **Crowley Orphanage** (est. 1869 in Icknield St, moved to Ladywood Road in 1878)
- **ARTYW** (est. 1906)
- **Middlemore Emigration Home for Boys** (est. 1872)
- **Middlemore Emigration Home for Girls** (est. 1877)
- **St. Vincent's Home for Working Boys** (est. 1901)
- **Working Boys' Home** (est. 1880)

⁸¹ Map adapted from Birmingham City Archives, Maps Collection, D6: Greater Birmingham, Midland Educational Company Limited, 1894.

Map Five: The location of the Maryvale Orphanage.⁸²



Scale: 1cm = 1 mile

Key

- **Maryvale Orphanage** (est. 1851, located at Oscott, in the Handsworth area of the town)

⁸² Map reproduced from D6: Kelly's Directory Map of Birmingham, 1918.

Part Two - Sydney and the colony of New South Wales (NSW)

*'I have now a more comfortable home than it was ever my lot to possess in England'.*⁸³

Throughout the nineteenth century, the colony of NSW was frequently imagined as a land of opportunity where 'every thrifty man and woman could become a landowner'.⁸⁴ This comment was made by Henry Parkes, a humble ivory-turner and Chartist from Birmingham who emigrated to Sydney with his wife in 1839. His life, which culminated in his rise to Colonial Secretary and subsequently Premier of NSW, typifies the many and varied opportunities available to white men during this period. Of course for others, the colony offered no more than poverty and unfulfilled ambitions. Overwhelmingly however, NSW was depicted as a new and vibrant land free from poverty and the rigid social hierarchy which dominated society at home; a land of discovery and adventure. Economic success could be achieved either through luck on goldfields, or through persistent hard work in urban trades or farming. Indeed, 'in both popular and learned observations about nineteenth-century Australian society, two assumptions are firmly entrenched: firstly that the society was wealthy and secondly that it was egalitarian'.⁸⁵ During the 1830s in Birmingham, Parkes was aware of the reputation of the new colony, stating that it 'holds out prospects so bright and cheering to unhappy Englishmen'.⁸⁶ However, the new colony had a troubling past. The first white settlers who had arrived in the colony were convicts,

⁸³ Henry Parkes, *An Emigrant's Home Letters with Preface and Notes by Annie T. Parkes* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1896), letter from Henry Parkes to Sarah Parkes dated 24 May 1841, p. 98.

⁸⁴ Clark, *A History of Australia*, vol. 5, p. 21. Such depictions of NSW were also common in contemporary literature. In *David Copperfield*, Mr. and Mrs. Micawber, Emily and Mr. Peggotty emigrate to Australia. On returning to England, Mr. Peggotty informs David Copperfield that all have succeeded in the new world: 'we are as well to do, as we could be... we've done nowt but prosper'. See Charles Dickens, *The Personal History of David Copperfield* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 867-68, 868-873.

⁸⁵ Fitzgerald, *Rising Damp*, pp. 6-7.

⁸⁶ Parkes, *An Emigrant's Home Letters*, letter dated 6 December 1838, p. 22.

and despite the arrival of growing numbers of free settlers, until 1840 the colony was a penal settlement. Moreover, the dispossession of Aboriginal peoples has created fissures so deep within Australian society that they continue to have a lasting impact on the relationship between Aboriginal and white communities.⁸⁷

During the eighteenth century, the land which we now know as Australia was inhabited by various Aboriginal communities. Population estimates vary considerably from 300,000 to 750,000.⁸⁸ Aboriginal peoples lived in groups, subsisting from the land and adapting effectively to the resources of their local environment. However, not all groups were hunter-gatherers. In parts of Victoria certain communities ‘wore fur cloaks and lived in relatively permanent villages with stone housing’.⁸⁹ The area that was to become NSW was inhabited by the Dharuk peoples, which encompassed a number of Aboriginal groups who spoke a similar language.⁹⁰ Within each community both men and women spent time fishing, although there was a strict gendered etiquette and only men were permitted to use a spear. Men also hunted for large animals and women grew and foraged for vegetable foodstuffs which were distributed amongst the whole group.⁹¹ Men and women thus performed complementary roles and participated in their own spiritual ceremonies, which for the women frequently centered on fertility.⁹² Men were permitted to marry more than once, and the whole group was regarded as kin which resulted in the widespread use of “mother”, “father”, “brother”, “sister” within the group. Each community had a slightly differing view of the world, although some tentative generalisations can be made. During

⁸⁷ Attwood, *Telling the Truth*; Haebich, *Broken Circles*; McGrath ed., *Contested Ground*.

⁸⁸ Jones, *The Australian Welfare State*, pp. 6-7; Broome, *Aboriginal Australians*, p. 15.

⁸⁹ Ann McGrath, ‘A National Story’, in McGrath ed., *Contested Ground*, p. 10.

⁹⁰ Willey, *When the Sky Fell Down*, p. 15.

⁹¹ Goodall, ‘New South Wales’, p. 61.

⁹² Broome, *Aboriginal Australians*, p. 23; McGrath, ‘A National Story’, pp. 10-11.

the Dreamtime the land and animals had been created by ancestors, and each Aboriginal man, woman and child was linked to a totem animal and specific areas of land.

Consequently there 'was no reason to desire to try to possess the country of another group: it would have seemed meaningless to them'.⁹³ As such, when violent clashes occurred between neighbouring groups, it was often the result of what Richard Broome terms 'domestic disputes' rather than specific attempts to acquire land.⁹⁴ Decisions in the group were taken by those who were considered to be wise, which usually signified - although was not limited to - elderly males.

First Encounters: philanthropic beginnings and perceived racial difference

Despite the claim that 'no two races could have been more different in their concepts of the world and the meaning of human life', there was a significant amount of cooperation between Aboriginal peoples and Britons in the early days of settlement.⁹⁵ When Governor Phillip landed at Port Jackson in 1788 with the first fleet, comprising of convicts and military staff, he was personally responsible for the lives of all peoples in this early settlement. During the first months resources were so scarce 'that Governor Phillip found himself feeding everyone from government rations for most of the first few years'.⁹⁶ The colonial government was directly responsible for the welfare of the convicts, military staff and free settlers that began to arrive in the colony. Thus the colonial government became the main provider of employment, food and rudimentary medical care, which it had no option but to continue as the years passed.⁹⁷ Phillip was also keen to establish good

⁹³ Broome, *Aboriginal Australians*, p. 18.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁹⁵ Willey, *When the Sky Fell Down*, preface; Clendinnen, *Dancing With Strangers*.

⁹⁶ Dickey, *No Charity There*, p. 12.

⁹⁷ A tent hospital was erected in 1788 and subsequently a more permanent hospital was established at Parramatta four years later. Garton, *Out of Luck*, p. 17.

relations with the local Aboriginal peoples, and often gave them government rations, thus imagining them, along with the convicts, military officers, and free settlers as deserving of assistance.

However such forms of assistance were soon whitened. The first private charitable organisation in the colony was established in 1813 by a group of missionaries. It was primarily a missionary organisation, and had three aims: providing assistance to white paupers, protecting the rights of indigenous peoples and Christian missionary work.⁹⁸ However, the Governor, Lachlan Macquarie, persuaded these missionary men to devote their efforts solely to the white paupers in the colony in return for considerable financial support from the government. Thus in 1818 the Benevolent Society of NSW was established, supported by the colonial government, who had prioritised the needs of white settlers over Aboriginal peoples.

Aboriginal peoples were soon marginalised from the Christian community in the colony. Samuel Marsden was a crucial figure in the early religious life of the colony. He had arrived in 1794 as an Anglican chaplain and soon became frustrated with his preliminary attempts to convert the Aborigines. At this time ‘the “noble savage” ideal that had influenced men like James Cook was being replaced by arguments that Aborigines were savages, on the lowest rung of the “great chain of being”’.⁹⁹ Marsden began to devote more attention to the Maori peoples of New Zealand whom he considered to be much more capable of Christian civilisation than Aboriginal peoples.¹⁰⁰ As a result of such

⁹⁸ Dickey, *No Charity There*, p. 13.

⁹⁹ Garton, *Out of Luck*, p. 19. According to Scottish Enlightenment thinkers who devised the stadial theory of development, Aboriginal groups were located at the bottom of their ladder of human development, as hunter-gatherers. Somewhat unsurprisingly Britain was located at the top of the scale of development, having achieved a commercial society.

¹⁰⁰ Grimshaw, ‘Maori Agriculturalists’, pp. 21-40.

unfavourable depictions, the first official missionary to the Aborigines was not appointed in NSW until 1821. Lack of early missionary success among the Aborigines perpetuated negative representations of the race. In his history of the Church Missionary Society, Eugene Stock quotes George Clarke writing in 1823: “I have seen the miserable Africans first come from the holds of slave-ships, but they do not equal, in wretchedness and misery, the New Hollanders. They are the poorest objects on the habitable globe”.¹⁰¹ Missionary activities towards the Aborigines throughout the nineteenth century were categorised by a sense of inertia, and there was little interest in this race by members of the public at home in Britain. Ultimately ‘stories of *zenana* women and Polynesian “noble savages” made better textual subjects’ than the Aborigines.¹⁰²

The end of transportation and the creation of a respectable settler colony

Once they had served their sentence, there were many opportunities for former convicts in NSW society. In the 1830s one former convict successfully deceived Sydney society by assuming the identity of the fictional Lord Viscount Lascelles.¹⁰³ However, such episodes led to a considerable anxiety over the fluidity of status and identity in colonial society. Free settlers ‘became increasingly sensitive about being identified as convicts, ex-convicts or even the children of convicts’.¹⁰⁴ In 1836 a group of free settlers sent a petition to the House of Commons pleading for an end to transportation. Central to their concerns

¹⁰¹ Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society, Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*, vol. 1 (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), p. 360. New South Wales was originally called New Holland, and so the reference to “New Hollanders” here means Aboriginal peoples.

¹⁰² Johnston, *Missionary Writing*, p. 197. Despite the popularity of overseas missionary projects in Britain at this time, missionary societies expressed little interest in converting Aboriginal peoples. Only one London Missionary Society (LMS) mission was ever established in NSW, at Reid’s Mistake. Five missions in total were established in NSW before 1850 but all were soon ‘abandoned as failures’. Mission societies lost interest and subsequent missions were established by private individuals, see pp. 173-4.

¹⁰³ McKenzie, *A Swindler’s Progress*.

¹⁰⁴ Beverley Kingston, *A History of New South Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 24.

was an anxiety over the status of former convicts, whom they argued ‘have been placed upon a footing with Magistrates and Colonists of the highest *respectability*’.¹⁰⁵ Similar fears over convictism were expressed in the Cape colony of South Africa at the end of the 1840s when the Colonial Secretary proposed that colony as a potential penal settlement. One settler wrote to Queen Victoria, pleading to save the colony from ‘this dire pollution’.¹⁰⁶ The language used by free settlers in NSW and the Cape was similar; convicts signified ‘pollution’ and ‘bad repute’ which threatened respectable, free society.

The Molesworth Report of 1837-8 revealed the dire effects of transportation upon the colony, and transportation subsequently ceased to NSW in 1840. The colony’s identity began to shift from a penal colony to one of white settlement. In 1830 convicts comprised 40.1% of the total population; in 1847 this had reduced dramatically to 3.2%.¹⁰⁷ However, convictism had left its mark upon colonial society and specifically the *reputation* of colonial society: ‘a society recently settled by alleged rogues and whores... encouraged a need for respectability more widespread than it might otherwise have been’.¹⁰⁸ It is significant that in the same year that transportation ceased the Deserted Wives and Children Act was passed, which entitled women who had been deserted by their husbands to approach magistrates to demand warrants for their arrest. Crucially, the act also permitted single women to claim maintenance from the father(s) of their children. The ending of transportation and the passing of this Act were both attempts to render NSW

¹⁰⁵ ‘Petition on Legal and Constitutional Reform, Conveying the Intense Status Anxiety of the Gentry Faced with ex-convict Wealth’, in J. Macarthur, *New South Wales; Its Present State and Future Prospects* (London: Walther, 1837), appendix 2, emphasis added.

¹⁰⁶ Letter published in the *South African Commercial Advertiser* dated 12 May 1849, quoted in Robert Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750-1870: A Tragedy of Manners* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 161, emphasis added. As Ross states, the majority of British settlers considered that the colony ‘would be tainted by the coming of the convicts’, p. 162.

¹⁰⁷ C. M. H. Clark (with L. J. Pryor) ed., *Select Documents in Australian History 1788-1850* (Sydney: Augustus and Robertson, 1950), p. 406.

¹⁰⁸ Fitzgerald, *Rising Damp*, p. 171.

more respectable. In a respectable society, men did not shirk their responsibilities to their family; if they did, they were punished.

The British colonial authorities had part-funded early charities which assisted white settlers, such as the Benevolent Society, since 1818. As the years passed and transportation was halted, ‘short of emptying the asylums and tipping the patients out onto a terrified community, the local administration had to fund and run these custodial institutions’.¹⁰⁹ Brian Dickey hints that the dominant role played by the colonial government discouraged the development of private philanthropy.¹¹⁰ In Britain, in times of need members of the working classes called upon ‘a network of reciprocal favours’ from neighbours, friends and relatives; private philanthropy was often sought as a last resort, utilised when informal networks were either lacking or had been exhausted.¹¹¹ However these kind of networks took time to establish, and recent immigrants to NSW found themselves dependent upon government-sponsored institutions such as the Benevolent Society’s Asylum.

The rapid influx of white settlers reinforced the colonists’ assertion of their identities as white. Between 1830 and 1850 approximately 125,000 men, women and children arrived in NSW.¹¹² Many, like Henry Parkes, had been granted assisted passages, and were joined by paying immigrants desperate to find their fortune in the goldfields after 1851.

‘People of all grades began to arrive... all inspired with one desire - all for gold!’¹¹³

However, the desire of both the Colonial Office and the colonial elite, to create a

¹⁰⁹ Dickey, *No Charity There*, p. 6.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Davin, *Growing up Poor*, pp. 58-9. Chinn states that the urban poor in Britain were highly ‘parochial’ which resulted in family members of different generations living in the same street or parish. See *They Worked All Their Lives*, p. 30.

¹¹² Marian Quartly, ‘Male and Female Worlds’, in Grimshaw *et al*, *Creating a Nation*, p. 79.

¹¹³ George Forbes, *History of Sydney: From the Foundation of the City in 1788 up to the Present Time, 1925, Compiled from Authentic Sources* (Sydney: William Brooks & Co, 1926), p. 87.

respectable white settler society was once again under threat as the rush to the goldfields provoked concerns about greed and morality. Furthermore, men's absences in the goldfields were linked to the desertion of wives and children.¹¹⁴

Increasingly, the colonial government (and later the NSW government) committed itself to the preservation of whiteness. In 1841 Lancelot Threlkeld, one of the missionaries to Aboriginal peoples, was informed by the Colonial Secretary, Edward Deas Thomson, that the colonial government was no longer willing to assist his mission financially. Significantly, Deas Thomson was President of the Benevolent Society at this time, providing assistance to white settlers. As such, the colonial government was reinforcing its perceptions of who should be included in the imagined community, and therefore who was deserving of government-assisted philanthropy. Originally included by Governor Phillip in the early penal colony, Aboriginal peoples were now increasingly excluded from settler society, which was imagined as white. The colonial government made it clear that their priorities lay in the preservation of, and welfare of, the white settler community. White settlers failed to *see* Aboriginal poverty and, as such, 'there was relatively little effort made to plan or implement an Aboriginal welfare policy'.¹¹⁵ The achievement of responsible government in 1856 was another marker for civilisation. The autocratic powers of the governor before mid-century were an indication of a uncivilised society, a society not fit to govern itself. In the process of achieving responsible government, 'colonists became "white men" who would assert their distinctive capacity for government, over themselves and variously designated Others: natives, coloured aliens, some Europeans and women of

¹¹⁴ Twomey has explored the impact of the goldfields on wife desertion in Victoria. See *Deserted and Destitute*.

¹¹⁵ Collmann, *Fringe-Dwellers*, pp. 14-5.

all kinds'.¹¹⁶ The transition to responsible government was also an important milestone for respectability.

During the first half of the century, violence against Aboriginal peoples escalated as growing numbers of free settlers and ex-convicts strove to claim their own parcels of land. Violence against Aboriginal men, women and children united the white population against a common racial enemy.¹¹⁷ In 1837 one of the worst known atrocities occurred at Myall Creek where 28 Aboriginal men, women and children were massacred by white settlers. Various forms of brutality, which had become institutionalised and sanitised in the penal colony, spread outwards.¹¹⁸ Aboriginal populations were also decimated by disease. Estimates vary, but disease accounted for between 30 to 60% of all Aboriginal deaths.¹¹⁹ The rapid decline in Aboriginal populations as a result of disease and violence was justified by white settlers who argued that Aboriginal groups were simply dying out. Settlers believed that savagery was literally 'self-extinguishing', reinforcing fundamental differences between races and notions of racial hierarchies.¹²⁰ From a religious standpoint the disappearance of certain races was simply explained as God's plan; or from a secular or scientific position - nature's plan.¹²¹ Increasing numbers of settlers believed that Aboriginal

¹¹⁶ Lake, 'On Being a White Man', pp. 110-1.

¹¹⁷ Connell and Irving, *Class Structure*, p. 63. As the colony was articulating its claims for whiteness in the 1840s and 1850s racial tensions emerged between white settlers and the growing Chinese population, culminating in riots at the goldfields in 1850. See C. M. H. Clark, *A History of Australia, Volume IV: The Earth Abideth For Ever 1851-1888* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1978), p. 113; Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, part 1.

¹¹⁸ Peter N. Grabosky, *Sydney in Ferment: Crime, Dissent and Official Reaction 1788 to 1973* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1977), p. 11.

¹¹⁹ McGrath, 'Sex, Violence and Theft', p. 137.

¹²⁰ Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*, p. 2.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

peoples belonged to the past and were ‘contained within it’.¹²² Such theories of extinction and race suicide gained momentum from the 1840s with the rapid decline of the Aboriginal population wherever Europeans settled in numbers, most notoriously in Van Diemen’s Land (Tasmania). Settler belief in the so-called theory of race suicide was a convenient means of simultaneously blaming Aboriginal populations for their own decline, whilst absolving settlers for the part they played in this process.¹²³ By 1891 in NSW the census revealed that there were only 11,463 “full” and “half-blood” Aboriginal men, women and children in the colony.¹²⁴

Class

As we have seen, the Australian colonies earned an egalitarian reputation. The colonies might have been more equal than the metropole in terms of class, but other forms of marking difference also existed. For the first settlers, the main form of social difference was between free and convict. Free settlers arriving in NSW in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries were given land grants by the colonial authorities. Other settlers and ex-convicts simply squatted on vast tracts of land, claiming them as their own. The commencement of sheep farming and the importance of the wool industry to NSW - and the widespread export of wool to Britain - created a powerful group of pastoralists in the colony. Convicts were frequently assigned to pastoralists for labour, thus large landowners ‘became an arm of the state, a vast outdoor department of penal supervision’.¹²⁵ However,

¹²² Rod Macneil, ‘Time After Time: Temporal Frontiers and Boundaries in Colonial Images of the Australian Landscape’, in Lynette Russell ed., *Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 49.

¹²³ Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*, p. 2.

¹²⁴ Kingston, *A History*, p. 113. The total number of non-Aboriginal settlers in NSW during this year was 1,123,954. See p. 64.

¹²⁵ Connell and Irving, *Class Structure*, p. 34. As a result of the convict labour pool and increasing white settlement Aboriginal peoples were not co-opted into the labour force unlike indigenous peoples in other colonies such as the Cape.

during the 1840s the power of the pastoralists began to decline, partly as a result of the cessation of transportation and the subsequent loss of their free labour pool. In addition, the growth of industries in the city of Sydney reduced the pastoralist dominance over the economy. Nevertheless, until the 1860s, the existence of plural voting based on property and land ownership meant that the pastoralist community still wielded considerable influence upon NSW politics. Some men, such as John Macarthur, entered the ranks of the colonial elite as a result of their considerable wealth and influence. Ultimately, however, the NSW elite was numerically very small compared to Britain, and was largely limited to the various governors, their families and colonial politicians such as Charles Cowper and Start Alexander Donaldson.¹²⁶

The image of NSW as egalitarian was linked to the notion that all white settlers were rendered equal in this new land as immigrants. Indeed, ‘there were not even those outward and visible signs of language, height and dress which distinguished masters from servants in the Old World’.¹²⁷ Domestic service did not flourish in the colony and all adult males achieved the franchise in 1858. During the 1860s factory workers in Sydney earned more than twice the wages of their counterparts at home.¹²⁸ As a result, a strong working class developed in the colony. It was ‘confident’ and ‘capable of organising its own interests’ which led to the achievement of the eight hour day in many trades by the 1860s.¹²⁹ During his visit to the Australian colonies in the 1880s, Birmingham’s R. W. Dale was struck by the condition of the working classes: ‘the working-man in Australia has shorter hours, better

¹²⁶ Clark, *A History of Australia*, vol. 4, p. 103.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

¹²⁸ G. P. Walsh, ‘Factories and Factory Workers in New South Wales, 1788-1900’, *Labour History*, 21 (1971), p. 7.

¹²⁹ Kingston, *A History*, p. 60.

wages, cheaper food, than the working-man in England'.¹³⁰ During the 1870s and 1880s, working-class consciousness increased further as trade unionism began to flourish in Sydney, culminating in a strike in 1890 by the Seamen's Union and other maritime unions. The result was that 'coastal shipping was paralyzed'.¹³¹ The Labor party began to make political gains, and in 1891, 36 out of the 48 Labor candidates were elected to the Legislative Assembly of NSW.¹³²

The growth of Sydney itself facilitated the rise of the urban middle classes in the city, many of whom, like their counterparts in Birmingham, became involved in philanthropic activities. Mr. Roseby, vice-president of the Benevolent Society stated that 'the wealthy classes did not subscribe so well to Sydney charities as the middle classes'.¹³³ From the 1840s the new urban middle classes began to challenge the dominance of the rural pastoralists. During the period 1840 to 1890, 'the eventual triumph of urban capital over pastoral property' was consolidated as the city of Sydney grew and its trades and manufactures diversified.¹³⁴ Both the Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council were increasingly comprised of urban middle-class men and by 1885 'almost half of the New South Wales Legislative Assembly were businessmen in commerce, mining or manufacturing'.¹³⁵ In addition, a new generation of professional men were also entering colonial politics in the second half of the century, such as Dr. Arthur Renwick, a physician who had achieved prominence in Sydney society as President of the Benevolent Society.

¹³⁰ R. W. Dale, 'Impressions of Australia: IV, Politics', *Contemporary Review* (1889), p. 422.

¹³¹ Clark, *A History of Australia*, vol. 5, p. 46.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹³³ *Proceedings of the Second Australian Conference on Charity, Held in Melbourne, from 17th to 21st November, 1891, Convened by the Charity Organisation Society of Melbourne* (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1892), p. 88.

¹³⁴ Connell and Irving, *Class Structure*, p. 105.

¹³⁵ See Gunn, *The Public Culture*; Connell and Irving, *Class Structure*, p. 111.

Simon Gunn has argued that in Britain, a middle-class culture was created and re-asserted in the urban spaces of towns and cities.¹³⁶ In Sydney a similar process occurred during the mid- to late-nineteenth century. 'Expensive schools, city clubs, the temples of commerce... the museums and art galleries endowed by wealthy philanthropists: these were symbols of bourgeois cultural dominance'.¹³⁷ Many of the charities run by middle-class men and women assisting girls and women in the city provided training for domestic service, suggesting that the middle classes wished to re-create the inequalities of class which operated at home.

Gender

From the first days of white settlement, the white population of NSW was dominated by men. In 1788 men comprised 78.5% of the white population of the colony.¹³⁸ In addition, the very *nature* of the colony was distinctly masculine, epitomised by convictism, physical punishments, violence, discovery and exploration.¹³⁹ Thus, in early colonial society 'power and prestige belonged to the human beings with the most masculine qualities'.¹⁴⁰ The highly gendered nature of the early settlement has left a legacy upon Australian society in which a 'a particular style of white masculinity' is still celebrated, 'embodied in the Australian bushman and updated in such films as *The Man from Snowy River* and *Crocodile Dundee*'.¹⁴¹ Women were present in the colony from first settlement

¹³⁶ Gunn, *The Public Culture*.

¹³⁷ Connell and Irving, *Class Structure*, p. 127.

¹³⁸ Grabosky, *Sydney in Ferment*, p. 9.

¹³⁹ See for instance Summers, *Damned Whores*; Dixson, *The Real Matilda*; Kay Schaffer, *Women and the Bush: Forces of Desire in the Australian Cultural Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) Grimshaw *et al*, *Creating a Nation*; Lake, 'Mission Impossible', pp. 305-22.

¹⁴⁰ Clark, *A History of Australia*, vol. 4, p. 234.

¹⁴¹ Grimshaw, Lake, McGrath and Quartly, 'Introduction', in Patricia Grimshaw *et al*, *Creating a Nation*, p. 2.

as convicts, but free female settlers did not arrive in significant numbers until the 1830s, when approximately 3,000 single British women were given free passages to the colony in an attempt to rectify this sex-imbalance.¹⁴² Of course, the colonial authorities hoped that the arrival of women and the creation of families would create a more respectable and stable society. Women in colonial society were represented as either ‘damned whores’, convict and ex-convict women, or ‘god’s police’, free settler women.¹⁴³ The colony retained its commitment to masculinity in 1858 when all white adult males were enfranchised. White women and Aboriginal peoples were not deemed eligible to participate in the new democracy.

By 1845 the sex imbalance had been reduced: men now comprised 60.5% of the population of the colony. However there were still twice as many unmarried men as unmarried women in the colony.¹⁴⁴ By the second half of the nineteenth century, women in the Australian colonies were more likely to be married than their British counterparts, and by the end of the century ‘marriage, legal and binding, had become hegemonic’.¹⁴⁵ Women fulfilled the roles of wives, mothers, daughters, often in addition to employment. They were employed as domestic servants, teachers, nurses, factory workers - particularly in boot manufacture.¹⁴⁶ In the boot trade, girls could earn 5 to 10s per week, and women up to 23s.¹⁴⁷ Male skilled workers, such as carpenters, could earn between 9s and 11s *per day* in

¹⁴² A. James Hammerton, *Emigrant Gentlewomen: Genteel Poverty and Female Emigration 1830-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1979), p. 54.

¹⁴³ See Summers, *Damned Whores*.

¹⁴⁴ Quartly, ‘Male and Female Worlds’, p. 91.

¹⁴⁵ Fitzgerald, *Rising Damp*, p. 171.

¹⁴⁶ Walsh estimates that women comprised one sixth of the workforce in manufacturing industries. See ‘Factories’, p. 8.

¹⁴⁷ Fitzgerald, *Rising Damp*, p. 149.

the 1860s.¹⁴⁸ Many women took work into the home, and towards the turn of the century new service industries provided additional work opportunities, such as department stores. During the 1880s the white women's suffrage campaign had begun, and white women were enfranchised in 1902, earlier than their counterparts in Britain.¹⁴⁹

Religion

In many ways, the religious history of the colony of NSW can be represented by the struggle for hegemony between Catholics and Anglicans.¹⁵⁰ Catholic convicts formed a significant proportion in the early penal colony, comprising 85% of all Irish convicts and between 7 and 10% of convicts tried in Britain.¹⁵¹ However, official religious worship had a distinctly Anglican flavour in the first few years of settlement, and the first Catholic priest was not appointed until 1820. Governors during the 1820s and 1830s, such as Thomas Brisbane and Richard Bourke, eroded the dominance of the Church of England, culminating in the controversial disestablishment of the Church of England in the colony in 1836.¹⁵² This resulted in a system whereby 'the existing churches, Anglicans, Catholics, Presbyterians and later Methodists, were placed on an equal footing in relation to

¹⁴⁸ Henry Parkes, *Freehold Homes in a Gold Country. Two Public Addresses on the Present Conditions and Natural Resources of the Colony of New South Wales delivered at Derby and Birmingham by Henry Parkes Esq; Commissioner of the Colonial Government, and Late Member of the Legislative Assembly for East Sydney* (Birmingham: Hidson and Ellis Printers, 1861), p. 14.

¹⁴⁹ Some Australian women were enfranchised earlier than 1902. For instance women in South Australia were given the right to vote in federal elections from 1894, and in Western Australia from 1899.

¹⁵⁰ O'Brien, *God's Willing Workers*, p. 13. In NSW the provision of elementary education became a battleground between Catholics and Protestants. From 1866 a dual system of national and denominational schools operated, both of which received financial support from the NSW government. However funding for denominational schools was removed during the 1880s.

¹⁵¹ Waldersee, *Catholic Society*, pp. 67-8.

¹⁵² From this date, the colonial government distributed funding to the various denominations based on the size of their congregations. From 1862 all churches ceased to receive funding from the NSW government. The disestablishment of the Church of England in NSW formed a precedent for the disestablishment of the Church of England in Ireland in 1869.

government support and funding'.¹⁵³ There was a vibrant and strong Catholic community in Sydney, and many individuals and religious orders such as the Sisters of Mercy and Sisters of Charity engaged in philanthropy. Nonetheless, there remained a widespread prejudice against the Catholic community which was compounded by the shooting of Prince Alfred in 1868 in Sydney by a Fenian supporter.

In terms of numbers, Anglicans in the colony remained dominant throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. Methodists and Congregationalists 'were not numerically strong in New South Wales in 1901 and became weaker over the course of the 20th century'.¹⁵⁴ Ebenezer Vickery was one of the most influential Methodists in Sydney. He was a wealthy industrialist who 'donated a six-bedroom house in Woolloomooloo' to the Sisters of the People to run a children's home, the Dalmar Home.¹⁵⁵ The 1901 census reveals that Catholics comprised 25% of the population of NSW and Protestants formed 73%, of which 45.5% were Church of England.¹⁵⁶

The City of Sydney

Sydney grew at a rapid rate throughout the nineteenth century as 'the centre of the web of administration, finance, transport and supply' in NSW.¹⁵⁷ In 1820 the population of Sydney and its surroundings stood at 12,000; by 1850 it had increased more than fourfold to over 50,000.¹⁵⁸ This placed immense strain on the resources of the city, and in the 1840s there were simply not enough dwellings to house the continuing flow of immigrants. In

¹⁵³ Kingston, *A History*, pp. 32-3.

¹⁵⁴ O'Brien, *God's Willing Workers*, pp. 13-4.

¹⁵⁵ Rev. W. G. Taylor, *Dalmar Children's Homes* (Sydney: Epworth Press, n.d), p. 99.

¹⁵⁶ Kingston, *A History*, pp. 113-4.

¹⁵⁷ Dickey, *No Charity There*, p. 21.

¹⁵⁸ McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies*, p. 50.

1841 the colonial government provided tents in the Domain area for 2000 immigrant families and 172 women.¹⁵⁹ For many families, the colony's reputation as a worker's paradise was a myth. The idea 'that anyone could make a comfortable living was often recast into the more dangerous idea that everyone did make a comfortable living'.¹⁶⁰

Map Six: City of Sydney and surrounding areas, 1865.¹⁶¹



¹⁵⁹ Garton, *Out of Luck*, p. 31.

¹⁶⁰ Fitzgerald, *Rising Damp*, p. 7.

¹⁶¹ Mitchell Library, Maps Collection, Z M3 811.12/1865/2: map of Port Jackson and City of Sydney: adjacent municipalities N.S.W., 1865.

However, the urban space of Sydney rendered poverty increasingly visible. The men and women who founded the Female Refuge in 1848 explained its origins in terms of the disturbing sight ‘of hundreds of unhappy females... crowding the streets of this populous city’.¹⁶² As the population of the city reached 137,586 in 1871, a number of urban charities were established by private individuals, often with government funding, to attempt to relieve the very real problem of colonial poverty.¹⁶³ By 1911 Sydney’s population had swelled to 588,971 white men, women and children.¹⁶⁴

In Sydney and other cities in the Australian colonies, industrialisation followed urbanisation, in a reverse of the typical pattern evident at home.¹⁶⁵ As the population of the city grew, trades and industries developed to rival the wool production in rural NSW. Sydney became the ‘commercial and financial centre of its colony... it was the port of arrival for the migrants who swelled the population, and the place of disposal for British capital’.¹⁶⁶ Thus Circular Quay was at the heart of the economic activity of the city, importing goods from abroad and exporting the produce of the colony. Factories manufacturing foodstuffs such as tobacco, flour and sugar sprang up in and around the city. The demand for houses and buildings resulted in the growth of brick-making trades, and boot and textile factories and workshops provided clothing and shoes for the increasing population.

¹⁶² *Twenty-Sixth Report of the Sydney Female Refuge Society, Ending December 31st, 1874. Established August 21, 1848. “Go and Sin No More”* (Sydney: Joseph Cook & Co, 1875), p. 7.

¹⁶³ Clark ed., *Select Documents*, p. 666.

¹⁶⁴ Clark, *A History of Australia*, vol. 5, p. 336.

¹⁶⁵ J. W. McCarty and C. B. Schedvin, ‘Introduction’, in McCarty and Schedvin eds, *Australian Capital Cities*, p. 6.

¹⁶⁶ Fry, ‘The Growth of Sydney’, p. 31.

From 1842, the year of Sydney's incorporation, the city was governed by a mayor, supported by a Municipal Council comprised of 24 elected members. Municipal improvements were effected and, in a burst of civic pride also evident in Birmingham in the second half of the nineteenth century, Sydney boasted 'splendid public buildings, efficient public transport, theatres, parks, galleries, museums, zoological gardens, and outer suburbs of garden-surrounded detached houses'.¹⁶⁷

Geographically Sydney was surrounded by vast areas of hinterland to the north, south and west (as well as a limited area to the east) which facilitated the expansion of its population. However, much of the area to the south of the city was swampland, and the water reservoir and industries at Botany Bay limited settlement there. Despite this, some of the city's influential families owned land here, such as the Stephens and Allens. Due to the increase in Sydney's population, suburbs developed rapidly, unlike many British towns which expanded more gradually: 'many of the new suburbs of the 1870s and 1880s were literally carved out of the virgin bushland'.¹⁶⁸ Initially, the city expanded east and west, with a clear division between rich and poor. The eastern areas of the city such as Paddington, Woolloomooloo, Darlinghurst, Potts Point, Woollahra and Vaucluse were settled by the wealthy. Many of the city's philanthropic families lived in these areas, such as the Deas Thomsons at Darlinghurst. The suburb of Paddington in particular grew rapidly from 2,692 in 1861 to 18,392 in 1891.¹⁶⁹ Glenmore Road was the most sought after address in the suburb. Areas to the west of the city such as Alexandria were dominated by the working classes. Sydney, like other urban spaces both at home and in the colonies 'was

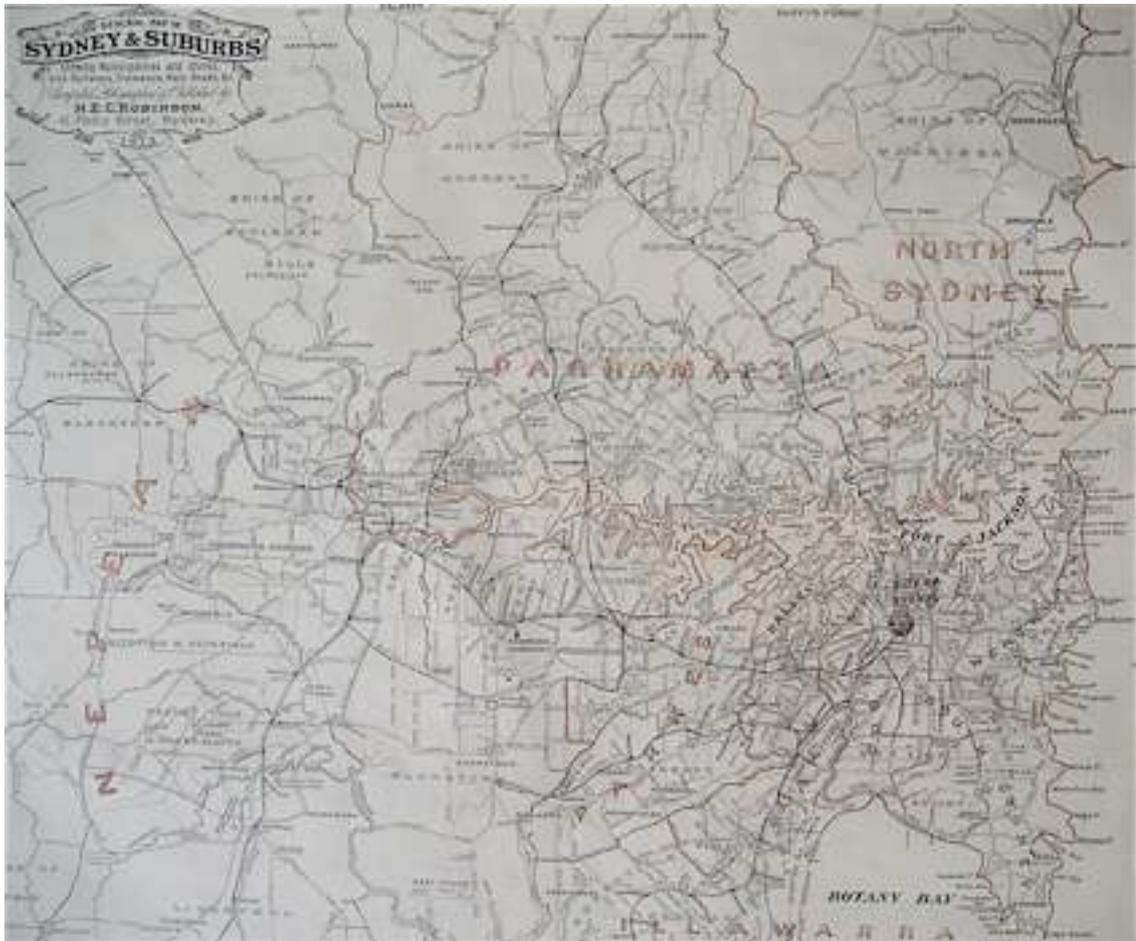
¹⁶⁷ Patricia Grimshaw, 'Man's Space, Woman's Place', in Patricia Grimshaw *et al*, *Creating a Nation*, p. 113.

¹⁶⁸ Fitzgerald, *Rising Damp*, p. 16.

¹⁶⁹ M. J. Kelly, 'Eight Acres: Estate Sub-Division and the Building Process, Paddington 1875-90', in McCarty and Schedvin eds, *Australian Capital Cities*, p. 48.

no classless society. Suburbs and regions varied enormously in their provision of amenities, both natural and built'.¹⁷⁰ Some suburbs were also divided ethnically; Hunter's Hill on the North Shore was distinctively Irish and working-class.

Map Seven: Sydney and Suburbs, 1913.¹⁷¹



However, developments in transport failed to keep pace with the growth of new suburbs. In 1870 there was only one railway line, connecting the city with Parramatta to the west. Often, ‘trains were not timetabled to suit the most common working hours, ran infrequently and in any case did not deliver their passengers into the central city area, but

¹⁷⁰ Fitzgerald, *Rising Damp*, p. 41.

¹⁷¹ Mitchell Library, Maps Collection, Z M4 811.12/1913/1A: General Map of Sydney & Suburbs, Shewing Municipalities and Shires, also Railways, Tramways, Main Roads, &c, 1913.

only to Redfern, where the line stopped'.¹⁷² This effectively contained the working classes to living within walking distance of the city; only the wealthy could afford private carriage journeys. During the 1880s new railway lines were constructed, and reduced railway fares enabled the working classes to travel more easily, facilitating their expansion into the suburbs. After 1890, members of the respectable working class began to inhabit the once exclusive suburbs such as Paddington. By 1913 the city of Sydney had expanded rapidly into rural NSW.

¹⁷² Fitzgerald, *Rising Damp*, p. 52. Redfern was located approximately 1 mile to the south of Sydney.

Philanthropic Families

Unlike Birmingham, there was no core of philanthropic families in the city who shared political, economic and religious interests. There were, however, a number of philanthropic families in the city who were involved in many Sydney charities.

The Allens¹⁷³

George Allen (1800-1877) was Secretary and Vice-President of the Benevolent Society of NSW from 1861 until his death. Born in London, he travelled to NSW in 1816 with his mother and siblings; his stepfather had been transported in 1812. He joined the Methodist Society and founded one of the oldest legal firms in Australia. He lived in Glebe, but also owned various tracts of land around Botany Bay. Education was particularly important to George Allen and he was invited to join the senate of Sydney University in 1859. He also sat on the Council of Education. Like many prominent Sydney men, he involved himself in politics, holding the office of Mayor of Sydney. He also held a seat in the Legislative Council until 1873.

His son, George Wigram Allen (later Sir, 1824-1885) was also a solicitor and entered the family business. He married Marian Boyce in 1851. They lived in Glebe, close to his mother and father. Marian Allen (later Lady Allen) sat on various charitable committees such as the ladies' committee of the Benevolent Society and the Sydney Female Refuge. She was also among the small group of ladies who established the Boarding-out Society of NSW.

¹⁷³ Norman Cowper and Vivienne Parsons, 'Allen, George (1800 - 1877)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 1 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1966), pp. 5-7, viewed at <<http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010007b.htm>> on 2 February 2010; Norman Cowper and Ruth Teale, 'Allen, Sir George Wigram (1824 - 1885)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 3 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969), pp. 24-25, viewed at <[http://adbonline .anu.edu.au/biogs/A030025b.htm](http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A030025b.htm)> on 2 February 2010.

The Deas Thomsons¹⁷⁴

Edward Deas Thomson (1800-1879) was born in Edinburgh. In 1828 he received an appointment to become Clerk of the Council of New South Wales. He married Anne Bourke, the daughter of Governor Bourke in 1833, and Thomson was promoted to Colonial Secretary in 1837, an office which he held until 1856. Like George Allen, he was deeply interested in education, and was a founding member of the University of Sydney. He was a member of the Church of England.

He was a prolific philanthropist, involving himself in many committees. In addition he was President of the Benevolent Society, the Sydney Infirmary, and the Society for Destitute Children. He was knighted in 1874 and children from the Randwick Asylum were 'drawn up in ranks' at his funeral.¹⁷⁵ His wife, Anne Deas Thomson was also an active philanthropist, acting as Secretary on the committee of the Female School of Industry between 1863 until her death in 1883. She was President of the Infants' Home from 1878, and the Female Refuge from 1864. One of Edward and Anne's daughters married into another of Sydney's early philanthropic families, the McLeays. Another daughter, Eglantine was treasurer of the Female School of Industry between 1879 and 1882.

¹⁷⁴ M. E. Osborne, 'Thomson, Sir Edward Deas (1800 - 1879)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 2 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967), pp. 523-527, viewed at <<http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020479b.htm>> on 2 February 2010; S. G. Foster, *Colonial Improver, Edward Deas Thomson, 1800-1879* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1978).

¹⁷⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 July 1879.

The Stephens¹⁷⁶

Sir Alfred (1802-1894) was born in St. Kitts in the Caribbean. He arrived in Hobart, Tasmania, with his new wife Virginia Consett in 1825. Virginia died in childbirth in 1837 leaving Alfred with seven children. Alfred re-married Eleanor Bedford in 1838 and was appointed a judge in Sydney. In 1856 he was appointed to the Legislative Council and in 1871 became Chief Justice. He was a staunch Anglican, and for many years was President of the Sydney Female Refuge and a committee member of the Society for the Relief of Destitute Children. Like Arthur Renwick, George Allen and Edward Deas Thomson, he was committed to the importance of education and was a member of the Council of Education. In addition, he campaigned during the 1880s for reforms to Divorce Laws to give married men and women equal grounds for divorce.

Eleanor Stephen was also devoted to philanthropic activities in Sydney, as a committee member of both the Benevolent Society ladies' committee and the Female School of Industry. Many of her extended family became involved in philanthropy and her daughter in law, Mrs. C. B. Stephen, was also a committee member of the Female School of Industry.

The Renwicks¹⁷⁷

Arthur Renwick (later Sir, 1837-1908) was born in Glasgow and emigrated to NSW in 1841. He graduated from the University of Sydney, studying maths, chemistry and physics and returned to Britain to study for his medical degree. Returning to NSW, he

¹⁷⁶ Martha Rutledge, 'Stephen, Sir Alfred (1802 - 1894)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 6 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1976), pp. 180-187, viewed at <<http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A060202b>> on 2 February 2010.

¹⁷⁷ Martha Rutledge, 'Renwick, Sir Arthur (1837 - 1908)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 6 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1976), pp. 20-21, viewed at <<http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A060026b.htm>> on 2 February 2010.

married Elizabeth Saunders in 1868. He was committed to furthering the provision of higher education in the colony and donated £1000 to Sydney University in 1877. He entered colonial politics as the Secretary for Mines under Parkes' leadership in 1883. He was a member of the Congregational Church.

Above all, he was deeply interested in social reform. He headed the State Children's Relief Department on its creation in 1881 which revolutionised the care of destitute children in the colony by adopting the boarding-out system. In addition, he was President of a number of Sydney charities, including Sydney Hospital, the Asylum for the Deaf, Dumb and Blind, and the Benevolent Society. His father, George Renwick also sat on the board of management of the Benevolent Society until his death in 1897. Lady Renwick was President of the Young Women's Christian Association and was a member of the board of the State Children's Relief Department.

Illustration Two: Dr. Arthur Renwick.¹⁷⁸



¹⁷⁸ Mitchell Library, Pictures Collection, P3/R: Arthur Renwick.

The Charities

The Benevolent Society

This society was the earliest known charitable institution in the colony of NSW, established in 1818. By 1860 it was the largest charity in NSW, and provided three types of assistance to the Sydney population: outdoor relief, indoor relief for women and children in the Asylum, and a lying-in department, located in the Asylum. The lying-in department provided pauper women, (married or unmarried), shelter during their confinement. The scale of charitable activities organised by the Society was impressive, for instance in 1887, 5,478 cases of outdoor relief were approved.¹⁷⁹ The Asylum also had a relatively large capacity; in the same year 463 children and 334 women were admitted; of these women, 257 were admitted to the lying-in department.¹⁸⁰ The Society was run by a board of directors, comprised of men, supported by medical staff. In addition, servants and a matron were employed to run the Asylum, and a ladies' committee was established in 1879. The board and ladies' committee often turned down applications for outdoor relief, but the lying-in department did not have any admission criteria, and many women were admitted during labour. For many destitute Sydney residents, the Society functioned as the first port of call, and for some it served as a temporary place of residence. The Society often referred women and children to more specialised institutions such as the Infants' Home, the Salvation Army Home, and the Randwick Children's Asylum. The Benevolent Society was also responsible for establishing the first women's hospital in NSW which opened in central Sydney in 1905.

¹⁷⁹ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ending 31st December 1887* (Sydney: S. E. Lees, 1888), appendix.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

The Dalmar Children's Home

The Home was established in 1892, run by the Central Methodist Mission under the direction of the Rev. W. G. Taylor. The Home was initially located at Woolloomooloo but in 1898 the Home re-located to Croydon to a larger property with 4 acres of land. At Croydon, the Home could accommodate up to thirty-two children. It admitted destitute boys and girls between the ages of 2 and 5, although elder girls were often admitted. By 1912 there were 5 members of staff employed: a matron, sister, a married couple who lived in the home, and a laundress. The Home was overseen by a general committee of women, supported by honorary doctors and dentists. A sub committee, which approved admissions to the home, was formed on a rotation basis, comprised of general committee members and the medical staff.

The Female Refuge

The Female Refuge was established in 1848 in the suburb of Glebe. The Home provided accommodation for up to 50 fallen women and girls. "Fallen" included women and girls who were prostitutes, alcoholics, unmarried mothers or, in the case of young girls, those who were simply deemed uncontrollable by their parents. The Home was overseen by a male committee of management, but a ladies' committee was responsible for admissions and discharges as well as the management of paid staff, the matron and teacher. On their admission into the Home, women and girls were obliged to sign a copy of the rules of the institution, in the presence of a member of the ladies' committee. The women were expected to remain in the home for at least one year, their period of probation, completing various domestic chores in the home and, if they wished, learning to read and write. If requested, the ladies' committee found situations for the women as domestic

servants after their period of probation, although positions were always found outside of the city. The Home was Protestant, although Catholic women and girls were eligible for admission.

The Female School of Industry

The Female School of Industry was one of the oldest charitable institutions in the colony, founded in 1826 by Eliza Darling, wife of Governor Darling. By the 1860s the charity assisted orphaned/destitute girls aged between 5 and 8 years and trained them for domestic service. Before obtaining situations as domestic servants, the girls were often apprenticed to members of the committee. Subscribers of £1 per year upwards were permitted to nominate girls for admission, on a rotation basis. The charity was run by a committee of ladies, who employed a matron, sub-matron and teacher. The School, located on Darlinghurst Road, to the east of the city centre, provided accommodation for up to 50 girls. The School also admitted fee paying girls (at a cost of £10 per annum), whose parents or relatives wished them to train as domestic servants. The Home was strongly Anglican, only admitting girls who belonged to the Church of England.

The Infants' Home

The Home was founded in 1874 by a group of Sydney women, and was originally called the Sydney Foundling Institution and Sydney Foundling Hospital. As its early names suggest, it initially cared for foundling children, although soon it began to offer a home to women who had given birth to their first illegitimate child (pregnant women were not admitted). The Home was located at Ashfield, a suburb of Sydney, and the building was formerly a large family residence with five acres of grounds. The charity had the facilities to house roughly forty women and their babies. It was renamed in 1877 as the Infants'

Home, and the committee of women who ran it decided to admit the young infants of married couples, if either the husband or wife was deceased or had deserted the family.

The committee was supported by a female staff of servants and nurses, headed by a lady superintendent. One or two male medical officers offered their services, visiting regularly to examine and treat the babies. Mothers were expected to enter with their babies, although as the years passed, the committee occasionally relaxed this rule if mothers could demonstrate that they had a respectable position, and could thus contribute financially to the cost of the infant's care. The Home functioned as a short-term placement for most women and their children, and many of the women secured employment or returned to their families after remaining for a few months.

The Waitara Foundling Home

The Home was established on the North Shore of Sydney harbour in 1897 by Mother Aloysius Casey, a Sister of Mercy, at the request of Cardinal Moran. It was initially established on Bay Street, North Sydney, but soon moved to Waitara to larger premises. The Home primarily housed foundling children, who were raised there until they were 4 years old. Mothers could accompany their child, but they were only permitted to stay for one month. After this time, the Sisters assisted the women in finding situations, if requested. The majority of the children admitted were Catholic, although the admissions register indicates that a small percentage of Anglican children were admitted with their mothers. The Sisters were supported in their work by a committee of predominantly Catholic women who formed a ladies' committee. The Home cared for up to one hundred children, and in 1903 a separate establishment was added for mothers, which could accommodate up to 60 women.

Map Eight: The location of charities in Sydney.¹⁸¹



Scale: 1cm = 1.5 miles

Key

- **Dalmar Children's Home** (est. 1892 in Woolloomooloo, but in 1898 moved to Croydon)
- **Infants' Home** (est. 1874)
- **Waitara Home** (est. 1897, initially at Bay St., North Shore but soon moved to Waitara)
- **Female School of Industry** (est. 1826)
- **Female Refuge** (est. 1848)
- **Benevolent Society** (est. 1818)

¹⁸¹ Map adapted from Z M4 811.12/1913/1A: General Map of Sydney & Suburbs, 1913.

The Missionaries

Daniel and Janet Matthews: the Maloga Mission¹⁸²

Daniel Matthews (1837-1902) and his wife Janet Johnston both arrived in the colony of Victoria as children. Daniel's father, a Wesleyan Methodist, moved the family from Truro, Cornwall, to Melbourne in 1853, seeking a better life for himself and his family. Daniel began a general store with his brother William at Echuca on the Murray River in 1865, but became increasingly interested in the plight of Aboriginal peoples. In 1870 Daniel set aside a small portion of his land at Echuca for an Aboriginal mission. Janet's father was a Scottish Congregationalist minister who later became a Baptist. The family moved to Melbourne in 1852 and Janet's father founded a seamen's mission in Melbourne. The Rev. Kerr Johnston met Daniel Matthews at various Band of Hope meetings. Daniel and Janet married in 1870, and spent a brief honeymoon at the Corranderrk Aboriginal mission in Victoria. Central to the Matthews' decision to establish their mission in NSW was the lack of missionary and government activity towards Aboriginal peoples in the colony.

The Maloga mission began in 1874 and ran until 1901. For the most part, Daniel and Janet ran the mission together, although they were assisted by a number of temporary volunteers and paid assistants, such as Miss Rainey who provided assistance during Janet's confinements, and Mr. James the school teacher. At its height, the mission provided a home for over 100 Aboriginal men, women and children. After Daniel's death in 1902 Janet established a mission in South Australia called Manunka which she ran until 1911.

¹⁸² Nancy Cato, *Mister Maloga: Daniel Matthews and his Mission, Murray River, 1864-1902* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1976), pp. 28-9.

Illustration Three: Daniel Matthews.¹⁸³



John Brown Gribble (1847-1893): the Warangesda Mission¹⁸⁴

J. B. Gribble was also born in Cornwall, the son of a miner. The family emigrated to Port Phillip (which later became Melbourne when the colony of Victoria was separated from NSW) when John was an infant. He had a profound religious awakening during his adolescence and decided to train as a Methodist minister. He married Mary Ann Bulmer in 1868 and was ordained in 1876. He became a missionary to white settlers on the Murray River, but like his acquaintance Daniel Matthews, he was moved by the need for missionary work among Aboriginal peoples of the area. After visiting the Maloga mission he established the Warangesda mission on a 2,000 acre plot of land of the Murrumbidgee

¹⁸³ Cato, *Mister Maloga*, p. 196.

¹⁸⁴ The biographical information for Gribble and Warangesda is cited from 'Gribble, John Brown (1847 - 1893)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 4 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1972), p. 299, viewed at <<http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A040338b.htm>> on 2 February 2010.

River in NSW in 1879. During the same year he authored *A Plea for the Aborigines of New South Wales*. In 1880 he assisted in the foundation of the Aborigines Protection Association with Daniel Matthews and a number of other Christian individuals. In 1884, he accepted the invitation of Bishop Parry to preach to Aboriginal peoples in Western Australia. He left the Warangesda mission in the hands of various managers such as Mr. Hannabus and Mr. Harris, overseen by the Aborigines Protection Association. After little success and a great deal of controversy in Western Australia, he returned to NSW and established a mission on the Darling River, as well as a mission near Cairns, Queensland, in 1892.¹⁸⁵

Map Nine: Mission locations in NSW.¹⁸⁶



Scale: 1cm = 100 miles

Key

- Maloga mission
- Warangesda mission

¹⁸⁵ For more information on Gribble's missionary activities in Western Australia see Malcolm Allbrook, 'The Princes, Empire and Colonial Government in India and Australia', unpublished PhD thesis (Griffith University, 2008).

¹⁸⁶ Map adapted from Mitchell Library, Maps Collection, M2 810/fax/1863: Map of the Riverine District of Australia, Shewing the Boundaries of the Adjacent Colonies of N. S. Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Queensland.

Conclusion

Despite the differing status of Birmingham and Sydney, there were some similarities between both sites. For instance, the principal philanthropic families were largely comprised of the middle classes. However, in Birmingham, these families were intricately connected through marriage, cementing existing economic, political and religious connections. Philanthropic families in Sydney were part of a more fluid colonial society. Indeed, as a port town Sydney facilitated the movement of peoples to, from and within the Australian colonies. In addition, the religious character of each site differed. For the most part, in Birmingham, Nonconformist communities defined the town's political, economic, religious and social character. In Sydney, competition between the Anglican and Catholic communities would continue to shape philanthropic provision during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. However, the most significant difference between Birmingham and Sydney, indicative of wider differences between Britain and the Australian colonies, was the extent to which the colonial (and later NSW) government assumed responsibility for its citizens/subjects. The provision of food, employment and rudimentary healthcare by the colonial government during the first years of settlement spawned increasing interventions in the lives of settlers. These government interventions would have important consequences for philanthropic provision.

Chapter 3. Black and White? Philanthropic Activities Directed Towards Women and the Differentiated Nature of Philanthropy

'Go and Sin No More'.¹

This chapter considers philanthropic efforts directed towards white and Aboriginal women in Birmingham and Sydney. Women, always thought of as worthy recipients of charity, were increasingly depicted as deserving of philanthropic assistance during the nineteenth century as attitudes to them changed. The gradual transition to the individual male wage, and the growing belief that a married woman should be dependent upon her husband, restricted women's employment. However, the idea of the working-class family supported by the individual male wage was largely a myth. Most working-class wives were obliged to undertake some form of paid work, often informal and seasonal, which left them and their families vulnerable to poverty.² Historically women have comprised the majority of paupers in Britain and Australia. From the late-nineteenth to late-twentieth centuries women represented 75% per cent of the poor in NSW, and in Britain they constituted 61% of all adults receiving poor relief in 1909.³ During the period 1860 to 1914, white women in NSW achieved the vote, and in Britain suffrage campaigns were well underway. This chapter considers how links between gender, race, citizenship and nation informed philanthropic practices. It also seeks to illuminate philanthropists and missionaries, as well

¹ This phrase was used in the title of the annual reports of the Sydney Female Refuge Society. See for instance *The Sixteenth Report of the Sydney Female Refuge Society, Ending December 31st, 1864. Established August 21, 1848. "Go and Sin No More"* (Sydney: Joseph Cook & Co., 1865).

² The most common form of work for married women was outwork or sweated labour and it was notoriously low paid. It was a key part of many industries in particular clothing, shoes, buttons and hats. Items were delivered to the home, and the work was completed alongside domestic chores. As the work was completed in the home, it was not included in census returns. See Duncan Bythell, *The Sweated Trades: Outwork in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: Batsford, 1978).

³ O'Brien, *God's Willing Workers*, pp. 45-6; Jane Lewis and David Piachaud, 'Women and Poverty in the Twentieth Century', in Caroline Glendinning and Jane Millar eds, *Women and Poverty in Britain* (Brighton: Wheatsheaf, 1987), p. 28. Carole Pateman argues that the welfare state of the twentieth century was (and remains) fundamentally patriarchal. See 'The Patriarchal Welfare State', in Amy Gutman ed., *Democracy and the Welfare State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 231-260.

as the staff they employed, to facilitate a deeper analysis of the classed and gendered interactions within philanthropy.

Throughout, a three-way comparison is employed which pays close attention to discourses of race. White women's experiences of philanthropy in Birmingham and Sydney are compared and contrasted, interspersed with comparisons of philanthropic provisions for white and Aboriginal women in NSW. The chapter is divided into six sections: the first focuses on the female recipients of philanthropy. Who were they and why did they approach philanthropic societies and missions? This section explores the inherently unequal nature of the philanthropic relationship and the extent to which white and Aboriginal female recipients could assert their own agency. Section two shifts to the philanthropists and missionaries themselves. What were their aims and agendas? Were there significant differences in missionary and philanthropic aims? Particular attention is paid to discourses of gender, specifically the gendered behaviour that philanthropists and missionaries attempted to instill amongst white and Aboriginal women. In addition, to what extent was there a gendered division of labour among philanthropic and missionary men and women?

The operation of discourses of class within philanthropy is the subject of section three, explored through the liminal figure of the lady superintendent employed in institutions. Interactions between lady superintendents, recipients of charity and philanthropists reveal the complex articulations of class within philanthropy. Training for nurses and midwives was introduced in both Britain and the Australian colonies during the second half of the nineteenth century. What effect did such training have upon the status of women occupying these roles? Furthermore, how did this shift impact upon their relationship with philanthropists and medical officers of charities? Section four examines

the relationship between religion and philanthropy: specifically the importance of faith for religious Sisters and missionaries. In addition the impact of religion upon the recipients of philanthropy is also considered. To what extent was religion used as a tool for civilisation among white and Aboriginal women?

Close attention is paid in section five to the ways in which charities were financed. The financial support of many charities in NSW by the government raises questions about the *nature* of government in both sites. How did the British and NSW governments conceive of their responsibilities to their subjects/citizens? This discussion provides a useful entry point to broader discussions about race, nation and motherhood in Britain and the new Australian nation, the subject of section six. To what extent was motherhood valorised for white and Aboriginal women? How was motherhood utilised to incorporate some women, and exclude others, from the nation at the turn of the century?

1. The Recipients of Philanthropy

Many of the women who approached the Benevolent Society (Sydney) did so as a ‘last resort’; they were ‘poor, and desolate, and forlorn’.⁴ Many women, due to limitations in their employment opportunities, were unable to support themselves. Moreover, an unexpected loss of income could prove catastrophic. Harriet entered the Female Refuge (Sydney) in 1884 because her husband had been imprisoned; Eliza applied to the Infants’ Home (Sydney) because the father of her illegitimate child had deserted her for ‘the

⁴ O’Brien, *Poverty’s Prison*, p. 46; *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales For the Year Ended 31st December 1861* (Sydney: Joseph Cook and Co., 1862), appendix.

Diggings' in Victoria.⁵ Income from employment in the form of the individual male wage, usually supplemented by women, was particularly crucial in NSW society. Many residents were recent migrants who had not yet established the informal support networks which operated among working-class communities in Britain.⁶ Moreover the transient nature of work in the colony encouraged wife desertion, and such women were often forced to seek philanthropic assistance. Other women turned to philanthropic societies after trauma or abuse. Mrs. Hinnwood told the committee of the Infants' Home (Sydney) that a man 'took advantage' of her daughter after drugging her with chloroform.⁷ Jane was admitted to the Female Refuge (Sydney) in 1892 to escape her husband who had 'ill-used' her.⁸

Pregnancy and childbirth were vulnerable times for women, particularly unmarried or deserted women. Many of the women who entered the lying-in department at the Benevolent Society's Asylum (Sydney) were admitted during labour, simply seeking shelter during their confinement. Similarly, the unmarried mothers who entered the ARTYW in Birmingham had originally entered the Aston, Birmingham or Kings Norton workhouses to give birth. At the Infants' Home (Sydney), the applicants were more varied, and many of the women were unmarried and working class, although the strict application procedure meant that a better class of women occasionally applied. One applicant admitted

⁵ Mitchell Library, Sydney Female Refuge Society, A7018: ladies' committee minute book, meeting 2 May 1884; Mitchell Library, Infants' Home Ashfield, ML MSS 2983/1: minute book of the Sydney Foundling Institution, meeting 29 July 1874. Many men were still engaged in the pursuit of gold after the initial rush to the diggings in the 1850s.

⁶ Both Anna Davin and Ellen Ross have stressed the importance of such informal networks of assistance in Britain during this era. Davin states that 'just as responsibility for children spilled out beyond the family and house, so other aspects of domestic life involved frequent or occasional mutual help which continually blurred the distinctions between immediate family, non-residential relations, and friends or neighbours'. See *Growing up Poor*, pp. 58-9; Ross, *Love & Toil*. Carl Chinn adds for Birmingham that many working-class women had a strong loyalty to their street and neighbourhood which, among other things, operated as a system of mutual assistance in times of need. See *They Worked All Their Lives*, p. 23.

⁷ Mitchell Library, Infants' Home Ashfield, ML MSS 2983/6: minutes of ladies' committee, meeting 12 January 1886.

⁸ Sydney Female Refuge, A7018: meeting 4 November 1892.

was ‘poor, but highly respectable’.⁹ The Lying-in Charity (Birmingham) was designed to assist respectable married women, those who were “above” entering the workhouse but were unable to afford a private midwife in their confinements.

Aboriginal women approached missions for a variety of reasons, mainly to seek direct forms of assistance, such as shelter and food. From the 1820s there was a ‘rapid and brutal’ invasion of the central grasslands of NSW by white settlers to satisfy British demands for Australian wool.¹⁰ Access to land was fundamental to Aboriginal peoples, not only as a source of food but also for their spiritual welfare. Thus the settlement of the land by white peoples had a devastating impact upon Aboriginal peoples. Aboriginal women were particularly vulnerable to sexual advances from white men, and if pregnancy resulted they sometimes sought shelter on missions. Many Aboriginal women came to the Maloga mission during their pregnancies, and Daniel Matthews angrily proclaimed that ‘as a rule, every [Aboriginal] girl is destroyed by white men... at thirteen or fourteen years of age’.¹¹

Inequalities of philanthropy: protection, exclusion and infantilisation

The philanthropic relationship was inherently unequal. Assistance was given by men and women of a higher social class than those they sought to assist. Moreover, aid was offered on the philanthropists’ terms and they often ‘expected deference and gratitude’ in return.¹² Many philanthropic societies required women to submit to an application process, in which the applicant was expected to present herself as deserving.¹³ If successful,

⁹ Infants’ Home, ML MSS 2983/1: meeting 7 October 1874.

¹⁰ Goodall, ‘New South Wales’, p. 65.

¹¹ *Fourth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission School, Murray River, New South Wales by Daniel Matthews* (Echuca: Riverine Herald General Printing Office, 1879), p. 9, emphasis added.

¹² Twomey, *Deserted and Destitute*, p. 52.

¹³ At the Infants’ Home in Sydney, additional investigations were carried out by committee members into the applicant’s character.

charities generally required the recipients to reside in an institution, some of which expected their “inmates” to wear distinctive dress.¹⁴ During the nineteenth century institutions such as prisons, schools and hospitals sprang up in towns and cities which ‘formed a kind of institutional, disciplinary girdle around the centre’.¹⁵ Institutions and missions were widely depicted by those who ran them as places of protection. Notions of protection however were complex; embedded within the language of protection were discourses of infantilisation and exclusion. Foucault’s writings on institutions have been crucial to interpreting the ways in which power operated within them.¹⁶ Even those women who were not required to enter an institution - such as the recipients of the Lying-in Charity (Birmingham) - were obliged to submit to an ‘invasion’ of their home, by philanthropic visitors, midwives and doctors.¹⁷

The homes for unmarried mothers explored in this thesis were overwhelmingly depicted by philanthropists as places of protection. The Benevolent Society (Sydney) represented its Asylum as a ‘refuge’ and the ARTYW (Birmingham) maintained that its Hope Lodge provided shelter for fallen women who were deemed to need ‘a friendly and *protecting* hand to save them from despair’.¹⁸ This language is heavily gendered. The notion of separate spheres was central to middle-class gender identities. The home was perceived to be a woman’s place where they were protected and supported by the male

¹⁴ The term “inmate” was often used by many of the charities discussed here, including the Female Refuge (Sydney). The women who entered the Infants’ Home (Sydney) were required to wear a red flannel dress.

¹⁵ Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*, p. 159. In *A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution 1750-1850* (London: Macmillan, 1978), Michael Ignatieff argues that factories were also regarded by the urban middle classes as legitimate forms of dealing with social “disorder”.

¹⁶ Michel Foucault, (trans. Alan Sheridan) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Allen Lane, 1977).

¹⁷ Lewis, ‘The Working-Class Wife’, p. 101.

¹⁸ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ended 31st December 1888* (Sydney: S. E. Lees, 1889); *Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women (Birmingham and District), Second Annual Report 1907* (Birmingham: Lawrence & Co., 1907), p. 8, emphasis added.

breadwinner. Thus, the common use of the word home for philanthropic institutions was not coincidental, for their very naming reproduced middle-class gender discourses.¹⁹

The home, although a feminine space, remained under the authority and protection of the male patriarch. Similarly, many women residing in institutions were obliged to ask permission before leaving an institution. In 1863 a woman requested permission from the committee of the Female Refuge (Sydney) to visit her children at the Randwick Children's Asylum.²⁰ Permission was granted, although two servants employed by the home accompanied her. Thus the gaze of the institution followed her during her absence. In addition to acting as a place of protection, the home also functioned as a means of exclusion from society. Notions of exclusion were particularly important for unmarried mothers, to 'conceal their shame' according to philanthropists.²¹ Mother Aloysius Casey of the Waitara Home (Sydney) stated that the home existed to '*shield* a highly respectable family from their *trouble being made public*'.²² In this way, institutions 'held the promise of secrecy and therefore the possibility of regaining lost reputation at a future date'.²³

Discourses of infantilisation operated alongside discourses of protection and exclusion within institutions. Philanthropy itself was often depicted as 'a kind of mothering' and philanthropists frequently likened recipients to children.²⁴ Indeed, adult

¹⁹ Paula Bartley agrees that 'the naming of the institution, "Home", a highly persuasive symbol of contented domesticity, was also supposed to be greatly significant: homes were not only considered to be the natural habitat of women but also places, allegedly, of comfort and support'. See 'Moral Regeneration', p. 148.

²⁰ Sydney Female Refuge, A7018: 4 December 1863.

²¹ This phrase was often used in the Infants' Home committee minutes.

²² Sisters of Mercy Archive North Sydney, Sisters of Mercy, biographical folder for Mother Aloysius Casey uncatalogued MSS: letter from Mother Aloysius Casey to Cardinal Moran dated 12 September 1907, emphasis added.

²³ Swain, *Single Mothers*, p. 61.

²⁴ Martin, 'Gender, the City and the Politics of Schooling', p. 144; Williams Elliott, *The Angel Out of the House*, p. 11.

female recipients were frequently termed *girls*. One annual report of the ARTYW (Birmingham) stated that ‘an unexpected treat was afforded the present girls’, when they were invited to tea by one of the subscribers of the charity.²⁵ Similarly, the committee minute books of the Female Refuge (Sydney) list the number of girls admitted. However, evidence from the Lying-in Charity (Birmingham) suggests that the term girl was used to denote unmarried women.²⁶ The word girl is absent from the records of this charity, which assisted married women only. Thus, despite their status as mothers, unmarried women were often depicted as girls to denote both their class inferiority *and* their status as unmarried women.

Discourses of protection and infantilisation were even more apparent in missionary interactions with Aboriginal women. Missionaries such as Daniel Matthews spoke of offering protection to Aboriginal women, whom he depicted as ‘victims of dissolute white men’.²⁷ The theme of the protection of Aboriginal peoples had a particular currency due to perceived racial differences and extinction discourses. Aboriginal peoples were frequently described as a “‘child race’” needing constant “‘parental’” supervision’.²⁸ Matthews often represented the mission as a ‘large family’, in which he and his wife Janet acted as parents, exercising ‘parental control’ over their Aboriginal *children*.²⁹ In 1880 Matthews reflected on the decision of one of his close friends - the Rev. J. B. Gribble - to establish his own mission for Aboriginal peoples. Based on his own experiences at Maloga, Matthews

²⁵ *Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women (Birmingham and District), Eighth Annual Report 1912* (Birmingham: Paul Hicks and Co., 1913), p. 7.

²⁶ The Lying-in Charity assisted married women only, who were referred to by their married name; the term girl was not used.

²⁷ Matthews, *An Appeal*, p. 4.

²⁸ Haebich, *Broken Circles*, p. 155.

²⁹ *Ninth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission Station, Murray River, New South Wales by Daniel Matthews 1883* (Echuca: “Riverine Herald” General Printing Office, 1884), p. 8.

predicted that Gribble ‘will be thrown amongst a people who will look upon him as a father... and like a huge family will call forth his tenderest care and paternal solicitude’.³⁰ The family was ‘a trope with patriarchal and infantilizing connotations that could have deeply disempowering implications for colonized people’.³¹ By likening Aboriginal peoples to demanding children Matthews inferred that they required a high level of protection and care. For many white women their infantilisation and protection was temporary whilst they remained in philanthropic institutions. In contrast, perceived racial differences confined Aboriginal women within more permanent discourses of infantilisation and protection.

Agency and negotiation

The unequal nature of the philanthropic relationship meant that many women ‘simply waited out their time, accepting their fate’ in philanthropic institutions.³² However, the philanthropic relationship permitted some *limited* opportunities for agency among the recipients. On occasion, white women negotiated minor concessions from philanthropists. For instance some of the women residing in the Female Refuge (Sydney) drew up a petition ‘requesting that they might have tea at dinner times’.³³ This request was granted, indicating that the manner in which requests were made was key to their success; requests made in a respectable, formal (written) way were considered seriously. Special privileges were sometimes given to long-term residents of institutions. Melinda, a resident at the Female Refuge (Sydney) for almost two years was ‘permitted to attend Divine Worship out

³⁰ *Fifth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission School, Murray River, New South Wales by Daniel Matthews* (Echuca: Riverine Herald General Printing Office, 1880), p. 31.

³¹ Lambert and Lester, ‘Geographies’, p. 332.

³² Swain, *Single Mothers*, p. 76.

³³ Sydney Female Refuge, A7018: meeting 3 April 1868.

of the Building and have a few days holiday'.³⁴ These examples support the assertion that philanthropic relationships could occasionally be 'negotiated and contested'.³⁵

Philanthropists were also willing to bend their own admission rules if they felt an applicant was truly deserving. In 1874 one woman applied to the Infants' Home (Sydney) for the admission of her child, breaching the rule which stated that both mother and child were required to enter the home together. The committee decided to admit the child, knowing that by doing so 'they infringe the rules'.³⁶ Mrs. Gregory, one of the committee members had recommended this case, indicating that recommendations by committee members secured assistance for those deemed sufficiently deserving. At the ARTYW (Birmingham), the rules of the charity allowed for discretion when admitting applicants. Although the charity provided assistance for unmarried mothers who had only fallen once, in 'exceptional cases' this rule could be relaxed, to assist a woman 'who has fallen more than once but who is not depraved'.³⁷ As such, moral character played an important part in the admission process. At the Lying-in Charity (Birmingham) the committee occasionally reduced or deferred the 2s 6d payment due from recipients for the midwife's services. They could 'make up the rest' at a later date.³⁸ Thus, despite the seemingly impervious rules set out by charities, some committees were willing to exercise discretion. In Britain, the growth of the Charity Organisation Society which stipulated that only the truly deserving

³⁴ Sydney Female Refuge, A7018: meeting 5 Feb 1864.

³⁵ Twomey, *Deserted and Destitute*, p. xxii.

³⁶ Mitchell Library, Infants' Home Ashfield, ML MSS 2983/43: letterbook of the Infants' Home, letter from Mrs. Julia Bensusan to Mrs. Gregory dated 22 October 1874.

³⁷ *Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women (Birmingham and District), Sixth Annual Report 1910* (Birmingham: Hudson and Son 1911), appendix.

³⁸ Birmingham City Archive, Birmingham Maternity Hospital, MC/MH 1/3/1: ladies' committee minute book, meeting 7 Feb 1905.

should be assisted, placed the responsibility of deciding who was - and who was not - deserving, squarely with philanthropists.

Sporadically, there were opportunities for forms of resistance. In Sydney, this frequently took the form of escaping from institutions. One woman residing at the Female Refuge (Sydney) absconded twice.³⁹ During 1887, five women ran away from the Infants' Home (Sydney).⁴⁰ However, it is important to consider what many of these women were absconding *to*: 'to be poor was to live with fear - the fear of another pregnancy, the fear of eviction, the fear of sickness'.⁴¹ Thus, many women who absconded eventually returned. Some turned to other institutions. For example, one applicant admitted to the Female Refuge (Sydney) in 1864 had also spent time in the House of the Good Shepherd.⁴² Working-class women had limited options for survival and some had no choice but to be reliant upon institutions. Nevertheless, there were still small opportunities for agency, with some women applying to, and residing in, more than one institution. As a large colonial port city, Sydney had a number of philanthropic institutions for women. Therefore the assortment of institutions may explain the high incidents of absconding from the Sydney charities which are lacking for the ATRYW (Birmingham). However, it is important to re-emphasise that generally, working-class women in Sydney were more reliant upon philanthropic assistance than their counterparts in Birmingham, because many were recent immigrants, who had yet to establish informal support networks.

³⁹ Sydney Female Refuge, A7018: meeting 7 August 1863.

⁴⁰ *Thirteenth Report of the Infants' Home, Ashfield for the year ending 31st December 1887* (Sydney: J. L. Holmes and Co., 1888), p. 9. In total 34 women left the home during this year. In addition to the 5 who absconded, 14 women returned to family and friends, 15 found employment.

⁴¹ O'Brien, *Poverty's Prison*, p. 22.

⁴² Sydney Female Refuge, A7018: meeting 1 April 1864.

Aboriginal women were also capable of asserting their own limited forms of agency on missions. Similarly to white women, Aboriginal women ran away from missions, only to return some time later. Lizzie Kennedy frequently absconded and returned to the Warangesda mission: ‘NELLIE KENNEDY & LIZZIE MUDGE left mission’; ‘LIZZIE KENNEDY... expelled from the mission for getting drunk & bringing drink on the mission & making others drink. LENA COX & LIZZIE KENNDY LEFT’.⁴³ Many Aboriginal peoples who ran away from missions set up fringe camps on the boundaries. Here, ‘rations, news and family relations were conveniently maintained... outside the manager’s control’.⁴⁴ Both Daniel Matthews and the Rev. J. B. Gribble were incapable of understanding why Aboriginal peoples would abscond from their respective missions. They were blind to the reality that many Aboriginal peoples were simply using their missions as a temporary stop-gap, or to take advantage of food and other benefits associated with mission life.

As the following example demonstrates, returning to the mission was often not a conscious choice, but a reflection of the lack of options available. Louisa, a former member of the Maloga mission, had been imprisoned for vagrancy in 1878. Matthews secured her release but initially she refused to accompany him back to the mission. Eventually she was persuaded to return, but soon absconded again. Matthew wrote ‘to-day she was locked up by the police. Her screams were terrific... on being asked whether she would return to Maloga she said “No, *I would rather drown myself*”’.⁴⁵ Such a vehement

⁴³ Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Warangesda Mission, MS 1786: manager’s diary, entries 8 June, 17 July and 18 December 1887.

⁴⁴ Peter Read, ‘Freedom and Control on the Southern Institutions, New South Wales, 1879-1909’, in Peter Read ed., *Settlement: A History of Australian Indigenous Housing* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2000), p. 57.

⁴⁵ *Third Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission School, Murray River, New South Wales, By Daniel Matthews* (Echuca: Riverine Herald Office, 1878), p. 11, emphasis added.

and desperate protest conveys Louisa's hopeless plight. Desperate not to return to the mission, her options for survival in settler society were poor. By the 1860s relentless settler demands for land had severely limited Aboriginal subsistence. Their access to work in the white community was threatened by increasing white immigration and hardening racial attitudes.⁴⁶

Urban middle-class men and women were keen to engage in philanthropic works. However their need *to be seen* to be engaging in acts of benevolence was sometimes 'used by the poor to their own advantage'.⁴⁷ In 1905 the ladies' committee of the Lying-in Charity (Birmingham) speculated that some working-class women were taking advantage of the charity. As such they reminded subscribers that 'they do not accept cases who can afford the services of a Doctor or of a private qualified nurse'.⁴⁸ In Sydney, a mother lied about her daughter's status to ensure she was admitted to the Infants' Home. Mrs. Orr told the committee that her daughter was unmarried; in reality she was married, her husband was in gaol and she had given birth to another man's child.⁴⁹ As her daughter and child had already been admitted into the Home they were permitted to remain.

Bridget, admitted to the Infants' Home (Sydney) in 1874, demonstrated a remarkable and unusual ability to turn the philanthropic relationship to her own advantage. She applied to the Home stating that she was unmarried and that the father of her child had deserted her. During the application process, Bridget's child was diagnosed with whooping cough. Therefore the committee proposed to support both Bridget and her child financially until

⁴⁶ Goodall, 'New South Wales', p. 71.

⁴⁷ Garton, *Out of Luck*, p. 51.

⁴⁸ Birmingham Maternity Hospital, MC/MH 1/3/1, meeting 7 March 1905.

⁴⁹ Mitchell Library, Infants' Home Ashfield, ML MSS 2983/4: ladies' committee minute book, meeting 28 December 1880.

the child recovered and they could enter the Home. Some months later, after Bridget and her child had left the home, the committee revealed that they had been ‘grossly deceived’ by her.⁵⁰ In fact, Bridget received regular financial support from her mother. Such overt forms of agency were, however, extremely rare.

2. Philanthropists and Missionaries: Aims and Agendas

The gendered nature of philanthropic work and middle-class claims for authority

By the middle of the nineteenth century middle-class urban men and women in Birmingham and Sydney were laying claim to the public sphere. Philanthropic good works were an integral part of their claims for ‘moral and political authority in contrast to the classes above and in relation to those below’.⁵¹ Moreover, involvement in philanthropic activities created status and often served as a precursor to engagement in municipal or colonial politics for men. For women, philanthropy provided one of the few legitimate means of entry into the public sphere. At a base level, philanthropy gave women ‘stature in the community’.⁵² However, it is important to remember that ‘a single version of the public sphere is insufficient to allow us to understand the complicated variety of ways in which women might identify with communities which stretched far beyond the borders - whatever those were - of home and family’.⁵³

⁵⁰ Infants’ Home, ML MSS 2983/4: meeting 11 November 1874.

⁵¹ Yeo, *The Contest*, p. 59.

⁵² Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, p. 124.

⁵³ Jane Rendall, ‘Women and the Public Sphere’, *Gender & History*, 11 (1999), p. 482.

Many middle-class men, responding to the perceived need of working-class women and children, 'took the lead' in philanthropic works.⁵⁴ However women also set up philanthropic societies, such as the Infants' Home (Sydney) and the ARTYW (Birmingham). For middle-class women, the "Angel in the House" ideal endowed women with a moral authority among their own family and any domestic servants employed within the home. Middle-class women's moral authority rendered them particularly effective as 'agents of social improvement'.⁵⁵ Indeed, the depiction of society as a 'social body' facilitated women's engagement in the public sphere as 'society's natural nurturers'.⁵⁶ The conception of poverty itself during the second half of the nineteenth century - as a question of 'habit and character' - was also significant.⁵⁷ If poverty was the result of moral failing, then who better to serve as 'models of moral conduct' than middle-class women?⁵⁸

Some of the most prominent and influential charities explored in this thesis, the Lying-in Charity (Birmingham) and the Benevolent Society (Sydney), were masculine in their character and management. They were highly medicalised and overseen by men who were often active in municipal or colonial politics or the medical profession.⁵⁹ However, women's involvement as subscribers, volunteers or employees was crucial. The Lying-in Charity (Birmingham), the Benevolent Society (Sydney) and the Female Refuge (Sydney), all established ladies' committees. Nevertheless, there was often a gendered hierarchy within charities. Overwhelmingly the male committees assumed responsibility for financial

⁵⁴ Stedman Jones, *Outcast London*, p. 270.

⁵⁵ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, p. 7.

⁵⁶ Poovey, *Making a Social Body*, p. 7.

⁵⁷ T. Mackay, *Old Age Pensions and The State. A Paper Read before the Society of Arts on February 22 1893* (London: Charity Organisation Society, 1895). p. 11.

⁵⁸ Bartley, 'Preventing Prostitution', p. 44.

⁵⁹ For instance Arthur Renwick, President of the Benevolent Society, was elected as Minister for Public Instruction in 1886, and also sat on the Legislative Council.

affairs and provided a general managerial role. Ladies' committees usually oversaw fundraising and had a greater interaction with the recipients and employees. However, ladies' committees remained subordinate to their male counterparts.⁶⁰ At the Female Refuge (Sydney), when the matron handed her resignation to the ladies' committee, they noted that 'they were not empowered' to accept it; the secretary forwarded it to the gentlemen's committee for consideration.⁶¹ These constraints placed on ladies' committees may have been a source of frustration, but conforming to gendered hierarchies conferred a sense of propriety on middle-class women's philanthropic activities in the public sphere.

A number of philanthropic societies such as the ATRYW (Birmingham), the Infants' Home (Sydney) and the Female School of Industry (Sydney) were run by women of the middle classes. Such female autonomy was acceptable because these philanthropic efforts were 'appropriate to the woman's sphere', involving the care of unmarried mothers, babies, and girls.⁶² However, some of the women involved in these female-led societies utilised the informal assistance of their husbands. For instance when the treasurer of the Infants' Home (Sydney), Mrs. Docker was challenged about the way she had kept the accounts, she retorted that 'her husband audited the accounts... to the entire satisfaction of the Comtee [sic] for nearly 7 years'.⁶³ By the end of the century, however, there is evidence of a shift in the gendered division of labour within charities, which reflects broader changes in the status of women and the medical profession in Britain and Australia. From 1901 women began to join the board of management of the Lying-in Charity (Birmingham), by which time the suffrage campaign was well underway in the city. Women in NSW were granted

⁶⁰ Twomey, *Deserted and Destitute*, p. 93.

⁶¹ Sydney Female Refuge, A7018: meeting 6 August 1864.

⁶² Godden, "The Work for Them", p. 84.

⁶³ Mitchell Library, Infants' Home Ashfield, ML MSS 2983/8: ladies' committee minute book, meeting 19 May 1891.

the vote in 1902, and in the same year they were permitted to sit on the board of directors at the Benevolent Society (Sydney).⁶⁴ Judith Godden attributes this shift to the changes in the medical profession, such as the gradual increase in the number of female doctors which meant that 'the new ideal was mixed-sex boards'.⁶⁵

At the Maloga mission, there was a strict gendered division of labour between Daniel and Janet Matthews which was designed to serve as an example to Aboriginal peoples. Daniel Matthews assumed the overall management of the mission and taught Aboriginal men and boys. Janet Matthews attended to the needs of her expanding family in addition to teaching domestic tasks to Aboriginal women and girls. However, during her husband's frequent absences from the mission, Janet was required to assume the overall management. This was not unusual in the Australian colonies.⁶⁶ Yet Daniel was troubled by his absences stating that the additional responsibilities were 'too extensive' for his wife.⁶⁷ Matthews questioned her ability to exert proper control and supervision on the mission, *masculine* qualities which he believed that she could not - and should not - possess. Moreover he perceived Aboriginal men to be a sexual and/or violent threat. On one occasion, an Aboriginal man had been drinking and approached Janet, frightening her with 'his forward manner'.⁶⁸ This process of 'reaffirming the vulnerability of white women and the sexual threat posed by native men', afforded considerable moral powers and authority to white men, to 'limit the liberties' of both white women and men of colour.⁶⁹ Despite his

⁶⁴ In both sites, Married Women's Property Acts had also begun to change women's status in society - in NSW the Married Women's Property Act was passed in 1879, and in Britain in 1870 and 1882.

⁶⁵ Godden, 'Philanthropy', p. 336.

⁶⁶ See Carey, 'Companions in the Wilderness?' p. 240. Missionary wives were permitted to continue religious teaching in their husband's absence, although they were forbidden from preaching, an activity strictly reserved for men.

⁶⁷ *Third Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 40.

⁶⁸ *Fourth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 17.

⁶⁹ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, p. 60.

misgivings, no major incidents occurred during his absences and Janet kept her husband up to date with mission news through regular correspondence.⁷⁰

Illustration Four: Janet Matthews.⁷¹



Knowledge and authority were infused with discourses of race and class. Middle-class white peoples spoke on behalf of others, such as the working classes at home, or peoples of colour within or outside of the community. For many philanthropists, the desire for ‘human moral improvement’ was a central part of their activities.⁷² The belief that pauperism, prostitution and illegitimacy were all caused by moral failings meant that with the right assistance, women could be ‘reclaimed by careful resocialisation’.⁷³ The women

⁷⁰ State Library of South Australia, Papers of Daniel Matthews, PRG 359 series 2: diary in Sydney, entry 29 June 1880.

⁷¹ Cato, *Mister Maloga*, p. 37.

⁷² Roberts, *Making English Morals*, p. 4.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

who entered philanthropic institutions were therefore required to submit to various forms of *moral* training. For instance the ARTYW (Birmingham) stated that unmarried mothers ‘may be placed under *better influence* than is possible in the wards of a Workhouse; *be taught* how to maintain and take care of herself’.⁷⁴ The very name of the institution Hope Lodge evokes notions of hope for the reformation of morals and character. At the Female Refuge (Sydney), inmates were expected to remain for one year and emphasis was placed on ‘cleanliness of person and habits, orderly and punctual conduct’.⁷⁵ Moreover, philanthropists hoped that the influence of the institutions would remain with the recipients after they had left the space of the institution. The matron of Hope Lodge exercised ‘a good influence’ by corresponding with, and visiting, 58 out of the 64 women who left the home in 1907 as part of a wider process of aftercare.⁷⁶

The authority of middle-class women over working-class women was based on notions of class superiority and a knowledge of proper (middle-class) forms of gendered behaviour. For missionaries, their ability to civilise and convert peoples of colour was located in their religious authority, their respectability and, of course, their whiteness. Whiteness itself engenders an authority to speak for others: ‘the position of speaking as a white person is one that white people now almost never acknowledge and this is part of the condition and power of whiteness’.⁷⁷ Non-white peoples were (and still are, to an extent) raced, limited to speaking for those of their race; white peoples in contrast, are just people and can speak for *anyone*.⁷⁸ Both Daniel Matthews and J. B. Gribble assumed this racial,

⁷⁴ *Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women (Birmingham and District), Second Annual Report*, p. 1, emphasis added.

⁷⁵ *The Sixteenth Report of the Sydney Female Refuge Society*, p. 9.

⁷⁶ *Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women (Birmingham and District), Fifth Annual Report 1909* (Birmingham: Hudson and Son, 1910), p. 6.

⁷⁷ Dyer, *White*, p. xiv.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

religious and rank-based authority over Aboriginal peoples which enabled them to devise plans for their civilisation and conversion.

Gendered expectations: civilisation and conversion as evidence of success among Aboriginal women

Stories of success published in mission reports focused on tales of conversion, marriage, and instances when Aboriginal women had attained positions as domestic servants. After all, “gender-appropriate” work, and European-style marriage’ were fundamental to the process of civilising.⁷⁹ Janet Matthews hoped to act as a role model for Aboriginal women and girls at Maloga.⁸⁰ Missionary wives thus attempted to remake Aboriginal women in a narrow mould, teaching them domestic tasks and emphasising the importance of marriage and motherhood. At the marriage of an Aboriginal couple in 1884, Daniel Matthews commented that ‘one of the young ladies played the harmonium, and the ceremony proceeded with solemnity and decorum’.⁸¹ Here, success was evident in the ritual itself, for marriage was a sign of civilisation and conversion; European gender norms were enshrined within Christianity.

Eventually, Daniel Matthews hoped that Aboriginal women would be employed by white settler families as domestic servants, rectifying the shortage of servants in the colony. He stated that ‘the cry of Australia is for labourers and domestic servants, and the need can be met at their very doors’.⁸² Indeed, by mid-century some Aboriginal women were employed as domestic servants for the white population, some of whom were

⁷⁹ McGrath, ‘Sex, Violence and Theft’, pp. 141-2.

⁸⁰ Carey, ‘Companions in the Wilderness?’ p. 238.

⁸¹ *Ninth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 24.

⁸² *Fourteenth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission Station, Murray River, New South Wales* by Daniel Matthews (London: Woodford Fawcett & Co., n.d), p. 6.

appointed to the ‘trusted positions of nannies to station managers’ children’.⁸³ Daniel Matthews’ perceptions of Aboriginal women were infused with discourses of class and race as he envisaged that Aboriginal women could only ever become a servile racial underclass for the white settler population. One of the Aboriginal women from Maloga, Maggie Murri, had gained employment as a domestic servant. She wrote to Mrs. Matthews: “I do really thank you and Mr. Matthews from my heart for your kindness in bringing me out of camp-life, and to get me in the place I am now in”.⁸⁴ Maggie Murri had been taught to recognise the benefits of regular, gendered forms of work and Christianity. However, such stories of success were extremely rare. Maggie Murri was the only Aboriginal woman mentioned in the mission reports who had gained employment as a domestic servant.⁸⁵

During the final decades of the nineteenth century, Charles Darwin’s *Descent of Man* was used to argue that there was a ‘fundamental gap between civilized and non-civilized peoples’.⁸⁶ Additionally, the shock of the Indian Mutiny and the Morant Bay rebellion in Jamaica had hardened the attitudes of Britons and white colonists to peoples of colour.⁸⁷ This shift had a significant impact in the Australian colonies, where white settlers had a specific interest in acquiring land from Aboriginal peoples. When missionaries failed to secure widespread success, they began to speculate about Aboriginal peoples’ capacity for civilisation. At the outset of his missionary work, Daniel Matthews believed that in time Aboriginal peoples could ‘take their place in society’ as a civilised, Christian and

⁸³ Goodall, ‘New South Wales’, p. 70.

⁸⁴ *Fourteenth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 16.

⁸⁵ Heather Goodall argues that by the 1890s Aboriginal women were still ‘widely’ employed as domestic servants by white settlers, although from the 1860s increasing white settlement of land ‘began to disrupt the fragile truces which had been achieved between Aborigines and settlers in some areas’. See ‘New South Wales’, pp. 71-4.

⁸⁶ Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*, p. 165.

⁸⁷ The 77th Regiment of Foot from East Middlesex was stationed at the Victoria Barracks in Sydney for a brief period before they were sent to Calcutta during the Indian Mutiny in 1858. See Mitchell Library, picture collection, DG251: Captain Frederick John Butts and a Fellow Officer of the 77th (East Middlesex) Regiment of Foot, Hyde Park, Sydney.

servile class for the white population.⁸⁸ However, as he became more and more disillusioned during the 1880s, evidence of failures dominated his mission reports.

Matthews began to interpret any failures at the mission in terms of race. In 1882 he speculated that Aboriginal peoples were ‘a race naturally incapacitated and averse to arduous labour’.⁸⁹ By 1886 he concluded that ‘we expect too much from a people who for many generations have been strangers to the toil, thrift, and plodding energy, so characteristic of our race’.⁹⁰ He transferred the blame for his mission failures onto some of the Aboriginal members of the mission such as Bagot Morgan, Hughey Anderson and Lucy, whom he depicted as troublemakers. As a result, he began to question the capacity of Aboriginal peoples - as a race - to become “useful members” of white society. This ‘fed back into the popular frontier racism’ and perpetuated the belief that Aboriginal peoples were not worth civilising.⁹¹

Gendered expectations: respectability and evidence of success among white women

Notions of respectability were crucial to philanthropic works among fallen white women. Charities that assisted unmarried mothers placed respectability at the heart of their work through the encouragement of marriage and/or training for domestic service.

However, respectability is notoriously difficult to define ‘because it encompassed a myriad

⁸⁸ *Seventh Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission Station, Murray River, New South Wales* by Daniel Matthews (Sydney: The Colonial Publishing Society, 1882), p. 25.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁹⁰ *Eleventh Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission Station, Murray River, New South Wales* by Daniel Matthews (Echuca: Mackay and Foyster, 1886), p. 5. Such comments also provide a rare insight into Matthews’ depictions of the white races: “toil and thrift” but also the not entirely positive characteristic of “plodding energy”.

⁹¹ Hamilton, ‘Bond-slaves of Satan’, p. 248.

of rules, great and small, in the conduct of life'.⁹² Moreover, what exactly constituted respectable and disreputable was constantly shifting. Despite nuances of place, in both Birmingham and Sydney middle-class notions of respectability were broadly similar. The Oxford English Dictionary's entry for respectable reads: 'worthy of respect... by reason of moral excellence'.⁹³ For a woman, respectability meant 'to have the virtues of sexual purity, domesticity, and motherhood'.⁹⁴ Thus, pregnancy outside of marriage was a clear transgression of such gendered norms. Notions of respectability were at the heart of the activities of the Lying-in Charity (Birmingham), which offered assistance to married women only. Extra-marital sex threatened the gendered forms of behaviour around which the middle classes had staked their claims for authority in the public sphere. Thus philanthropists sought to remake working-class women in a specific image of respectability, as wives or domestic servants.

At the homes for unmarried mothers, domestic work was utilised, both as a means of penitence and to teach women domestic skills so that one day they could enter respectable employment. At the Female Refuge (Sydney), women spent their days in the laundry and women at the Benevolent Society (Sydney) made various items for use in the Asylum, such as sheets, aprons and towels.⁹⁵ Throughout the nineteenth century, domestic service remained one of the most respectable forms of employment for unmarried women in Britain. At mid-century contemporaries expressed growing fears about women's employment outside the home.⁹⁶ Philanthropists were committed to these gendered beliefs

⁹² McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies*, p. 180.

⁹³ *Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. XIII, p. 734.

⁹⁴ Rose, *Limited Livelihoods*, p. 15.

⁹⁵ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ended 31st December 1882* (Sydney: Jarrett & Co., 1883) During this year a total of 4,220 items were produced by women in the Asylum.

⁹⁶ Rev. Thomas Nunns, *A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Ashley on the Condition of the Working Classes in Birmingham considered in Reference to the Improvement in the Condition of the Same Classes in Manufacturing Districts, and Large Towns Generally* (Birmingham: Harry C. Langbridge, 1842), p. 17.

in addition to retaining class inequalities: 'at no time did the middle-class women philanthropists raise the sights of working-class young women beyond that of one of the lowest forms of domestic service'.⁹⁷

In the colony of NSW, social and labour conditions were different. The sex imbalance of the colony meant that many female immigrants soon became wives, leading to a chronic shortage of domestic servants. The shortage - and supposedly poor quality - of servants in NSW was a constant source of complaint for middle-class women, who often commented upon the 'great liberty' enjoyed by servants.⁹⁸ Philanthropists in Sydney strove to create a society similar to that in Britain where a pool of domestic servants freed philanthropic women from their own domestic chores. However, this sat at odds with the working population, who were unwilling to replicate the rigid class hierarchy which characterised their homeland.

In addition to domestic training, white working-class women in institutions were subjected to forms of moral training designed to render them respectable. The Female Refuge (Sydney) was particularly vocal in its programmes for reform. The rules stated that 'outward propriety and the strictest decorum in word and deed, will necessarily be enforced on pain of dismissal'.⁹⁹ The committee members of the ARTYW (Birmingham) believed that the Home had a moralising effect on the inmates and concluded that 'unless

⁹⁷ Bartley, 'Moral Regeneration', p. 149.

⁹⁸ *Eleventh Annual Report of the Infants' Home, Ashfield for the year ending 31st December, 1885* (Sydney: J. L. Holmes and Co., 1886), pp. 7-8. See also Hughes, 'To Labour Seriously', p. 141. However, the bad press received by female servants in NSW prompted Mary Sanger Evans to defend them. See 'Domestic Servants in Australia', *The Westminster Review*, (1893), p. 51.

⁹⁹ *First Annual Report of the Sydney Female Refuge Society, Established August 21, 1848* (Sydney: Kemp and Fair, 1849), p. 5.

some such help is given, in many cases there is little hope of the mother living a respectable life'.¹⁰⁰

Illustration Five: Domestic service in Australia. 'What will it come to?'¹⁰¹



(Caption: 'the Mistress, having heard three rings at the front door, goes to open it.

Housemaid: Oh, please m'm, if that's anybody for me, I'm not at home').

Whilst the aims of charities in Birmingham and Sydney were similar there is evidence of a greater sensitivity to notions of respectability among the Sydney charities. This is apparent in the descriptions of female applicants. The Infants' Home (Sydney) in particular was driven by concepts of respectability and frequently judged applicants 'by appearance'.¹⁰² For instance 'a respectable- looking woman applied for the admission of her granddaughter's child'.¹⁰³ Moreover, women were only admitted to the Home if they

¹⁰⁰ *Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women (Birmingham and District), Second Annual Report*, p. 8.

¹⁰¹ *The Bulletin*, 9 June 1883.

¹⁰² Godden, 'Philanthropy', pp. 104-5.

¹⁰³ Infants' Home, ML MSS 2983/4: meeting 16 November 1880.

could prove their 'previous good character'.¹⁰⁴ By admitting only previously respectable women who had 'erred for the first time', the ladies of the Infants' Home portrayed the Home as a more reputable type of charity.¹⁰⁵

A measure of shame was not only an indicator of previous respectability, but an acknowledgement of sexual transgression. In the Australian colonies, like Britain, women were judged by their sexuality, and sexual transgressions constituted, and were representative of, bad character.¹⁰⁶ Demonstrations of shame were looked upon favourably at the Infants' Home (Sydney). One unmarried mother was admitted because she 'had a great desire to conceal her shame'.¹⁰⁷ Consequently, the ladies at the Infants' Home (Sydney) were critical of women who did not express shame: 'Helena seems very fond of her baby but cannot be made to feel either sorry or ashamed'.¹⁰⁸ The ladies' committee at the Female Refuge (Sydney) also had little time for women who refused to conform to attempts to render them respectable. In 1866 the committee discovered that a married man was paying for the maintenance of one of the women in the Refuge. The woman in question was permitted to stay if she consented to 'abandon her sinful life'.¹⁰⁹ She refused and was dismissed.

Both the ARTYW (Birmingham) and the Infants' Home (Sydney) printed stories of success in their annual reports which served as an important justification of the work to subscribers, and potential subscribers. Success - as defined by philanthropists - was

¹⁰⁴ Infants' Home, ML MSS 2983/43: letter from the committee to the Colonial Secretary dated 17 March 1875.

¹⁰⁵ Twomey argues that in colonial Melbourne 'there was a pecking order of charitable institutions, with some more "respectable" than others'. See *Deserted and Destitute*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁶ McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies*, p. 89.

¹⁰⁷ Infants' Home, ML MSS 2983/1: meeting 9 September 1874.

¹⁰⁸ Infants' Home, ML MSS 2983/6: meeting 14 September 1886.

¹⁰⁹ Sydney Female Refuge, A7018: meeting 6 April 1866.

overwhelmingly restricted to marriage or long-term employment in domestic service. Philanthropists frequently recommended marriage to unmarried mothers as ‘the first course of action’.¹¹⁰ The ladies’ committee at the Female Refuge (Sydney) contacted a man with whom one of the inmates had had a sexual relationship, ‘asking if he would marry the girl, & come and see the Committee about it’.¹¹¹ The ARTYW (Birmingham) noted with pride instances where former inmates had married: ‘E. F. after six months of service has married a well-to-do farmer of excellent character’.¹¹² The Infants’ Home (Sydney) stated that ‘the Committee are much pleased to report that five girls left the Home this year to be married to the fathers of their children’.¹¹³ However, it is important to contextualise such stories of success in terms of the numbers of women within the institutions. Although five women married the father of their child(ren) in 1886, they were a small minority of the 43 women who had been admitted in total to the Home that year.¹¹⁴

Women were also praised for obtaining situations as domestic servants. By entering into domestic service, women exchanged the protective institutional home for a different kind of home with its associated patriarchal protection. The ARTYW (Birmingham) stated that many former inmates were ‘earning an honest living for themselves and their children’.¹¹⁵ Likewise, the Female Refuge (Sydney) ‘read a very satisfactory letter from

¹¹⁰ Swain, *Single Mothers*, p. 51.

¹¹¹ Sydney Female Refuge, A7018: meeting 6 December 1898.

¹¹² *Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women (Birmingham and District), Fifth Annual Report*, p. 9.

¹¹³ *Twelfth Annual Report of the Infants’ Home, Ashfield for the year ending 31st December 1886* (Sydney: J. L. Holmes and Co., 1887), p. 10.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹¹⁵ *Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women (Birmingham and District), Second Annual Report*, p. 1.

one of the old inmates who is in a situation. Saw another, who called and is in a situation at Hunters Hill... & looks very respectable'.¹¹⁶

Despite existence of a differentiated philanthropy for white and Aboriginal women, success was similarly defined by philanthropists and missionaries in terms of marriage or domestic service. However, for Aboriginal women, greater emphasis was placed upon civilisation and conversion. Whilst there were also elements of civilising in philanthropists' interactions with white women, the emphasis was different. For white women, respectability was paramount, particularly among the Sydney charities. To the missionaries' disappointment, few Aboriginal became civilised and converted at the Maloga and Warangesda missions. This would have a significant impact upon their fate in the new Australian nation at the turn of the century.

Preoccupations with respectability, illegitimacy and the morality of society

As we have seen, there is some evidence of a specific preoccupation with respectability among some of the Sydney charities. The origins of the colony as a penal settlement and the uncertainty about the character of immigrants led to a particular focus on scandals and concerns about the reputation of the colony in the first half of the century and beyond.¹¹⁷ Even into the twentieth century some Australians feared that 'their moral and social status was forever impugned' in England because of the convict taint.¹¹⁸ As transportation to NSW ended in 1840, concerns about manners and behaviour acquired a particular potency as the colony strove to re-define itself and its relationship with Britain. Thus settlers in this new society were 'acutely conscious of the tenuousness of their own

¹¹⁶ Sydney Female Refuge, A7018: meeting 3 May 1867.

¹¹⁷ See McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies*.

¹¹⁸ Angela Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism and Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 153.

claims for status' and, as such, 'manners, conduct, moral virtue and social rank were of vital importance in this democratic society'.¹¹⁹ During the 1850s, the achievement of responsible government was an important milestone for respectability as the colony was deemed worthy of governing itself. Nevertheless as NSW and Victoria were consumed by gold fever in the 1850s, additional concerns were raised about antipodean greed and immorality.

From the 1860s, concerns about behaviour were not limited to female recipients of philanthropy. There was also a considerable anxiety about the behaviour of staff employed in institutions, as well as the actions of philanthropists themselves. At the Female Refuge (Sydney), where emphasis was placed on rescuing fallen women, the character and status of paid staff was carefully noted. When applicants presented themselves for the post of laundress at the Refuge in 1898, the committee expressed concern that one applicant was 'a married woman living apart from her husband'.¹²⁰ The committee declined to employ her, judging that 'it would not be a good example for the women'.¹²¹ The Refuge promoted marriage among the female recipients of the charity and therefore it was deemed crucial that paid employees should set a *good example*.

At the Infants' Home (Sydney) it was the behaviour of the committee ladies themselves that sparked intense debates about proper forms of behaviour. In colonial society, status had to be performed by the elite and urban middle classes, to continually articulate and reaffirm their place in this new colonial society. In Britain during the nineteenth century, women were frequently depicted as moral guardians, but such

¹¹⁹ Russell, 'The Brash Colonial', p. 449, 453.

¹²⁰ Sydney Female Refuge, A7018: meeting 6 Dec 1898.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

discourses took on an extra significance in the colony of NSW.¹²² At the Infants' Home, the philanthropic women were fraught with anxieties over proper and correct behaviour, which they themselves were supposed to create, perform and uphold.

The status of Mrs. Thring, one of the committee members, was reported at length in the committee minutes of 1891. In 1890, Dr. Thring offered his medical services to the Home, initially for a fee but subsequently on an honorary basis. Dr. Collingwood, the existing medical officer, complained that it was 'contrary to all medical etiquette' that the wife of a paid medical officer should sit on the committee.¹²³ Mrs. Garrett, another committee member and wife of a doctor, agreed with Dr. Collingwood. Dr. Thring subsequently resigned his position at the Home which put an end to this dispute and Mrs. Thring continued to sit on the committee until 1897.¹²⁴ This seemingly trivial incident exposes considerable tensions about social standing and status, particularly the outward demonstrations of correct behaviour and etiquette, which were constantly shifting and disputed in colonial society.

The preoccupations of the Sydney charities with respectability were also evident in concerns raised over illegitimacy rates. Whilst philanthropic societies in Birmingham were also anxious about illegitimacy, the Sydney societies, namely the Benevolent Society and Waitara Foundling Home, devoted considerable efforts to measuring illegitimacy rates. The Benevolent Society (Sydney) published the numbers of married and unmarried mothers admitted to its lying-in department in its annual reports. The proportion of unmarried women admitted was invariably higher throughout the period, for instance in

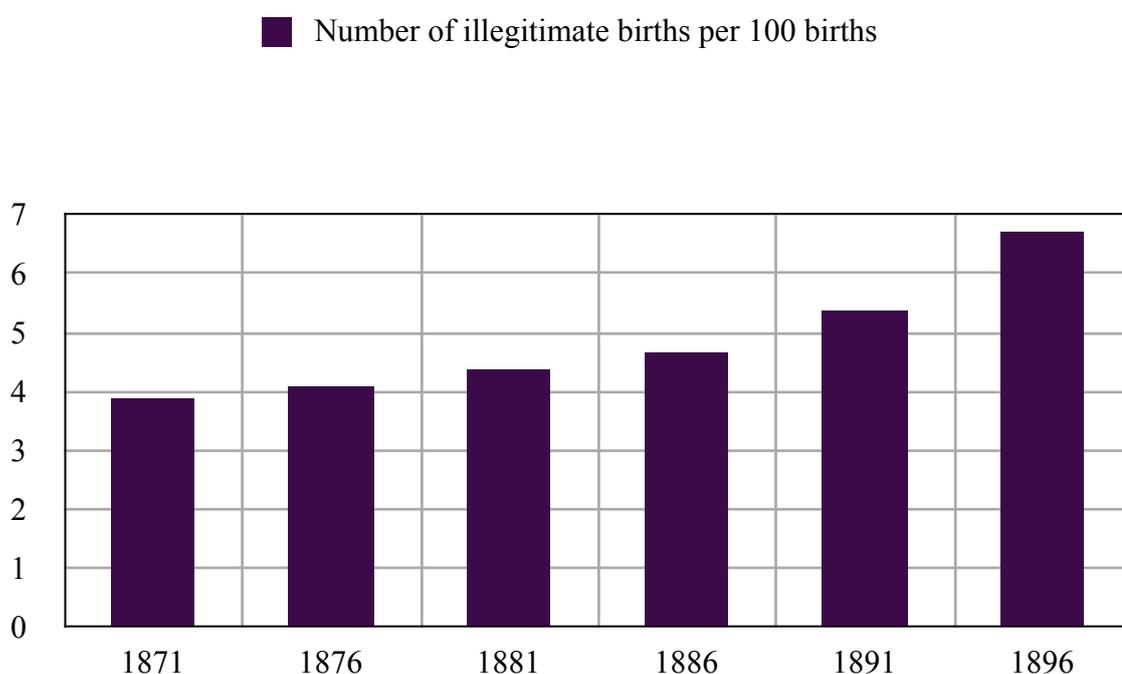
¹²² For Britain see for instance Summers, *Female Lives*. Russell argues that ladies played a difficult role in NSW and Victoria, participating in the 'monitoring of their own and each other's social behaviour'. See 'The Brash Colonial', p. 452.

¹²³ Infants' Home, ML MSS 2983/8: meeting 16 June 1891.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, meeting 30 June 1891.

1864 two-thirds of the women admitted into the department were unmarried; in 1900, unmarried women accounted for 85% of all women who entered this department.¹²⁵ The Waitara Foundling Home (Sydney) noted illegitimacy rates in NSW over a twenty-five year period (see chart below). The ARTYW (Birmingham) was also concerned about the perceived rise in illegitimacy rates. When fewer girls were admitted to workhouses in the Birmingham area, the committee feared that this was ‘not due to the fact that fewer girls have fallen, but rather that many of them have not entered the Workhouse Infirmaries’.¹²⁶

Chart One: Illegitimacy in NSW, 1871-1896.¹²⁷



¹²⁵ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales For the Year Ended 31st December 1864* (Sydney: Joseph Cook and Co., 1865); *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales, year ending 31st December 1900* (Ashfield: G. Watson, 1901).

¹²⁶ *Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women (Birmingham and District), Second Annual Report*, p. 7. It is unclear why fewer unmarried mothers might have entered the workhouse during this year.

¹²⁷ The figures are taken from the *Annual Report of the Waitara Foundling Home, 1901-2* (Sydney: John Andrew & Co., 1902), p. 7.

Despite the small rises in illegitimacy rates, from 3.88% to 6.7% of all births between 1871 and 1896, some of the Sydney charities became increasingly anxious about the increase. Indeed, fears about illegitimacy rates were utilised to fuel fears about the morality of the colony as a whole. In 1880, the *Empire* newspaper expressed concern about the number of illegitimate children born in the Benevolent Asylum, arguing that this figure would only be reduced ‘when the morality of the colony is raised to a *purser* condition’.¹²⁸ The president of the Benevolent Society was motivated to defend the high number of unmarried women admitted to the lying-in department, stating that: ‘the increase [in illegitimacy rates] arose, in his opinion, in the first place, from the fact that our population had very largely increased, and it would be found that this colony was not less moral than other countries’.¹²⁹ Dr. Renwick was clearly anxious about the morality of the colony as a whole. In reality, illegitimacy rates were lower in NSW than in England. During the 1870s, for every hundred births in England and Wales, five were illegitimate; for NSW the figure was 4.27.¹³⁰ From the 1890s illegitimacy rates in Western Europe and the Australian colonies declined at a similar rate.¹³¹

Although charities in both Birmingham and Sydney were concerned alike with improving the morality of their respective cities, the Sydney charities constantly articulated their fears about respectability and immorality. Indeed, the phenomenon of wowseryism - the derogatory term which referred to those deemed to be obsessed with correct forms of

¹²⁸ *Empire*, 10 July 1880, emphasis added.

¹²⁹ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ending 31st December 1885* (Sydney: S. E. Lees, 1886), appendix.

¹³⁰ These figures relate to the period 1871-5 for England and Wales, and from 1872-5 in NSW. See R. W. Dale, ‘Impressions of Australia: V, Religion and Morals’, *Contemporary Review* (1889), p. 575.

¹³¹ Swain, *Single Mothers*, p. 4.

behaviour - indicates a specific fixation with ideas about morality in NSW society.¹³² The Benevolent Society (Sydney) stressed that its efforts with unmarried mothers could reach the wider community. In the Asylum '*germs of beneficial habits are implanted, which... may be carried beyond its walls, to grow and fructify in the homes of the community*'.¹³³ Thus the Society hoped that others would also benefit from the Society's improving programme. The Female Refuge (Sydney) stated that its work was 'something as a protest on the side of public *purity*, and public *virtue*'.¹³⁴ In Sydney there were considerable anxieties about the behaviour of recipients, paid staff members and philanthropists, as well as more general preoccupations with illegitimacy. Such anxieties were evident to visitors to the colony. Rev R. W. Dale, visiting from Birmingham, was struck by the 'sincere regard for public and private morality'.¹³⁵

Wife desertion, mixed-race children and the problem of white men in NSW

It was not only women and unmarried mothers who provoked anxieties about respectability and behaviour in the colony. White men who deserted their wives and children were also heavily criticised by philanthropists in Sydney. The phenomenon of wife desertion was particularly common in the colony. In 1891 and 1901, just over 14% of married men were absent from their home. In the 1901 census for England and Wales, this figure was 6.6%.¹³⁶ Thus wife desertion, aggravated by the transient nature of working-class men's employment, created a specific set of problems for colonial NSW,

¹³² For more information on wowsersism see Brigid Limerick and Eileen Heywood, *Purists, Wowsers, Do-Gooders and Altruists: The Construction of Female Stereotypes in Australian Volunteer History* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1992).

¹³³ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ending 31st December 1884* (Sydney: S. E. Lees, 1885) emphasis added.

¹³⁴ *The Sixteenth Report of the Sydney Female Refuge Society*, p. 12, emphasis added.

¹³⁵ Dale, 'Impressions of Australia: IV, Politics', p. 403.

¹³⁶ Kociumbas, *Australian Childhood*, p. 77.

encompassing notions of proper family forms and respectability. Since the 1840s, marriage was idealised by some in the colony ‘as a repository of stability and firm values’.¹³⁷ Nonetheless, wife desertion continued throughout the century. In 1891, the Inspector for Public Charities stated that ‘wife and child desertion, as you all know, unfortunately prevails to a large extent’.¹³⁸ The Benevolent Society (Sydney) was particularly concerned about the number of deserted women entering its Asylum and called for a change in the law, stating that the penalty for wife desertion was ‘not acting as a deterrent’.¹³⁹ Philanthropists thus envisioned that working-class men and women should conform to middle-class gendered norms which stipulated that women needed protection and support, which their husbands should provide through marriage. The reproduction of such norms would increase middle-class claims for cultural hegemony.

From 1879 the Benevolent Society decided to give legal assistance to deserted women in an attempt to tackle the problem. Under the Deserted Wives and Children Act (1840) deserted women could petition the courts for the arrest of their husband or father of their child(ren), and once located he could be forced to make maintenance payments. As such, the Benevolent Society aimed to ‘bring the *responsibility* home to the father’.¹⁴⁰ In 1885, the Society assisted forty women who began proceedings against their husbands.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 180. Kirsten McKenzie maintains that in the 1840s ‘legitimate marriage was becoming an increasingly important test for respectability and class status’. See *Scandal in the Colonies*, p. 91.

¹³⁸ Mr. S. Maxted, ‘The Responsibility of Relatives’, in *Proceedings of the Second Australian Conference on Charity*, p. 54.

¹³⁹ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ending 31st December 1885*.

¹⁴⁰ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ending 31st December 1881* (Sydney: Jarrett & Co., 1882), appendix.

¹⁴¹ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ending 31st December 1885*. To put this figure into perspective, the Society admitted 328 women to the lying-in department over the course of the same year, although it is not clear how many of these women were deserted.

Nevertheless, many proceedings stalled because there was no guarantee that these men would be located in the colony.

The problem of white men was also a source of frustration to Daniel Matthews and Rev. J. B. Gribble. Many lone Aboriginal women came to Maloga and Warangesda whilst pregnant, or with mixed-race babies. During the early years of settlement some Aboriginal women entered willingly - or were coerced into - sexual relationships with white men.¹⁴² By the middle of the nineteenth century, sexual relations between races were widely condemned among Europeans, justified by perceived inherent racial differences.¹⁴³ Missionaries were particularly troubled by such relationships because they were also often conducted outside of marriage. These relationships threatened both the civilisation of Aboriginal women *and* marred the whiteness and civilisation of the men, who were predominantly depicted as abusing Aboriginal women. Matthews called such men ‘the most degraded and demoralised of our race’.¹⁴⁴ Gribble agreed with Matthews, stating that ‘wicked white men continued to cause annoyance. One night the girls’ cottage was broken into, and the poor things ran screaming to the Mission House for protection’.¹⁴⁵ Thus, on one hand, relationships between white men and Aboriginal women troubled missionaries, undermining their belief in the links between civilisation and whiteness. On the other hand, the depiction of these white men as wicked enabled missionary men to cast themselves as protectors of Aboriginal women, thus augmenting their own masculine identity.

¹⁴² Patricia Grimshaw *et al* argue that relationships between Aboriginal women and white men were characterised by ‘sexual violence’. See Grimshaw *et al*, ‘Introduction’, p. 1. Henry Reynolds agrees that many Aboriginal women were ‘forced into concubinage’. See *The Other Side of the Frontier*, p. 171. However, Annette Hamilton maintains that such relationships were a means ‘of attempting to incorporate whites into the structures of Aboriginal society’ on Aboriginal terms. See ‘Bond-slaves of Satan’, p. 252.

¹⁴³ Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire, Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 180-1. Young argues that ‘fear of miscegenation can be related to the notion that without such hierarchy, civilization would, in a literal sense, collapse’, p. 95.

¹⁴⁴ *Fourth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁵ *Christian Herald and Signs of Our Times*, 13 April 1887.

3. Liminal Figures: the Staff Employed in Philanthropic Institutions

Historiographically, there has been a tendency to represent philanthropy as a binary relationship between middle-class/elite men and women and the working-class/pauper recipient.¹⁴⁶ In reality, however, philanthropic relationships were much more complex, involving multi-layered class interactions. Working-class women were often employed as domestic servants in institutions, and matrons were frequently sought from the upper-working classes. Moreover, lady superintendents became popular during this period. Their title, particularly the use of the word lady, denotes a superior social status to other employees, implying that they were perhaps upper-working class or lower-middle class. They performed a difficult role, engaging in a constant process of negotiation between the philanthropists, other employees and the recipients of philanthropy. As such, they were liminal figures. The terms used by philanthropists - their employers - to describe these women, and their interaction with both philanthropists and recipients provide one way of accessing the complex hierarchies operating within charities.

The lady superintendent in philanthropic institutions in Birmingham

The women who were employed as matrons and lady superintendents occupied a tenuous position in society at the boundaries of the working and middle classes. Miss Whale was employed as a matron at the Middlemore Girls' Emigration Home. In 1896, she accompanied the girls on their voyage to Canada, but her ambiguous status posed problems for the journey. J. T. Middlemore insisted that as an employee she should travel in steerage with the girls. However, this prompted complaints from the ladies' committee who

¹⁴⁶ Jones, 'Some Recent Trends', p. 51.

maintained that she should be distinguished from the girls by travelling saloon.¹⁴⁷

Middlemore recalled that on some occasions in the past Miss Whale had travelled saloon, but stated that ‘it was wrong’.¹⁴⁸ Here, Middlemore was attempting to *place* Miss Whale on the social scale. As a woman on the boundaries of the working and middle classes perhaps she was entitled to travel saloon, but as an employee of the charity her primary duty was to accompany the girls who travelled steerage. Her status as matron, a superior class of woman compared to a domestic servant, sat uncomfortably with her broader status as an employee.

Lady superintendents and matrons were often single women who urgently needed employment. Their vulnerable position in society, as single working women, meant that they occasionally approached their employers for assistance. In 1893 Miss Jones - the matron at the Working Boys’ Home (Birmingham) - was unable to continue her work at the home due to ill health. She approached the committee, informing them of her inability to support herself and her elderly mother, seeking a place for both of them in the Lloyd Almshouses. She wrote to the committee ‘I must leave myself quite in your hands *knowing that you will do the best you can for me*’.¹⁴⁹ The following month, the Chairman of the committee, S. S. Lloyd reported that he had paid for Miss Jones and her mother to go to Droitwich for six weeks to recuperate.¹⁵⁰ In July, after Miss Jones’ health failed to improve, Lloyd arranged for both women to enter the Lloyd almshouses. This commitment to the welfare of employees was also evident among other Quaker families in Birmingham,

¹⁴⁷ Birmingham City Archives, Middlemore Emigration Homes, MS 517/1: committee minute book, meeting 28 May 1896, letter transcribed from Mr. Middlemore to the committee dated 27 May.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Birmingham City Archive, Lee Crowder Collection, Working Boys’ Home, MS 3375/511/1: minutes of the house committee, meeting 1 February 1893, letter transcribed from Miss Jones to the committee dated 1 February 1893, emphasis added.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, meeting 15 March 1893.

such as the Cadburys who established a model village at Bournville in 1879 to ensure ‘healthy and efficient workers’.¹⁵¹ Rudimentary pension schemes were also provided for long-term workers, and in 1897 an almshouse was added to the site. George Cadbury stated that it was important for his family to ‘make some effort to add to the comfort of the aged toilers of our country, of whom is it computed one-third end their days as paupers’.¹⁵²

Thus S. S. Lloyd’s decision to support Miss Jones (and her mother) during her ill health needs to be contextualised within the broader Quaker commitment to employee welfare. Given the Lloyd family’s prominence in the town as philanthropists, it is not surprising that Miss Jones placed herself ‘at the mercy’ of the Lloyd family. Significantly, non-Quaker philanthropists in the town were less willing to support former employees in their old age. When Mrs. Whittock, a midwife to the Lying-in Charity, was unable to continue in her work due to poor health, the primarily Anglican board of management refused her appeals for assistance, despite her twenty years’ service.¹⁵³

Broadly speaking however, interactions between committee members and female employees in Birmingham were categorised by negotiation, supporting the theory of co-operation between the middle and working classes in the town.¹⁵⁴ Midwives employed by the Lying-in Charity were granted concessions over their long working hours in 1872, after petitioning the board of management. Another midwife was employed to relieve the

¹⁵¹ George Cadbury (Junior), *Town Planning: With Special Reference to the Birmingham Schemes* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1915). Judy Lloyd has detailed the importance of philanthropic activities to a prominent Quaker family in Birmingham: the Lloyds. See ‘The Lloyds of Birmingham’.

¹⁵² *Old Age Pensions, Verbatim Report of the Proceedings at a Conference held in the Examination Hall of the City Technical School Birmingham, on Saturday, March 25th, 1899* (Birmingham: Charity Organisation Society, 1899). Even Joseph Chamberlain’s version of Conservatism allowed for the support of the elderly through old age pensions. Chamberlain was one of the first politicians to call for old age pensions in 1891. See Ward, *City-State and Nation*, pp. 120-3.

¹⁵³ Birmingham City Archive, Birmingham Maternity Hospital, Lying-in Charity, HC/MH 1/2/2: minutes of the board of management, meetings 7 February and 7 March 1895.

¹⁵⁴ Briggs, *History of Birmingham*, vol. 2.

overworked midwives, who asserted that their long hours of work would result in ‘serious injury’ to their health.¹⁵⁵ The midwives were central to the work of the charity, therefore it is likely that the concessions were granted to ensure the smooth running of the institution.

However, whilst some midwives could negotiate with the board over their hours of work, ultimately they occupied a tenuous position, continuously balancing the demands of the board with the realities of their work among the female recipients. They were vulnerable to complaints by female recipients, which often resulted in reprimands or even dismissal by the board. When attending confinements where a mother ‘had made no preparations whatsoever’, midwives were vulnerable to accusations of blame if complications arose.¹⁵⁶ In 1874 one of the charity’s midwives - Miss Humphrey - attended the labour of Sarah Ann Granger, who subsequently died. The patient’s mother complained to the board that Miss Humphrey had left her daughter unaided for much of her labour. The board concluded that Miss Humphrey’s conduct ‘was altogether unjustifiable & deserving of the severest censure’.¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, if complaints were found to be unjustified, the board supported the midwives. When a complaint was received in 1903, the board concluded that there was ‘no reason to attach blame’ to the midwife in question.¹⁵⁸

The rise of medical training for nurses and midwives in Birmingham and Sydney

During the second half of the nineteenth century, significant changes occurred in nursing and midwifery in Britain and the Australian colonies. At mid-century the typical

¹⁵⁵ Birmingham City Archive, Birmingham Maternity Hospital, Lying-in Charity, HC/MH 1/2/1: minutes of the board of management, meeting 5 December 1872. The midwives also inferred that Mrs. Phillip’s illness had been exacerbated by the heavy workload among the charity’s midwives.

¹⁵⁶ Joan Mottram, ‘State Control in Local Context: Public Health and Midwife Regulation in Manchester, 1900-1914’, in Hilary Marland and Anne Marie Rafferty eds, *Midwives, Society and Childbirth: Debates and Controversies in the Modern Period* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 145.

¹⁵⁷ Lying-in Charity, HC/MH 1/2/1: meeting 2 July 1874.

¹⁵⁸ Lying-in Charity, HC/MH 1/2/2: meeting 14 July 1903.

nurse/midwife was untrained, often characterised as ‘a rather rough and course type’, performing similar duties to domestic servants.¹⁵⁹ However, by the end of the century nursing and midwifery had become professionalised, which had an impact both on the kind of women training to be nurses/midwives and the ways in which they interacted with doctors and philanthropists. This shift raises questions about the status of these newly professionalised women and the place they occupied within charities.

In Britain, by mid-century, untrained nurses were likened to Sarah Gamp, the hapless and frequently intoxicated nurse depicted in the novel *Martin Chuzzlewit*.¹⁶⁰ Doctors - recently professionalised themselves - commonly described untrained nurses as ‘dirty, ignorant, unskilful, and dangerous’.¹⁶¹ Only formal training and regulation could remedy the situation. Moreover, the urban middle classes based their claims for authority in the public sphere on the assertion that the public performance of philanthropy could be judged and was ‘opened to inspection’.¹⁶² Thus philanthropists too began to express preference for trained nurses/midwives.

In Britain, Florence Nightingale’s actions during the Crimean War marked the beginning of a change in the perception of nurses. Central to the first training scheme for nurses at St. Thomas’ Hospital in 1860 was the notion that the trained nurse was superior

¹⁵⁹ Christopher J. Maggs, *The Origins of General Nursing* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), p. 6. Angela Cushing maintains that nurses in Sydney were primarily concerned with the supervision of patients and their diet. See ‘Convicts and Care Giving in Colonial Australia, 1788-1868’, in Anne Marie Rafferty, Jane Robinson and Ruth Elkan eds, *Nursing History and the Politics of Welfare* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 122.

¹⁶⁰ Charles Dickens, (ed. Margaret Cardwell) *Martin Chuzzlewit* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982). Dickens depicts Gamp as intoxicated and disinterested in her patients. See pp. 701-2.

¹⁶¹ Irvine Loudon, ‘Midwives and the Quality of Maternal Care’, in Marland and Rafferty eds, *Midwives, Society and Childbirth*, p. 180.

¹⁶² Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*, p. 119. The majority of charities published annual reports so that the finances and activities of the charity were transparent to subscribers and other members of the public.

to her untrained counterpart, ‘by virtue of her training and her moral character’.¹⁶³

Nightingale aimed to overhaul nursing by attracting a different class of women - literally - to the profession. However, the plan to attract middle-class women to nursing was problematic because such women ‘lost their status by earning a salary’.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, the new trained nurse was expected to work long hours and perform hard, physical work such as ‘cleaning lavatories, washbasins, inkstands, sputum-pots, or bedsteads’, tasks which many middle-class women would have been unused to, and perhaps unwilling to perform.¹⁶⁵ Ultimately few middle-class women became nurses and midwives.¹⁶⁶ Most of the women who entered the new training schemes in Britain came from the respectable working classes. In 1871 the Lying-in Charity (Birmingham) offered lectures to its midwives, and in 1894 the charity launched its own training scheme.

The first group of Nightingale nurses arrived in NSW in 1868. One of the group, Lucy Osburn had been appointed as lady superintendent for the Sydney Infirmary. However, her appointment was marred by difficulties with her staff who were comprised of 23 men and 5 women.¹⁶⁷ Due to the early sex imbalance of the colony, many male convicts had cared for the sick.¹⁶⁸ Consequently, a great deal of Osburn’s efforts were directed at

¹⁶³ Maggs, *The Origins of General Nursing*, p. 169.

¹⁶⁴ Judith Godden, “‘For the Benefit of Mankind’: Nightingale Legacy and House of Work in Australian Nursing, 1868-1939”, in Rafferty, Robinson and Elkan eds, *Nursing History*, p. 184.

¹⁶⁵ Maggs, *The Origins of General Nursing*, p. 26. Godden states that many trained nurses in Sydney worked up to 72 hours per week. See “‘For the Benefit of Mankind’”, p. 180. At the Infants’ Home, one nurse was dismissed after one week at the Infants’ Home because it was deemed that she was ‘above the situation’. Perhaps the nurse in question hoped that the work performed by new nurses would be indicative of their status. See Mitchell Library, Infants’ Home Ashfield, ML MSS. 2983/50: diary of Emily Trollope, entry 6 January 1876.

¹⁶⁶ Maggs, *The Origins of General Nursing*, p. 25. For Sydney Sioban Nelson agrees that ‘despite the emblematic significance of Florence Nightingale, few nurses came from the higher classes’. See Sioban Nelson, *Say Little, Do Much: Nurses, Nuns and Hospitals in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 92.

¹⁶⁷ Cushing, ‘Convicts’, p. 126.

¹⁶⁸ Sioban Nelson reminds us that religious sisters were some of the first female nurses in the colony. See *Say Little*, pp. 80-89.

altering the views of the medical staff who did not see ‘any merit in having females to do the nursing at all’.¹⁶⁹ Despite initial setbacks, the concept of trained nurses soon gained favour with the charities and hospitals in Sydney, and Nightingale-trained nurses were highly sought after. In 1870 the Benevolent Society (Sydney) employed Elizabeth Blunell, a Nightingale nurse trained at St. Thomas’ in London, to manage its Asylum. Her successor, Mrs. Elric, was also a Nightingale nurse. The President of the Benevolent Society, Dr. Renwick deemed formal training to be crucial to the ‘proper fulfillment of the office’ of matron.¹⁷⁰ From 1878 the Benevolent Society’s lying-in department became a training school for midwives and nurses.

Illustration Six: Group of nurses at the Infants’ Home.¹⁷¹



Despite philanthropists’ approval of formal training for nurses and midwives, evidence from the charities reveals that they continued to employ untrained nurse/midwives until the turn of the century. Many charities, such as the Infants’ Home (Sydney),

¹⁶⁹ Cushing, ‘Convicts’, p. 127.

¹⁷⁰ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ended 31st December 1894* (Sydney: S. E. Lees, 1895).

¹⁷¹ Infants Home Collection, uncatalogued picture, n.d.

complained that one of their 'greatest difficulties' was obtaining 'trustworthy attendants' to look after babies in the Home.¹⁷² Furthermore, when a trained nurse was employed, her social status and training separated her from the untrained nurses, which sometimes resulted in conflict. In 1874 Emily Trollope was appointed as the first lady superintendent of the Home to oversee the other employees, over whom she had 'full control'.¹⁷³ In her diary, Trollope despaired of the untrained head nurse Mitchell, whom she depicted as argumentative, disruptive, and unsuited to caring for children: 'I shall be very glad when she [Mitchell] is gone - such a violent person cannot be safe with children'.¹⁷⁴ Mitchell represents the antithesis of Nightingale's version of the ideal nurse. Mitchell was not the right *sort* of nurse, in terms of her social status, her attitude and her violent behaviour.

The Lying-in Charity (Birmingham) also experienced problems with untrained midwives, and reports of drunkenness continued into the 1880s. In 1872 the secretary of the charity reported that one midwife was 'perfectly helpless & vomiting' due to intoxication.¹⁷⁵ The following week the same midwife was found 'in a most violent state of excitement & making use of language of a disgusting kind'.¹⁷⁶ At the board's request, she resigned. Despite the gradual professionalisation of nursing and midwifery in both Britain and the Australian colonies, it was some time before formal registers of nurses and midwives were compiled. The percentage of untrained midwives in Birmingham remained

¹⁷² *First Annual Report of the Sydney Foundling Hospital*, p. 7.

¹⁷³ Infants' Home, ML MSS 2983/1: meeting 9 September 1874.

¹⁷⁴ Infants' Home, ML MSS. 2983/50: entry 31 December 1875.

¹⁷⁵ Lying-in Charity, HC/MH 1/2/1: meeting 1 February 1872.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

high into the twentieth century, at 90% in 1907.¹⁷⁷ However, from 1902 in Britain, all qualified and trained midwives were registered, and in 1921 a formal state register of nurses was compiled.¹⁷⁸ In NSW these changes came later, a formal state register of nurses was not established until 1942.

The creation of the formally trained nurse/midwife created tensions with doctors as they struggled to redefine their working relationship. Working with untrained nurses and midwives placed middle-class doctors in positions of clear authority - articulated within accepted class, gender and professional hierarchies. However, the introduction of the trained nurse - depicted as the social superior to her predecessor - complicated the doctor/nurse-midwife relationship. For instance should a doctor 'stand for a lady when that lady was also a nurse and his professional inferior?'¹⁷⁹ This relationship was rendered more complex through increasing competition between doctors and midwives over childbirth. As more midwives acquired formal training the previously clear division between trained doctors and untrained midwives began to dissolve. As such, some doctors argued against the training of midwives, fearing 'loss of business'.¹⁸⁰ Nevertheless, by the end of the century 'doctors had won the battle for the right to control childbirth' among middle-class and elite women.¹⁸¹ Trained midwives were obliged to submit themselves to the increasing

¹⁷⁷ This figure was compiled by the Loveday Street Maternity Hospital, the successor to the Lying-in Charity. The percentage of untrained midwives in other cities was much lower: 10% in London and 35% in Manchester. See J. Ernest Jones, *History of the Hospitals and Other Charities of Birmingham* (Birmingham: Midland Educational Co. Ltd, 1909), p. 57.

¹⁷⁸ Before 1921 Christopher Maggs states that there were various registers of trained nurses, such as that produced by the Hospitals' Association from 1887. See *The Origins of General Nursing*. For midwives, Ellen Ross states that midwives who had not been formerly trained could be entered upon the register, but only if they were of 'good character' and had been in 'bona fide practice' for a minimum of one year. See *Love & Toil*, p. 122.

¹⁷⁹ Maggs, *The Origins of General Nursing*, p. 171.

¹⁸⁰ Loudon, 'Midwives', p. 180.

¹⁸¹ Swain, *Single Mothers*, p. 83.

surveillance of the medical profession by having their ‘homes and their equipment examined’ on a regular basis.¹⁸²

Evidence from the charities reflects these tensions. At the Lying-in Charity (Birmingham) conflict arose between Mrs. Phillips - a midwife - and one of the medical officers, Lawson Tait. In 1877, Mrs. Phillips attended Caroline Smith’s confinement. Usually, midwives employed by the charity attended confinements alone; they were instructed by the board to request the attendance of a medical officer *only* if the labour was difficult, or if the patient developed complications. This practice placed the midwives in a difficult position. On one hand ‘the doctors did not always appreciate requests to attend births at odd hours’, but on the other, midwives could be reprimanded by doctors for delaying requests for assistance.¹⁸³ Mrs. Phillips delivered the baby successfully and left the patient’s home. However, some hours later the patient’s mother-in-law summoned Mrs. Phillips, who discovered that the patient had developed puerperal convulsions. She requested the assistance of Lawson Tait, but the patient died shortly after his arrival.

Mrs. Phillips subsequently wrote a letter of complaint to the board of management about Tait’s behaviour towards her at Mrs. Smith’s home. Central to her complaint was her assertion ‘that he *in the presence of strangers* charged me with neglect & acted towards me in a *very discourteous manner*’.¹⁸⁴ Mrs. Phillips denied any wrongdoing and stated that ‘it has naturally caused me much anxiety & uncomfortable feeling, knowing that such expression, *made in public are likely to damage my reputation*’.¹⁸⁵ In response, Tait

¹⁸² Mottram, ‘State Control’, p. 143. Nevertheless, untrained midwives continued to retain considerable power among working-class communities.

¹⁸³ Ross, *Love & Toil*, p. 118.

¹⁸⁴ Lying-in Charity, HC/MH 1/2/1: meeting 3 May 1877. Letter from Mrs. Ursula Phillips to the board of management, dated 5 April 1877, emphasis added.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

admitted to the board that he had reprimanded Mrs. Phillips in front of the patient and her mother-in-law, but stated that the censure was ‘thoroughly merited’, and questioned Mrs. Phillips’ competence as a midwife.¹⁸⁶ The board investigated the situation, calling upon the patient’s mother-in-law to give evidence. Mrs. Smith stated that she had been ‘perfectly satisfied’ with Mrs. Phillips, adding that Tait had spoken to her ‘in a very sharp way... I did not think he treated Mrs. P *as he ought to have done* - his manner was not kind’.¹⁸⁷ The board called upon Tait to apologise to Mrs. Phillips. He refused and asserted that Mrs. Phillips was not a qualified midwife.¹⁸⁸ The board upheld its decision, and Tait resigned in protest.

This incident exposes some of the tensions evident in the shifting relationship between doctors and midwives. It is significant that Mrs. Phillips’ complaint focused on the potential damage to her reputation caused by Tait’s accusations. Thus, despite her lack of formal training, she believed she had established a good reputation in the community. Moreover, she was angered by Tait’s discourteous manner towards her. Whilst midwives were inferior to doctors in terms of training, class and gender, Mrs. Phillips and Mrs. Smith were nonetheless in agreement that doctors, as both professionals and men of status, were expected to treat midwives with courtesy and respect. It is significant that Tait sought to undermine Mrs. Phillips by citing her lack of formal training. As the board sided with Mrs. Phillips, Tait’s status as a *voluntary* medical officer might have been relevant. Due to the benevolent character of Birmingham it is possible that there were many other medical men

¹⁸⁶ Lying-in Charity, HC/MH 1/2/1: meeting 3 May 1877. Letter from Lawson Tait to the board of management dated 13 April 1877.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, statement of Mrs. Smith to the Chairman of the Lying-in Charity, dated 24 April 1877, emphasis added.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, meeting 5 July 1877. Letter from Lawson Tait to the board of management dated 9 June 1877.

who wished to offer their medical services to charities. Good midwives, on the other hand, were more highly sought after.

At the Infants' Home (Sydney) tensions between doctors and nurses developed into similar attacks on reputation, respectability and social status. The dispute between a paid medical officer to the charity - Dr. Collingwood - and the lady superintendent, Miss Taplin, centered on the death of two babies at the home in 1891. Dr. Collingwood complained that in both instances Miss Taplin had discharged the infant contrary to his orders. His medical authority had been undermined.¹⁸⁹ Collingwood, similarly to his counterpart in Birmingham, questioned Miss Taplin's competence, stating that he had not 'been satisfied' with her performance for some time and had now lost 'confidence' in her abilities.¹⁹⁰ In turn, Miss Taplin complained to the committee that Collingwood had spoken about her 'in an insulting manner' in public, actions not befitting a professional man.¹⁹¹ As a *paid* medical officer, Collingwood's status in Sydney society was tenuous because he could not afford to provide his services on a voluntary basis. For Miss Taplin, like Mrs. Phillips, her reputation was crucial, particularly given the fundamental tensions between paid employment and respectability for women. However, even more was at stake for Miss Taplin who, as a *lady* superintendent, was probably socially superior to Mrs. Phillips. Therefore she had more to lose from the loss of her reputation, especially in this colonial society.

¹⁸⁹ Infants' Home, ML MSS 2983/8, meeting 29 December 1891.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

Illustration Seven: Miss Taplin.¹⁹²



This dispute between Dr. Collingwood and Miss Taplin rapidly caused a rift within the ladies' committee at the Infants' Home. Some of the ladies pledged their support for Miss Taplin, agreeing that Dr. Collingwood had spoken about her in an insulting manner. However, others sided with Collingwood, maintaining that Miss Taplin had often addressed them with 'rudeness & discourtesy'.¹⁹³ As such, class difference was invoked; these committee ladies ultimately expected deference and courtesy from Miss Taplin who, despite her status as lady superintendent, was an employee of the charity. The ladies eventually agreed that Miss Taplin should complete a six-month trial period, which she achieved successfully. At a meeting held to discuss her reinstatement in 1892, one of the ladies produced a letter from Edward Maxted, the Inspector for Public Charities. Maxted stated that Collingwood had hired a private detective to follow Miss Taplin, based on his

¹⁹² Hettie Rundle, *Louise Taplin* (Honiton: John M. Tucker, 1902).

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

belief that her relationship with another medical officer of the charity was not ‘what it ought to be’.¹⁹⁴ Maxted condemned Collingwood’s behaviour, and framed his criticism within colonial concepts of gender-appropriate behaviour. According to Maxted, Collingwood had transgressed accepted forms of colonial middle-class masculinity by seeking to undermine the character of a ‘defenceless woman’.¹⁹⁵ Indeed, threats to a woman’s character - particularly her sexual reputation - were particularly serious in NSW. Maxted’s letter settled the dispute in favour of Miss Taplin and Collingwood was requested to resign as medical officer.

At the Lying-in Charity (Birmingham), the dispute between Mrs. Phillips and Lawson Tait was quickly resolved by the male board of management. In contrast, the dispute between Miss Taplin, Dr. Collingwood and the ladies’ committee at the Infants’ Home (Sydney) rumbled on for months. However, these divisions within the ladies’ committee need to be contextualised within broader ambiguities about female philanthropists. Interactions between the committee and Dr. Collingwood were complicated by discourses of gender. As women of status, how should they interact with a professional male doctor who was also a paid employee? The conflict within the ladies’ committee can be read in terms of the unwillingness of some of the ladies to speak out against a male professional doctor. Similarly, the ladies’ committee at the Lying-in Charity (Birmingham) were anxious about encroaching on the work of medical men. Discussing an increase in the payment made by recipients, the ladies stated that they they did not wish their actions to be misinterpreted as ‘interfering in any way’ with the remit of the medical

¹⁹⁴ Infants’ Home, ML MSS 2983/8: meeting 11 October 1892.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, emphasis added.

officers.¹⁹⁶ Although middle-class women were ‘increasingly called upon to be agents of social improvement’, the presence of female philanthropists in the public sphere remained highly ambiguous.¹⁹⁷ Ultimately, ‘the image of the upright Victorian figure, confidently directing the business of her own home and extending her rule to the the homes of the poor, whether through the pursuit of scientific charity or a science of society, dissolves into a more complicated series of problems and contradictions’.¹⁹⁸

4. Religion and Philanthropy

Catholic Sisters and gendered hierarchies within the Catholic Church

Similar to other philanthropic and missionary men and women, Catholic Sisters operated within gendered hierarchies. Moreover, the Sisters were also part of the distinct - and intensely patriarchal - hierarchy of the Catholic Church. The actions of the Sisters of Mercy at the Maryvale Orphanage (Birmingham) and at the Waitara Foundling Home (Sydney) represent a complex picture of female agency within the Church. ‘Religious life drew out the feminine in its emphasis on obedience, humility, and control of the body’ within the protected space of the convent.¹⁹⁹ However, the Sisters were also engaged in ‘directing staff, managing finances, overseeing building programmes, controlling overfull classrooms’ which implies a sense of autonomy and evokes the masculine.²⁰⁰ Similarly to

¹⁹⁶ Birmingham City Archive, Birmingham Maternity Hospital, HC/MH 1/3/2: ladies’ committee minute book, meeting 15 December 1908.

¹⁹⁷ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, p. 7.

¹⁹⁸ Lewis, *Women and Social Action*, p. 5.

¹⁹⁹ O’Brien, *God’s Willing Workers*, p. 199.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

missionary women, they were supposed to exemplify the feminine, yet the very nature of their activities meant that they frequently transgressed gender norms.²⁰¹

The Sisters of Mercy came under the jurisdiction of the local Bishop. W. B. Ullathorne, Bishop of Birmingham, who repeatedly characterised himself as a patriarchal father figure, protecting and caring for the Sisters who he depicted as his metaphorical daughters. On his deathbed in 1888 he wrote to the Sisters at Maryvale, reflecting on his relationship with them and representing himself as their ‘father and protector’.²⁰² Moreover, Ullathorne repeatedly assisted the Sisters financially. For instance in 1877 they were obliged to make substantial repairs to the orphanage, at a cost of £1400. Ullathorne agreed personally to pay the interest on the debt for a period of four years.²⁰³

In Sydney, Mother Aloysius Casey of the Waitara Foundling Home adopted a jovial and familiar tone when addressing Cardinal Moran. Referring to a Catholic school recently established by the Sisters at Hawkesbury she stated ‘I am afraid it will take the great St. Carthage all his time to convert the “Hawkesbury Academy” into a seat of learning, seeing that there are at present only 17 pupils, none of whom are very brilliant’.²⁰⁴ Nevertheless, she positioned herself firmly within the accepted gendered hierarchies of the Catholic Church by signing off her letter ‘I remain your Eminence’s devoted *child* in Christ’.²⁰⁵

Ultimately, in spite of elements of feminine autonomy, the Sisters of Mercy - similarly to other philanthropic women - were constrained by discourses of gender in their

²⁰¹ Johnston, *Missionary Writing*, p. 207.

²⁰² Sisters of Mercy Archive Birmingham, Maryvale Orphanage, 3/200/14/1: Sisters of Mercy letterbook, letter from William Bernard Ullathorne to the Sisters dated 18 April 1888.

²⁰³ *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Maryvale Orphanage, 1877* (Birmingham: M. Maher, 1878).

²⁰⁴ Sisters of Mercy Archive North Sydney, Sisters of Mercy, biographical folder for Mother Aloysius Casey (uncatalogued); letter from Mother Aloysius Casey to Cardinal Moran dated 12 December 1907.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, emphasis added.

philanthropic activities. The Sisters did not establish their institutions spontaneously, but at the *request* of their respective Bishops, Ullathorne and Moran. Moreover, at Maryvale in Birmingham, although the Sisters ran the orphanage, it was John Caswell, one of the trustees who signed (and possibly wrote) the annual reports. Indeed, the three trustees of the Maryvale Orphanage were all men: J. H. Canon Souter, John Caswell and Francis Hopkins. At the Waitara Foundling Home (Sydney) the Sisters of Mercy were similarly constrained by the masculine hierarchy of the Catholic Church, although they were supported in their activities by a ladies' committee. This suggests that perhaps there was a slightly higher degree of female autonomy among the Sisters at Waitara than among their counterparts in Birmingham.

Religious Sisters and missionaries: intersections between faith and philanthropy

For Sisters of Mercy around the world, daily life was devoted to the expression of their faith through philanthropic good works.²⁰⁶ Mother Ignatius McQuoin - Mother Superior in North Sydney - provides one insight into the unshakeable bonds between faith and philanthropy: 'those who love God are loved by Him... these are motives which should induce you to love God, and to spend the remainder of your life in the exercise of all Charity'.²⁰⁷ The Sisters took vows of chastity, poverty and obedience, devoting their lives to good works without financial remuneration. Indeed, as Anne O'Brien states, it was the centrality of charity to their religious calling which distinguished the nineteenth-century religious orders from their medieval predecessors.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ I recognise that it is inherently difficult to analyse faith, because it is by nature an intensely personal experience. However, the writings of several Sisters of Mercy, Daniel Matthews and J. B. Gribble enable some tentative analysis of the ways in which faith provided the key motivation for, and sustenance during, their various philanthropic efforts.

²⁰⁷ Sisters of Mercy Archive North Sydney, Sisters of Mercy, box 100: personal notebook of Mother M. Ignatius McQuoin.

²⁰⁸ O'Brien, *God's Willing Workers*, pp. 165-6.

Placing the needs of others before their own was central to the Sisters' philanthropic efforts. However, many Sisters struggled with the continual selfless devotion that was expected of them. Sister Mary Aloysius Casey, who assisted at the Waitara Foundling Home (Sydney), resolved not to engage 'in unnecessary or prolonged conversations with the nurses or Matron, as this is foreign to the object of my visit'.²⁰⁹ Moreover, she found it difficult to curb her indiscriminate acts of charity towards the poor: 'I must never give them any money without the express permission of my Superior, and to moderate my inordinate desire of giving things'.²¹⁰ Thus, within religious orders there were similar debates about indiscriminate giving to those which so frequently occupied other philanthropists. Whilst 'religious motives appear strikingly' among philanthropic men and women, the Sisters of Mercy devoted their lives to their religious calling.²¹¹

Similarly to the Sisters, religion was paramount for missionaries. Ultimately, 'missionaries viewed their world first of all with the eye of faith' and faith provided justification for their civilising mission.²¹² For Daniel Matthews, faith played a dominant part in his life, and prayer served as a vital form of guidance. In 1878, Matthews made a trip to Sydney to publicise the plight of Aboriginal peoples after praying for 'divine guidance'.²¹³ Faith sustained Matthews during times of difficulty and disappointment at Maloga. He wrote 'although at times our faith is put to severe tests, and we are on the point of fainting... God sends deliverance'.²¹⁴ Experiences of hardship were common among missionaries: 'hunger, fevers, food shortages, the illness and death of colleagues and their

²⁰⁹ Sisters of Mercy, box 100: personal notebook of Sister Aloysius Casey.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ Owen, *English Philanthropy*, p. 3.

²¹² Porter, *Religion Versus Empire?*, p. 13.

²¹³ *Fourth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, pp. 14-5.

²¹⁴ *Ninth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 8.

children' were all part of missionary existence in the field.²¹⁵ The Matthews were no exception, and in 1884 their newborn baby died at the mission.

Both Matthews and J. B. Gribble looked to God to protect their respective missions and to provide material assistance in times of need. On receiving five shillings from an anonymous donor, Matthews stated it was 'doubtless from the Lord'.²¹⁶ In addition, the following day, £3 1s arrived in donations 'from the same loving Father's hand'.²¹⁷ The Maloga mission often faced severe financial difficulties and, on one occasion in 1877, Matthews wrote that 'our supply of stores was completely finished'.²¹⁸ In the face of such stark difficulties Matthews demonstrated a remarkable degree of faith, asserting that 'in some way or other the Lord always provides'.²¹⁹ Gribble expressed similar beliefs, recalling that 'God interposed for us in every season of want, and cheered our hearts with the assurances of His favour and guidance'.²²⁰

The civilising and improving power of religion in philanthropic institutions and at Maloga

Many philanthropic institutions appealed broadly to 'the power of religion' to assist in the process of improvement and reform of white women.²²¹ The Female Refuge (Sydney) was particularly vocal in its annual reports about the role that religion played at the Refuge. In one annual report the committee spoke of the need to raise the female

²¹⁵ Porter, *Religion Versus Empire?*, p. 257.

²¹⁶ *Third Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 6.

²¹⁷ *Fourth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 14.

²¹⁸ *Third Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 35.

²¹⁹ *Fourth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 6.

²²⁰ *Christian Herald and Signs of our Times*, 13 April 1887.

²²¹ O'Brien, *Poverty's Prison*, p. 123.

recipients ‘from the depths of sin’.²²² Indeed, the language used by the Refuge was imbued with biblical and religious references, such as rescuing the *fallen* and ‘those who have wandered from the *path of virtue*’.²²³ At the Benevolent Society (Sydney) the directors stated that the female inmates of the Asylum were ‘obliged to submit to a discipline physical, moral and religious’.²²⁴ The Infants’ Home (Sydney) devoted some of their efforts to persuading the female inmates to adopt ‘a virtuous, God-fearing life’.²²⁵ Moreover, at the Waitara Foundling Home (Sydney), the women were expected to attend mass on Sundays and weekdays.²²⁶ The Sydney charities in particular were keen to proselytise, which can be interpreted within the broader religious tensions of the colony, particularly the sectarian rivalry between Anglican and Catholic communities.

In Birmingham, whilst philanthropic societies were also divided along sectarian lines, there was nevertheless an ‘underlying commonality of purpose... to engage in social action in the name of reclaiming workers and the urban poor for “civilised” Christian society’.²²⁷ Indeed, broadly Christian and biblical sentiments were expressed by many charities, such as the ARTYW, who sought to *rescue* unmarried mothers. A weekly service was conducted at Hope Lodge by the vicar of St. George’s, Edgbaston, which the committee claimed was ‘highly appreciated and productive of much good’.²²⁸ Furthermore,

²²² *Forty-Ninth Report of the Sydney Female Refuge Society, Ending December 31st, 1897. Established August 21, 1848. “Go and Sin No More”* (Sydney: Church Standard Office, 1898), p. 13.

²²³ *The Sixteenth Report of the Sydney Female Refuge Society*, p. 11, emphasis added.

²²⁴ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ending 31st December 1884*, emphasis added.

²²⁵ *Eleventh Annual Report of the Infants’ Home*, pp. 7-8, emphasis added.

²²⁶ *Annual Report of the Waitara Foundling Home, 1910* (Sydney: John Andrew & Co., 1911), pp. 9-10.

²²⁷ Gunn, *The Public Culture*, pp. 21-2.

²²⁸ *Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women (Birmingham and District), Fifth Annual Report*, p. 5.

the Religious Tract Society and Foreign Bible Society also donated ‘useful gifts’ to the home in 1906.²²⁹

The primary aim of charities in both Birmingham and Sydney was to improve and civilise white women so that they could lead ‘good and useful lives’ as wives and mothers or domestic servants.²³⁰ However, the centrality of faith to missionaries meant that there was a much greater emphasis upon religion at missions. Indeed for missionaries, religion was fundamental to the process of civilising. Conversion ‘would lead to the adoption of the necessary signs and codes which marked the transition from “primitive” to “civilised”’.²³¹ Moreover, Christianity and everything bound up within it - such as the Christian calendar, the Sabbath and gender difference - marked the boundaries between civilisation and barbarism.²³² At Maloga, the Matthews believed that exposure to the Bible could effect profound change in behaviour. For instance when two women quarreled, Janet Matthews read a passage from the Bible to the instigator: ‘the effect was instantaneous. She apologised, the other forgave, and reconciliation was immediately secured’.²³³

Despite the Matthews’ efforts, few Aboriginal peoples were converted. Conversions were so rare that just a handful of conversion stories were detailed in the mission reports. For example, in 1879 just two women were converted, out of a total of 83 Aboriginal men, women and children residing on the mission at that time.²³⁴ Indeed, of those that did

²²⁹ *Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women (Birmingham and District), Second Annual Report*, p. 23.

²³⁰ *Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women (Birmingham and District), Fifth Annual Report*, p. 6.

²³¹ Hamilton, ‘Bond-slaves of Satan’, p. 242.

²³² Giordano Nanni, ‘The Colonization of Time: Ritual, Routine and Resistance in the 19th Century Cape Colony and Victoria’, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Melbourne, 2006), p. 3.

²³³ *Third Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 39.

²³⁴ Janet Matthews, ‘An Address to the Young of Australia’, preface to *Fifth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*.

convert, the majority were women. Therefore, Daniel Matthews concluded that ‘there seems more genuine piety among the women than the men’.²³⁵ In the end, the lack of conversions at Maloga added to Daniel Matthews’ disillusionment, and he began to question the capacity of Aboriginal peoples for civilisation. Whilst it was possible for white women to become reformed and civilised without religious conversion, for missionaries the refusal of Aboriginal peoples to convert was much more significant, for it signified their rejection of civilisation itself.

5. Supporting the Charities: Voluntary Contributions and Government Subsidies

The civic gospel in Birmingham, which found fruition during the 1870s, resulted in a particularly strong sense of civic pride. This both contributed to, and was reflective of, a deep commitment to philanthropy. A London reporter noted that at mid-century ‘there is perhaps no town in England in which the principle of association for mutual benefit, real or supposed, is carried to so great an extent as in Birmingham’.²³⁶ This section seeks to explore the different ways in which charities were funded in Birmingham and Sydney. The financial support of charities by the NSW government in Sydney raises questions about the relationship between the government and charities and, more broadly, the nature of government itself.

²³⁵ *Ninth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 6. Kenelm Burridge states that ‘the general experience of missionaries is that women are more susceptible than men’. See ‘Aborigines and Christianity: An Overview’, in Rose and Swain eds, *Aboriginal Australians*, p. 27.

²³⁶ *The Morning Chronicle*, 10 March 1851.

Birmingham: the civic gospel and the funding of charities

Charities in the town were entirely dependent upon voluntary contributions from the public; fortunately men and women in the town responded readily. At the end of its first year, 1874, the Middlemore Emigration Homes had raised £482 2s in subscriptions, in addition to £1,582 16s 4d in donations.²³⁷ By comparison, during 1878 the Benevolent Society - the largest and oldest philanthropic institution in the colony of NSW - raised just £587 12s 3d in subscriptions.²³⁸ In 1905 the Birmingham and Midland Hospital for Woman was opened by Arthur Chamberlain, at a cost of £43,850.²³⁹ A huge appeal for funds had been launched by prominent members of the city, such as Joseph Chamberlain, J. Nettlefold and George Dawson. They had called 'for the generous support of the public' to enable them to build a hospital that was 'worthy of Birmingham'.²⁴⁰ The members of the Lying-in Charity erected their own Maternity Hospital in 1907, also by raising public funds. The town's benevolent character was a clear source of pride to the Rev. Charles Marson who asserted that 'few towns... have so large a proportion of noble-hearted, willing helpers from the middle and upper classes'.²⁴¹

Despite the liberality of the Birmingham men and women, most of the Birmingham charities reported deficits, particularly when unexpected expenses occurred. For instance the structure of the Maryvale Orphanage required immediate repair in 1877, plunging the

²³⁷ *Gutter Children's Homes First Report with List of Subscribers* (Birmingham: The "Journal" Printing Works, 1873), appendix. The Middlemore Emigration Homes were initially called the Gutter Children's Homes.

²³⁸ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ended 31st December 1878* (Sydney: Joseph Cook & Co., 1879).

²³⁹ Christine Ransome-Wallis, *A History of Caring for Babies and Women in South Birmingham* (Birmingham: Birmingham Women's Health Care NHS Trust, 1998), p. 4.

²⁴⁰ Jones, *History of the Hospitals*, pp. 87-9, emphasis added.

²⁴¹ Rev. Charles Marson in a speech on the scheme of boarding out held at the Midland Institute, Birmingham in December 1869. See *Boarding-out Pauper Children. Report of a Public Meeting To Promote the Extension of this System held at Birmingham, December 3rd, 1869* (Birmingham: Sackett and Edmonds, 1870), p. 36.

charity into debt by £1400.²⁴² Furthermore, in 1892 the Working Boys' Home reported a debt of £850.²⁴³ In 1876 the ladies' committee of the Crowley's Orphanage were obliged to devise a scheme to accept payments for non-orphan girls due to dwindling subscriptions and donations.²⁴⁴ Occasionally, philanthropic men used their business contacts to save their institutions money. S. S. Lloyd regularly used the Lloyd business empire to carry out repairs and maintenance at the Home, for instance in 1893 and again in 1895.²⁴⁵ For the Lloyds, such generosity was undoubtedly motivated by the civic gospel - their religious duty to improve the town - but may also have been motivated by the specifically Quaker 'fear of property' and lavish spending.²⁴⁶ As such, the charities in the town benefitted significantly from its active Nonconformist families.

The Catholic charities in the town, the St. Vincents' Home for Working Boys and the Maryvale Orphanage, tended to seek financial support from the Catholic community which constituted 6.9% of the town's population in 1851.²⁴⁷ There were several practical reasons for doing so. The Church of England formed a crucial part of national identity, therefore the Catholic community occupied a difficult place within the nation because it was often perceived to be 'a fundamental challenge to the British state and way of life'.²⁴⁸ Such fears were exacerbated during the nineteenth century due to increasing immigration from Ireland

²⁴² *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Maryvale Orphanage.*

²⁴³ Working Boys' Home, MS 3375/511/1: meeting 12 October 1892.

²⁴⁴ Birmingham City Archive, Middlemore Emigration Homes Collection, Crowley Orphanage, MS 517/142: ladies' committee minute book, meeting 13 November 1876. The non orphan girls were admitted for a payment of £10 per annum in return for their training in domestic service.

²⁴⁵ Working Boys' Home, MS 3375/511/1: meeting 25 May 1893; MS 3375/511/2, minutes of the committee, meeting 19 December 1895.

²⁴⁶ Binfield, *So Down to Prayers*, p. 147. See also James Walvin, *The Quakers: Money and Morals* (London: John Murray, 1997)

²⁴⁷ Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons*, p. 357.

²⁴⁸ John Wolfe, *God and Greater Britain: Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland 1843-1945* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 32.

and the Catholic conversion of several prominent high church Anglicans such as John Henry Newman and Henry Manning.²⁴⁹ This controversy and widespread anti-Catholicism was brought home to Birmingham in 1846 when Newman entered the Catholic seminary at Oscott; he also resided for a period at Maryvale.²⁵⁰ At mid-century, despite the small numbers of Catholics in the town, some Anglicans and Nonconformists were becoming anxious about the perceived *growth* of Catholicism. On discovering that a convent for the Sisters of Mercy had been established in Birmingham, Henry Parkes - recently emigrated to Sydney - wrote to his sister at home that 'you must take care of Maria and Eliza, lest they take the veil. I should not like to see them nuns'.²⁵¹ However, it is likely that this comment was made in jest, for the following reassurance was given: 'do not be alarmed at a convent of sisters of mercy. They will not (think as you please) hurt Protestantism'.²⁵²

The Catholic community in Birmingham was therefore inward-looking. Unlike the Nonconformists, they did not participate widely in local politics or municipal affairs. John Hardman was one of the few prominent Catholic businessmen in the town, involved in the construction of stained glass windows.²⁵³ As large numbers of Catholic patrons were lacking within Birmingham, the Maryvale Orphanage looked further afield for support. In 1897 various patrons were listed from outside the town, such as the Earl and Countess of Denbigh, Lord Vaux of Harrowden, and Lady Radcliffe.

²⁴⁹ David Newsome, *The Parting of Friends: The Wilberforces and Henry Manning* (Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1993), pp. 313-329.

²⁵⁰ Dominic Aidan Bellenger states that St. Mary's College at Oscott became a 'mecca for Anglican converts' during this period. See *William Bernard Ullathorne* (Birmingham: Archdiocese of Birmingham, 2001), p. 16.

²⁵¹ Parkes, *An Emigrant's Home Letters*, pp. 121-2, letter dated 23 January 1842.

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ Marie Rowlands, 'Roman Catholics in Birmingham from 1558 to the Present Day', in Chinn ed., *Birmingham*, p. 113.

Although denominational charities in the town usually maintained a tolerant distance from one another, occasionally religious tensions did surface within the charities. In 1875 the Crowley Orphanage - a charity run by Nonconformists - discovered that their matron, Mrs. Wesley, had recently become a Christadelphian. As a result, the ladies' committee decided to terminate her employment stating that 'she is no longer a suitable person to fill the office of Matron'.²⁵⁴ The ladies did allow her to remain for a short time whilst they found her replacement, but 'with the understanding that she will refrain from teaching the children any of the particular religious views of the Christadelphians'.²⁵⁵ It is unclear why the ladies perceived Mrs. Wesley's altered religious beliefs to be such a threat to the girls at the Orphanage. However this incident does reveal the intensely important nature of religious belief - and specifically the right *type* of religious belief - to charities in the town.

Sydney: philanthropic sectarianism and the relationship between the NSW government and the charities

In NSW throughout the nineteenth century there was a deep hostility between Catholic and Protestant communities. The formation of the Catholic Church in the colony during the 1840s was 'an audacious experiment' because it was 'the first new Catholic hierarchy to be erected by Rome in a British territory since the Reformation'.²⁵⁶ Matters came to a head during the 1860s and 1870s, firstly over the attempted assassination of the Duke of Edinburgh by a Fenian supporter in 1868, and secondly over the education question.²⁵⁷ During the furore of 1868 Henry Parkes 'was able to raise the rallying call of

²⁵⁴ Crowley Orphanage, MS 517/142: meeting 31 May 1875.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ Peter Cunich, 'Archbishop Vaughan and the Empires of Religion in Colonial New South Wales', in Carey ed., *Empires of Religion*, pp. 143-4.

²⁵⁷ Thompson maintains that 'the primary Protestant-Catholic political battleground was education'. See *Religion in Australia*, p. 18. In addition, Cunich adds that the education question during the second half of the nineteenth century resulted in a 'sectarian convulsion'. See 'Archbishop Vaughan', p. 138. See also Clark, *A History of Australia*, vol. 4, chapter 12; Walderssee, *Catholic Society*.

“no popery”” in response to increasing fears about Catholicism, and specifically Fenianism.²⁵⁸ This incident suggests that Parkes’ once jovial attitude towards Catholicism had hardened considerably during his residence in Sydney. Such tensions meant that many charities were deeply sectarian in Sydney, which had significant consequences for the ways in which they were funded.

The colonial government in NSW exercised considerable dominance over the lives of colonists and convicts from first settlement. The interventionist style of government permeated into philanthropic works as the government funded many charities on a pound for pound basis.²⁵⁹ It is important to emphasise that the subsidy of charities by the NSW government was one of the key differences in the way charities were funded in Birmingham and Sydney, and Britain and the Australian colonies more broadly. Certainly, for the Rev. R. W. Dale, visiting Sydney in the 1880s, the support of many charities by the NSW government was ‘one of the characteristics of Australian policy which most strikes a visitor’.²⁶⁰

However, in order to qualify for the government subsidy, charities were required to be nondenominational. Indeed, from 1836, the colony was committed to the separation of church and state. The Infants’ Home and the Benevolent Society received a subsidy, but the Female Refuge (Protestant), the Waitara Foundling Home (Catholic), the Dalmar Children’s Home (Methodist) and the Female School of Industry (Anglican) were all ineligible for assistance. The tensions already apparent between the Catholic and Anglican communities were exacerbated by the government subsidy, because the financial support of

²⁵⁸ Cunich, ‘Archbishop Vaughan’, p. 146.

²⁵⁹ The £ for £ system operated on the basis that subscriptions and donations from the public raised by charities would be matched by the government.

²⁶⁰ Dale, ‘Impressions of Australia: IV, Politics’, p. 417.

charities became a battleground. As such, philanthropic activities were ‘deeply affected by sectarianism’ in the city.²⁶¹ This resulted in the duplication of many charities along sectarian lines. For instance the Protestant Female Refuge was located next door to its Catholic counterpart, the House of the Good Shepherd. Indeed, when the Refuge was established in 1848, the Colonial Secretary encouraged the merging of the Refuge and the House of the Good Shepherd; by doing so they would receive the government subsidy. However during protracted discussions it appeared that sectarian differences were insurmountable.²⁶² As a result, both charities opted against the proposed merger, thus forfeiting the government subsidy.

Many charities were frustrated by their ineligibility for government funding. Mother Aloysius Casey complained that the Waitara Foundling Home was disqualified simply ‘because the Cross crowns all its gables’.²⁶³ She continued ‘it seems very unfair and very extraordinary in our wonderful country, where “one man is as good as another”’.²⁶⁴ For Mother Casey, this prejudice against sectarian charities was contrary to the egalitarian spirit of the colonies. Often, charities emphasised their ineligibility for the government subsidy as a means of appealing to private donors and subscribers. The Female Refuge stated that ‘unlike many other philanthropic institutions, this Society is not in any way subsidised by the Government, and therefore requires at your hands increased and generous support’.²⁶⁵ Similarly, the Waitara Home emphasised its disadvantage compared

²⁶¹ Godden, ‘Philanthropy’, p. 68.

²⁶² *First Annual Report of the Sydney Female Refuge Society*, pp. 13-5.

²⁶³ *Annual Report of the Waitara Foundling Home, 1910*, p. 15.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²⁶⁵ *Forty-Ninth Report of the Sydney Female Refuge Society*, p. 12.

to a similar charity, the Infants Home: ‘no aid whatever has been received from the Government, although the Infants’ Home at Ashfield, gets a subsidy of £750 a year’.²⁶⁶

However, as many of the subsidised charities discovered, government assistance was sometimes problematic. The Benevolent Society had to wait twenty-four years for government funds to build a new women’s hospital, despite regular warnings of severe overcrowding at the Asylum.²⁶⁷ Moreover, the directors of the Benevolent Society also believed that the government subsidy had a negative impact upon public subscriptions. One of the directors, Mr. Henry stated that the public believed that the charity was completely ‘subsidized and controlled by the Government’, and therefore public subscriptions were not required.²⁶⁸ Indeed, overlaps between the NSW government and the Benevolent Society were clearly visible in the number of directors from the charity who sat in the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly. Although NSW did not have a Poor Law, the Benevolent Society became the ‘acknowledged colonial substitute for the Poor Law’, co-ordinating outdoor relief as well as providing indoor relief in the Asylum.²⁶⁹

The subsidy enabled the government to exercise clear influence over charities. In 1886 the government undermined the strict admission policy of the Infants’ Home, by using its subsidy as a leverage to force the Home to admit state children that would not have normally been admitted.²⁷⁰ When the Home complained, the Colonial Secretary

²⁶⁶ *Annual Report of the Waitara Foundling Home, 1908* (Sydney: John Andrew & Co., 1909), p. 4.

²⁶⁷ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ended 31st December 1876* (Sydney: Joseph Cook & Co., 1877) and *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ended 31st December 1901* (Ashfield: G. Watson, 1902).

²⁶⁸ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ended 31st December 1872, with a list of donations and subscriptions* (Sydney: Joseph Cook & Co., 1873), appendix.

²⁶⁹ Dickey, *No Charity There*, p. 35; Michel Horsburgh, ‘Government Policy and the Benevolent Society’, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 63 (1977), p. 77.

²⁷⁰ From 1881, the NSW government assumed responsibility for all destitute and orphaned children. Such children were referred to as “state children”.

replied that ‘the Institution only received the Govt. Grant on condition of being able to send in such cases *as they thought it proper*’.²⁷¹

This government influence over, and financial support of, charities prompts questions about the nature of government and society in NSW. Why did the men and women of NSW not donate as liberally to charities as their counterparts in Birmingham? The government subsidy was one important reason; in addition to the support of charities, the government routinely provided 50% of the funding to build public libraries, museums and art galleries in Sydney.²⁷² However, there are other explanations which lie at the heart of colonial society. The Australian colonies were places of adventure and opportunity and colonists ‘were more concerned to make their personal fortune’ than ensure the welfare of their fellow colonists.²⁷³ Moreover, the transient nature of society in NSW and the other Australian colonies, meant that few Sydney men and women had the same pride of place that was so evident in many British cities and towns, including Birmingham. In contrast, voluntary assistance was endemic to British society; since the early modern era peasant farmers were entitled to relief from their landlord.²⁷⁴ Such forms of reciprocity were modified over time and continued into the twentieth century. In NSW, the absence of a long-established commitment to philanthropy meant that colonists in need often approached government-funded charities such as the Benevolent Society.

Significantly, the nature of government was different in Britain and the Australian colonies. From first settlement, the colonial - and later NSW - government was dominant

²⁷¹ Infants’ Home, ML MSS 2983/6: meeting 12 October 1886, emphasis added.

²⁷² Dale, ‘Impressions of Australia: IV, Politics’, p. 416.

²⁷³ Garton, *Out of Luck*, p. 46.

²⁷⁴ For more information on charity in the early modern era see Hindle, *On the Parish?*, in particular part 2: Dole.

in the lives of settlers. Most importantly, settlers came to accept and normalise this intervention. Thus, the interventionist character of the NSW government meant that the transition to collectivism occurred sooner than in Britain. Furthermore, collectivism was much stronger in NSW than at home. In Britain, for most of the nineteenth century ‘the function of the state... was strictly circumscribed’ and the strength of private philanthropy was one reason for the ‘lack of progress in social policy innovation in the United Kingdom early in the [twentieth] century’.²⁷⁵ Although the transition towards collectivism was underway in Britain during the nineteenth century, there remained a deep commitment to individualism, self-help and laissez-faire.²⁷⁶ Thus, early forms of welfare, such as old age pensions, were enacted sooner in Australia than Britain, and the former ‘won its reputation as a “social laboratory”’.²⁷⁷

The Maloga mission, philanthropists and the NSW government

The Maloga mission and its relationship with the NSW government and philanthropists facilitates an exploration of the ways in which contemporaries became increasingly committed to the notion of *white* welfare. Daniel Matthews was constantly frustrated by the white settler population’s lack of interest in his missionary endeavours. He wrote, ‘it is sad to contemplate that although so much is done by the Churches for heathens of other lands, so little is attempted on behalf of those at our very doors’.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁵ Owen, *English Philanthropy*, pp. 500-1; Jones, *The Australian Welfare State*, p. 13.

²⁷⁶ David Roberts argues that ‘the belief that too much central government discourages local self-government and lessens individual self-reliance was widely held. John Stuart Mill, among others, believed it. Like Bentham he considered government interference in itself evil’. See *Victorian Origins*, p. 76; also José Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain 1870-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

²⁷⁷ O’Brien, *Poverty’s Prison*, p. 1. Old age pensions were introduced in NSW in 1901; similar legislation was enacted in Britain in 1908.

²⁷⁸ *Eighth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission Station, Murray River, New South Wales* by Daniel Matthews 1883 (Echuca: R. G. Foyster “Advertiser Office”, 1883), p. 9. Likewise, philanthropists in Britain despaired of the ready support for overseas missions, whilst ‘evinced scarcely a thought for the conditions of factory operatives or the urban poor’ at home. See Thorne, *Congregational Missions*, p. 90.

Extinction discourses, settler desire for land, and increasing concerns over Aboriginal peoples' capacity for civilisation resulted in a general lack of concern for Aboriginal peoples and their fate.

The NSW government, ultimately vested in the interests of the white settler population, was unwilling to commit itself to the well-being of the indigenous population. Matthews travelled frequently to Sydney in attempts to persuade the NSW government to do more for Aboriginal peoples, but received few assurances. During a visit to the Colonial Secretary in 1881, he noted in his diary: 'went down to Sir. H. Parkes. Kept waiting a long time. Handed him letter and talked a little while about conditions of blacks in Sydney. He appeared indifferent'.²⁷⁹ Three days later he called on Parkes again and his persistence became a source of annoyance to Parkes: "'you always call upon me when I am overwhelmed with business'".²⁸⁰ At a time when the British occupation of Australia was approaching the end of its first century, the government was increasingly preoccupied with the preservation and celebration of whiteness. As Matthews came to realise, 'sympathy on behalf of the blacks does not run high in the metropolis [Sydney]'.²⁸¹

Although the NSW government did support the Maloga mission financially between 1875 and 1880, this support soon dwindled. In addition to an increasing commitment towards the white population, the government's decision to cease funding the mission can be contextualised within its broader commitment towards secularism, as we have seen in the funding of charities. Similarly to other philanthropists, Matthews discovered that government funding could hinder as well as assist. During 1880, when Matthews went to

²⁷⁹ Matthews, PRG 359, series 2: entry 27 June 1880.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, entry 30 June 1880.

²⁸¹ *Eleventh Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 25.

collect the grant from the local police magistrate, he refused to release the money to Matthews, with no explanation.²⁸² From 1880, when government funding ceased, Matthews was reliant solely upon private subscriptions and donations. Along with his colleague Gribble, he assisted in founding the Aborigines' Protection Association (APA), comprised of philanthropic and Christian individuals, which provided an additional source of funding for Maloga. Interestingly, Dr. Renwick, president of the Benevolent Society, was a member, along with G. E. Ardill, another prominent Sydney philanthropist.

For a moment in the 1880s, it seemed as though philanthropists and missionaries could work together to secure the civilisation of both white and Aboriginal women and children. However, difficulties soon emerged in 1885 when some of the philanthropic members of the APA began to question Matthews' style of leadership at the mission, citing his 'want of firmness in dealing with the blacks'.²⁸³ The following year, the APA usurped Matthews' authority further by installing their own overseer - Mr. Bellinger - as the manager at Maloga. Matthews' role was limited to religious instructor. Relations between the Matthews and the APA were halted completely when the Matthews resigned from the Association in 1888. Since the APA had paid for a number of buildings to be constructed on the mission, Mr. Bellinger was ordered to tear them down, much to the Matthews' distress. Daniel wrote that 'my dear wife and I were grieved beyond measure... houses, that had taken months in construction, and years in anticipation, were leveled to the ground with destructive rapidity'.²⁸⁴

²⁸² *Sixth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission School, Murray River, New South Wales by Daniel Matthews* (Echuca: Mackay and Drought, Printers, "Riverine Herald" Office, 1881), p. 4.

²⁸³ Cato, *Mister Maloga*, p. 224.

²⁸⁴ *Thirteenth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission Station, Murray River, New South Wales by Daniel Matthews* (Echuca: Mackay and Foyster, 1888), p. 21.

Eventually, the APA removed the Aboriginal men, women and children from Maloga across the Murray River into Victoria to a new APA reserve. The Matthews remained at Maloga but with a much diminished community of 16 Aboriginal men, women and children. This was a far cry from the mission's heyday in the early 1880s when over 100 Aboriginal people had resided there. In 1893, the APA merged with the newly established Aborigines Protection Board (APB), and become a government agency. One of its primary functions was to manage reserves in the colony. By 1914 it was responsible for seventeen reserves and 170 'unsupervised camps' in the state.²⁸⁵ Moreover, between 1909 and 1915 the Board acquired powers to remove Aboriginal children, who were placed in Board-run institutions such as the Cootamundra Aboriginal Girls Home and the Kinchela Aboriginal Boys Home. According to Heather Goodall, this was part of an explicit agenda to 'break up Aboriginal communities'.²⁸⁶ The Stolen Generations of children had an horrific and lasting impact on the ability of Aboriginal peoples to maintain their cultures, identities and social/family groups.²⁸⁷

Ultimately, both the NSW government and philanthropists overwhelmingly prioritised the welfare of white settlers over Aboriginal peoples. As Matthews discovered, by receiving money from the APA he subjected the mission to increasing interference and control of APA members, philanthropists and men involved in the NSW government. Other missions in the state were also 'kept on a tight rein' during this period.²⁸⁸ Although white settlers had never been strongly in favour of Aboriginal welfare, public opinion hardened

²⁸⁵ Haebich, *Broken Circles*, p. 182.

²⁸⁶ Goodall, *New South Wales*, p. 76.

²⁸⁷ Read, *The Stolen Generations*; Marji Hill, *Stories of the Stolen Generations* (Melbourne: Rigby, 2008); Peter Read, *A Rape of the Soul So Profound: the Return of the Stolen Generations* (St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1999); Haebich, *Broken Circles*; Parry, 'Such A Longing'; Goodall, 'New South Wales'. See also the film *Rabbit Proof Fence* (2002).

²⁸⁸ Haebich, *Broken Circles*, p. 349.

even further in the final decades of the nineteenth century. As the new Australian nation placed whiteness at the heart of national identity, Aboriginal communities were severely marginalised as non-citizens. Their disenfranchisement placed them increasingly at the mercy of state governments that were committed to the perpetuation of racial inequalities.

6. Women, Motherhood and Nation: Inclusions and Exclusions

Marriage and motherhood were central tenets of white middle-class womanhood throughout the nineteenth century. From the late-nineteenth century increased attention was paid to working-class mothers in Britain and the Australian colonies. These women were scrutinised by the medical profession and the state, which had become more and more preoccupied by discourses of race and nation. Working-class mothers were ‘expected to turn out a child schooled in specific ways and cared for as prescribed by medical and associated professionals’.²⁸⁹ This section traces the ways in which charities participated in the scrutiny of working-class motherhood. It also considers the dual function of motherhood: whilst it earned some women a place within the British and Australian nations, it also became a means for legitimising the exclusion of other women.

Many of the charities demonstrated concerns over unmarried working-class mothers. Ethel M. Naish, treasurer of the ARTYW (Birmingham), questioned the ability of unmarried working-class women to become good mothers. She expressed particular concern that such women were often obliged, through necessity, to work until the ‘latest possible moment’ before birth.²⁹⁰ Likewise, the Waitara Foundling Home (Sydney) implied

²⁸⁹ Ross, *Love & Toil*, p. 5. Jan Kociumbas agrees that during this period Australian mothers were also subjected to ‘the scrutiny of male-dominated social science and the state’. See *Australian Childhood*, p. 111.

²⁹⁰ Ethel M. Naish, *Whose Children Are These?* (Birmingham: Cornish Brothers Ltd, 1913, 2nd edn), p. 4.

that such women often made inadequate mothers: ‘the mother often gives more trouble than the infant. If she is nursing it, she has sometimes to be watched and kept to her duty’.²⁹¹ The supposed inability of working-class mothers to care adequately for their children, coupled with their perceived ignorance, resulted in the growing belief among both philanthropists and the medical profession, that motherhood should be *taught*.²⁹²

The Benevolent Society (Sydney), the Infants’ Home (Sydney), the Waitara Foundling Home (Sydney) and the ARTYW (Birmingham) all made provisions to teach motherhood skills to the predominantly working-class women that they assisted. These women were educated according to the expectations of working-class motherhood, as expressed by philanthropists and the medical profession. At the ARTYW (Birmingham), each young woman was instructed ‘how to nurse and bring up her baby’.²⁹³ Likewise, women who had given birth at the Royal Hospital for Women in Sydney - the successor to the lying-in department at the Benevolent Society - were advised to visit the Hospital each month to ‘have their babies weighed and looked after, and get instructions as to the nursing of them and matters of that kind’.²⁹⁴

Working-class married women were also targeted with instructional circulars and pamphlets designed to inform them about proper, medically sanctioned childcare practices.²⁹⁵ At the Lying-in Charity (Birmingham) a member of the board of management proposed that ‘one or two lectures’ should be given to the women on the subject of feeding

²⁹¹ *Annual Report of the Waitara Foundling Home, 1901-2*, p. 13.

²⁹² Anna Davin explores the perceived ignorance of working-class mothers in her article ‘Imperialism and Motherhood’, p. 208.

²⁹³ *Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women (Birmingham and District), Fifth Annual Report*, appendix.

²⁹⁴ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales, year ending 1906* (Ashfield: G. Watson, 1907), appendix.

²⁹⁵ Kingston, *A History*, pp. 112-3.

infants in 1906.²⁹⁶ However mothers did not always comply with these schemes: ‘Dr. Coghill reported that she had given two lectures... one of which had been very well attended, but not unfortunately by patients of the Lying-In Charity’.²⁹⁷ In order to combat this subversion, recipients of the charity were also subjected to forms of advice and instruction in their own home. From 1907 new mothers were visited by a nurse from the maternity hospital - the successor to the Lying-in Charity - when ‘Dr. Robertson’s short pamphlet was read over by the nurse to each mother’.²⁹⁸

Fears about working-class mothers were particularly potent in Britain and Australia because they were linked to broader anxieties about race and nation, couched within the eugenics movement. The need to educate working-class women in motherhood skills was perceived as fundamental to the production of the next generation of citizens/subjects. The Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, published in 1904 in Britain, overwhelmingly depicted women as *mothers*.²⁹⁹ It recommended a number of training schemes for mothers, to be run by health societies.³⁰⁰ In this way ‘protecting the quality and ensuring the continuance of the English race, nation, and empire by being a good mother was increasingly posited as the foremost duty of the true Englishwoman’.³⁰¹

In the new Australian nation, anxieties about working-class motherhood were linked to two related national concerns: the decline of the white birthrate and the perceived threat

²⁹⁶ Birmingham Maternity Hospital, MC/MH 1/3/1: meeting 3 April 1906.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, meeting 3 July 1906.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, meeting 26 March 1907. Davin states that instructional leaflets were the ‘dominant forms of “instructions” handed out to mothers’. See ‘Imperialism and Motherhood’, p. 218.

²⁹⁹ ‘Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, Report on the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration. Vol. 1 - Report and Appendix’, *Parliamentary Papers*, XXXII (1904). This report is considered in more detail in chapter 4, situating it within broader fears about the fitness of the working classes.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁰¹ Heathorn, *For Home*, p. 164.

to the new Australian nation from racial others. In NSW, these concerns came to the fore in 1903-4 during the Royal Commission on the Decline of the Birth Rate and on the Mortality of Infants.³⁰² The Commissioners directed the blame for the decline in the birth rate firmly at women, particularly working-class women who were accused of using contraception and seeking abortions for unwanted pregnancies.³⁰³ The Commissioners chastised these women for placing ‘their own comfort and pleasure above their duty to the nation’ as *mothers*.³⁰⁴ Indeed, such fears were particularly potent because they occurred simultaneously with the foundation of White Australia. In the act of nation-building Australia had committed itself to the preservation of whiteness which meant drawing ‘a colour line around their continent’.³⁰⁵ If white Australian women failed to populate the vast lands of the nation, the “teeming hordes” of Chinese and Japanese peoples would pose an immediate threat. Indeed, the Commissioners maintained that Chinese and Japanese were ‘already seeking outlets beyond their own borders for the energies of their ever-growing people’.³⁰⁶ White Australia was perceived to be ‘guarding the last part of the world’ for whiteness, as part of a ‘transnational’ commitment to whiteness among nations of the Pacific such as America, Canada and Australia.³⁰⁷

³⁰² See the *New South Wales Royal Commission on the Decline of the Birth-Rate and on the Mortality of Infants in New South Wales, vol. 1. Report with Copies of Commissions, Diagrams, Statistical Evidence, and Statistical Exhibits &c* (Sydney: Government Printer, 1904).

³⁰³ The increased scrutiny of working-class women, who were deemed by the Commission to be practicing abortion and infanticide in Australia, is discussed by Lynette Finch in *The Classing Gaze*, chapter 6.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17. For a discussion of the ‘woman question’ and concerns about the birth rate in Australia see Frank Bongiorno, ‘Every Woman a Mother: Radical Intellectuals, Sex Reform and the “Woman Question” in Australia, 1890-1918’, *Hecate*, 27 (2001), pp. 44-64.

³⁰⁵ Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, p. 138.

³⁰⁶ *New South Wales Royal Commission on the Decline of the Birth-Rate*, p. 53.

³⁰⁷ Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, p. 78.

However, racial threats to White Australia were also located within the nation. The Aboriginal population had to be expunged from the imagined community of the nation.³⁰⁸ In Australia race determined citizenship, thus Aboriginal men and women were excluded. Moreover, Aboriginal women were denied motherhood as new legislation sanctioned the removal of their children. Aboriginal mothers 'came to signify sexual promiscuity, maternal neglect, violence and contamination, and were deemed a danger to themselves, their children and to whites'.³⁰⁹ In contrast even *bad* white mothers - such as unmarried mothers and pauper mothers - could be taught how to raise their children. Valorised as citizen-mothers in Australia, and subject-mothers in Britain, women were incorporated within the imagined community of the nation. In 1911 some women in Britain were granted maternity bonuses under the National Insurance Act, and the following year bonuses of £5 were paid to all white mothers in Australia. Significantly, the bonus was paid to both married and unmarried white mothers, suggesting that ultimately, in White Australia, race trumped notions of respectability which were once so important to philanthropists. Aboriginal women, deemed to be incapable of civilisation, were destined to remain perpetual children, protected on government reserves.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that there was a differentiated philanthropy in operation in NSW for white and Aboriginal women. The former were assisted by a range of urban charities but the latter were required to approach missions. Mission stations were one means of separating Aboriginal peoples from settler society. The institutionalisation of

³⁰⁸ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

³⁰⁹ Haebich, *Broken Circles*, p. 202.

white women in Birmingham and Sydney served to exclude those deemed a threat to respectable society such as unmarried mothers. Indeed, such women were usually obliged to submit to a process of moral reform in return for assistance. Infantilisation and protection, both aspects of the relationship between philanthropists and female recipients, were the dominant features in interactions between missionaries and Aboriginal peoples. Despite the rigid confines - both physical and moral - of institutions and missions, some white and Aboriginal women demonstrated a *limited* agency.

Discourses of gender permeated both the actions of philanthropists and missionaries and the lives of women - both white and Aboriginal - whom they sought to assist. There was a gendered division of labour among philanthropists, for ladies' committees in Sydney and Birmingham were subordinate to men's committees. Likewise, protestant missionary wives and Catholic Sisters were constrained by similar discourses of gender that were enshrined within Christianity. Despite perceived racial differences, missionaries, philanthropists and Catholic Sisters had similarly gendered visions of the places that white and Aboriginal women would occupy in society: as domestic servants and wives and mothers. However, racial discourses shaped the route towards this goal. Missionaries strove to convert and civilise Aboriginal women. Whilst aspects of civilising were also present among philanthropists' efforts towards unmarried/pauper mothers, the achievement of *respectability* was central.

Although such notions of respectability were of course important for Birmingham philanthropists, they were much more powerful in Sydney. These anxieties were a legacy of the convict past and the desire to create a respectable settler society. Respectability - never quite fully achieved - rested upon the continual articulation of morality and proper

forms of behaviour. Although as we have seen, what exactly constituted those proper forms of behaviour was a matter of intense debate and profound anxiety among philanthropists.

The employment of women as lady superintendents and matrons in philanthropic institutions complicates the ways in which discourses of class operated within philanthropy. In Birmingham in particular, anxiety was expressed about the *status* of lady superintendents employed within institutions. The debate at the Middlemore Homes which focused on the class of travel for the matron reflected uncertainty about the status of these women and the place which they occupied in society. Indeed, these women occupied a tenuous position at the boundaries of the working and middle classes. These tensions are indicative of a broader preoccupation with status and class in metropolitan society.

The funding of charities in Birmingham and Sydney reflect further differences in the character of Birmingham and Sydney. Part of Birmingham's reputation was staked upon its strong voluntary impulse, and philanthropic efforts were facilitated by the the civic gospel and the Nonconformist community. In contrast to the Birmingham charities, all of which were entirely funded by public donations/subscriptions, the NSW government contributed to many of the Sydney charities. However, government-funded charities were secular, reflecting the separation of church and state in NSW. As such, settlers in NSW experienced the different *nature* of government in the colonies, and they came to accept and expect a greater degree of government intervention in their lives compared with their counterparts in the metropole.

Towards the turn of the century white working-class mothers were increasingly targeted by philanthropists, the medical profession and the state. White women became integral to the nation as citizen-mothers (Australia) and subject-mothers (Britain). In

Australia considerable anxiety was expressed about the threat to the nation from racial others, both inside and outside the nation. White women, by virtue of their race, were vital to populating the nation. By virtue of their race, Aboriginal men and women were denied citizenship, deemed to require protection and exclusion on government reserves. Furthermore, they were perceived to be a racial threat to the new white nation, along with the “teeming” racial others of Asia. Ultimately, race divided the Australian nation: ‘the Australian black will *never* become incorporated with the people of Australia... it is only a question of time for his total disappearance’.³¹⁰

³¹⁰ Bishop Barry quoted in the *Sydney Echo*, 19 March 1888.

Chapter 4. Philanthropic Activities Directed Towards Children: A Question of Citizenship

'It is not the will of our Father, which is in Heaven, that one of these little ones should perish'.¹

At present in Britain and Australia, media reports of child abuse provoke shock and outrage in society. The Baby P case in Britain in 2009 gave rise to widespread revulsion directed against the parents of the child, who inflicted a catalogue of physical injuries on the toddler. These cases are so shocking because of perceptions of childhood in contemporary western societies. Children are viewed as innocent, deserving of care, love and protection. However, in the early-nineteenth century most working-class children worked from an early age with little or no access to education. By the end of the period, working hours for these children had been significantly reduced and they were obliged to attend school. Moreover, contemporaries had recognised childhood as a distinct stage of development for all children. For the first time legislation defined children's rights in relation to their parents, as contemporaries began to speak of the value of children to the nation- state. In Australia, Aboriginal children also became the focus of legislative change, which had widespread implications for Aboriginal communities. This chapter explores the significant reconfiguration of the relationship between children, parents, philanthropists, missionaries and governments in Britain and Australia between 1860 and 1914. A three-way comparison is employed throughout: the experiences of white children in Birmingham and Sydney are compared and contrasted, interspersed with the differing experiences of Aboriginal children on mission stations and white children in institutions in NSW.

¹ This quotation was often used in the annual reports of the Middlemore Emigration Homes (Birmingham) and the Dalmar Children's Home (Sydney).

The chapter begins by exploring notions of childhood from the late-eighteenth century until the middle of the nineteenth century, providing a context for the gradual removal of children from the workplace and the growth of elementary education later in the nineteenth century. Concerns about employment for children were associated with broader fears about the city, and the paradox of urban spaces as both civilising *and* uncivilising. A growing number of philanthropic societies for children - as well as missions - increasingly argued for the rescue and saving of children, but how did missionaries and philanthropists represent perceived threats to white and Aboriginal children? Section two explores the aims of philanthropists and missionaries, what forms of training and civilisation were white and Aboriginal boys and girls deemed to need? What difference did race and gender make? What place in society were Aboriginal and white children destined to occupy?

During the 1870s, philanthropists and their contemporaries in both Birmingham and Sydney were beginning to argue against institutionalisation for white children, stressing the importance of a family environment. Section three explores this shift away from the policy of institutionalisation, through the child emigration movement in Birmingham and the boarding-out movement in Sydney. The experiences of Aboriginal children on mission stations and policies towards Aboriginal children provide a point of contrast. Section four is devoted to legislation passed in both Britain and the Australian colonies in the final decades of the nineteenth century to protect children. This legislation is considered as part of a broader transition to collectivism in Britain and Australia. To what extent were white and Aboriginal children affected by such legislation? What impact did this legislation have upon parents, philanthropists and missionaries? The final section considers the place of white children in society, and their status as future citizens within the nation. Two

government reports are examined: the Inter-Departmental Committee into Physical Deterioration in Britain, and the Commission into the Decline of the Birth rate and Mortality of Infants in NSW, both published in 1904. These reports facilitate questions about eugenics, racial deterioration and degeneration, birth rates, and the value placed on children within the nation-states of Britain and Australia.

1. Saving Children

Concepts of childhood

For white children, the mid- to late-nineteenth century witnessed the establishment of a number of philanthropic societies aiming to care for, educate or provide skilled work-based training for children and young people. The creation of these charities reflects broader shifts in concepts of childhood throughout the nineteenth century. During the middle of the century, the evangelical belief that ‘children should be protected from the rigours of the adult world and educated and assisted to be morally good adults’ became dominant.² By the turn of the century this belief was coupled with eugenics to create the popular theory of the importance ‘of building, from birth, a strong and stable race’.³ It is fruitful to briefly trace these shifts to understand why childhood came to be such an emotive and important subject during this era.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, work was a common feature of the lives of most poor children, both in rural and urban areas of Britain and the Australian colonies. Essentially, childhood as a particular developmental stage was as yet

² Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State*, p. 43.

³ *Ibid.*

unrecognised for most working-class children, who worked alongside adults, and were frequently tried as adults when they committed crimes. At the age of seven, children could be hanged for theft.⁴ Between 1842 and 1853, approximately 1,500 child convicts were sent to NSW, Van Diemen's Land and Western Australia.⁵ Parental authority over children was 'virtually unfettered'; in law parents were permitted to beat their children and even to give them away.⁶ However, since the eighteenth century, perceptions of children among the emerging middle classes in Britain had begun to change. Indeed, 'children of the wealthier classes had experienced a lighter, more indulgent regime in the home... based on a new respect for the state of childhood'.⁷ By the middle of the nineteenth century, the idea that childhood signified 'the repository of good feelings and happy memories which could help the adult to live through the stickier patches of later life' was widespread.⁸ From the 1840s to the 1860s, a significant shift occurred. Greater attention was paid to working-class children in both Britain and the Australian colonies; schooling was introduced and it was expected that boys in particular would become citizens.

However, middle-class discourses of working-class childhood were often contradictory. In Britain, a sentimentalised discourse, which denoted all children as innocent, operated alongside a trope of savagery and accompanied fears about working-class children, in particular 'the crimes they were destined to commit'.⁹ Nevertheless, the same remedy was propounded for both innocent and savage/criminal children: 'strict adult

⁴ Hopkins, *Childhood Transformed*, p. 1.

⁵ Parker, *Uprooted*, p. 3.

⁶ Behlmer, *Child Abuse*, p. 2.

⁷ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p. 29.

⁸ Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor*; p. 151.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-4; Mahood, *Policing Gender*, p. 20.

surveillance' in institutions and reformatories.¹⁰ The discourse linking savagery and childhood, originated in the eighteenth century in contemporary depictions of peoples of colour. Thus, indigenous peoples around the globe - including the Aborigines - were likened to children. The conceptualisation of white, working-class children as savages was an important inducement to action for philanthropists because it was a 'refutation to any claim that England was civilized'.¹¹ By the middle of the nineteenth century, members of parliament such as Lord Shaftesbury, convinced by the need to protect children of the working classes, campaigned successfully for a number of legislative changes affecting child working hours.

The ways in which child criminals were perceived in both Britain and NSW also underwent change during the nineteenth century. From the 1850s the reformatory emerged in Britain, pioneered by figures such as Mary Carpenter and Matthew Davenport Hill. In 1851 a conference was held in Birmingham to discuss juvenile crime, and the delegates recommended reformatories for juvenile criminals because adult gaols were 'not adapted to the wants, either spiritual or physical, of juvenile criminals'.¹² The Youthful Offenders Act of 1854 sanctioned the removal of juvenile criminals to reformatories, and during the 1860s a number of these institutions were established in NSW. Such shifts in policy could not have occurred without a corresponding change in the way that childhood was viewed, most crucially the belief that childhood was a distinct stage of development. Crucial to Carpenter and Davenport Hill's arguments for reformatories was the notion that children, as distinct from adults, required a specific type of reform.

¹⁰ Horn, *The Victorian Town Child*, p. 15.

¹¹ Roberts, *Victorian Origins*, p. 60.

¹² J. Estlin Carpenter, *The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1881), extract of letter from Matthew Davenport Hill to Mary Carpenter, dated 24 September 1851, p. 123.

Factory Acts passed during the 1840s in Britain limited children's working hours in textile mills, but such legislation had little significance in Birmingham due to the prevalence of small workshops in the town. It was not until the 1867 Workshops Act that child working hours in the town were significantly reduced. In Sydney, many children worked in brickyards as well as clothing and tobacco factories with few restrictions on their working hours.¹³ Whilst legislators in Britain were reducing working hours for children, in Sydney 'child labour under bad conditions was a feature of factory employment in the second half of the nineteenth century'.¹⁴ It was only during the period between 1880 and 1916 that a reduction in children's working hours was finally enshrined in law in NSW.

Birmingham, the site for the conference in 1851 to discuss juvenile delinquency, was at the forefront of calls for child education. The National Education League was formed in the town in 1867, which campaigned for a national system of free, secular and compulsory education. Education, already an established rite of passage for children of the middle and upper classes, was perceived to be important in exercising a civilising influence upon working-class children. Such concerns were rendered increasingly important in Britain following the extension of the franchise to many working-class men in 1867. Furthermore, the school provided a place of containment for children whose working hours had been recently curtailed, revealing middle-class fears about the presence of idle children on the streets. In the Australian colonies too, 'there was a close connection between the Factory Acts prohibiting child labour and the establishment of compulsory elementary education'.¹⁵

¹³ Connell and Irving, *Class Structure*, p. 126.

¹⁴ Walsh, 'Factories', pp. 12-3.

¹⁵ Connell and Irving, *Class Structure*, p. 205.

However, the introduction of education also reflected contemporary ideas about rescuing children - as future citizens and subjects - from ignorance, as well as instilling a sense of national (or in the case of NSW a distinctly colonial) identity.¹⁶ Compulsory elementary education was introduced following extensions to the franchise, suggesting that concerns about good citizenship were important in both sites.¹⁷ However, it is important to remember that children were only required to attend a certain number of days per quarter and truancy was also common.¹⁸ Significantly, in the Australian colonies, compulsory elementary education was designed for white children: 'little money was spent on providing facilities for Aboriginal education'.¹⁹ Care of destitute Aboriginal children, like that of Aboriginal men and women, was left largely in the hands of missionaries and private individuals until the turn of the century.

Alongside schools and reformatories, charitable institutions represented themselves as an additional means of containing and reforming idle working-class children. J. T. Middlemore stated that the children admitted into his Emigration Homes in Birmingham were 'for the most part, either less than ten or about thirteen years old. In the former case they are too young for admission into the Industrial Schools, while in the latter they escape altogether the provisions of the various Education Acts'.²⁰ Indeed, middle-class fears about

¹⁶ Clark maintains that 'knowledge... was synonymous with power, it was the handmaiden of happiness and the creator of better citizens'. See *A History of Australia*, vol. 4, p. 271. For England, Heathorn argues 'children were not only learning the alphabet of the English language, they were also learning the alphabet of their presumed identity' as well as concepts of good citizenship. See *For Home*, p. 20.

¹⁷ Indeed, Connell argues that education systems were very similar in both sites. See 'British Influence on Australian Education in the Twentieth Century', in Madden and Morris-Jones eds, *Australia and Britain*, pp. 162-178. For schooling in Britain see Smith, *Conflict and Compromise*.

¹⁸ Kociumbas, *Australian Childhood*, p. 119.

¹⁹ McGrath, 'A National Story', p. 24.

²⁰ *Gutter Children's Homes First Report*, p. 4. The Middlemore Emigration Homes were initially called the Gutter Children's Homes.

idleness among working-class children were predominantly confined to urban children of the working classes. Middlemore expressed his concern about idle, urban children:

Poor idlers cannot, as a rule, be honest idlers; that poor boys over fifteen, who have no employment *must* be dishonest in order to maintain themselves out of the workhouse, and that this would be true also of girls of the same class and age, if there were not a far more terrible life open to them.²¹

For philanthropists in Birmingham and Sydney, these anxieties about unoccupied children were bound up in broader fears about urban spaces.

During the period, philanthropists, missionaries and other contemporaries based their conceptions of childhood on British/European notions of childhood. Missionaries applied these concepts to Aboriginal children, often with little knowledge of Aboriginal culture. It is important to briefly consider Aboriginal notions of childhood, to understand why European discourses of childhood were so alien to Aboriginal communities. From their birth, Aboriginal children were part of an extensive kinship system, and often the whole community was involved in raising the child and preparing them for adult life. Indeed, the most important concept an Aboriginal child learnt was the kinship system and how it operated, in particular 'who their relations were and the appropriate behaviour towards them'.²² Each Aboriginal child was linked to a personal totem: 'this was determined by the place where his or her mother was impregnated by a spirit child released by the particular ancestor of that place'.²³ As soon as they were able to walk, Aboriginal children were encouraged by female members of the community to assist them in foraging for food. Girls remained with the female members of the community, but at the age of six the boys 'were

²¹ *Gutter Children's Homes First Report*, p. 3.

²² McGrath, 'Birthplaces', p. 15.

²³ Broome, *Aboriginal Australians*, p. 19.

encouraged to spend more time with their father and other male relatives, participating in male hunting and ceremonial activities'.²⁴ Transition into the adult community usually began by the age of twelve, when the initiation process commenced for both girls and boys.²⁵ During this phase of development, 'the child would learn its rights and obligations as an adult member of the tribe and begin the long process of learning the oral history, religion and secret knowledge of the tribe'.²⁶ Once the initiation process had been completed, boys and girls were considered adult.

Civilising and uncivilising spaces: the urban environment and threats to white children in Birmingham and Sydney

During this period, the city was represented in contradictory ways by contemporaries. 'On the one side was fear - fear of a change in the pattern of social relationships associated with change in the scale of the city... on the other side was pride - pride in achievement through self-help' and 'pride in local success'.²⁷ Both Sydney and Birmingham, like many other cities both at home and in the empire underwent radical change at the end of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century. Such change, whilst a source of pride, was also anxiety-provoking. Towns and cities were frequently depicted as spaces of disease, slums, disorder and immorality.

Historically, 'the term civilization derives from the Latin *civis*, meaning the citizens of cities. Cities, then, have traditionally been the sites of civilization'.²⁸ Indeed, urban spaces were often identified with progress and improvement. Catherine Hall has

²⁴ McGrath, 'Birthplaces', p. 15; Broome estimates that this stage occurred at the age of six. See *Aboriginal Australians*, p. 22.

²⁵ Broome, *Aboriginal Australians*, p. 23.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Asa Briggs, 'The Human Aggregate', in Dyos and Wolff eds, *The Victorian City*, vol. 1, p. 85.

²⁸ Nile, 'Introduction', p. 17.

demonstrated that many Birmingham men and women identified their town as civilising the spaces of empire: ‘forks transformed table manners; curtain rods and rings allowed privacy in the home... the midland metropolis could civilise with its goods’.²⁹ Similarly to many other British towns and cities, Birmingham men and women were deeply proud of their town, particularly during the years of Chamberlain’s mayoralty when the civic gospel came to fruition. During the middle of the nineteenth century, urban societies were beginning to be conceived of as a ‘social body’; Mary Poovey has argued that ‘the people’ were increasingly conceptualised as a collective.³⁰ The municipalisation of water in Birmingham contributed to what Patrick Joyce has termed the ‘vitalisation’ of both individual bodies and the city: ‘the constant circulation of fluids and the continuous replenishment of vital functions were to be secured in the case of both the body and the city’.³¹ Fears about urban housing resulted in improvement schemes in both Birmingham and Sydney; in the former in 1876 43½ acres of land were redeveloped in the centre of the town, much of which had been insanitary housing.³² In the latter, in 1875 the City of Sydney Improvement Act regulated building practices.

Urban white working-class men, women and children were frequently depicted as ‘dangerously uncivilized’ in Britain.³³ Furthermore in Sydney, Aboriginal peoples who had been relegated to the fringes of the city were also depicted as a source of disorder and savagery. In the 1870s groups of Aboriginal peoples at Circular Quay were removed to a designated settlement at La Perouse, south of the city, thus rendering them less *visible* to

²⁹ Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, p. 271.

³⁰ Poovey, *Making a Social Body*.

³¹ Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*, p. 65.

³² Briggs, *History of Birmingham*, vol. 2, p. 20.

³³ Eric E. Lampard. ‘The Urbanizing World’, in Dyos and Wolff eds, *The Victorian City*, vol. 1, p. 6.

white Sydneysiders. An attempt was therefore made to render the urban space of Sydney white. Whilst philanthropists in both Sydney and Birmingham were spurred to action by contrasting but complementary notions of fear of, and pity for, white children, there was little corresponding mainstream interest in the welfare of Aboriginal children during the nineteenth century.

The working classes were frequently represented as not quite civilised, largely as a result of the conditions in which they lived. Slums and other forms of poor quality housing were linked to disorder, dirt, disease, immorality and crime. Moreover, their inhabitants were frequently racialised. Alan Mayne has explored contemporary depictions of slums in both Birmingham and Sydney, and argues that newspapers in both sites engaged in what he terms 'slumland sensationalism'.³⁴ For instance J. C. Walters wrote a series of articles on Birmingham slums entitled 'Scenes in Slum-Land' at the turn of the century. Slums provoked a horrible fascination in Britain and 'Victorians across the political spectrum unanimously decried the messy squalor and moral degradation of urban life and vied with another to evoke the fascinatingly repulsive smells, sounds, and sights of the city'.³⁵

Whilst such reports were anxiety-provoking in Birmingham and many other British towns, in Sydney there was an unwillingness to believe such conditions existed in the new world. Many popular depictions of the Australian colonies during the nineteenth century stressed their egalitarian nature. The colonies, it was stated, 'may have lacked the wealth and splendour of London but they also lacked the slums of a St. Giles or Whitechapel. In Australia few were rich but all were comfortable'.³⁶ Consequently there was a reluctance

³⁴ Mayne, *The Imagined Slum*, p. 7.

³⁵ Koven, *Slumming*, p. 184.

³⁶ Garton, *Out of Luck*, p. 1.

to even acknowledge insanitary and poor living conditions, despite a wealth of evidence presented to the NSW parliament. In 1860 a Select Committee published its report into working-class housing, stating that many houses were ‘deplorably bad’, and ‘the means of drainage and ventilation are almost entirely neglected, and many of the older tenements are so unfit for the occupation of human beings, that one witness declares them to be “past remedy without general fire”’.³⁷ A journalist from Melbourne who visited Sydney in the 1870s reflected on the refusal of the NSW government to address the problems of slum housing in the city, stating that ‘many good people appear to have strenuously closed their eyes to the scandals around them’.³⁸

Theories of urban savagery provided ‘a mental landscape within which the middle class could recognize and articulate their own anxieties about urban existence’.³⁹ These fears, projected onto the working classes and the urban spaces they inhabited, were expressed through language. The language used by philanthropists and contemporaries to depict slums in both sites revolved around notions of disease, dirt, contamination and immorality. Concerns over slum-life were voiced less prominently in Sydney than Birmingham, perhaps because of an unwillingness to unravel the notion of NSW as a “worker’s paradise”. However, by the 1860s working-class children and their presence on the streets were beginning to be talked about in terms of contamination and disease: ‘the streets of Sydney are *infested* by a large number of vagrant children’.⁴⁰

³⁷ *Report from the Select Committee on the Condition of the Working Classes of the Metropolis, Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of NSW, vol. 4* (Sydney: Government Printer, 1859-69), pp. 1263-1478.

³⁸ Michael Cannon, *The Vagabond Papers: John Stanley James* (Melbourne: Hyland House, 1983, 2nd edn), p. 50.

³⁹ Stedman Jones, *Outcast London*, p. 151.

⁴⁰ *Report from the Select Committee on the Condition of the Working Classes*, pp. 1278, emphasis added.

Disease also posed a real threat to urban philanthropists, partly because of fears about contamination. Indeed, during the 1890s the Committee of the Working Boys' Home (Birmingham) discussed the possibility of allowing the Aston Board of Guardians use of one the large halls at the Home to distribute food to paupers. However, the proposal was rejected due to 'the risk of infection and contamination'.⁴¹ For philanthropists and other contemporaries, dirt carried strong moral associations. Mr. Butter, superintendent of the Working Boys' Home (Birmingham) stated that 'I have always found boys from Workhouses are always dirty in their habits and lazy'.⁴² The Rev. J. Jefferis stated that 'in Sydney we have open gutters and cloacas reeking with filth, poisoning the air around with noxious effluvia... the harbour itself becoming a cesspool of corruption'.⁴³ Philanthropists such as J. T. Middlemore of Birmingham often expressed gendered notions of corruption; for instance the urban space could lead working-class boys into a life of crime: 'they most generally either fall the premature victims of disease, or become confirmed thieves'.⁴⁴ Girls were deemed to be at particular risk from various forms of immorality, the zenith of which was prostitution.

Fears over urban immorality, dirt, disease and contamination were also expressed racially. For women of the middle classes who engaged in philanthropy 'dirt was not only a visible sign of poverty but a marker of a sexualised "primitive"'.⁴⁵ Slums and their inhabitants were represented as both 'a disgrace to civilisation' and uncivilised.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Working Boys' Home, MS 3375/511/1: meeting of 26 October 1893.

⁴² Birmingham City Archive, Lee Crowder Collection, Working Boys' Home, MS 3375/511/3: minutes of the committee, meeting 26 August 1898.

⁴³ J. Jefferis, 'Pauperism in New South Wales', *Sydney University Review*, 3 (1882), p. 257. Cloacas was a contemporary term for sewer or cesspool.

⁴⁴ *Children's Emigration Homes Second Report with List of Subscribers* (Birmingham: Corns, Rylett and Mee, 1875), preface.

⁴⁵ Koven, *Slumming*, p. 188.

⁴⁶ Jefferis, 'Pauperism', p. 257.

Middlemore often commented on the lack of clothing among slum children: ‘one child was naked absolutely, and the boy and girl whom I took with me had a very few rags - *such ragged rags* - which about half covered their nakedness.’⁴⁷ Since the late-eighteenth century the working classes had been depicted in racialised terms. As Eileen Yeo explains, ‘a language of domestic imperialism... represented Somerset peasants as “savages” in parishes “as dark as Africa”’.⁴⁸ Street arab was a common term used by contemporaries to refer to street children which was infused with clear racial connotations. Indeed, in Britain the language used to describe slums was imbued with racial markers. William Booth speculated in the 1890s ‘as there is a darkest Africa is there not also a darkest England? Civilisation, which can breed its own barbarians, does it not also breed its own pygmies?’⁴⁹ In Britain, ethnic others such as the Irish were frequently racialised, and in Sydney racial others such as the Chinese ‘were most frequently made to personify the foreign menace of the slum’.⁵⁰ Discussing hereditary pauperism in Birmingham, the Rev. Charles Marson argued that ‘pauper children of pauper parents are rapidly becoming a caste, as distinct and degraded as the Pariahs of India’.⁵¹

Aboriginal children and the perceived threat of Aboriginality

Particularly in Birmingham, and to some extent in Sydney, philanthropic societies for children were established in order to remove children from the threats posed by urban spaces. Whilst some concerns were voiced by philanthropists in both Birmingham and

⁴⁷ *Fourth Report of the Children's Emigration Homes with List of Subscribers* (Birmingham: Martin Billing, Son & Co., 1877), p. 4.

⁴⁸ Yeo, *The Contest*, p. xiv.

⁴⁹ Rattansi, *Racism*, p. 46; General William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (London: Charles Knight, 1970), p. 11.

⁵⁰ Mayne, *The Imagined Slum*, p. 193.

⁵¹ Rev. Charles Marson quoted in *Boarding-out Pauper Children*, pp. 35-6.

Sydney about the ability of working-class parents to care for their children, such concerns were not widely raised until later in the century. By contrast, from the 1860s missionaries in NSW were depicting Aboriginal parents and Aboriginal communities as *the* main threat to Aboriginal children's potential for conversion and civilisation. Aboriginal communities were represented by missionaries as immoral, dirty, disease-ridden and savage. Daniel Matthews frequently linked Aboriginal peoples with dirt: 'the Blacks are proverbially dirty in their habits, and in this condition we find them in their camps; they are wretched and squalid in the extreme' and 'living in the wild bush in rags and filth'.⁵² Moreover, immorality was also perceived to be rife among Aboriginal peoples. John Brown Gribble spoke of 'the extreme physical wretchedness and deep moral degradation' of Aboriginal camps.⁵³ However, both Gribble and Daniel Matthews acknowledged that immorality was not an innate racial quality of Aboriginal peoples. Matthews conceded that 'evil and vice... is forced upon them by our white people'.⁵⁴

Nevertheless, Matthews simultaneously represented Aboriginal communities - by virtue of their race - to be detrimental to Aboriginal children. He frequently expressed frustration at Aboriginal parents and Aboriginal communities, particularly those who would not allow their children to enter his mission. After one failed attempt to remove some Aboriginal children, He wrote 'the old Blacks prejudice the minds of the young... it is sad to see so many intelligent and pretty children living in wretchedness and growing up in vice'.⁵⁵ Similarly, Matthews was exasperated by the presence of Aboriginal camps on the

⁵² *Tenth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission Station, Murray River, New South Wales by Daniel Matthews* (Echuca: "Riverine Herald" General Printing Office, 1885), p. 34; *Third Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 26.

⁵³ Gribble, *A Plea*, p. 3.

⁵⁴ *Ninth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, preface.

⁵⁵ *Fifth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 9.

boundaries of his mission. He expressed relief when they left because he maintained that ‘their presence affects our influence over the children, and rather retards their social progress’.⁵⁶ More serious, however, was his growing conviction that Aboriginal parents were ‘not competent custodians of their own offspring’.⁵⁷ Such concerns were much more aggressively articulated at the turn of the century by federal and state governments, resulting in the stolen generations of Aboriginal children.

By the mid-nineteenth century there was an established, small-scale missionary procedure of child removal from various indigenous communities.⁵⁸ In the Australian colonies, the first known case of child removal occurred soon after first settlement in 1804 in Van Diemen’s Land.⁵⁹ Fundamental to missionaries was a belief in monogenesis, espoused in the Bible, which held that all men were descended from Adam and Eve. Thus, even though by the 1850s many monogenists believed in what Nancy Stepan terms ‘the idea of a graded series of races’, nevertheless, in theory all peoples had the capacity to become civilised and converted.⁶⁰ Daniel Matthews argued that Aboriginal men, women and children had the capacity for civilisation and conversion, but increasingly came to believe that Aboriginal children were more likely to respond to missionary efforts than their parents. He reflected that ‘these miserable [Aboriginal] women are so degraded by drink and other vices, that it is difficult for us to reach them. It may be that the Lord will, through the dear children, convey the words of life to these despised and wretched ones’.⁶¹

⁵⁶ *Third Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 5, emphasis added.

⁵⁷ *Twelfth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission Station, Murray River, New South Wales* by Daniel Matthews (Echuca: Mackay and Foyster, 1888), p. 17.

⁵⁸ Haebich estimates that the first recorded instances of child removal were carried out by Catholic missionaries who removed Native American children in the French Canadian dominions during the seventeenth century. See *Broken Circles*, p. 78.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-6.

⁶⁰ Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science*, p. 18.

⁶¹ *Fourth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 7.

J. B. Gribble stated that saving ‘the unfortunate children and endangered youth’ was fundamental to his work at Warangesda.⁶² Such beliefs were common among missionaries, who assumed that ‘children separated from their parents could make better “progress”’.⁶³ Missionary success with Aboriginal children reinforced the conviction that children were the best hope for civilising the race. Matthews recounted the story of one mixed-race boy, who pleaded with him ““Mr. Matthews, I don’t want to leave this place and go back again to the camp. I want to learn to read and write well. The blacks drink too much. I don’t want to live with them again””.⁶⁴

Like Aboriginal children, philanthropists deemed that white children were capable of improvement if they were removed from crime-ridden, disorderly, dirty and immoral urban spaces into institutions, or through alternative schemes of removal such as emigration or boarding-out. As Seth Koven explains, even the most degraded of slum children held the potential for improvement: ‘representations of children crystalize the potential, even in slumland, for regeneration and integration’.⁶⁵ In the Australian colonies too, ‘children could be isolated from the corrupting influences of street life and trained to be self-reliant workers and domestics’ in institutions.⁶⁶ The fear that pauper children would grow up ‘even wilder than their parents’ was a powerful motivating factor for philanthropists.⁶⁷ In both Sydney and Birmingham, concerns were raised by philanthropists about hereditary pauperism, that the children of pauper parents would automatically become dependent upon the workhouse and colonial asylums such as the Benevolent Asylum. In Sydney ‘if

⁶² Gribble, *A Plea*, p. 6.

⁶³ Hamilton, ‘Bond-slaves of Satan’, pp. 246-7.

⁶⁴ *Third Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*.

⁶⁵ Mayne, *The Imagined Slum*, p. 190.

⁶⁶ Garton, *Out of Luck*, p. 61.

⁶⁷ Behlmer, *Child Abuse*, p. 47.

pauper tendencies could be trained out of the future generation, then the need for the dreaded Poor Law was eliminated'.⁶⁸ In Birmingham, Alfred Hill, a member of the committee of the Working Boys' Home stated that 'the training given to the children of the parish.... is of vast importance to their future welfare, and consequently, to the extent to which they will hereafter become burdens on the community'.⁶⁹

Saving and rescuing Aboriginal and white children

For white children and Aboriginal children, the language of removal was consistently couched within notions of rescue and saving. Such language often had biblical connotations. The phrase: 'it is not the will of our Father, which is in Heaven, that one of these little ones should perish' was used regularly in the annual reports of both the Middlemore Emigration Homes (Birmingham) and the Dalmar Children's Home (Sydney). The Christian concept of salvation stipulated that all peoples - even pauper children and peoples of colour had the right to salvation. J. T. Middlemore explained that God 'has raised up the Children's Emigration Homes as a means of *saving* them'.⁷⁰ The Catholic Maryvale Orphanage (Birmingham) described its work in similar terms: '*rescuing* the souls of the little ones of Christ's fold'.⁷¹ At the Dalmar Children's Home (Sydney) the committee stated that when several older boys were refused admittance to the Home, on account of their age: 'we yearned to rescue them; but under the present arrangements it is impossible'.⁷² At the Catholic St. Vincent's Home for Working Boys (Birmingham), the theme of saving had a dual purpose; not only saving Catholic boys from the streets and

⁶⁸ Godden, 'Philanthropy', p. 6.

⁶⁹ Hill, 'Some Thoughts on Pauperism', p. 103.

⁷⁰ *Children's Emigration Homes Second Report*, p. 8, emphasis added.

⁷¹ *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Maryvale Orphanage*, emphasis added.

⁷² *Ninth Annual Report: The Central Mission Children's Home, "Dalmar", Parramatta Road, Croydon, 1901-2* (Sydney: Pepperday & Co., 1902), p. 5, emphasis added.

other immoral temptations offered by urban spaces, but also salvation from Protestant workhouses, thus rescuing them from both ‘spiritual and material ruin’.⁷³ At the Protestant Sydney Female Refuge, one girl admitted in 1867 had spent some time in the Catholic House of the Good Shepherd, the Catholic equivalent of the Refuge. Despite the wishes of the girl’s parents, the Committee refused to transfer her to the House of the Good Shepherd, stating that ‘we had nothing but her interest in view’.⁷⁴ Perhaps there was an element of satisfaction in saving a child for the Protestant faith.

For missionaries, saving Aboriginal children for the Christian faith was fundamental to missionary aims. Matthews often spoke of this: ‘Mrs. Matthews and I intend paying special attention to the orphan children of the Blacks... by this means, many precious souls might be rescued from sin and shame, and be brought into the fold of the Good Shepherd’.⁷⁵ Mission rescue of Aboriginal children was also posited as a form of atonement for the wrongs committed against Aboriginal peoples by white settlers. Indeed, missionaries were represented as trying ‘to undo the damage that had been done’.⁷⁶ Matthews regularly reflected upon such sentiments, stating that he had no doubt that the rapid decay of this despised people is due to the many vices they have acquired since Europeans first began to occupy their country’.⁷⁷ Gribble also maintained that white settlers had ‘communicated to them vices which had a great effect in lowering their

⁷³ *St. Vincent’s Home for Working Boys Annual Report 30th June 1908 to 30th July 1909*, p. 3.

⁷⁴ Sydney Female Refuge, A7018: meeting 4 January 1867.

⁷⁵ Matthews, ‘An Address to the Young of Australia’, in *Thirteenth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, preface.

⁷⁶ Jean Woolmington, ‘Writing on the Sand: The First Missions to Aborigines in Eastern Australia’, in Bird Rose and Swain eds, *Aboriginal Australians and Christian Missions*, p. 78.

⁷⁷ *Fourth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, pp. 16-7.

condition and diminishing their numbers. Anything that could be done now he really thought should be done'.⁷⁸

The language of Christian salvation fused with the sentimentalising discourse of childhood to facilitate the representation of children as innocent, pitiful, deserving, helpless and capable of reformation and improvement. Consequently, publications circulated by philanthropists and missionaries - many of which were designed to encourage financial support - were littered with emotive language. Middlemore adopted a highly sentimentalised and emotive language to encourage subscriptions and donations often including examples from specific children admitted to the home. One such example is Charles C., who one evening appeared at the door of the Home. 'He asked for a bit of bread. I never saw such a *broken-spirited little starveling*. He appeared chilled to the bones, his teeth were chattering in his head, and, though he was not *then* crying, *recent tears had left their channels down his dirty cheeks*'.⁷⁹ Middlemore also utilised pictorial "evidence" to publicise and illustrate his work with pauper children, stating 'how great is the change!' in Johnny G after just 4 months in the Home.⁸⁰ The other charities devoted to assisting children also employed similarly emotive methods of depicting pauper/destitute children in their annual reports. The St. Vincent's Home for Working Boys (Birmingham) pleaded with the Catholic community of Birmingham to help its 'friendless boys' and the

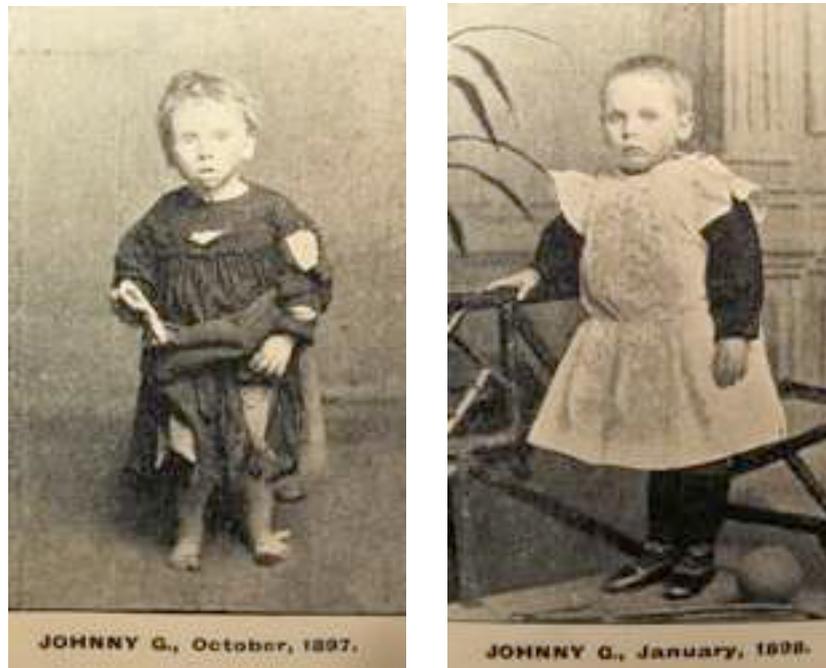
⁷⁸ Gribble, *A Plea*, p. 4.

⁷⁹ *Fourth Report of the Children's Emigration Homes*, pp. 4-5, emphasis added.

⁸⁰ *Children's Emigration Homes, Twenty-fifth Report (for the year 1897) with List of Subscribers* (Birmingham: Martin Billing, Son, & Co., 1898), p. 7.

Maryvale Orphanage (Birmingham) depicted the children in its home as ‘God’s poor ones’.⁸¹

Illustration Eight: “Johnny G.” in Oct 1897 and Jan 1898.⁸²



In Sydney, the Dalmar Children’s Home and the Infants’ Home used similarly emotive language in their respective annual reports. The Dalmar Home tugged at the heartstrings of its supporters stating that ‘there are numberless *little waifs* and *strays* in our midst, who are *daily and hourly suffering from cruelty and neglect*’.⁸³ The Infants’ Home appealed for support directly from mothers, telling them that ‘the heart of any mother - with her nursery full of well-cared for little ones at home - must open at the sight of these

⁸¹ *St. Vincent’s Home for Working Boys Annual Report 30th June 1908 to 30th July 1909*, p. 7; *Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Maryvale Orphanage, 1884* (Birmingham: M. Maher, 1885). Barnardos used similar pictorial evidence in its reports. See Alec McHoul, ‘Taking the Children: Some Reflections at a Distance on the Camera and Dr. Barnardo’, *Continuum: The Australian Journal of Media and Culture*, 5 (1991), pp. 32-50.

⁸² *Children’s Emigration Homes, Twenty-fifth Report*, p. 6.

⁸³ *Ninth Annual Report: The Central Mission Children’s Home, “Dalmar”*, p. 9, emphasis added.

poor little waifs'.⁸⁴ Such appeals were so powerful because of the sentimentalisation of childhood and the notion of Christian salvation, thus ensuring that charities assisting pauper children had relatively good support, either from the public or government. As the *Birmingham Daily Mail* conceded in 1875, the number of charities in the town could make it difficult for philanthropic men and women to decide which charities to support, but concluded that 'the care of neglected children must take a prominent position'.⁸⁵ Indeed, the appeal run by the Benevolent Society (Sydney) in 1895, entitled "1000 little children in need of food", raised £2539 13s 3d, and was so successful it became an annual appeal.⁸⁶

Aboriginal children too, like their white counterparts in Birmingham and Sydney, were frequently described emotively, although such depictions were rendered more complex because, as we have seen, Aboriginal men and women were also frequently infantilised. However, particularly when rations were short on the mission, Matthews focused on the effect of such hardships on the children: 'the school house children have had to subsist on bread and tea'.⁸⁷ Here, Matthews clarified that his description referred to 'school-house' children - the young - because as he himself admitted, he frequently referred to both Aboriginal men and women as children 'without regard to the somewhat advanced years of some'.⁸⁸ Whilst missionaries did employ some sentimental language in regard to Aboriginal children, it seems less emotive in comparison to the language used by philanthropists in Birmingham and Sydney to depict white children. Although Matthews and Gribble publicised the plight of Aboriginal children, they never received the same

⁸⁴ *Thirteenth Report of the Infants' Home*, p. 5. Naomi Parry has also noted the emotive language utilised by philanthropists operating in the State Children's Relief Department in NSW in 'Such A Longing', p. 172.

⁸⁵ *Birmingham Daily Mail*, 26 July 1875.

⁸⁶ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ended 31st December 1895* (Sydney: S. E. Lees, 1896), see appendix for appeal and finance accounts.

⁸⁷ *Seventh Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 5.

⁸⁸ *Riverine Herald*, 18 August 1877.

level of support (both financially and in more general terms) as philanthropists devoted to ameliorating the lives of white children. Ultimately in NSW, all white children including illegitimate children 'were valued above almost any children of colour'.⁸⁹

Aboriginal children were removed to mission stations to be saved from both the immoral effects of some white settlers, and the backward influences of their own communities. But how were white children in both Birmingham and Sydney "rescued" into philanthropic societies? At the start of the period, charities in both Birmingham and Sydney received children into their institutions through philanthropists themselves, some of whom, such as Middlemore, personally searched the streets for suitable children. Some orphaned children were recommended by the clergy to specific institutions, and some children were also taken to institutions by family members who were unable to support them. For instance one girl was admitted to the Crowley Orphanage (Birmingham) in 1873 by her aunt, who was unable to keep her. The aunt's local clergyman, the Rev. Bird had recommended she approach the Orphanage.⁹⁰ Whilst there are examples of philanthropists resorting to what George K. Behlmer has termed 'philanthropic abductions' it is important to remember that some parents committed their children to such institutions.⁹¹ In Sydney, a mother brought her daughter to the Female Refuge for admittance, but because the girl had already been received twice, and absconded twice, the committee refused to admit her.⁹² Perhaps her mother could not afford to keep her, or perhaps the daughter was badly behaved; whatever the reason, many parents willingly took their children to philanthropic

⁸⁹ Judith Allen, *Sex and Secrets: Crimes Involving Australian Women since 1880* (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 67.

⁹⁰ Crowley Orphanage, MS 517/142: meeting 28 April 1873.

⁹¹ Behlmer, *Child Abuse*, p. 77. The term 'philanthropic abduction' is used in connection with Dr. Barnardo's activities.

⁹² Sydney Female Refuge, A7018: meeting 7 August 1863.

institutions. Indeed, in the 1860s and 1870s reformatories in London were ‘so deluged with requests from parents... that they retaliated by charging the parents a weekly maintenance fee for their children’.⁹³

2. Philanthropist and Missionary Aims and the Barriers of Race to Citizenship

The language of citizenship and improvement was commonly used by philanthropists in both Birmingham and Sydney towards white children. In order to mould good citizens, children had to be educated in gendered forms of work, appropriate leisure activities, regimentation of time/daily activities, prize-giving and, occasionally, religious conversion. Throughout, the experiences of Aboriginal boys and girls will be contrasted and compared with their white counterparts in Birmingham and Sydney, to render more clearly the difference that race made in terms of philanthropist/missionary expectations. Whilst missionaries used similar tools to philanthropists to effect change in Aboriginal children, the language of citizenship was conspicuously absent. Ultimately, missionaries desired to create an underclass of ‘useful and faithful servants’.⁹⁴ Daniel Matthews’ writings are ambiguous on the subject of citizenship, and ultimately he was unsure whether Aboriginal boys and girls could ever become citizens. On one occasion he mentioned the possibility that they could become ‘good citizens and industrious members of the community’.⁹⁵ Overwhelmingly, however, as he became increasingly disillusioned with his missionary activities he spoke of his desire to create an Aboriginal community comprised of ‘useful

⁹³ Ross, *Love & Toil*, p. 161.

⁹⁴ Haebich, *Broken Circles*, p. 99.

⁹⁵ *Eleventh Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 5.

members of society'.⁹⁶ They could be hewers of wood and drawers of water but have no political responsibility.

Gendered expectations

Although the expectation for possible levels of civilisation were set differently for white and Aboriginal children, many of the methods of improvement and civilisation were similar. The establishment of single-sex institutions, or the physical separation of the sexes in mixed institutions and on mission stations was common among philanthropists and missionaries. The report of the NSW Commission into Public Charities of 1873-4 concluded 'not only should men have control over boys, but women should have control over girls' within institutions.⁹⁷ In this way, 'it was hoped that girls and boys would learn these [gendered] roles by emulating the women and men who governed the institutions'.⁹⁸ Middlemore even expressed concern over the accidental mixing of boys and girls from his Emigration Homes, stating that 'the Washhouse adjoins the Girls' Home, and it is not desirable that boys should be there'.⁹⁹ He recommended that the girls be responsible for the washing of all linen, reflecting his gendered assumptions of appropriate feminine work. At the Female School of Industry (Sydney), the presence of men in the School was deemed undesirable and, apart from the clergyman and medical attendant, all other male visitors were to be accompanied in the School by a member of the Committee.¹⁰⁰ At both the

⁹⁶ Daniel Matthews, 'An Address to the Children of Australia', in *Third Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, pp. 5-6, emphasis added.

⁹⁷ Godden, 'Philanthropy', pp. 16-7.

⁹⁸ Mahood, *Policing Gender*, p. 115.

⁹⁹ Middlemore Emigration Homes, MS 517/1: meeting 25 June 1896.

¹⁰⁰ *Report of the Committee of the Female School of Industry, from October 1862, to October 1863* (Sydney: Alexander W. Douglas, 1863), preface. This rule was eventually scrapped in the 1880s.

Maloga and Warangesda Aboriginal missions, girls and boys were often separated, both in terms of work during the day and also evening activities.¹⁰¹

White and Aboriginal girls were trained exclusively in skills useful for domestic service. Philanthropists envisioned that white working-class women should ‘become domestic servants and laundresses and eventually mothers’.¹⁰² At the Female School of Industry (Sydney) the Committee emphasised in the annual report for 1868 that ‘as no servants are kept, the whole of the work of the Institution is done by the girls’.¹⁰³ At the Crowley Orphanage (Birmingham) the older girls were expected to clean the windows of the Orphanage, as well as making clothing for themselves and the younger girls. In 1877 when the Orphanage struggled to fund itself due to dwindling subscriptions the Committee decided to admit non-orphan girls to be trained for domestic service, at a fee of £10 per annum.¹⁰⁴ The Female School of Industry (Sydney) adopted an almost identical scheme in the 1860s.¹⁰⁵ From the early-nineteenth century, increasing work opportunities outside of the home for young women meant that it was more difficult for them to learn domestic skills in the home. At a meeting of philanthropists in Birmingham, Wilhelmina Hall expressed concern about the domestic skills of young working-class women, stating that most workhouse girls ‘cannot light an ordinary fire; they know nothing of the use of the saucepan, gridiron, &c’.¹⁰⁶ Evidence from the charities of Birmingham and Sydney

¹⁰¹ One mission report mentions that ‘a meeting held once a week in one of the married people’s huts has been the means of much spiritual benefit to the women and girls, and another for the men and boys on another evening has been fruitful in good results’. See *Sixth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 6.

¹⁰² Mahood, *Policing Gender*, p. 133.

¹⁰³ *Report of the Committee of the Female School of Industry from Oct 1867 to Oct 1868* (Sydney: Joseph Cook & Co., 1868), p. 11.

¹⁰⁴ Crowley Orphanage, MS 517/142: meeting 30 April 1877.

¹⁰⁵ *Report of the Committee of the Female School of Industry, from October 1862, to October 1863*, preface.

¹⁰⁶ Wilhelmina Hall, *Boarding-Out, As a Method of Pauper Education and a Check on Hereditary Pauperism: A Paper read at the Birmingham meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (London: Hatchards, 1887), p. 6.

supports Linda Mahood's assertion that 'the child-savers seldom approached the girls as anything other than potential agents of domesticity, as future maids or mothers'.¹⁰⁷

The work carried out by Aboriginal girls at Warangesda and Maloga was similar to that performed by white girls in institutions in Sydney and Birmingham. At Warangesda the girls were 'specifically educated into the virtues and habits of working-class white women: they were to become domestic maids, and later wives and mothers in British-style cottages'.¹⁰⁸ As we have seen, Daniel Matthews envisioned that Aboriginal girls would become a "servile class". At Maloga the girls were taught by Janet Matthews similarly gendered forms of work which focused upon domesticity. The teaching of domesticity to Aboriginal girls served a number of functions; it was inherently civilising, teaching girls to look after a fixed home, the concept of which was alien to many Aboriginal peoples. Moreover, caring for a husband and children, specifically by cleaning, the preparation of food and other domestic tasks was perpetuated by gender hierarchies enshrined in Christianity.

Girls - both white and Aboriginal - were also deemed to need various forms of protection. 'Sex made a difference: girls were held to need protection for longer'.¹⁰⁹ Child prostitution was deeply abhorred by philanthropists and missionaries. W. T. Stead's "Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon" exposé in Britain resulted in an increase in the age of consent, to sixteen, in 1885. In the Australian colonies there was a similar anxiety over

¹⁰⁷ Mahood, *Policing Gender*, p. 90.

¹⁰⁸ Read, 'Freedom and Control', p. 56. Deborah Gaitskell has made a similar argument about missionaries in Johannesburg for the later period. See 'Housewives, Maids or Mothers: Some Contradictions of Domesticity for Christian Women in Johannesburg, 1903-39', *The Journal of African History*, 24 (1983), pp. 241-56.

¹⁰⁹ Davin, *Growing up Poor*, p. 4.

child prostitution, resulting in a 'prurient interest' in girls' sexuality'.¹¹⁰ Girls were held to be at a greater risk of depravity and immorality than boys, as a prominent journalist from Melbourne explained: 'a boy or youth may be reclaimed, but a girl once lost is, as a rule, depraved for ever.'¹¹¹ In Birmingham, J. T. Middlemore expressed similar fears: 'girls of the criminal class fall earlier and sink deeper into crime than Boys, and their redemption is far more difficult and uncertain'.¹¹² In 1887 the Birmingham Ladies' Association for the Care and Protection of Young Girls was founded, which advocated chastity and purity among girls and young women.¹¹³

In NSW similar concerns were raised by missionaries about the threats of immorality to Aboriginal girls, which were specifically framed within broader concerns about the sexual threat of white male settlers. Although Aboriginal girls at Maloga were prepared for employment in domestic service, Daniel Matthews was reluctant to send them into the homes of white settlers. He stated 'every girl and woman who has entered the mission has been victimized and degraded by white people, either in camps or while engaged in service'.¹¹⁴ As a result, Matthews' aims for Aboriginal girls were contradictory; on one hand he wished the girls to be self-sufficient by gaining employment as domestic servants, but was reluctant to let them leave the mission because of the sexual threat posed by some white men.

¹¹⁰ Summers, *Damned Whores*; Kociumbas, *Australian Childhood*, p. 81. Lynette Finch maintains Victorian social theorists argued that once a girl had 'experienced sexual gratification she would be insatiable'. See *The Classing Gaze*, p. 45.

¹¹¹ Cannon, *The Vagabond Papers*, p. 58.

¹¹² *Third Report of the Children's Emigration Homes, with a list of subscribers* (Birmingham: Corns, Rylett and Mee, 1876), p. 2.

¹¹³ For more information on prostitution in Birmingham see Bartley, 'Preventing Prostitution'.

¹¹⁴ *Tenth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 39.

The education and training of white boys in philanthropic institutions posed a different set of challenges. The homes for boys existed as a place of transition between boyhood and manhood, ‘where a boy is introduced into the world, helped in his choice of a career, guided in his work and in his play’.¹¹⁵ Overwhelmingly, the focus was on training for employment, according to middle-class discourses of masculinity: boys ‘must be trained to stand on their own feet as a necessary foundation for manly “independence”’.¹¹⁶ Waged, skilled labour was deemed crucial to this independence: ‘it became a vital source of identity for him, in terms of the trade itself, the duties and obligations attached to it and in terms of gender’.¹¹⁷ Indeed, such skilled work was critical to one of the fundamental responsibilities of masculinity: the ‘support of dependents in the home’.¹¹⁸ In Birmingham, *skilled* labour was perceived by philanthropists to be crucial, and two of the charities explored in the town were working boys’ homes. This emphasis on teaching boys skilled trades is a point of difference between charities for boys in Birmingham and Sydney. As the Catholic St. Vincent’s Home for Working Boys stated, ‘Birmingham, with its many and varied trades, is a suitable centre for an Institution of this kind’.¹¹⁹ The perpetuation of an artisan class was integral to maintaining the spirit of co-operation between masters and men in the town.

¹¹⁵ Birmingham Archdiocesan Archives, 594822: History of St. Vincent’s Home for Working Boys, 1901-1948 by Mr. A. T. Flynn, Superintendent.

¹¹⁶ Tosh, *A Man’s Place*, p. 4.

¹¹⁷ Keith McClelland, ‘Masculinity and the “Representative Artisan” in Britain, 1850-80’, in Roper and Tosh eds, *Manful Assertions*, p. 81.

¹¹⁸ Michael Roper and John Tosh, ‘Introduction: Historians and the Politics of Masculinity’ in Roper and Tosh eds, *Manful Assertions*, pp. 11-2.

¹¹⁹ *St. Vincent’s Home for Working Boys, Annual Report, July 1st 1913 to June 30th 1914* (Birmingham: The Midland Counties Herald Limited, 1914), p. 2.

Illustration Nine: ‘with help, the result’.¹²⁰



Many boys in Sydney were boarded-out to respectable working-class families in predominantly rural areas, where more manual - predominantly farming - skills were taught. Of course, many industrial schools and reformatories existed in Sydney, and the Vernon Training Ship combined ‘militaristic discipline’ with an education in nautical skills.¹²¹ Nevertheless all forms of work, whether rural/manual or skilled, were championed by philanthropists as a means of instilling habits of regularity, obedience and discipline. Like the girls, boys in philanthropic institutions were occupied for the majority of the day, even outside of working hours. At the Working Boys’ Home (Birmingham), outside of working hours the boys were expected to chop wood.¹²² For the Sydney charities, perhaps because of the climate and the abundance of space, more emphasis was on chores outside. At both the Waitara Foundling Home (Sydney) and the Dalmar

¹²⁰ *Third Annual Report of the Birmingham Home for Destitute and Working Boys, for the year ending 31st December 1882* (Birmingham: A. Goldstein, 1883).

¹²¹ Kociumbas, *Australian Childhood*, p. 80. The Vernon Training Ship was a government reformatory. The boys were housed on board the ship, which was moored in and around Sydney harbour. The boys were educated and taught more practical forms of nautical training.

¹²² Working Boys’ Home, MS 3375/511/1: meeting 26 October 1893.

Children's Home (Sydney) the boys were expected to assist in the garden after school hours.¹²³ Likewise, Aboriginal boys at the Maloga mission were expected to assist the men with their work after school hours.

The benefits of routine

Common to the experiences of all children cared for by philanthropic societies and missions was the ordering of time, and specifically the use of timetables. For boys and girls - young and older, Aboriginal and white - schooling, work or domestic chores were assigned, and even leisure time involved organised activities, usually supervised.

Timetables were used to dictate children's activities at all times. For instance, the timetable for the St. Vincent's Home for Working Boys (Birmingham) read:

The Boys rise at 5 am, have morning prayers immediately, then wash and dress; after that Breakfast. Most of the Boys have gone to work by 7:30, taking their lunches with them. As soon as the Boys have gone the scouring and cleaning of the house begins and goes on all day. This is done partly by the servant, partly by Boys who are not at work or who have just come to the Home. At 5:30 the Boys begin to return. Dinner, at which all the Boys are present is at 7:30. After Dinner the Boys play Games, Bagatelle, Ping Pong, Draughts etc, or read. Prayers are at 9 o'clock then bed.¹²⁴

At the Maloga mission, the day began at 7:30am with prayers, and school began after breakfast at 9:30am.¹²⁵

As J. T. Middlemore explained, timetables served a specific function. In 1896 he wrote: 'in order to carry on our Institution in a *methodical* and *orderly* manner it is desirable that every minute of the day should be mapped out. At present we have no time-

¹²³ *The Central Mission Children's Home: Nineteenth Annual Report, 1911-1912 "Dalmar", Parramatta Road, Croydon* (Sydney: Pepperday & Co., 1912), pp. 5-7; *Annual Report of the Waitara Foundling Home, 1910*, p. 4.

¹²⁴ Birmingham Archdiocesan Archives, Father Hudson Papers, Typescript of the Report on the St. Vincent's Home for Working Boys for year ending November 30th 1902, pp. 7-8.

¹²⁵ For the full timetable at Maloga see Janet Matthews quoted in *The Sydney Presbyterian*, 16 July 1881.

table and in consequence no system and *very little order*'.¹²⁶ As a result, timetables were created for the use of matrons in both the Boys' and Girls' Emigration Homes (Birmingham). To paraphrase M. J. D. Roberts, the facets of an industrial society such as work, regularity, and rational recreation have encompassed an inherently restrictive element in order to achieve moral reform.¹²⁷ Indeed, for philanthropists the themes of order, discipline and obedience were important ways of effecting change among the boys and girls, a crucial part of their civilisation and ultimately rendering them good future citizens. For missionaries, timetables held an extra layer of significance, because the introduction of the Christian calendar itself was a part of the broader process of civilising and converting. Moreover, the 'spatialisation' of time during this era by anthropologists resulted in the idea that 'relations between the West and its Other... were conceived not only as difference, but as distance in space *and* time'.¹²⁸

As part of their concern to regulate and organise time for white and Aboriginal children, philanthropists and missionaries often organised what they deemed to be appropriate and educational leisure activities. Sports were organised by the Working Boys' Home (Birmingham), for instance during the Christmas holidays of 1894 there were 'social games in the Large Hall' each evening.¹²⁹ Sports were used to teach boys in particular notions of 'fellowship'.¹³⁰ For white girls, philanthropists often organised outings to parks or gardens. For instance, in the summer of 1873 the girls from Crowley Orphanage

¹²⁶ Middlemore Emigration Homes, MS 517/1: meeting 26 March 1896, emphasis added.

¹²⁷ Roberts, *Making English Morals*, p. 4.

¹²⁸ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 147. See also Nanni, 'The Colonization of Time'.

¹²⁹ Working Boys' Home, MS 3375/511/2: meeting 10 January 1895.

¹³⁰ Parry, 'Such A Longing', p. 203.

(Birmingham) were taken to Sutton Park.¹³¹ The committee members of the Female School of Industry (Sydney) often invited the girls to their own houses: ‘Mrs. Henry Moore kindly gave the School girls a treat in her gardens at Barnecluth, where they had tea and cakes’.¹³² As a result, ‘many of the adult-sponsored children’s leisure activities... were provided in the nineteenth-century tradition of making working-class recreation, which was seen as wild and disordered, more “rational”’.¹³³ Examples of rational recreation are evident in excursions organised by the Working Boys’ Home (Birmingham). Mr Butter, superintendent of the Home, ‘took 18 boys to the Missionary Exhibition at Bingley Hall on Tuesday night where they found plenty to interest and amuse them’.¹³⁴ At the missionary exhibition it is likely that the boys would have been taught about their Britishness and attendant responsibilities to civilise others. Moreover, the boys at the Working Boys’ Home (Birmingham) were encouraged to finance their recreational activities themselves: ‘the boys are looking forward to their week’s outing at the seaside. They have already subscribed about 30/- towards the expenses’.¹³⁵

Missionaries placed a similar value on educative leisure time. In 1879 Daniel Matthews took a group of twenty Aboriginal children to visit the juvenile Industrial Exhibition at Ballarat. Treats sent to Aboriginal children by subscribers also had an explicitly civilising function. Books and clothing were regularly received, described by Matthews as ‘useful presents’.¹³⁶ However, it is also important to stress that some leisure

¹³¹ Crowley Orphanage, MS 517/142: meeting 25 July 1873.

¹³² *Report of the Committee of the Female School of Industry, From Oct 1876 to Oct 1877* (Sydney: Joseph Cook & Co., 1877), p. 11.

¹³³ Hendrick, *Children*, p. 81.

¹³⁴ Working Boys’ Home, MS 3375/511/2, meeting 5 November 1896.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, meeting 29 July 1896.

¹³⁶ *Third Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 25.

activities for both white and Aboriginal children did not have an overtly rational or civilising aspect. For instance, on one occasion the boys at the Working Boys' Home (Birmingham) were treated to a magic lantern display, and fifty children residing at the Benevolent Society's asylum (Sydney) were given passes to the circus in 1903.¹³⁷ Daniel Matthews frequently organised picnics for the Aboriginal boys and girls, stating that on one such occasion 'our young people gave themselves up to amusement'.¹³⁸ The sentimentalising discourse of childhood held that working-class children, like their middle-class counterparts, could also be occasionally indulged and entertained.

Good conduct: prizes and awards

Missionaries and philanthropists were keen to reward Aboriginal and white children for good behaviour. Prizes were frequently awarded for good conduct or performance in exams or other activities. The Working Boys' Home (Birmingham) adopted a system of good conduct stripes, which were awarded for a range of activities and behaviour, including cleanliness and praise from their employers. Stripes were also revoked for bad behaviour. Good conduct stripes had an impact upon leisure time, for instance when a committee member of the Working Boys' Home donated a tricycle to the boys in 1895, the committee resolved that 'only boys of Good Conduct are allowed the use of it'.¹³⁹ The distribution of prizes for performance in practical examinations or school work was common. The Female School of Industry (Sydney) distributed an annual award for good conduct, in addition to a range of prizes for needlework, proficiency at domestic chores as

¹³⁷ Working Boys' Home, MS 3375/511/2 meeting 14 March 1894; Mitchell Library, Benevolent Society, A723: minutes of the house committee, meeting 5 May 1903.

¹³⁸ *Third Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 17.

¹³⁹ Working Boys' Home, MS 3375/511/2, meeting 11 October 1895.

well as reading, writing and arithmetic.¹⁴⁰ Similarly, at the Maloga Mission, the school teacher, Mr. James, distributed a number of prizes to Aboriginal boys and girls ‘who had been most attentive and proficient in school’.¹⁴¹

Whilst Aboriginal children were being moulded into useful members of the community, philanthropists sought to make white children good future citizens by teaching them about their civic responsibilities. For both men and women, engagement in philanthropy was represented as a duty to society. Indeed, ‘the language of “duty”... was central to the social vocabulary of the late- nineteenth century’.¹⁴² During the second half of the century citizenship became ‘a practice concerned with obligations’, as well as rights.¹⁴³ In this section I suggest that philanthropists in Birmingham and Sydney strove to mould girls and boys into good citizens by instilling in them a duty to assist others. Although the responsibilities of citizenship were beginning to be taught in the classroom, charities also played their part.¹⁴⁴ Philanthropic aims were often framed within the language of citizenship. For instance, the St. Vincent’s Home for Working Boys (Birmingham) stated that boys were ‘taught the *responsibilities* of Citizenship’.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, at the Dalmar Children’s Home (Sydney) the committee proclaimed that the children were ‘growing up to be good and worthy citizens’.¹⁴⁶ The committee of the

¹⁴⁰ *Report of the Committee of the Female School of Industry, from October 1862, to October 1863*, pp. 8-9.

¹⁴¹ *Ninth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 28.

¹⁴² Lewis, *Women and Social Action*, p. 11.

¹⁴³ McClelland and Rose ‘Citizenship and Empire’, p. 276.

¹⁴⁴ For citizenship and schooling in England see Heathorn, *For Home* and Anderson, ‘Victorian High Society’. For NSW see Clark, *A History of Australia*, vol. 5, pp. 267-71.

¹⁴⁵ St. Vincent’s Home for Working Boys, 594822: History of St. Vincent’s Home.

¹⁴⁶ *The Central Mission Children’s Home: Twentieth Annual Report, 1912-1913 “Dalmar”, Parramatta Road, Croydon* (Sydney: Pepperday and Co., 1913), p. 5.

Infants' Home (Sydney) added that they gave the children a 'good moral up-bringing, which will fit them to take their part hereafter as good citizens'.¹⁴⁷

In this era, 'active civic participation' was regarded as crucial to the responsibilities of citizenship.¹⁴⁸ In both Birmingham and NSW philanthropists strove to teach white children - who were themselves the recipients of philanthropy - to *engage* in philanthropic activities.¹⁴⁹ These sentiments were particularly evident in Birmingham where philanthropy and other forms of voluntarism were particularly strong. At the Working Boys' Home, on Christmas morning in 1897, the boys helped to feed 'waifs and strays' at the Church of the Messiah.¹⁵⁰ On another occasion the boys were 'marched' to the Villa Grounds to collect for the Lifeboat Saturday fund.¹⁵¹ Also common was the expectation that the child recipients would repay the charity - in some cases literally - when they reached adulthood. J. T. Middlemore noted that 'the children, as they grow up, are becoming our supporters, and it is they eventually who will continue our work in Canada'.¹⁵² Middlemore frequently sent impassioned letters to his former child emigrants in Canada to appeal for assistance. One such letter read:

We can feed, clothe and educate a child in Birmingham, bring it to Canada and settle it in a good home here for SEVENTY-FIVE DOLLARS. Seventy-five dollars *have been spent on you* and on SIX HUNDRED AND FORTY on other children whom I have brought to Canada. Why should not the older boys and girls in Canada pay the expenses of one or two children every year?¹⁵³

¹⁴⁷ *Fourth Annual Report of the Infant's Home Late Sydney Foundling Hospital for the year ending 30th June 1878* (Sydney: Robert Bone, 1878), p. 8.

¹⁴⁸ Rodrick, *Self-Help*, p. xiii.

¹⁴⁹ Judith Godden argues that the 'the young increasingly became philanthropists themselves'. See 'Philanthropy', p. 286.

¹⁵⁰ Working Boys' Home, MS 3375/511/3: meeting 20 January 1898.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, meeting 8 November 1898.

¹⁵² *Fourth Report of the Children's Emigration Homes*, p. 8.

¹⁵³ Birmingham City Archive, Middlemore Emigration Homes, MS 517/93: newspaper cuttings 1872-1929, letter from J. T. Middlemore to "My Dear Boys and Girls" dated June 1882, emphasis added.

In addition to their attempts to civilise and convert Aboriginal peoples, Daniel and Janet Matthews also strove to prepare white children for citizenship.¹⁵⁴ Each Maloga mission report began with ‘An Address to the Young of Australia’, directed at white Sunday School children. On his travels to Sydney, Melbourne and England, Daniel Matthews regularly gave talks to Sunday Schools and children’s charities about his work at Maloga. For instance in 1889-90 on a tour of England he visited countless Sunday Schools and children’s charities to speak about his missionary work. Such meetings were well attended; missionary stories were popular among children in Britain: ‘children often travelled for miles to hear an address delivered by a missionary back from Africa or India’.¹⁵⁵ These talks served to re-enforce children’s national identity by reminding them of their responsibilities - as an imperial race - towards peoples of colour. They reminded pauper children that despite their location at the bottom of the class hierarchy in Britain, as *white* children they ‘could feel in some sense “superior” to the forever child-like black native’.¹⁵⁶

Most of Daniel Matthews’ efforts were directed at white children in NSW and Victoria, educating them about their duties as future colonial citizens. For Matthews, taking responsibility for the welfare of Aboriginal peoples was central to colonial citizenship. During a visit to Sydney in June and July of 1881, he visited twenty-five Sunday Schools, speaking to approximately 8,000 children.¹⁵⁷ Daniel and Janet Matthews believed that it was important to ‘encourage this missionary spirit among the young’, and

¹⁵⁴ In *Congregational Missions*, Thorne considers the relationship between domestic and imperial missions. See chapters 4 and 5 which explore missionary philanthropy directed towards children, and the involvement of children in missionary philanthropy.

¹⁵⁵ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, p. 88.

¹⁵⁶ Heathorn, *For Home*, p. 123.

¹⁵⁷ *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 7 July 1881.

they established a sponsorship system whereby Sunday School children could support an Aboriginal child at the mission. This was designed to encourage ‘reciprocal affection’ between Aboriginal and white children.¹⁵⁸ They appealed to Sunday School children by using emotive language: ‘do you ever sit down quietly, and for a few moments think of the rich blessings God is constantly giving you, and consider how favorable your lot in life is, compared with those who live in heathen lands?’¹⁵⁹ In her ‘Address to the Young of Australia’, Janet Matthews reminded Sunday School children: ‘by your prayers, and sympathy, and acts of self denial, you may help us’.¹⁶⁰

In addition to instilling a sense of colonial citizenship in white children, the Matthews were also concerned with converting white children. Janet Matthews wrote: ‘I hope that some of you who did not believe in the Lord Jesus when I last wrote have since become children of God. *How dreadful would it be for you to be shut out of heaven when many of the Blacks have entered in*’.¹⁶¹ Converting white children was linked to cultivating their whiteness. As Richard Dyer has noted, Christianity itself is not white but nonetheless perpetuates a ‘white ideal’, which is often exemplified by the ‘whitening of the image of Christ and the Virgin in painting’.¹⁶² Emma Rainey, who assisted the Matthews at Maloga, reflected on the links between whiteness and Christianity:

¹⁵⁸ *Eleventh Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 18; *Fourth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, pp. 18-9.

¹⁵⁹ Daniel Matthews, ‘An Address to the Young of Australia’, in *Eighth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, preface.

¹⁶⁰ Janet Matthews, ‘An Address to the Young of Australia’, in *Fifth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, preface, emphasis added.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Dyer, *White*, p. 17.

Are there some little children who read this who have not yet given their hearts to the Lord Jesus? Do not put off any longer, dear young friends, *for though your skin is white, your hearts by nature are black, and you cannot enter Heaven unless you have your black hearts made white in Jesus' precious blood.*¹⁶³

Since the sixteenth century blackness had come to be associated with 'evil, sin and treachery, ugliness, filth and degradation'.¹⁶⁴ For the Matthews and Rainey, whiteness - bound up with Christianity and citizenship - meant assuming responsibility for Aboriginal peoples. By the same token, white children were not truly white until they believed in God. Until this time, despite the whiteness of their skin, their hearts would remain perpetually black.

3. The Backlash Against Barrack Homes for White Children

The importance of home and the rural idyll

For most of the nineteenth century, the prevalent model of care for pauper white children in both Britain and NSW was institutionalisation, either in the workhouse in Britain, or in similar colonial government-sponsored institutions, such as the Benevolent Asylum. However, during the 1870s, there was growing condemnation of the barrack system of childcare. Workhouses were widely criticised because, it was argued, they encouraged pauperism. Alfred Hill, committee member of the Working Boys' Home (Birmingham) argued that 'a *pauper atmosphere*... pervades a workhouse'.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, the Rev. J. Jefferis maintained that the Randwick children's asylum in Sydney, which could house up to 400 children, was 'increasing rather than diminishing the pauperism of the

¹⁶³ *Twelfth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 2.

¹⁶⁴ Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, p. 131.

¹⁶⁵ Hill, 'Some Thoughts on Pauperism', p. 105.

colony'.¹⁶⁶ In Sydney, a large-scale riot at the Girls' Industrial School led to the widespread denunciation of barrack institutions in the 1873-4 Commission into Public Charities. 'Scandals, accounts of hard life and of even harder supervisors found ready circulation in the press' at this time.¹⁶⁷ Criticism of such institutions centered on the lack of a family environment and the notion that housing large numbers of children together simply manufactured criminals.

Concerns over the institutionalisation of children were framed within a growing contemporary preference for the home as the ideal environment in which to raise children. The importance of the home was 'advocated by all major faiths at this time in England.'¹⁶⁸ In the Australian colonies there was also a concerted effort by philanthropists to 'bring to their young charges the loving care of the home'.¹⁶⁹ The middle classes revered the home as a place where children 'learned the meaning of responsibility and mutual service, trust and affection in their relationships with family members'.¹⁷⁰ Crucially, barrack style homes were perceived to threaten the creation of good future citizens. Children from institutions 'are not, educate them as you will, exactly the most promising material for the making of the future citizens and rulers of the Empire'.¹⁷¹ Many of the charities were formed at the height of such concerns. Many used the term "home" to distinguish themselves from colonial asylums or the workhouse. For instance the Working Boys' *Home* (Birmingham, 1880), the Infants' *Home* (Sydney, 1874), the Dalmar Children's *Home* (Sydney, 1892), the

¹⁶⁶ Jefferis, 'Pauperism', p. 269.

¹⁶⁷ Dickey, *No Charity There*, p. 47.

¹⁶⁸ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p. 34.

¹⁶⁹ Shurlee Swain, 'Child Rescue: The Emigration of an Idea', in Lawrence and Starkey eds, *Child Welfare*, p. 106.

¹⁷⁰ Jane Lewis, 'Women, Social Work and Social Welfare in Twentieth Century Britain: from (unpaid) influence to (paid) oblivion?' in Dauntton ed., *Charity*, p. 209.

¹⁷¹ Booth, *In Darkest England*, pp. 65-6.

Middlemore Emigration *Homes* (Birmingham, 1872). At the Dalmar Home, the committee members were keen to stress the small size of the home, where children ‘are loved and cared for by their “Mother” and “Auntie” as our Matron and Sister are called by the children’.¹⁷² J. T. Middlemore argued that philanthropic establishments ‘should be real homes to the children, and not mere institutions’.¹⁷³

Institutions were also depicted as unhealthy. A greater awareness of the spread of disease in the second half of the nineteenth century meant that contemporaries were beginning to understand that some diseases were ‘terribly prevalent wherever large numbers of children are congregated’.¹⁷⁴ Doctors who attended philanthropic institutions began to advocate excursions as beneficial to children’s health. Such recommendations were bound up with the enduring belief that the centres of towns and cities were inherently unhealthy, corrupting and immoral. Indeed, ‘only the pure, ennobling life of the countryside could cleanse and purify’.¹⁷⁵ Charities began to introduce excursions to the country and regular outdoor walks into their timetables. At the Crowley Orphanage (Birmingham) in 1873, the ladies’ committee recommended that the matron should take the girls ‘all out together in the evening, once a week, during the Summer, and that once a month they should have a longer ramble’.¹⁷⁶ The boys at the Working Boys’ Home (Birmingham) had an annual holiday in the countryside, and the St. Vincent’s Home for Working Boys (Birmingham) held an annual camp. At the same time urban municipalities

¹⁷² *The Central Mission Children’s Home: Nineteenth Annual Report*, p. 5. The Home’s capacity was 32 children.

¹⁷³ *Gutter Children’s Homes First Report*, p. 9.

¹⁷⁴ Mitchell Library, Parkes Correspondence, A875: statement of origin of the Boarding-out Society, 1885.

¹⁷⁵ Bean and Melville, *Lost Children*, p. 38.

¹⁷⁶ Crowley Orphanage, MS 517/142: meeting 26 May 1873.

in Britain began to provide parks for urban men, women and children. Various parks in Birmingham were created in the 1860s and 1870s, including Small Heath and Highgate.

By virtue of their climate and location, the Sydney charities could more readily provide outdoor excursions and a semi-rural location for children. The city could expand to the west, south and north. Many of the charities were located some distance from the centre of the city. The Infants' Home was located at Ashfield to the east of the city, and the Dalmar Home was situated at Croydon, approximately 9 miles from the city centre. Overwhelmingly, the Sydney charities emphasised their locations as beneficial to the children and their health. The Female School of Industry described its premises at Darlington as 'well built and commodious; the situation pleasant and airy'.¹⁷⁷ By contrast, Birmingham's expansion was geographically much more limited. The city was hemmed in by nearby towns such as Wolverhampton, Leicester and Coventry. As such, the majority of the charities were situated within the town centre.¹⁷⁸

Two different policies: the child emigration movement and the boarding-out movement will now be explored, which both claimed to address contemporary concerns about the lack of family life for institutionalised children, as well as the belief in the rural idyll.

The child emigration movement: Birmingham

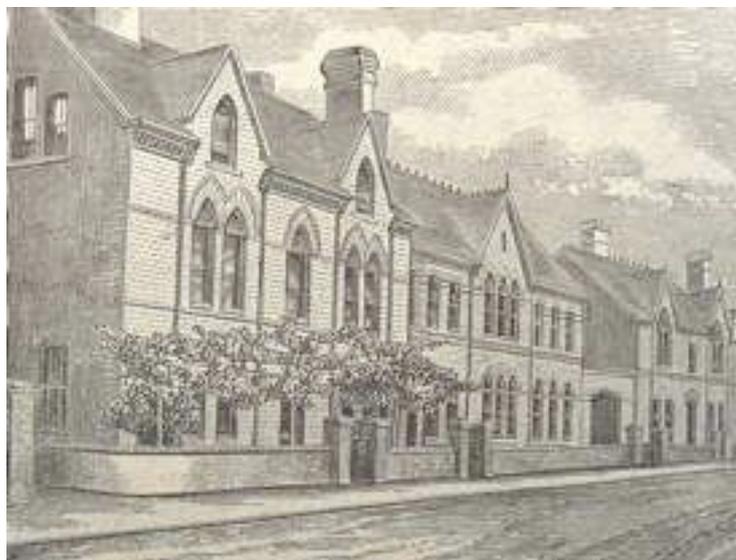
The child emigration movement in Britain began in 1618 when a group of pauper children sailed to the new colony of Virginia. From this date until 1967, approximately

¹⁷⁷ *Report of the Committee of the Female School of Industry from Oct 1871 to Oct 1872* (Sydney: Joseph Cook & Co., 1873), p. 9.

¹⁷⁸ For maps illustrating the locations of charities see Chapter Two: "Setting the Scene".

150,000 children were sent abroad, the majority to Canada and Australia.¹⁷⁹ The heyday of child emigration began in the late-1860s when Miss Rye and Miss Macpherson, both operating in London, took pauper children to the Canadian dominions in 1869 and 1870 respectively. The emigration movement gained momentum in the 1880s, when approximately 2,000 children per year were sent to Canada.¹⁸⁰ Philanthropists were not obliged to seek official permission before sending children abroad, although it is important to note that those wishing to emigrate workhouse children were required to seek the approval of the Secretary of State.¹⁸¹

Illustration Ten: Middlemore Emigration Homes, Birmingham.¹⁸²



In the 1870s and 1880s, many child emigration societies were established outside of London. Birmingham, already establishing itself as a site of reform for child education, established an emigration home in 1872. J. T. Middlemore framed his intentions to

¹⁷⁹ Bean and Melville, *Lost Children*, p. 1.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁸² *Children's Emigration Homes, Eighteenth Report, for the year 1890* (Birmingham, Martin Billing, Son & Co., 1891), preface.

emigrate pauper children within contemporary concerns about the immoral influence of urban spaces, coupled with the desirability of a rural upbringing for children. Through emigration, Middlemore argued that ‘these waifs and strays have been taken from a sin-sodden environment and placed amid wholesome surroundings’.¹⁸³ Middlemore stressed that all of the children were placed in homes in Canada. ‘The youngest’ he reported, ‘are adopted into Christian families, and the elder are placed in farm-houses, where they share the advantages of social life’.¹⁸⁴ Middlemore believed that emigration was the *only* means through which pauper children could become depauperised: ‘emigration is the only mode of permanently separating these children from their old associations’.¹⁸⁵ Initially, Middlemore had attempted to re-settle children in Birmingham. However, this scheme had the ‘most disastrous results... five got into prison immediately after; two of the five were taken up for larceny, one for manslaughter, and one for burglary’.¹⁸⁶ As such, he was resolutely convinced that emigration was preferable. ‘There is no child whom I have taken to Canada to whom emigration has not been a blessing’.¹⁸⁷

Children from Middlemore’s Emigration Homes, like many other emigrated children in this era, were sent to Canada. Canada was an obvious choice because it was a predominantly rural white settler colony, which was represented as a place where children could learn the value of good, honest labour in a healthy environment. Middlemore stressed the benefits of the ‘fresh air and freedom of Canadian farms’, in contrast to the

¹⁸³ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 4 May 1899.

¹⁸⁴ Middlemore Homes, MS 517/93: Christ Church, Streatham, Parish Magazine, March, 1875.

¹⁸⁵ *Gutter Children’s Homes First Report*, p. 4.

¹⁸⁶ *Birmingham Morning News*, 28 April 1875.

¹⁸⁷ *Third Report of the Children’s Emigration Homes*, p. 5.

‘degraded slums’ of Birmingham.¹⁸⁸ Canada, like the Australian colonies, was depicted as a home from home ‘which is one with England in language, laws, arts, religions’.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, Ontario in particular was keen to receive white Protestant children during the 1870s and 1880s, partly because of fears over the expansion of neighbouring Catholic Quebec.¹⁹⁰ Ultimately, however, Canadian farmers needed labour. As Gillian Wagner explains, ‘children played a very important role in the success or otherwise of a pioneering family’.¹⁹¹ Canadian demands for labour spoke powerfully to Malthusian concerns about overpopulation in Britain. It was not until after the First World War that large numbers of British children were sent to Australia. Until this date, the relatively high cost of passage was a deterrent to child emigration, and during the 1850s and 1860s philanthropists fretted over gold-fever as a potential moral disease for British children.¹⁹²

Children entered the Middlemore Homes for a variety of reasons. Most children did so because they were destitute. Perhaps one or both parent(s) had deserted the family, died or been placed in gaol. However, ‘the vast majority of child migrants were *not* orphans; they were far more likely to have been abandoned, illegitimate or from a broken home’.¹⁹³ At the Middlemore Homes in 1897, only 17 orphan children had been admitted over the course of the year, compared to 96 children admitted because one parent had died, and the

¹⁸⁸ *Children’s Emigration Homes, Twenty-eighth Report (for the year 1900) with List of Subscribers and Donors* (Birmingham: Martin Billing, Son & Co., 1901), p. 3.

¹⁸⁹ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 9 September 1875. Recently on a state visit to Canada in 2010, Queen Elizabeth II commented that Canada felt like a ‘home away from home’. See ‘Queen’s arrival in Canada dampened by heavy rain’, viewed at <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/10437025.stm>> on 28 June 2010.

¹⁹⁰ Bean and Melville, *Lost Children*, pp. 28-9. Early in the twentieth century a branch of the Catholic Emigration Association was established in Birmingham under the direction of Father Hudson. See Pinches, *Father Hudson*.

¹⁹¹ Wagner, *Children of the Empire*, p. 65.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁹³ Bean and Melville, *Lost Children*, p. 4.

remaining parent was unable to keep them.¹⁹⁴ The children remained in the Homes until their voyage to Canada. Often, Middlemore accompanied the children on the voyage and assisted with their settlement. His first emigration voyage in 1873 was carried out with very little planning. Middlemore later admitted that he ‘had not a single friend in Canada, and did not know what to do with my children when I arrived there’.¹⁹⁵ He initially selected the Canadian foster homes for each child, compelling the foster-parents/employers to sign contracts to ensure they would provide for the child’s welfare. Such contracts were not legally binding, and furthermore, because there was no formal inspection procedure ‘the children were entirely at the mercy of the family with whom they had been placed’.¹⁹⁶ This was not just a lack of insight on Middlemore’s part. In a government report of 1875, Maria Rye was heavily criticised for a lack of inspection procedures in her homes in Canada.¹⁹⁷ Possibly as a result of the concerns raised in this report, in 1875 Middlemore established a receiving home in Ontario, and established a local visiting committee to inspect the children on a regular basis.

In order to adopt or employ a child from the Middlemore Homes, Canadian men and women were obliged to present a letter of recommendation from a clergyman. However, occasionally there were not enough foster parents for the children. In 1878 Middlemore scoured the Ontario plains, seeking a home for one boy. He finally arrived at a farmer’s house and was willing to leave the boy there despite the patent lack of interest by the farmer’s wife. Middlemore wrote that the farmer was willing to take in the boy, but his wife ‘wished to throw the responsibility of this step on her husband. She said “I leave you

¹⁹⁴ *Children’s Emigration Homes, Twenty-fifth Report*, p. 4.

¹⁹⁵ Anon, *One Hundred Years of Child Care*, p. 6.

¹⁹⁶ Wagner, *Children of the Empire*, p. 73.

¹⁹⁷ For analysis of the Doyle report see Parker, *Uprooted*, pp. 49-53.

to decide; if you take the boy I will do my duty; if he does badly it won't be my fault".¹⁹⁸ Despite the hurried nature of this boy's settlement, and knowing little about the farmer and his wife, Middlemore stated that he 'gladly' left the boy with them.¹⁹⁹ Such insensitive attitudes to children's settlement meant that children were left at the mercy of their foster parents, and their experiences could differ vastly.

As part of their settlement agreements, children were supposed to write to the Homes in Birmingham four times per year. These letters were full of requests for information, particularly 'concerning the whereabouts of mothers (sometimes fathers), brothers, sisters or friends'.²⁰⁰ One of Middlemore's children pleaded 'please do try to bring my sister to Canada'; another wrote 'will you send me word on how my brother is?'.²⁰¹ Many letters displayed traces of homesickness and isolation: 'I feel a little lonesome'.²⁰² The letters rarely reveal any explicit complaints against foster families, but censorship of children's letters was common by many philanthropic societies. Thus, 'cleansed of criticism, their letters back to the institutions in England were proudly run in the magazines of the different societies'.²⁰³ If letters did not reveal unhappiness and cases of ill treatment or abuse, often neither did inspection. Middlemore confidently proclaimed that 'active illtreatment... is almost unknown'.²⁰⁴ However, abuse was easy to conceal and many

¹⁹⁸ *Fifth Report of the Children's Emigration Homes, Beatrice Crescent, St. Luke's Road, Birmingham, with List of Subscribers* (Birmingham: Corns and Lawson, 1878), pp. 7-8.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ Parker, *Uprooted*, p. 209.

²⁰¹ *Children's Emigration Homes Second Report*, p. 7; *Third Report of the Children's Emigration Homes*, p. 8.

²⁰² *Gutter Children's Homes First Report*, p. 8.

²⁰³ Bean and Melville, *Lost Children*, p. 47.

²⁰⁴ *Children's Emigration Homes, Twenty-eighth Report*, p. 5.

children ‘suffered in silence or ran away’.²⁰⁵ Undoubtedly many children were deeply psychologically affected by their experiences. Most children were informed of their impending emigration in brief talks, which made the whole process sound ‘like a nice day trip’.²⁰⁶ Middlemore was so convinced of the benefits of emigration that he was blind to its emotional impact. He wrote impassively that ‘I have known a girl, who was five years old when she left her mother, forget, when she was six, that she had a mother in England at all. There is everything in our mode... to obliterate the past from the minds of the children’.²⁰⁷

Illustration Eleven: Middlemore child with her Canadian foster parents.²⁰⁸



Middlemore’s Emigration Homes were very successful in terms of the support received from Birmingham men and women. However, Middlemore’s negative statements

²⁰⁵ Parker, *Uprooted*, p. 221.

²⁰⁶ Bean and Melville, *Lost Children*, p. 60.

²⁰⁷ *Sixth Report of the Children’s Emigration Homes with List of Subscribers* (Birmingham: Hall and English, 1879), p. 4.

²⁰⁸ *Children’s Emigration Homes, Eighteenth Report*, appendix.

about the fate of Birmingham's children if they remained in the town sat uneasily with the widespread civic pride present in this era. There were hints of discord at the Emigration Homes' AGM in 1899 when Middlemore defended himself against criticism from Joseph Chamberlain. Middlemore stated that Canadian foster parents who received Birmingham's children 'were patriotic, loved England, and greatly respected his [Chamberlain's] name'.²⁰⁹ In Canada too, politicians began to question the value of child emigration, believing that they were receiving the residuum of Britain's youth. In 1897 the Canadian government commissioned a report on child emigration, and as a result of its findings, the provinces of Ontario and Manitoba heavily restricted child emigration.²¹⁰ This had a significant impact on Middlemore's emigration activities and he was forced to relocate his receiving home to Halifax in Nova Scotia.

Throughout his life and despite criticism, Middlemore remained convinced of the benefits of emigration. He proudly published stories of success in the Homes' annual reports. One boy, now an adult, had 'married his employer's daughter: he owns his own house and four hundred and fifty acres besides'.²¹¹ Middlemore believed that virtually all of the children emigrated to Canada had benefitted from their experience, stating that most have 'from the very first done remarkably well'.²¹² Throughout the period, despite a growing unease, child emigration schemes were, for the most part, immensely popular among the public in Britain. Dr. Barnardo alone had 'an annual budget of over £46,000' for child emigration in 1885.²¹³

²⁰⁹ Middlemore Emigration Homes, MS 517/1: meeting 1 August 1899, report of Middlemore's speech at the Annual General Meeting, quoted from the *Birmingham Daily Post*, 2 June 1899.

²¹⁰ Bean and Melville, *Lost Children*, p. 75-6.

²¹¹ *Children's Emigration Homes, Twenty-eighth Report*, pp. 5-6.

²¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

²¹³ Behlmer, *Child Abuse*, p. 51.

The boarding-out movement in NSW

The boarding-out movement began in the 1830s in Scotland. Although many British and Irish poor law unions adopted the scheme, it was much more prevalent in the Australian colonies, and so the policy will be discussed with reference to NSW. The scheme was designed to remove destitute children from urban centers, who were then informally adopted into respectable working-class families, preferably in rural areas. Foster parents were paid 5s per week, an amount that proponents of the scheme argued covered extra costs incurred by the family, but prevented profit-making. On reaching their twelfth birthday the children were either apprenticed out to learn a trade, or remained with the family, receiving wages for labour performed. In 1881 the scheme was implemented as official policy by the NSW government, to be overseen by the newly created State Children's Relief Department (hereafter SCRD). Under this Act, all children housed in the Randwick and Benevolent Asylums were to be transferred to the boarding-out officer. There was a sex-imbalance in the scheme, and Naomi Parry estimates between 1.2 and 1.6 boys were boarded-out for each girl.²¹⁴ Similarly to the Birmingham children entering the Middlemore Emigration Homes, children were boarded-out in NSW for a range of reasons, although for most children, like their counterparts in Birmingham, the primary factor was 'the absence of at least one parent'.²¹⁵

This scheme, like child emigration, presented an alternative system to the much criticised barrack system. Proponents consistently emphasised two advantages of the scheme: children were raised in a family environment in a healthy, rural location. The Benevolent Society's Report for 1889 stated that such children had the benefit of *'family*

²¹⁴ Parry, 'Such A Longing', p. 125.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

life in various homes in *healthy* localities'.²¹⁶ Equally significant was cost. It was cheaper to pay foster parents to look after children than to maintain them in institutions. Henry Parkes cited cost as one of the benefits of the scheme.²¹⁷ The NSW government and supporters of the scheme argued that it would ultimately benefit society by fashioning pauper children into 'disciplined members of the working classes'.²¹⁸ Between 1881 and the First World War, 24,630 children were transferred to the boarding-out officer in NSW.²¹⁹ The movement became so popular in the Australian colonies that its success was heralded in Britain, and in Birmingham Middlemore claimed that his emigration scheme 'may be described as a system of boarding-out English children in Canada'.²²⁰

Supporters of boarding-out emphasised that homes for pauper children were carefully selected. As we have seen, there was a discernible anxiety in NSW society about the respectability and morality of the colony. As such, Dr. Renwick, head of the SCRD, stressed that the moral character of each home was carefully considered. He recalled that 27 applications for boarded-out children were refused 'on the ground of immorality in the homes, the disclosures in some cases being *shocking*'.²²¹ Plans were drawn up to periodically inspect the children, designed to detect instances of ill-treatment. A number of lady visitors visited the children up to 4 times annually. Moreover, each child was also

²¹⁶ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ended 31st December 1889* (Sydney: S. E. Lees, 1890).

²¹⁷ Parkes, A875: statement of origin of the Boarding-out Society.

²¹⁸ Dickey, *No Charity There*, p. 64.

²¹⁹ Parry, 'Such A Longing', p. 123.

²²⁰ *Children's Emigration Homes, Twenty-fifth Report*, p. 11.

²²¹ Dr. Renwick, 'Children of the State in New South Wales', in *Proceedings of the Second Australian Conference on Charity*, pp. 31-2, emphasis added.

visited bi-annually by the boarding-out officer or his assistants. However, as Naomi Parry argues, in practice children in remote locations were visited less frequently.²²²

If ill-treatment was discovered, the boarding-out officer could remove the child, or, in less serious cases, reduce the weekly 5s grant made to foster parents.²²³ However, children boarded-out in South Australia rarely reported cases of ill-treatment or abuse to inspectors. The inspection process itself could be a source of anxiety for many children: ‘one girl wrote of being “nervous and confused” when being questioned’.²²⁴ Ultimately, when children were removed from their foster homes, the foster parents and inspectors often blamed the children, who were depicted as ‘willful, forward, passionate, untruthful, sulky, stubborn, disobedient, prone to tantrums or absconding’.²²⁵ Like emigration, although perhaps not quite to the same extent, the process of boarding-out could be traumatic to children, and often resulted in severance from family members and friends. Like Middlemore, Arthur Renwick, president of the Benevolent Society, ‘thought it was “for the best” to sever a child’s relationship with its natural parents, and let the child believe its guardian was its parent’.²²⁶

The 1881 State Children Relief Act had profound consequences for many of the city’s charities. The Benevolent Society of NSW was most affected, because it was one of the largest institutions in NSW, admitting approximately 300 to 350 children per year in the 1880s. The only other large institution for children in the colony was the Randwick Asylum. Until 1881, the Benevolent Asylum served as the first port of call for destitute

²²² Parry, ‘Such A Longing’, p. 128.

²²³ Ramsland, ‘The Development of Boarding-out Systems’, p. 195.

²²⁴ Barbalet, *Far From a Low Gutter Girl*, p. 209.

²²⁵ Parry, ‘Such A Longing’, pp. 128-9.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

children; most children remained there for a short time before being transferred to other institutions. The majority of children were sent to the Randwick Asylum, although some children were sent to other institutions such as the Protestant Orphan School. The Benevolent Society embraced the boarding-out movement, not least because its president, Dr. Renwick, was also head of the SCRD. Instead of transferring the majority of the children to Randwick, the Benevolent Society now transferred them to the boarding-out officer. This change in policy was effected on a large scale in a relatively short period of time. In 1881, 36 children were transferred to the boarding-out officer, and 127 were sent to Randwick.²²⁷ Four years later there was a complete reversal: only 16 children were sent to Randwick, compared to 199 children boarded-out.²²⁸ From 1883, the Infants' Home began to board-out foundling and other destitute children once they had reached the age of 4. Likewise, the Waitara Foundling Home boarded-out some of the older boys.²²⁹

Despite changes in the way destitute white children were cared for in Birmingham and Sydney during the 1870s, many barrack-style homes remained throughout the nineteenth century in Britain. Similarly, despite dwindling numbers, the Randwick Asylum in Sydney continued to function until 1915.²³⁰ Children deemed bad, mad or simply incorrigible were frequently housed in institutions.²³¹ The labeling of some children as 'defective, physically debilitated or uncontrollably delinquent provided the rationale for the continuation of some form of institutionalisation'.²³² Nonetheless, during the 1870s there had been a clear move away from the policy of institutionalisation for the majority of

²²⁷ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ending 31st December 1881.*

²²⁸ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ending 31st December 1885.*

²²⁹ *Annual Report of the Waitara Foundling Home, 1911* (Sydney: John Andrew & Co., 1912), pp. 9-10.

²³⁰ Ramsland, *Children of the Back Lanes*, p. 189.

²³¹ Kociumbas, *Australian Childhood*, pp. 106-7.

²³² Garton, 'Sir Charles Mackellar', p. 33.

white children. Aboriginal children, however were conceived of differently, and they were deemed to require *increasing* institutionalisation. This was provided either on missions, or government reserves by the end of the century. For a moment in the 1880s it seemed as if there might have been equivalent treatment for white and Aboriginal children. In 1882 the Aborigines Protection Association (APA), comprised of philanthropists, missionaries and other prominent NSW men, discussed the possibility of boarding-out Aboriginal children. However, the successor to the APA, the Aborigines Protection Board (APB), a government department, decided that boarding-out Aboriginal children was unworkable. The Board ‘did not think *respectable* Aboriginal guardians existed, and doubted whether any white families would be prepared to take in Aboriginal children’.²³³

Thus institutionalisation became the norm for many Aboriginal children, at the same time as philanthropists were criticising the same system for white children. This discrepancy re-enforced the different outcomes expected for white and Aboriginal children. ‘Aboriginal children were not being groomed for citizenship but were being trained to become docile, semi-enslaved and disenfranchised domestic and rural workers... institutionalisation fitted these goals’.²³⁴ In contrast, white children were removed into small homes under the care of white foster parents or philanthropists, who aimed to teach them to be good white (colonial) *citizens*. A differentiated philanthropy existed for white and Aboriginal women in NSW; a similar argument can be made about the provision of philanthropy for Aboriginal and white children, framed within contemporary beliefs about perceived inherent racial difference. Philanthropic policies for white children aimed to augment and teach the responsibilities associated with whiteness and citizenship to pauper

²³³ Parry, ‘Such A Longing’, p. 159, emphasis added.

²³⁴ Haebich, *Broken Circles*, p. 155.

children. In contrast, institutionalisation on government reserves and missions was designed to *remove* the Aboriginality from Aboriginal children.

4. Legislation and Reduction in Parental Authority

For years, missionaries had represented Aboriginal communities as potential sites of neglect and danger for Aboriginal children who, they believed, were capable of civilisation and conversion. During the final decades of the nineteenth century, some philanthropists and other contemporaries began to question the ability of some white parents to care for their children adequately. During the 1880s legislation was enacted in both Britain and NSW which began to undermine parental rights. Such legislation re-configured the relationship between children, their parents, philanthropists and the state. Linda Mahood has argued that during the second half of the nineteenth century there was a transition from a private patriarchy to a ‘public patriarchy’ in which a father’s rights were replaced ‘with a more general state control of the rights of dependents, in other words, the rights of women and children’.²³⁵ There is evidence of a similar transition in NSW. In this period the state was becoming ‘the “natural guardian” of innocent children, rescuing them from exploitation in the workplace and “from the consequences of parental neglect”’.²³⁶ In Britain, the 1889 Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act stipulated that NSPCC officials could remove children from homes considered to be neglectful or cruel, and such children could be transferred to philanthropic institutions. Similar legislation was passed in NSW in 1892 under the Children’s Protection Act, whereby magistrates were given powers to

²³⁵ Mahood, *Policing Gender*, p. 10.

²³⁶ Kociumbas, *Australian Childhood*, p. 119.

commit children to philanthropic institutions, and parents could be held accountable for cruelty or neglect.

The 1889 Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act in Britain had significant implications for the ways in which charities in Birmingham operated, but in general, legislation enacted in this era facilitated and supported the work carried out by philanthropists. For instance the Middlemore Emigration Homes were designated a place of safety under the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act. This meant that NSPCC officers could remove children to the Emigration Homes. Thus, whilst at the beginning of the period many children were referred to charities by clergy or philanthropists themselves, there was a shift towards referrals by larger agencies such as the NSPCC as well as magistrates and police by the end of the century. In 1898, 86 children out of a total of 184 admitted over the course of the year had been referred by the NSPCC.²³⁷ Thus, legislation in Britain increased the work of philanthropists. The Middlemore Emigration Homes frequently turned away boys recommended by the NSPCC, police, or magistrates due to lack of room: ‘we have had several boys sent here by the magistrates and a many [sic] applied for admission, but have had to send them away, having no accommodation’.²³⁸

In contrast, legislation in NSW - particularly the 1881 State Children Relief Act - *reduced* the power of many charities. This act rendered the NSW government responsible for all destitute children in the state, including those cared for in philanthropic institutions. The government began to assert its authority over charities such as the Infants’ Home. The Home was now obliged to accept children recommended by the government, which

²³⁷ *Children’s Emigration Homes, Twenty-fifth Report*, p. 4.

²³⁸ Working Boys’ Home, MS 3375/511/2: meeting 29 July 1896.

undermined their established strict admittance procedures.²³⁹ Therefore, there is evidence of an earlier and greater government responsibility for children in NSW, alongside a corresponding government interference in philanthropic practices. As we have seen, there was an earlier and deeper transition towards collectivism in NSW than in Britain, as a result of the origins of the colony. The tradition of voluntarism in Britain meant that the government was less willing to diminish the work of philanthropists. This tradition was lacking in NSW and, as such, charities had limited bargaining power with the government.

Legislation such as the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act (Britain, 1889) and the Children's Protection Act (NSW, 1892) limited the absolute rights of parents over their children. Central to this legislation was the emerging belief that some parents - particularly working-class parents - were not fit to care for their children. M. J. D. Roberts argues that the formation of the NSPCC itself was framed within a realisation that not all family environments were beneficial to children.²⁴⁰ Indeed, 'reformers described the urban dwellings of the poor as intrinsically undomestic and therefore unsuitable for nurturing individual subjectivity and civic identity in children'.²⁴¹ Mr. Butter, an employee at the Working Boys' Home (Birmingham) often made judgements about the parents of the children who entered the Home: 'Enoch ____ age 11 sent in by Police, no Father. Mother living but of ill fame and not fit to have charge of her son'.²⁴² The *Birmingham Daily Mail* stated that J. T. Middlemore had little sympathy with the parents of the children cared for in his Emigration Homes. 'He finds that although the parents have lost all *proper natural*

²³⁹ "State children" was a contemporary term used to describe destitute, orphaned, neglected or ill-treated children in NSW. Infants' Home, ML MSS 2983/6: meeting 12 October 1886, emphasis added.

²⁴⁰ Roberts, *Making English Morals*, p. 259.

²⁴¹ Lydia D. Murdoch 'From Barrack Schools to Family Cottages: Creating Domestic Space for Late Victorian Poor Children', in Lawrence and Starkey eds, *Child Welfare*, pp. 148-9.

²⁴² Working Boys' Home, MS 3375/511/2: meeting 29 July 1896.

affection for their offspring, they regard them as a *source of profit*, by their selling newspapers, cigar lights, or race-cards, begging, or pilfering'.²⁴³

Some of the Sydney charities, such as the Dalmar Children's Home, held a similarly negative view of some of the parents of the children in its Home:

These little ones, who are found in most cases scantily clothed, lying on a few rags on the floor of some foul room; their days being spent, if old enough, in earning a few pence, or in carrying drink from the nearest public house to those whose duty it is to care for them.²⁴⁴

The Home justified its very existence by citing the neglect of parents: 'if parents realised their own responsibilities, there would be no need, unless in case of illness, to apply for help'.²⁴⁵ J. T. Middlemore supported intervention in working-class family life, stating that 'it has been said that the Homes interfere with parental responsibility. Let it not be forgotten that whenever a man sees suffering and crime he has a responsibility of his own, and that he has *no right* to fold his arms amid those who are so perishing'.²⁴⁶

Changes in legislation increased the power of philanthropists in terms of their interactions with the parents of children housed in their institutions. From the beginning of the period, philanthropists commonly restricted parents' access to - and influence over - their own children. For instance when girls were admitted to the Female School of Industry (Sydney) their parents were required to sign a bond to the value of £5 that they 'will not interfere with the child, or attempt to remove her from the charge of the Committee until the age of eighteen years'.²⁴⁷ In addition, parents or relatives were permitted to visit the

²⁴³ *Birmingham Daily Mail*, 26 July 1875, emphasis added.

²⁴⁴ *Ninth Annual Report: The Central Mission Children's Home, "Dalmar"*, p. 3.

²⁴⁵ *The Central Mission Children's Home: Twentieth Annual Report, 1912-1913 "Dalmar"*, p. 7.

²⁴⁶ *Third Report of the Children's Emigration Homes*, p. 8.

²⁴⁷ *Report of the Committee of the Female School of Industry, from October 1862, to October 1863*, preface, rule number 7.

child once a month, and even then, the visit was usually conducted in the presence of the matron.²⁴⁸ At the Crowley Orphanage (Birmingham) the aunt of one of the girls in the orphanage objected to a placement obtained for her niece as a domestic servant because it was ‘at a distance from Birmingham’.²⁴⁹ The ladies’ committee disagreed with the aunt’s objection, and resolved that in future ‘with *them* should rest the responsibility of finding suitable situations... and not with their surviving relatives, as it is obvious that *their* choice might, in many cases, be most unsuitable’.²⁵⁰ Roy Parker reminds us that the language used to describe many of the children in institutions as orphans, waifs and strays meant that living parents could be ‘ignored when key decisions about their offspring were being taken’.²⁵¹

Nevertheless, many parents attempted to reclaim their children who had been admitted to institutions. However, philanthropists had invested in themselves the authority to release children to their parents. Even at the beginning of the period parents ‘faced difficulties retrieving their children once they were again able to support them’.²⁵² Parental ability to regain custody of their children from charities was restricted even further following the legislation of the 1880s and 1890s. On occasions when children were returned to their parents, philanthropists frequently employed the language that the child had been ‘*allowed to go*’, and children were rarely given back to their parents or relatives if permission had not been formally sought.²⁵³ Often, philanthropists refused applications

²⁴⁸ Godden, ‘Philanthropy’, pp. 28-9.

²⁴⁹ Crowley Orphanage, MS 517/142: meeting 30 March 1874.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ Parker, *Uprooted*, p. 40.

²⁵² Twomey, *Deserted and Destitute*, p. 64.

²⁵³ Working Boys’ Home, MS 3375/511/1: meeting 24 August 1893. The Committee stated that the mother of one child in the Home had applied to remove him. The Committee resolved that ‘Miss Hill (who sent the boy in) be informed of the facts and if she approved he be allowed to go’.

by parents and relatives, usually because they suspected they were not able to support the child, or that the child would be in moral danger if permitted to go. For instance, one application was refused at the Working Boys' Home (Birmingham) because the committee suspected that his mother 'appeared only to want him for his earnings'.²⁵⁴ At the Female School of Industry (Sydney), significant obstacles were placed in front of parents or relatives wishing to remove their child. They not only had to prove that they could support the child financially, but they were also obliged to reimburse the committee for the girl's maintenance during her entire stay at the School.

Some parents went to great lengths to reclaim children, often without success. At the Middlemore Emigration Homes (Birmingham), Middlemore maintained that parents were consulted before their children were emigrated to Canada. However, in 1889 the *Birmingham Daily Gazette* published a story that questioned Middlemore's claims. Mrs. Davis' son had been emigrated in 1884 and according to Mrs. Davis, her consent was not sought. She had only discovered that her son had been sent to Canada when she received a letter from him. Mrs. Davis enlisted the help of the Rev. W. Head, her local clergyman, in her campaign to have her son returned to her. Head finally succeeded in persuading Middlemore to bring him back from Canada in 1889, and 'Mrs. Davis was informed that Mrs. Evans, the matron, was bringing the boy home'.²⁵⁵ However, the boy was not returned, and 'the shock of disappointment was so great to Mrs. Davis that for many weeks she lay almost at death's door'.²⁵⁶ Instead, it transpired the boy had simply been moved to another foster family in Canada. Middlemore defended his actions, stating that Mrs. Davis had given her consent for her son's emigration: 'we hold the original document, which she

²⁵⁴ Working Boys' Home, MS 3375/511/2: meeting 21 June 1894.

²⁵⁵ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 17 May 1889, letter from W. Head.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

signed in the year 1880'.²⁵⁷ Moreover, he denied that he had ever promised to return the boy.²⁵⁸ Despite Mrs. Davis' continued efforts, her son was not returned. This example supports the assertion that 'even with considerable help, success in recovering their children, or preventing their emigration, was elusive'.²⁵⁹

Aboriginal parents, too, 'did not sit passively as their families were broken up'.²⁶⁰ The relatives of one Aboriginal girl at Maloga came to remove her, because 'they had heard she was going to get married here, and were averse to it'.²⁶¹ Earlier in the century, before the devastating effects of large-scale white settlement had been realised, Aboriginal communities demonstrated considerable autonomy over missionaries. In 1834, when one missionary working at the Wellington Valley mission in NSW removed an Aboriginal child from a nearby Aboriginal community, 'the next day there was not an Aboriginal in sight; the whole camp had dispersed in protest, anger and fear'.²⁶² However, towards the end of the century, the autonomy and capacity for resistance of Aboriginal peoples had been severely curtailed. In 1881, the kin of a number of girls at the mission arrived with the intention to remove them from the mission. Daniel Matthews 'resolutely refused to allow them to go, fearing they might never return, but relapse into the evils of their former life, and perhaps become the prey of corrupt and sensual men'.²⁶³ Eventually, the girls' kin left the mission in defeat.

²⁵⁷ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 21 May 1889, letter from J. T. Middlemore.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁹ Parker, *Uprooted*, p. 250. Middlemore was not the only child emigrationist to face challenges from parents. Bean and Melville add that Barnardo was regularly summoned to court, as a result of parental 'demands to return children'. See *Lost Children*, p. 48.

²⁶⁰ Haebich, *Broken Circles*, p. 288.

²⁶¹ *Tenth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 27.

²⁶² Read, 'Freedom and Control', p. 56.

²⁶³ *Sixth Report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission*, p. 4.

Just as the NSW government began to assume greater responsibility for destitute white children, increasing controls were also placed on Aboriginal children. Legislation directed at white children reduced the power of philanthropists, and similarly, increasing government intervention in Aboriginal family life sidelined missionaries. From the late-1880s the APA, and the subsequent government-run APB, began to recommend a more institutionalised and secular environment for Aboriginal peoples, and in particular Aboriginal children. Under federal legislation passed in 1905, the Chief Protector of Aborigines was given powers as the legal guardian of every Aboriginal and mixed-race child until their sixteenth birthday. Subsequent legislation passed in 1909 and 1915 sanctioned the widespread removal of Aboriginal children to institutions such as the Cootamundra Girls Home. This legislation enabled the APB to remove *any* Aboriginal child deemed to be at risk of neglect. However, neglect was widely defined and included the lack of a fixed abode thus, in effect, many Aboriginal families could be classified as sites of neglect.²⁶⁴ As such, the overt aim of such legislation was ‘the eventual “withering away” of Aboriginal communities’.²⁶⁵ Ultimately, ‘it was up to the parents to show that the child had a right to be with them, not the other way round... the manager of an Aboriginal station, or a policeman on a reserve or in a town might simply order them removed’.²⁶⁶ By 1915, the NSW government had achieved rights ‘in loco parentis’ over all Aboriginal children.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁴ Goodall, ‘New South Wales’, pp. 76-7.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁶ Read, *The Stolen Generations*, p. 10.

²⁶⁷ Goodall, ‘New South Wales’, p. 76.

5. Into the Twentieth Century

White children, the decline of the birth rate and fears over degeneration

By the turn of the century, white children had become objects of state intervention due to their perceived value to the nation-state as colonial citizens and British citizen/subjects. However, whilst anxieties over youth were present in both Britain and Australia, it is possible to identify certain differences. The level of anxiety raised over youth varied in each country and, secondly, there was some variation in the ways in which these concerns were articulated. These differences will be explored through a discussion of “larrikinsim”, and secondly through an analysis of two government reports published in 1904: the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in Britain and the NSW Royal Commission on the Decline of the Birth-Rate and on the Mortality of Infants.²⁶⁸

The state of NSW demonstrated considerable concerns about its children and adolescents, particularly during the final decades of the nineteenth century, which intersected with the transition towards federation. More commonly associated with boys, larrikinism referred ‘to a range of youthful activity from loitering and insulting language, to occasional attacks on police’.²⁶⁹ Larrikins were easily identifiable because they wore distinctive clothing, including a felt hat. They were perceived to be a threat to society because, as *The Bulletin* newspaper explained, they evoked the presence of ‘a demoralized residuum... whose influence, if not checked and controlled, threatens to be burdensome and offensive to the community as it expands’.²⁷⁰ Daniel Matthews noticed the larrikin

²⁶⁸ Larrikinism was a phenomenon associated primarily with adolescent boys and young men, who caused mischief in urban society towards the end of the nineteenth century.

²⁶⁹ Grabosky, *Sydney in Ferment*, p. 20.

²⁷⁰ *The Bulletin*, 8 January 1881.

presence when he visited Sydney in 1892: ‘my blood has chilled as I have witnessed scenes that cannot be described, and heard language of the foulest character’.²⁷¹

Illustration Twelve: ‘A Sydney Larrikin’.²⁷²



In the context of wider fears about the capacity of working-class parents to adequately raise good colonial citizens, larrikinism was frequently blamed on ‘parental neglect’.²⁷³ Despite an acknowledgement that the larrikin was simply the colonial equivalent of the ‘Arab of London, the hoodlum of New York, and the *gamin* of Paris’,

²⁷¹ *The Story of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission by Daniel Matthews, Founder and Superintendent. Fifteenth and Sixteenth Reports, April 1889 to March 1891* (Melbourne: Rae Bros., 1892), p. 51.

²⁷² Reproduced from Francis Gribble ed., *Philmay's Illustrated Winter Annual* (London: Walter Haddon, 1892).

²⁷³ Grabosky, *Sydney in Ferment*, p. 88.

there seems to have been an undue preoccupation about larrikinism in NSW.²⁷⁴ It is possible that these anxieties were exacerbated because they occurred simultaneously with the formation of the Australian nation and the creation of national identity and character. On his first visit to the Australian colonies during the 1880s, the Rev. R. W. Dale stated that ‘the anxiety which some of my friends expressed about *Larrickinism* [sic] seemed to me excessive’.²⁷⁵ Although some fears were expressed in Britain at this time about hooligans - or scuttlers as they were known in Birmingham - levels of anxiety were much higher in NSW.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century in Britain, Social Darwinism, the eugenics movement and Britain’s imperial identity all contributed to growing concerns about the quality of *the British race*. Indeed, ‘anxieties about the physical health of the young and their ability to fulfill their imperial mission were widely expressed’.²⁷⁶ The importance of instilling the responsibilities of imperial citizenship are visible in the various youth movements which began in the early-twentieth century, such as the Boy Scout movement. Fabian, liberal and imperialist agendas fused in the realisation that ‘to ensure a physically healthy race, pure water supplies, proper drainage systems, healthy housing, and municipal services such as paving, street-cleaning, and hospital accommodation were needed’.²⁷⁷ School meals for children were introduced nationally in 1906, an initiative that Birmingham had implemented since 1886 during its heyday of liberal reform.²⁷⁸ The charities were engaged in the process of creating good imperial citizens, and some former

²⁷⁴ Ajax ‘Larrikinism’, *Sydney Quarterly Magazine*, 1 (1884), pp. 209-10.

²⁷⁵ Dale, ‘Impressions of Australia: V, Religion and Morals’, p. 576.

²⁷⁶ Horn, *The Victorian Town Child*, p. 210.

²⁷⁷ Dwork, *War is Good*, p. 14.

²⁷⁸ In 1886, the Birmingham Schools Dinner Society was established. See Asa Briggs, ‘Public Education: Introduction’ in Stephens ed., *The Victoria History*, vol. 7, p. 496.

inmates of the Working Boys' Home and Middlemore Emigration Homes joined the British army and navy, defending the empire. Middlemore proudly stated in 1901 that two former boys from the Home had accepted their imperial duty by 'fighting England's battles' in the Boer War. One of these former boys, 'reports that on his return from South Africa he paraded with his regiment before the Queen'.²⁷⁹

Illustration Thirteen: Former inmate of the Working Boys' Home.²⁸⁰



However, concerns about Britain's military performance during the Boer War 'crystalized and emphasized the, until then, relatively latent fears of national inefficiency and race degeneration'.²⁸¹ Anxieties surfaced about the evolution of the British race, specifically the notion that 'the British people might be on the point of decline, conforming

²⁷⁹ *Children's Emigration Homes, Twenty-eighth Report*, pp. 5-6.

²⁸⁰ Birmingham City Archive, Lee Crowder Collection, Working Boys' Home, MS 3375/513: photographs of inmates and former inmates.

²⁸¹ Dwork, *War is Good*, p. 11.

to an old law of the rise and fall of empires'.²⁸² Fears about the physical quality of the youth were expressed by the Birmingham charities. At the Working Boys' Home, the honorary dentist expressed concern about the condition of the boys' teeth, stating that 'of the 26 inmates ten of them would not pass the standard required by the Army and Navy authorities... I have given some instructions respecting the care and cleaning of their teeth'.²⁸³ Concerns over the fitness of the British race were so serious that in 1904 a committee was appointed to investigate claims of deterioration and degeneration. Despite contemporary concerns, the report concluded that it did 'not support the belief that there is any general progressive deterioration'.²⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the report made many recommendations specifically targeted at children, such as the introduction of milk depots, 'to protect infant and child life in order to ensure a future healthy population'.²⁸⁵ These concerns over the quality of the youth of Britain created the perception that children were 'England's most precious natural resource'.²⁸⁶

In NSW, similar anxieties were also expressed about children, who were perceived to embody 'the national future'.²⁸⁷ The formation of the Australian nation in 1901 led to heightened fears about the young, particularly larrikins. In addition, concerns were also raised about the decline of the white birth rate. Central to the concerns of the Commission on the Decline of the Birth Rate was the realisation that:

²⁸² Garton, *Out of Luck*, p. 78.

²⁸³ Working Boys' Home, MS 3375/511/3: meeting 13 December 1899.

²⁸⁴ 'Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration', p. 13.

²⁸⁵ Dwork, *War is Good*, p. 59.

²⁸⁶ Behlmer, *Child Abuse*, p. 193.

²⁸⁷ O'Brien, *Poverty's Prison*, p. 142.

The future of the Commonwealth, and especially the possibility of maintaining a “white Australia” depend on the question whether we shall be able to people the vast areas of the continent which are capable of supporting a large population. This can only be done by restoring and maintaining a high rate of natural increase.²⁸⁸

Despite similar reductions in the birth rate in many European countries at this time, many Australians ‘were seriously disturbed by the decline of fertility... they feared for the future of the Anglo-Saxon race in Australia’.²⁸⁹ Such anxieties were linked to perceived threats to the white Australian nation by the densely populated countries of Asia. In contrast to these fears, the British Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration argued that a slight decline in the population was beneficial, stating that it would result in ‘the improvement rather than the deterioration of the race’.²⁹⁰

The 1904 Royal Commission on the Decline of the Birth Rate in NSW concluded that it was ‘of paramount importance to the future welfare of the State that the lives of the children that are born shall be preserved, as far as this is possible’.²⁹¹ As such, in NSW instances of baby-farming and infanticide involving white children were particularly anxiety-provoking.²⁹² In 1901 the Sisters of Mercy who ran the Waitara Foundling Home noted that ‘infanticide is also becoming alarmingly frequent; and that the infantile mortality of the State, especially of illegitimate children, is appalling’.²⁹³ The Makin baby-farming scandal in Sydney in 1892 rocked the city. John and Sara Makin were charged

²⁸⁸ *New South Wales Royal Commission on the Decline of the Birth-Rate*, p. 53.

²⁸⁹ Hicks, “*This Sin and Scandal*”, p. xvi.

²⁹⁰ ‘Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration’, p. 38.

²⁹¹ *New South Wales Royal Commission on the Decline of the Birth-Rate*, p. 38.

²⁹² Baby farming involved placing a child away from its parents, usually in the care of a working-class woman. Contemporary accounts of baby farming depict it as a profit making exercise whereby children were ill-treated, starved and even killed by those paid to look after them. See Grabosky, *Sydney in Ferment*.

²⁹³ *Annual Report of the Waitara Foundling Home, 1901-2*, p. 7.

with murdering seven children whose bodies they had buried in their backyard.²⁹⁴ The Waitara Foundling Home and Dalmar Children's Homes were formed at the height of such concerns, in 1896 and 1892 respectively. Contemporary interest in infant welfare led to a flurry of legislation in this era in NSW, such as the 1904 Infant Protection Act, which required all persons wishing to care for two or more infants under the age of seven to undergo inspection. Moreover, under the 1905 Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act, special child courts were introduced in the state. In Britain, Birmingham was one of the first British cities to utilise child courts before their more widespread introduction from 1908.²⁹⁵

Illustration Fourteen: Fears about infanticide.²⁹⁶



²⁹⁴ Grabosky, *Sydney in Ferment*, p. 86.

²⁹⁵ Geraldine Cadbury was one of the pioneers of special courts for children in Birmingham. See Goodrich, *Social Reformers*.

²⁹⁶ *The Bulletin*, 16 September 1893.

Conclusion

This chapter has traced the major reconfigurations that took place in concepts of childhood in Britain and NSW, through an exploration of charities in Birmingham and Sydney, and missionary activities at the Maloga and Warangesda missions in NSW. The Christian belief that all peoples had the right to salvation, coupled with the sentimentalising discourse of childhood revealed the plight of both white and Aboriginal children and the perceived need for their rescue and salvation. The main threat to white children in both Birmingham and Sydney was urban space, represented as potentially immoral, disease and dirt-ridden. Crucially, urban spaces were depicted as a threat to the whiteness of these children. In contrast, missionaries argued that Aboriginal children were in need of rescue from Aboriginal communities and immoral members of the white settler population. Central to the rescue arguments made by philanthropists and missionaries was the notion that both white and Aboriginal children were capable of improvement if removed from their defective environments.

Fundamental to the changes in philanthropic practice in both sites was the convergence of discourses of race, nation and citizenship. White children were increasingly depicted as future citizens, therefore they had to be educated and trained to fulfill their civic responsibilities. As part of this citizenship training, white children in philanthropic institutions in Sydney and Birmingham were encouraged to undertake philanthropic activities. In addition to their work among Aboriginal peoples, Daniel and Janet Matthews used their mission reports to convert white children. Moreover, the Matthews reminded these white children that the duties of colonial citizenship included the care and protection of Aboriginal peoples. Indeed white and Aboriginal children were imagined to occupy fundamentally different places in society. Whilst the charities for white children in

Birmingham and Sydney presented their efforts in terms of creating good imperial/colonial citizens, Daniel Matthews was unsure about Aboriginal citizenship. He and his missionary colleague, Gribble, overwhelmingly represented Aboriginal children as future *members* of society. However, despite this fundamental difference grounded in perceived racial difference, similar methods were used by philanthropists and missionaries to effect reform and improvement among white and Aboriginal children, such as gender-appropriate forms of work.

In both Britain and NSW during the 1870s and 1880s there was a considerable backlash against large barrack institutions for children. Philanthropists in Birmingham and Sydney stressed the benefits of a home environment for children, preferably located in a healthy, rural location. The emigration movement in Birmingham and the boarding-out movement in NSW both attempted to address these concerns. During the 1880s and 1890s anxieties over childhood reached new levels as philanthropists increasingly questioned the capability of working-class parents to raise their own children, according to the standards set by philanthropists and predominantly middle-class reformers. Whilst legislation in both sites reduced the control of parents over their own children, the reconfiguration of the relationship between the child, the parent, the philanthropist and the state had different consequences for philanthropists in Sydney and Birmingham. In Birmingham legislation such as the 1889 Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act augmented the work of philanthropists by designating many philanthropic institutions places of safety. In contrast, legislation in NSW adopted a more collectivist approach, whereby the NSW government assumed responsibility for all destitute children, adopting the policy of boarding-out, thus rendering many institutions, such as the Randwick Asylum, effectively surplus to requirements.

At the turn of the twentieth century, white Australian colonists were becoming increasingly anxious about the youth who would become future citizens of their nation. Whilst Britain and the newly federated Australian nation expressed concerns about children, these concerns were heightened in Australia, demonstrated by the fears expressed over larrikinism. Furthermore, anxieties over childhood in Britain and Australia were expressed differently. In Britain emphasis was laid upon the *quality* of the race, as a result of Britain's dubious military performance in the Boer War. In Australia, fears were expressed about the *quantity* of children, through the *Commission into the Decline of the Birth Rate* and associated concerns about infant mortality, infanticide and baby farming. Broadly speaking, whilst there were many overlaps in terms of philanthropic aims towards white pauper children in Birmingham and Sydney, Aboriginal children - like Aboriginal women - were represented as fundamentally different, unable to occupy a position in the Australian nation by virtue of their race.

Chapter 5. Philanthropic Connections: Birmingham and Sydney's Networks of Benevolence

If people liked to stay in England, all he had to say was God bless them in the dear old country. He was as much an Englishman as any man present. The people in Australia were as thoroughly English as the people of the mother-country; they had forfeited nothing by going a distance of 14,000 miles.¹

By declaring that colonists were 'as thoroughly English' as people in England, Henry Parkes was claiming a particular identity for the Australian colonies based upon his concept of Englishness. For Parkes, English men and women were white, civilised, Christian peoples who possessed a divine right to settle the globe. Parkes maintained that the Englishmen who had settled in NSW had 'forfeited nothing' - perhaps they had even gained something, the chance to recreate a similar, but *superior* version of Britain in this 'land of sunshine and gold'.² However, by settling in the Australian colonies British men and women had also become *colonists*, rendered inferior by their counterparts in the metropole.³ Through an exploration of philanthropic practices, this chapter explores the ambiguities that were bound up in the making and remaking of colonial identities and the colony's changing relationship with Britain. Despite these tensions, throughout the period men and women in Britain and NSW sought to retain strong connections. These links were small fragments of a vast web of networks - of which Birmingham and Sydney were part - which operated between metropole and colony, between colonies and internationally. Indeed, an exploration of the ways in which information was shared by charities in Birmingham and Sydney points to the existence of a myriad of philanthropic networks on a

¹ Parkes, *Freehold Homes*, p. 15.

² Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 164.

³ I have elected to use the terms Britain and "Britishness" rather than England and "Englishness" like Parkes, to reflect the considerable Irish (and to a lesser extent Scottish and Welsh) presence in NSW.

global, imperial, national, inter-colonial and local scale. As a result, it is beneficial to conceptualise networks of colonial and metropolitan philanthropy as ‘spatially extensive webs of communication’.⁴

Section one begins by exploring the ways in which networks were created and maintained between Britain and the Australian colonies. These networks, augmented and extended by developments in technology, enabled the transfer of information, peoples and commodities which were integral to the preservation of imperial ties and cultural identities. Indeed, the regular arrival of goods and settlers from the metropole facilitated the development of a sense of Britishness in the colony; colonists habitually referred to Britain as “home”. The creation of a sense of Britishness in the colony was reflected in philanthropic practice. Many charities in Sydney looked to Britain, specifically to London, for the latest developments in the care of pregnant women, new mothers and children. During the 1880s, celebrations planned to mark Queen Victoria’s golden jubilee coincided with celebrations to mark the centenary of white settlement in NSW. As a result tensions began to emerge for some colonial men and women: were they Australian colonists, or British, or as Parkes argued, both? During the second half of the nineteenth century some men and women in NSW were asserting their *colonial* identity. This process was apparent in the actions of some of the charities in Sydney, which began to condemn aspects of British poor relief. Simultaneously, colonial men and women began to establish new international networks through which philanthropic information was shared.

Section two considers the national networks that charities in Birmingham constructed and maintained, particularly with London. In addition, the inter-colonial networks that the Sydney charities developed are also explored, specifically with Melbourne. These

⁴ Lambert and Lester, ‘Geographies’, p. 321.

connections, particularly the *direction* in which information flowed, reveal something about the status of Birmingham within the British nation and Sydney within the Australian colonies. Particular attention is paid to the intersections between political, economic and philanthropic networks in Birmingham and Sydney in section three. To what extent were philanthropic men part of economic networks? Moreover, what access did philanthropic men have to political networks, and to what extent could they effect changes in legislation on social issues?

The local networks which charities constructed within Birmingham and Sydney are the subject of part four. To what extent did local charities exchange information with one another? Was this dissemination of information always productive? This section also focuses on the importance of family networks to charities. Family members provided committee members and staff, as well as donations and subscriptions. How interconnected were philanthropic families in both sites and what impact did this have on the charities?

The chapter concludes with three case studies, two of which consider the experiences of individuals and one of which details a philanthropic movement. The experiences of Daniel Matthews and William Bernard Ullathorne reflect the ways in which the separation of metropole and colony was *lived* by individuals. As Lambert and Lester have argued ‘other places could be present’ with individuals who traversed colonial sites.⁵ The final case study, the boarding-out movement, provides one example of the ways in which local, national, intercolonial and imperial networks were utilised by philanthropists to gain support and information. The movement, which was widely adopted in NSW, provides an opportunity to think about the ways in which colonial philanthropic developments shaped practices in Britain.

⁵ Lambert and Lester, ‘Introduction’, p. 26.

Networks

Networks are defined as multiple, and often overlapping, connections between individuals, families or groups.⁶ They might reflect common interests such as economics, politics or philanthropy. They operate within existing discourses of power rendering some connections inferior to others. Networks are always in flux with some connections lapsing, others reforming and others in the process of being created. The British empire was, of course, an ‘interconnected space’ where cultural and physical boundaries - either national or colonial - were blurred by the networks that operated within and between those spaces.⁷ Networks are a helpful way of ‘unbounding’ places from their physical borders and their professed cultural specificities to explore the constant dialogues that shaped the identities of peoples and places.⁸ Furthermore, networks can reveal how ‘ideas, practices and identities developed trans-imperially as they moved from one site to another’.⁹ Philanthropists in Birmingham and Sydney were connected to these multiple networks which were particularly strong within the British empire, but which also spanned extra-imperial sites.

⁶ Laidlaw maintains that networks were often referred to as “connections” by contemporaries. See *Colonial Connections*, p. 14.

⁷ Lambert and Lester, ‘Introduction’, p. 6.

⁸ Massey uses the terms “bounded” and “unbounded spaces” and argues for an unbounding of place. See *For Space*, p. 64 and p. 83.

⁹ Lambert and Lester, ‘Introduction’, p. 2.

1. The Relationship between Britain and the Australian Colonies

The establishment of networks

There were multiple networks between Britain and her colonies which were comprised of - and maintained by - peoples, goods, letters and commodities which traversed imperial spaces. Crucial to these networks throughout the nineteenth century were the ships that negotiated the globe. For instance, during the early decades of the century, 'within these ships, Indian calicoes moved to Africa to purchase slaves, Tahitian breadfruit was taken to the Caribbean to feed to those slaves, Caribbean molasses was transported to New England where it was made into rum for trade with Native Americans' and so on.¹⁰ Ports functioned as the 'nodal points' which connected this myriad of networks.¹¹

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the voyage between Britain and the Australian colonies lasted approximately ten months; by 1850 it had decreased to four months. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, transit was reduced to six to seven weeks.¹² Travel thus became more comfortable and accessible, and leisure travel between Britain and the Australian colonies gradually increased.¹³ The voyage itself became an opportunity to make acquaintances. Richard Tangye, a Birmingham man who visited the Australian colonies, stated that 'it often happens that friendships of the warmest kind are formed on board ship'.¹⁴ Moreover, interactions between British and colonial travelers on

¹⁰ Lester, *Imperial Networks*, p. 6.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² K. S. Inglis, 'The Imperial Connection: Telegraphic Communication between England and Australia, 1872-1902', in Madden and Morris-Jones eds, *Australia and Britain*, p. 23.

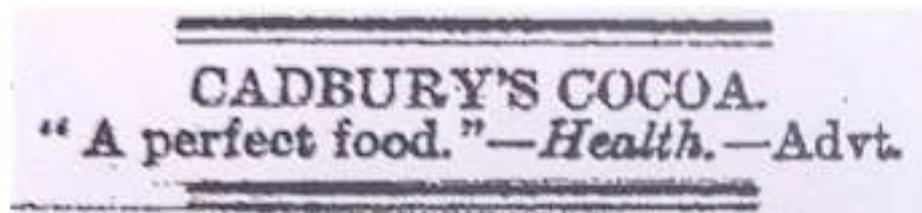
¹³ See Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, chapter 1.

¹⁴ Richard Tangye, *Reminiscences of Travel in Australia, America and Egypt* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1884), pp. 3-4.

board ship served to reinforce similar cultural, social and racial identities during the process of traversing unfamiliar ocean spaces. A sense of shared imperial identity was reinforced as the ship made its routine stops through the Indian Ocean. In this way, as Angela Woollacott argues, British and colonial travelers were brought face to face with their whiteness and imperial heritage in an explicit way.¹⁵

Ships carried commodities around the world. Birmingham was famed for the export of its civilising goods - such as cutlery, cooking utensils and pens - which were essential to the creation and maintenance of boundaries between Aboriginal peoples and white settlers.¹⁶ Many prominent British businesses, including the Birmingham chocolate manufacturer Cadbury established offices in Sydney, in recognition of cultural, racial and biological links between colony and metropole.¹⁷ Colonial goods such as wool were integral to the British economy, and from mid-century approximately half of the wool in British textile factories originated in the Australian colonies.¹⁸

Illustration Fifteen: Cadbury's Advertisement in a Sydney newspaper, 1892.¹⁹



¹⁵ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 20.

¹⁶ Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, pp. 270-1.

¹⁷ Briggs, *History of Birmingham*, vol. 2, p. 54. A representative from Cadburys was sent to Sydney in 1881 to establish an office there.

¹⁸ Garton, *Out of Luck*, p. 27.

¹⁹ *Daily Telegraph*, 3 March 1892.

In 1872 communications between Britain and the Australian colonies were revolutionised by the completion of the telegraph cable. The telegraph facilitated increased investment which further cemented ties between Britain and the Australian colonies. The price of wool, for instance, could now be listed on the London market, in addition to other colonial goods.²⁰ Further developments in communication were implemented at the turn of the century, when a Pacific cable was laid in 1902, supported by the colonial secretary and former Birmingham mayor Joseph Chamberlain. By the late-nineteenth century the finances of metropole and colony - which had always been linked - became even more entangled. The growth of investment and capital, facilitated by the telegraph cable meant that 'Australian dependence on loanable capital [from Britain]... grew markedly'.²¹

The existence of the telegraph cable facilitated networks of benevolence. In 1890 dock workers in Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne began a strike, seeking improvements in working conditions. British maritime unions donated £11,000 to the cause. It was a demonstration of reciprocity between maritime unions; during the previous year dock workers from the Australian colonies had donated £37,000 to assist their counterparts in London who had carried out a strike over pay.²² The telegraph enabled dock workers in Australia to inform their counterparts in London of their intended financial assistance at a crucial moment, which facilitated the continuation of the strike.²³ In this way, the British and Australian dock strikes were 'explicitly linked', the expression of a growing 'working-class co-operation' between white men across the globe.²⁴

²⁰ Inglis, 'The Imperial Connection', p. 24.

²¹ Trainor, *British Imperialism*, p. 120.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 131-2.

²³ Inglis, 'The Imperial Connection', p. 25.

²⁴ Trainor, *British Imperialism*, p. 131.

Performances of civilisation: making the colony “British”

Despite the physical distance that separated Britain and the Australian colonies, settlers sought to retain close links with the metropole which reinforced their identity as white, civilised men and women. This identity also provided men and women with a perceived imperial legitimacy to settle in the antipodes. Despite obvious geographical, physical and climatic differences, both settlers, and Britons visiting the colonies, sought to establish and reaffirm similarities of *place*. Comparisons were often made about the landscape in Britain and the Australian colonies. Florence and Rosamund Hill, visiting the colonies in the 1870s, commented that Sydney Harbour was ‘very English... the verdure is like that at home’.²⁵ Similarly, during a visit to England Daniel Matthews rendered the physical landscape of Cornwall - the county of his birth - similar to that of Victoria where he spent his childhood and adulthood. He wrote ‘the view that expanded before us... rather reminded one of the Yarra Flats’ in Victoria’.²⁶ Moreover, he compared Southampton to Sydney harbour and Southend to St. Kilda, a bayside suburb of Melbourne.²⁷ For colonists such as Matthews, these comparisons served an important function; they were integral to the creation of a sense of Britishness. By asserting the Britishness of the colonies - like the Hill sisters - Matthews legitimised his claims (as part of that imperial, civilised race) for colonising both other peoples and spaces. As one Lord Mayor of Birmingham proclaimed: ‘the British race were roamers’.²⁸

²⁵ Florence and Rosamund Hill, *What We Saw in Australia* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1875), p. 270.

²⁶ State Library of South Australia, Papers of Daniel Matthews, PRG 359: series 1, diary of Daniel Matthews in England, entry 7 August 1869.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, entries 14 August and 2 September 1869.

²⁸ William Henry Bowater quoted in *Birmingham Daily Post*, 15 May 1909.

The maintenance of close cultural ties between Britain and the Australian colonies was not surprising given that as late as 1891, 95% of immigrants were British.²⁹ Furthermore, the colonies had clear constitutional links with Britain and many Australian institutions were ‘deliberately copied, so far as possible, from what were thought to be corresponding British structures and practices at the time’.³⁰ Despite the achievement of responsible government in NSW in 1856, Britain retained constitutional rights to govern the colony’s foreign policy.³¹ In the second half of the century developments in education mirrored those in the metropole, which even encompassed an Australian preference for English nursery rhymes.³² Such particular cultural borrowing was often a source of amusement for British visitors. The Rev. R. W. Dale was bemused when he discovered that colonial men and women ‘dine on roast beef and plum-pudding on Christmas Day though the thermometer marks 100° in the shade’.³³ This preoccupation with Britishness was one means of attempting to render the colony a respectable and reputable white settler colony, for which country was more respectable than Britain?

Most Sydney men and women imagined themselves to be within the imperial fold. This trend was evident in the ‘awe and excitement inspired in some [colonists] by royalty’.³⁴ Occasions such as jubilees served to remind colonial men and women of their imperial identity and their place within the wider world. The Benevolent Society and Female Refuge observed Queen Victoria’s golden and diamond jubilees, in 1887 and 1897

²⁹ W. D. Borrie, ‘“British” Immigration to Australia’, in Madden and Morris-Jones eds, *Australia and Britain*, p. 106.

³⁰ R. S. Parker, ‘The Evolution of British Political Institutions in Australia’, in Madden and Morris-Jones eds, *Australia and Britain*, pp. 117-8.

³¹ Trainor, *British Imperialism*, p. 2.

³² Connell, ‘British Influence’, p. 164.

³³ R. W. Dale, ‘Impressions of Australia: I, The People’, *Contemporary Review*, (1888), p. 625.

³⁴ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 148.

respectively. Treats were given to inmates, such as a half holiday at the Female Refuge in addition to a ‘magic lantern’ show.³⁵ The Benevolent Society distributed £50 between the five hundred outdoor relief cases as ‘a small memento of the important circumstance in connection with the reign of their Queen’.³⁶

It was clear to the Rev. R. W. Dale that colonial men and women had an ‘affection for England’ which led them to reproduce ‘the sights and the joys and the customs of “home”’.³⁷ Indeed, the language of home highlights the strength of cultural and biological connections - both real and imagined - between metropole and colony. Throughout the nineteenth century colonists’ use of the word “home” was manifold: home often referred ‘to both Australia and Britain at once’.³⁸ The Australian colonies were frequently depicted, as Henry Parkes’ evidence demonstrated, as a home from home. It is important however to recognise that the Australian colonies could only be represented as such because of the fiction of terra nullis. Other British colonies such as India could never become a home from home for Britons because of an acknowledged indigenous culture and society. In contrast, the Australian colonies were depicted as a blank canvas, ready to receive white, civilised Britons who could create an antipodean offshoot of Britain.

³⁵ Sydney Female Refuge, A7018: meeting 2 August 1898.

³⁶ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ended 31st December 1887*, emphasis added.

³⁷ Dale, ‘Impressions of Australia: I, The People’, p. 625.

³⁸ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 143.

Illustration Sixteen: Rev. R. W. Dale.³⁹



This process of cultural borrowing was also reflected by the appropriation of many British philanthropic practices. Many Sydney charities looked to London in particular for the latest developments in the care of new mothers and children. The committee of the Infants' Home closely followed developments in London. In 1874 one committee member had obtained a paper from 'the celebrated Dr. Merriman of London' which argued in favour of wetnursing for infants.⁴⁰ As a result, the committee resolved that 'in future all children admitted into the Institution should be wetnursed'.⁴¹ Moreover, the Home was keen to emphasise that its entire operation was based on the model of the London Foundling Hospital.⁴² Even the federation of the Australian colonies could not disrupt close philanthropic links with Britain. Early in the twentieth century the Benevolent Society

³⁹ Charles Silvester Horne, 'R. W. Dale', in J. H. Muirhead ed., *Nine Famous Birmingham Men* (Birmingham: Cornish Brothers, 1909), preface.

⁴⁰ Infants' Home, ML MSS 2983/1: meeting 4 November 1874.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *First Annual Report of the Sydney Foundling Hospital*, pp. 5-6.

continued to monitor developments in Britain, where mothers and infants were being increasingly observed by the medical profession and philanthropists. As a result, the president of the Society Arthur Renwick established a scheme at the Royal Hospital for Women where mothers were encouraged to bring their infants 'for advice'. He proudly noted that 1,388 infants were brought to the Hospital by their mothers for this reason in 1907.⁴³

Likewise, the colony looked to Britain for developments in medicine. Henry Parkes noted with interest the development of Florence Nightingale's training scheme for nurses. Frustrated with the chaos at the Sydney Hospital during the 1860s, Parkes corresponded with Nightingale, securing a group of Nightingale-trained nurses for the colony, who arrived in 1868.⁴⁴ One of the group, Lucy Osburn, was appointed lady superintendent at Sydney Hospital. Charities in Sydney also began to seek Nightingale-trained nurses. The Benevolent Society in particular expressed a preference for Nightingale nurses, one of whom, Mrs. Elric, occupied the role of matron at the Asylum for twenty-four years. Despite the establishment of training schemes for nurses in the colony, a Nightingale nurse from Britain conferred a sense of prestige, status and respectability upon an institution.

The Sydney charities also benefitted from subscriptions and donations they received from "friends" in Britain. Although the amounts pledged were small, they created connections between metropole and colony. The Infants' Home received a donation of £10 from Mr. B. Lucas Tooth of London, to mark the Queen's diamond jubilee in 1897.⁴⁵ Furthermore, English friends of the lady superintendent of the Infants' Home donated 12

⁴³ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales, year ending 1907* (Ashfield: G. Watson, 1908), appendix.

⁴⁴ Cushing, 'Convicts and Care Giving', pp. 126-7.

⁴⁵ Mitchell Library, Infants' Home Ashfield, ML MSS 2983/10: ladies' committee minute book, meeting 23 June 1897.

knitted babies' jackets and other garments in 1886.⁴⁶ Those who were involved with charities in Sydney thus utilised their own imperial connections to assist in the support and growth of charities.

There was a myriad of networks and connections between Britain and the Australian colonies during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. British and colonial men and women sought to emphasise their similarities, often articulated through landscape and culture, although differences in flora and fauna could lead to a sense of difference. For men and women in NSW claims to Britishness served a specific purpose; it legitimised their settlement of the land and reaffirmed their identity as civilised whites. As Henry Parkes demonstrated, there was considerable slippage between Britishness/Englishness and Australianness, for English men and women 'had forfeited nothing by going a distance of 14,000 miles'.⁴⁷ However, in reality these men and women had lost something considerable. By becoming colonists they were rendered peripheral to Britain, both geographically and metaphorically.⁴⁸ The Australian colonies were metaphorically-speaking colonial children who were dependent upon the mother country. However, colonial men and women were in the process of searching for their own sense of identity.

The search for a colonial identity

Tensions between Britishness and colonial identities, already apparent for some colonists, were exposed further during 1887 and 1888, when the colony of NSW celebrated both Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee and the centenary of white settlement. The juxtaposition of these events prompted colonists to think about their identity. For some

⁴⁶ Infants' Home, ML MSS 2983/6: meeting 11 May 1886.

⁴⁷ Parkes, *Freehold Homes*, p. 15.

⁴⁸ Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections*, p. 7.

colonists, a particular type of Britishness could exist harmoniously with a colonial identity. Others however complained about the money spent on the jubilee, arguing that the priority should lie with the centenary when the ‘eyes of the world’ would cast a ‘world-wide criticism of the progress and prospects of these colonies’.⁴⁹

These tensions within colonial identities were also bound up with debates about federation and the creation of an Australian national identity. How would federation affect the relationship between Britain and the new Australian nation? Would federation mean that colonists were no longer British? Despite their desire to retain close links with Britain, many colonial men and women were becoming increasingly unsettled by their peripherality in relation to Britain. For were they themselves not British, part of the imperial race? There was a perception in Britain and the Australian colonies - both real and imagined - that colonial men and women were brash, inferior and disreputable.⁵⁰ Indeed, ‘the conflation of “colonial” or “colonist” and “convict” was one with which many Australians resentfully had to contend’.⁵¹ In response, some colonial men and women began to assert their own identity based on a sense of *superiority*, maintaining that the Australian colonies were simply a better version of home.

These tensions within colonial identities were reflected in philanthropic practice in the colony. Whilst colonial charities retained close philanthropic links with Britain, some began to distinguish themselves from what they depicted as bad philanthropic practice in the metropole by implementing alternative (and, as they argued, superior) practices. This process was representative of a slight shift away from Britain more broadly and the

⁴⁹ Trainor, *British Imperialism*, p. 69; H. Reid, ‘Our Approaching Centenary’, *Sydney University Review*, 2 (1882), p. 171.

⁵⁰ See Russell, ‘The Brash Colonial’, pp. 431-53.

⁵¹ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 153.

creation of an Australian identity which borrowed aspects from other countries, including the United States.

From first settlement in the colony, there was a divergence from the metropole in terms of poor relief as a result of the specific circumstances of the penal colony. The colonial government, and later the NSW government contributed significantly to private charities and there was no poor law. Many colonial men and women regarded the metropolitan Poor Law ‘with horror’.⁵² This aversion was shared by men who occupied positions of power in the colony, such as the men who ran the Benevolent Society. In 1861, one of the directors admitted that the Benevolent Asylum had its faults, but maintained that it ‘was far superior to the poor-law institutions at home’.⁵³ Here there was a very clear desire to not only maintain these differences between metropole and colony but also, crucially, to create a *better* system. Rev. Garnsey, one of the directors, stated that he was opposed to the creation of workhouses in the colony because ‘there were many who, through no fault of their own, but through the stress of circumstance, were reduced to poverty and want’.⁵⁴ In this way, he implied that the workhouse served to stigmatise its inhabitants. Colonial men and women strove to create a more modern, progressive and egalitarian society in contrast to the class-ridden society at home.⁵⁵

Attempts to create a superior society were a recurring theme for contemporaries. Visitors from Britain were struck by the mood in the colonies in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Rev. R. W. Dale from Birmingham was impressed by ‘their

⁵² Connell and Irving, *Class Structure*, p. 203.

⁵³ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales For the year ended 31st December 1861*, appendix.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Woollacott maintains that many Australian visitors to London in the early-twentieth century were shocked at the poverty they witnessed. See *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 163. Kingston argues that NSW sought to create an identity as modern and progressive. See *A History*, p. 5.

buoyant faith in the future of their people’ which he contrasted with ‘the weariness, the despondency, the hopelessness’, which he saw among Birmingham men and women.⁵⁶ Dale visited the Australian colonies in the 1880s, a decade of upheaval for Birmingham men and women. The Liberal party suffered a catastrophic split over Irish Home Rule from which it never truly recovered, and the town experienced an economic depression which had a profound effect upon its manufactures and labour force. The Australian colonies, by contrast, seemed to be places of hope and confidence.

The Sydney Female Refuge participated in these claims for colonial superiority. The charity regularly published the literacy rates of the women it admitted. In 1878 the committee stated that of the 66 women admitted the previous year, 63 were able to read and write. This was compared to ‘a late English report’ which revealed that out of 91 admissions, only 65 were able to read, and 70 could write.⁵⁷ The idea perpetuated by colonists, and some Britons, that the Australian colonies were newer, better versions of the “old” country provoked all sorts of comparisons. On a visit to England Daniel Matthews walked along Regent and Oxford Streets in London, noting that ‘these are the most showy parts of the great city but still are inferior with regard to width of street or pavement to Collins or Bourke Street in Melbourne’.⁵⁸

Some of the Sydney charities also distanced themselves from the metropole by stressing the fairness and openness of their institutions and the ways in which they operated. At the Benevolent Society, when Mr. E. Senior, one of the board’s directors, heard that his son’s firm had been contracted to carry out some repairs at the Asylum he

⁵⁶ R. W. Dale, ‘Impressions of Australia: II, Speculations About the Future’, *Contemporary Review* (1888), p. 837, emphasis added.

⁵⁷ *Thirtieth Report of the Sydney Female Refuge Society, Ending December 31st, 1878* (Sydney: Joseph Cook & Co., 1879), p. 13. It is unclear which English charity these figures refer to.

⁵⁸ Matthews, PRG 359: series 1, entry 1 September 1869.

felt it necessary to make a formal statement. 'He wished it to be understood that he had not used his influence in any way in the matter - indeed, it came to him as a surprise'.⁵⁹ In this way, he sought to perpetuate claims made by colonial society that it was egalitarian; the nepotism and class-ridden relations which characterised Britain had no place here. The Rev. R. W. Dale also commented on this sense of egalitarianism: 'in some of the schools I found the children of successful tradesmen and of professional men sitting side by side with the children of mechanics'.⁶⁰ As such, the colonies strove to distance themselves from what they perceived to be 'aristocratic, snobbish England and poverty-stricken cloth-cap England'.⁶¹

Of course, NSW society was still in many respects an unequal society. The distribution of wealth remained uneven and many were still dependent upon charities. Nonetheless, the colony was probably more egalitarian than Britain; there was no aristocracy which, at home, controlled so much wealth and wielded so much power and influence. Furthermore, all white men in the colony had been enfranchised in 1858. During the elections after the achievement of responsible government in 1856, the white male candidates stressed that 'they themselves were working men, men of the people' opposed to a 'class-ridden society'.⁶² However, whilst the colony might have been more egalitarian in terms of class, it certainly was not in terms of race and gender. Women and Aboriginal peoples remained disenfranchised. It was thus the *performance* of a white, male egalitarianism that was crucial to the establishment of a specific colonial identity in NSW.

⁵⁹ Mitchell Library, Benevolent Society of NSW, A7206: minutes of the house committee, meeting 6 October 1891.

⁶⁰ R. W. Dale, 'Impressions of Australia: III, 'Education', *Contemporary Review* (1889), p. 263.

⁶¹ Jupp, *The English in Australia*, p. 128.

⁶² Clark, *A History of Australia*, vol. 4, p. 105.

As the Australian colonies were re-evaluating their relationship with Britain, another country had already begun to loom large, the United States. Colonial politicians during the early-nineteenth century, such as William Charles Wentworth, cited examples of the achievement of self-government in some of the early American colonies - such as Virginia and Maryland - to support their own campaigns for self-government in NSW.⁶³ In the 1840s in Canada, control of the Civil List was granted to the Canadian parliament; this exercise in 'colonial liberty' was watched closely in NSW and colonial men and women began to believe that liberty was their 'imperial destiny'.⁶⁴ In this way, the achievement of self-government in NSW was part of a broader transference of power to many of Britain's white settler colonies. Later, at mid-century, America and the Australian colonies began to forge a similar sense of white masculinity. Some of the miners in the Victorian goldfields had migrated from the Californian goldfields.⁶⁵ Lake and Reynolds argue that 'agitation against the Chinese in Australia was frequently inspired by the example of California'.⁶⁶ Furthermore, both California and Victoria implemented subsequent restrictions against Chinese immigration during the second half of the nineteenth century.⁶⁷

Philanthropists in Sydney had already begun to look across the Pacific. In 1875 the Infants' Home compared its mortality rates with those of the New York Foundling Asylum.⁶⁸ The Benevolent Society closely followed philanthropic developments in the United States, particularly the measures taken to prevent imposture in outdoor relief: 'In the New York Society they took the address of each person and forwarded it to the visitor

⁶³ Cochrane, *Colonial Ambition*, p. 8.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 283, 284.

⁶⁵ Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, p. 18.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, chapter 1.

⁶⁸ *First Annual Report of the Sydney Foundling Hospital*, p. 6.

of the section, who had only twenty-five families under his supervision, and therefore was well able to detect imposture'.⁶⁹

Networks were soon established with charities in the United States. It is significant that when Arthur Renwick, president of the Benevolent Society, decided to take an overseas tour to visit various philanthropic institutions in 1892, he chose to visit the United States as well as Europe. The Society expected that the information he gathered would 'prove most useful in connection with the future operations of your Society'.⁷⁰ Similarly, the Sisters of Mercy who ran the Waitara Foundling Home followed developments in infant welfare in the United States, demonstrating an awareness of, and participation in, both philanthropic and religious networks. On establishing the Home, the Sisters wished to 'accomplish for Sydney what has so notably been done for New York' by the Sisters of Charity with their Foundling Hospital.⁷¹

The gaze of the Australian colonies was increasingly drawn towards the United States as the colonies debated whether to establish their own federation.⁷² Indeed, this 'constitutional borrowing from the the United States' during federation reflected a growing degree of interest between both nations.⁷³ In the same way that philanthropic networks did not flow in one direction from metropole to colony, networks between the Australian colonies and the United States were also reciprocal by the turn of the century.

Philanthropists in the United States began to take an interest in the new nation and its philanthropic practices. In 1910, for example, the ladies' committee of the Infants' Home

⁶⁹ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ended 31st December 1872*, appendix.

⁷⁰ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ended 31st December 1892* (Sydney: S. E. Lees, 1893).

⁷¹ *Annual Report of the Waitara Foundling Home, 1900-1* (Sydney: John Andrew & Co., 1901), p. 12.

⁷² Parker, 'The Evolution', p. 125.

⁷³ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 166.

received a request for information from a university in Massachusetts that was conducting research into child welfare policies.⁷⁴

The identity that was being created in NSW encompassed notions of Britishness, but also contained distinctly colonial characteristics such as egalitarianism. These “superior” colonial characteristics were the result of an increased dissatisfaction with the British perception that white colonists were inferior. This encouraged colonial men and women ‘to articulate both their whiteness and the meanings they attached to being Australian’.⁷⁵ Indeed, it is significant that philanthropists in the colony began to establish networks with another world power equally committed to the preservation of whiteness, the United States.⁷⁶ Despite the formation of a unique colonial/Australian identity and attempts to loosen some ties with Britain, many Sydney charities continued to identify closely with their British/imperial identity. Of course, it is important to remember that many retained a distinct Catholic/Irish identity which linked them with Rome.⁷⁷ For many Australians however, federation and the creation of an Australian *national* identity drew them closer to a sense of Britishness by rendering them, as a nation, part ‘of the great British family’.⁷⁸ Indeed, some of the Sydney charities sought royal patronage, which conferred a unique sense of prestige and respectability. When the new Women’s Hospital at Paddington in Sydney opened, initiated by the Benevolent Society, the directors requested royal patronage from King Edward VII. This was granted and thereafter the hospital was known as the Royal Hospital for Women.

⁷⁴ Mitchell Library, Infants’ Home Ashfield, ML MSS 2983/17: minutes of ladies’ committee, meeting 17 May 1910. Several of the Home’s annual reports were forwarded.

⁷⁵ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 141.

⁷⁶ Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, chapters 1, 6 and 8.

⁷⁷ See Cunich, ‘Archbishop Vaughan’.

⁷⁸ Frank Crowley, *A Documentary History of Australia, volume 3: Colonial Australia 1875-1900* (West Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1980), p. 244.

2. Networks of Benevolence: National and Inter-colonial

In addition to constructing imperial and international networks of information, philanthropists in Birmingham and Sydney were part of a series of national and inter-colonial networks which were connected to broader imperial and international networks. Interactions between charities in Birmingham and London provide one way of exploring the status and character of Birmingham within the British nation. Likewise, interactions between Sydney philanthropists and their counterparts from the other Australian colonies reveal broader aspects of inter-colonial relationships.

Birmingham

During the eighteenth century and particularly during the nineteenth century, Birmingham gained a reputation as a *reforming* town. The Birmingham Political Union, the National Education League and the Tariff Reform League were all formed in the town. Moreover, in the early part of the century many of the town's men and women, in particular the Sturge family, were influential in the anti-slavery campaign.⁷⁹

Birmingham's strong reforming agenda was part of a broader attempt to increase the town's status within the nation, to create a "midland metropolis". Unlike many other prominent conurbations in this era, Birmingham was not a city and it would not be formally declared as such until 1889. Already motivated by the perceived need of the people of the town, men and women of Birmingham also gained status for themselves and for their town through their philanthropic efforts. As such, the charities in the town created networks with charities in London. The capital was overwhelmingly depicted by contemporaries as the forerunner in philanthropic developments. Indeed, the men who ran

⁷⁹ Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, chapter 5.

the Lying-in Charity closely monitored developments in midwifery in London. In 1871 the board of management resolved that the charity should give lectures to its midwives based on ‘the system pursued by the Royal Maternity Charity in London’.⁸⁰ Furthermore, the lady superintendent of the charity, Miss Hobhouse, was instructed by the board in 1904 to attend the Midwives Conference in London.⁸¹ When Miss Hobhouse resigned, the board expressed some concern about the experience of her successor, Miss Faulkner. The board determined that she should spend one week in London visiting various Maternity Hospitals ‘in order to gain some information as to their internal management’.⁸²

J. D. Goodman, chairman of the Lying-in Charity, closely monitored developments in nursing during the 1860s and 1870s. Like Henry Parkes, he corresponded with Florence Nightingale about her work at St. Thomas’ in London. It is apparent that Miss Nightingale offered advice to Goodman. In one particular letter he wrote: ‘you will remember that you aided us with your valuable suggestions in preparing the forms to be filled up by the midwives’.⁸³

The Birmingham charities did not just look to London for innovations in philanthropic practice. Their desire for innovation and reform led them to monitor developments in philanthropy throughout Britain. Mr. Butter, superintendent of the Working Boys’ Home attended various conferences in Britain and Ireland in the late-nineteenth century. In 1897 he visited a number of Reformatory Schools and Training

⁸⁰ Lying-in Charity, HC/MH 1/2/1: meeting 6 July 1871. The lectures were implemented the following month.

⁸¹ Lying-in Charity, HC/MH 1/2/2: meeting 11 October 1904.

⁸² Birmingham Maternity Hospital, HC/MH 1/3/2: meeting 5 November 1907.

⁸³ Lying-in Charity, HC/MH 1/2/1: meeting 2 July 1874. Letter from J. D. Goodman to Florence Nightingale dated 28 Feb 1874.

Ships at Liverpool, gaining ‘much experience’ by his visits.⁸⁴ Moreover, in 1899 he attended the Refuge and Reformatory Union Conference in Dublin, which provided him with ‘some valuable hints’.⁸⁵

These networks, populated by both men and women, were reciprocal, and philanthropists around Britain were keen to establish links with their reforming counterparts in Birmingham as part of wider national networks of information. Florence Nightingale requested some statistics about the Lying-in Charity from Goodman in 1874, which he provided. In a letter to Goodman she commented on the impressive maternal mortality statistics: ‘several London Medical men to whom I have shown your Birmingham statistics have returned them with this kind of remark...“nothing has yet proved the case of notes on Lying-in Institutions so completely”’.⁸⁶ Men and women from the town contributed to the national (and international) dissemination of information about philanthropic practices by publishing essays and pamphlets on their work.⁸⁷

The existence of reciprocal philanthropic networks between Birmingham and London are also indicated by subscriptions and donations. Taking the Lying-in Charity as an example, Florence Nightingale donated £3 3s in 1879, Mrs. A. Wagg from London subscribed £2 in 1884 and Mrs. G. Dewhurst, also from London donated £10 in 1873.⁸⁸ It is unclear how Mrs. Wagg or Mrs. Dewhurst were aware of the efforts of the charity;

⁸⁴ Working Boys’ Home, MS 3375/511/3, meeting 10 Nov 1897.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, meeting 16 October 1899.

⁸⁶ Lying-in Charity, HC/MH 1/2/1: meeting 2 July 1874, extract of letter from J. D. Goodman to Florence Nightingale dated 4 June 1874, emphasis added.

⁸⁷ See for instance Hill, ‘Some Thoughts on Pauperism’; Ethel Naish, committee member of the ARTYW published *Whose Children Are These?*

⁸⁸ Lying-in Charity, HC/MH 1/2/1: meeting 6 March 1879, 3 January 1884 and 4 December 1873.

perhaps they had recently moved from Birmingham to London or perhaps friends, family or acquaintances in the town had urged them to contribute.

Sydney

Sydney philanthropists closely followed developments in philanthropic practice in Melbourne, indicative of a broader rivalry which categorised the relationship between NSW and Victoria during the second half of the century.⁸⁹ In terms of philanthropy, Victoria was noted for its benevolence during this era.⁹⁰ At the Second Australian Conference on Charity, held in Melbourne, a staggering 81 charities attended from Victoria, compared to 15 from NSW.⁹¹ The Benevolent Society, Infants' Home and Female School of Industry were among this number. At this conference, the president of the Benevolent Society Arthur Renwick acknowledged that Victoria had superior reformatories to NSW. He stated 'in comparing and analyzing methods, I find that both South Australia and Victoria are in advance of the older colony in regard to reformatories'.⁹²

Therefore, philanthropists in Sydney paid close attention to philanthropic developments in Melbourne in particular. In 1891 the vice-president of the Benevolent Society, U. W. Carpenter, visited some of the principal charities of Melbourne, reporting back on their organisation and management.⁹³ However this interest was not one sided, and

⁸⁹ Trainor assesses this rivalry between Victoria and NSW, focusing on the path towards federation. One of the main hurdles for federation was Victoria's preference for protectionism and NSW's insistence on free trade. See *British Imperialism*, part 3.

⁹⁰ Roe, 'Leading the World?' p. 13.

⁹¹ Admittedly, the fact that the conference was held in Melbourne explains the high number of Victorian charities represented. However, there was also a heavy concentration of charities in Victoria, not only from Melbourne but throughout the colony; for instance from Ballarat, Bendigo and Geelong. In contrast, only two charities represented NSW from outside of Sydney: Balranald Hospital and the Newcastle Benevolent Society. See the appendix to the *Proceedings of the Second Australian Conference on Charity*.

⁹² Dr. Renwick, M. L. C., 'Children of the State in New South Wales', a paper read by Edward Maxted in *Proceedings of the Second Australian Conference on Charity*, pp. 34-5.

⁹³ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ended 31st December 1891* (Sydney: S. E. Lees, 1892).

charities from Melbourne as well as from other colonial capitals expressed a great deal of interest in the workings of Sydney charities. During the Second Australian Conference on Charity E. E. Morris of the Melbourne Charity Organisation Society advocated a sense of reciprocity between the Australian colonies in philanthropic endeavours. He stated that philanthropists in Melbourne 'have much to learn from Sydney', adding that 'there are points in which Sydney can learn from Melbourne'.⁹⁴ Moreover, many representatives from charities outside NSW came to visit the charities in Sydney. The Benevolent Society, as the largest and oldest charity in the colony, attracted the most interest. Mr. A. Macintosh from New Zealand toured the institution in 1883, stating that he was 'exceedingly pleased with the management'.⁹⁵ George Pallett, vice president of the Bendigo Benevolent Society (Victoria) visited the institution in the same year.⁹⁶

Philanthropists were keen to follow philanthropic developments. Birmingham - the great reforming town - looked primarily to London, Sydney turned towards Melbourne. These connections however were unequal. Philanthropic information flowed out of London and Melbourne towards Birmingham and Sydney to a greater extent than in the reverse direction. Nonetheless, some philanthropists in London and Melbourne were interested in philanthropic developments in Birmingham and Sydney, pointing to the existence of national and inter-colonial philanthropic networks. In addition to benevolent and religious motivations, attempts to secure innovation and progress in philanthropic practices were part of wider attempts by philanthropists in Birmingham and Sydney to secure status within the nation and colonies. It is also important to stress the significance of the

⁹⁴ E. E. Morris 'Opening Address' in *Proceedings of the Second Australian Conference on Charity*, p. 2.

⁹⁵ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ended 31st December 1883* (Sydney: Jarrett & Co., 1884).

⁹⁶ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ending 31st December 1887*.

establishment of the Australasian Conferences on Charity in the late-nineteenth century, which fostered the development of antipodean networks of information about philanthropy.⁹⁷

3. Local Networks

This section considers the local networks that were established by philanthropic men, with particular emphasis on the intersections they made with existing economic and political networks. Differences between Birmingham and Sydney - provincial town and colonial capital - reveal a disparity in terms of access to national and colonial politics.

Birmingham

Birmingham's economic, cultural, political, religious and philanthropic character was heavily influenced by a relatively small number of Nonconformist families. These families formed a myriad of connections in business, politics and philanthropy. These alliances were often cemented by marriage. Despite the 1860 resolution which permitted Quakers to marry outside of the Society of Friends, few men and women chose to do so. For instance, the Albright family were linked to the Sturges and Lloyds through marriage; the Cadburys to the Southalls, Sturges and Lloyds.⁹⁸ Similarly, Unitarian families in the town regularly intermarried. The two most prominent Unitarian families, the Chamberlains and the

⁹⁷ Although it is not clear exactly who established this inter-colonial conference, the first conference was also held in Melbourne and convened by the Melbourne Charity Organisation Society, suggesting that perhaps that it was their initiative.

⁹⁸ For more details on intermarriage between Quaker families in Birmingham see Birmingham City Archives, Cadbury Collection, 660810/ZZ67B: The Society of Friends, Bull Street Birmingham compiled by W. A. Cadbury, 1956.

Nettlefolds, were connected through marriage, and the Chamberlains and the Kenricks intermarried prolifically.⁹⁹

These extensive intermarriages facilitated business connections in the town. Indeed, ‘the place of marriage alliance in the business enterprise was explicitly recognised in middle-class culture’ and this was undertaken extensively among Nonconformist families.¹⁰⁰ In addition to the partnership formed by Nettlefold and Chamberlain Ltd, the Albrights and Wilsons went into business together in the manufacture of speciality chemicals. Politically too, Nonconformist families were allies, committed to Liberalism and the implementation of the civic gospel.

These prominent families were well represented among Birmingham charities. Indeed, ‘among the philanthropists of Birmingham few were held in such high esteem as the Quakers’.¹⁰¹ The Lloyd family were the most active, participating in or subscribing/donating to the Lying-in Charity, the Middlemore Emigration Homes, the Working Boys’ Home, the Crowley Orphanage and the ARTYW. Table one in the Appendix details the involvement of these philanthropic families in the various Birmingham charities.

Particularly striking in Birmingham were the links between business and philanthropy - which, as we have seen, were often cemented by marriage. Lloyds Bank were the official bankers for the ARTYW and the Middlemore Emigration Homes. J. T. Middlemore, like many male members of the Lloyd family, was heavily involved with municipal politics. Moreover Herbert Chamberlain, a committee member at the Working

⁹⁹ See Appendix.

¹⁰⁰ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 222. Although Davidoff and Hall’s findings refer to the earlier period: 1780-1850, such connections continued to be made during the second half of the nineteenth century in Birmingham.

¹⁰¹ Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons*, p. 144.

Boys' Home, called upon his own family and business connections when the water closets stopped working at the Home. The secretary reported that the firm Martin & Chamberlain 'had consented to examine voluntarily, the floor of the Committee Room, the Cellar, and the water closets'.¹⁰²

Thus evidence from the charities points towards a convergence of business, voluntarism, politics and religion among a closely-knit group of Birmingham families in the second half of the nineteenth century. However from the 1880s these links were weakened following the split in the Liberal party. The way in which business partners were selected was also shifting. The centrality of family to entrepreneurship was diminished by the development of limited liability. By the turn of the century the prominent Birmingham manufacturing firms had begun to seek connections nationally rather than locally. For instance the Nettlefolds, who had once gone into business with the Chamberlains, merged with Guest & Co., a Welsh iron company to form Guest, Keen & Nettlefolds Limited in 1901.¹⁰³

Whilst many of the philanthropic men in Birmingham were prominent within the town, they found it difficult to make their mark upon the nation. Cadburys was one of the few local firms to achieve national prominence during this period. Politically too, Birmingham men struggled to establish themselves in national politics. Joseph Chamberlain was the exception, but he was marked by his 'provincialism' and was not 'considered a "gentleman" in London'.¹⁰⁴ Even the National Education League established in the town in 1867 failed to achieve its full objectives at a national level. The 1870

¹⁰² Working Boys' Home, MS 3375/511/1: meeting 26 May 1892.

¹⁰³ Hopkins 'Industrial Change', p. 119.

¹⁰⁴ Ward, *City-State and Nation*, p. 7; Lloyd, 'The Lloyds of Birmingham', p. 196.

Education Act ‘fell far short of the full Birmingham programme’, which called for free, non-denominational education.¹⁰⁵ Broadly speaking, Birmingham men had a very limited access to political networks in London. They were provincial men, proud of their town and exercising a great deal of authority there, but they had little chance of securing legislative changes at national level.

Sydney

Compared to Birmingham, the philanthropic community of Sydney was much more fluid, comprised of a much larger (but less prolific) number of philanthropists.¹⁰⁶ Sydney was a colonial capital; as such there was a ready supply of philanthropists arriving into - as well as leaving from - the colony. Indeed, the nature of Sydney as a transient place is borne out in evidence from the charities. Mrs. John Smith resigned as President of the Infants’ Home in 1886 because she was returning to Britain with her husband.¹⁰⁷ In the same year another committee member, Mrs. Cohen resigned because she too was returning home.¹⁰⁸ Mrs. Billyard and Mrs. MacLeay took leave of absences from the Female School of Industry 1873-4 and 1884-5 respectively, to travel home.¹⁰⁹ This led to a high turnover of philanthropic men and women in comparison to Birmingham.

This sense of transience among philanthropic communities was exacerbated by the sense - both real and imagined - of egalitarianism which enabled colonists to rise up the social ladder. Men and women who had recently made the transition to the middle classes

¹⁰⁵ Briggs, *History of Birmingham*, vol. 2, p. 102.

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix, table 2.

¹⁰⁷ *Twelfth Annual Report of the Infants’ Home*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁸ Infants’ Home, ML MSS 2983/6: meeting 2 February 1886.

¹⁰⁹ *Report of the Committee of the Female School of Industry from Oct 1873 to Oct 1874* (Sydney: Joseph Cook & Co., 1874), p. 10; *Report of the Committee of the Female School of Industry Oct 1884 to Oct 1885* (Sydney: Joseph Cook & Co., 1885), p. 11.

might wish to establish their claims for status by engaging in philanthropic activities.

George Allen, a prominent member of the Benevolent Society and founding member of the Sydney Free Grammar School, had humble origins. He arrived in the colony as a boy along with his mother who wished to join her convict husband. Perhaps it was his undistinguished beginnings which spurred him to become one of the city's most influential philanthropists.¹¹⁰

George Allen was a lawyer and this is indicative of a further difference between philanthropic men in Birmingham and Sydney. Birmingham was founded on its economic prowess in manufacturing and industry, thus many philanthropists were businessmen. Sydney's status facilitated the growth of the professions, for a colonial capital needed law courts and a parliament.¹¹¹ Sir Alfred Stephen, president of the Female Refuge from 1864 until the 1880s, was a trained lawyer. William Charles Windeyer, Commissioner for Public Charities, was also a lawyer by trade; Arthur Renwick, president of the Benevolent Society, was a doctor.

Similarly to their counterparts in Birmingham, philanthropic men in Sydney were engaged in municipal politics. However, unlike Birmingham men, they had ready access to colonial politics and the potential to enact legislation through membership of the Legislative Council or Legislative Assembly, based in Sydney. Many philanthropic men had distinguished political careers, such as Edward Deas Thomson who became colonial secretary in 1837 and is credited with assisting in the colony's transition to responsible

¹¹⁰ Cowper and Parsons, 'Allen, George (1800-1877)', p. 5.

¹¹¹ At mid-century Sydney's industries remained underdeveloped. See Walsh, 'Factories'.

government in 1856.¹¹² Furthermore, Sir Alfred Stephen, president of the Female Refuge, was appointed as Chief Justice in 1871.

Thus Sydney offered considerably more opportunities to middle-class men than Birmingham in terms of enacting real change through politics.¹¹³ Arthur Renwick used his political influence to enact reform based on his own philanthropic interests in child welfare. In 1876 whilst a medical officer to the Benevolent Society he gave evidence to a commission set up to enquire into child employment in factories. He argued that ‘factory working conditions for children were detrimental physically and morally’.¹¹⁴ In 1881, then president of the Benevolent Society, he was appointed the head of the newly created State Children’s Relief Department. His primary responsibility was to implement a scheme which he had argued in favour of: boarding-out. In 1896, he initiated a petition which was presented to the NSW government arguing in favour of boarding-out children with their own mothers, rather than strangers.¹¹⁵ In 1899 modifications to the State Children Act were made based on Renwick’s suggestions.

Renwick was also frustrated by the number of elderly paupers in the colony. He petitioned the government for a pension scheme, and in 1901 it was enacted.¹¹⁶ It is possible that the passage of this Act was assisted by Renwick’s own seat in the Legislative

¹¹² Kingston, *A History*, p. 56.

¹¹³ Dickey, *No Charity There*, p. 21.

¹¹⁴ Walsh, ‘Factories’, p. 13.

¹¹⁵ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ended 31st December 1896* (Sydney: S. E. Lees, 1897).

¹¹⁶ Mitchell Library, Benevolent Society of NSW, A7208: minutes of the house committee, meeting 4 August 1896. ‘Notice of Motion: The Treasurer moved, in pursuance of notice - That a letter be forwarded to the Parliamentary Committee on old age Pension expressing emphatic opinion that reform in the present system of dealing with the aged poor in Asylums is urgently needed, and the supervision of old married people cruel and inhuman and strongly recommend the Committee to urge upon Parliament the importance of humanity in granting to the aged poor of the colony the opportunity of engaging the comfort of home life by a system of State Pensions’.

Council from 1888 to 1908. In addition, the passage of this legislation was smoothed by the presence of two Benevolent Society directors sitting in the Legislative Assembly at this time, David David and Sir James Graham. However, whilst philanthropic men in Sydney did have a greater ability than their counterparts in Birmingham to effect social change through politics, their ability to both create and maintain political networks may have been impeded by the number of men leaving the colony for Britain or the other Australian colonies.

Philanthropic women also utilised their husbands' political influence. In 1863 the ladies' committee of the Sydney Female Refuge decided to petition the colonial secretary Charles Cowper for financial support. The two women selected by the committee to form a deputation were Mrs. Deas Thomson and Mrs. Allen, both of whom were married to men whose names carried a great deal of clout in Sydney society.

However, not all philanthropists had such ready access to political networks. For those located some distance from Sydney, with no political connections of their own, forming political networks was extremely difficult. In 1880 and 1881 Daniel Matthews travelled to Sydney in order to raise awareness of the plight of Aboriginal peoples and to seek legislative changes that would ensure their welfare. Whilst Matthews did succeed in forming some philanthropic networks by establishing the Aborigines Protection Association, his lack of political connections was a distinct disadvantage. He failed to convince Henry Parkes to address the question of Aboriginal welfare. Parkes was committed to the welfare of poor whites in the colony, subsidising various urban charities. Improving the welfare of the Aboriginal population meant utilising funds that could be used to assist poor whites, such was the differentiated nature of philanthropy in the colony. In contrast to the development of assistance for poor whites, 'there was relatively little

effort made to plan or implement an Aboriginal welfare policy as such. The local agencies were left to manage in the ways they thought best'.¹¹⁷

Matthews' lack of success can be attributed to the ambivalence which characterised popular opinions of Aboriginal peoples in Sydney. Men and women in Sydney were more concerned with the preparations for the upcoming centenary of white settlement and the question of federation. Like many other missionaries in the Australian colonies at this time, Matthews 'was by no means fully integrated within effective humanitarian political networks' which would have advanced his cause.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, he had few missionary connections in the colony to promote his cause; his friend J. B. Gribble was one of the very few missionaries in the Australian colonies at this time.¹¹⁹

Philanthropic men in Birmingham and Sydney made a number of economic and political connections. However, Birmingham men were provincial, largely limited to municipal politics; Joseph Chamberlain was the only Birmingham man of this era to have a significant impact upon national British politics. Philanthropic men in Sydney were much better placed to enact change in social policy through high-level politics.

¹¹⁷ Collmann, *Fringe-Dwellers*, pp. 14-5.

¹¹⁸ Lambert and Lester, 'Introduction', p. 29.

¹¹⁹ In this respect, missionaries in Australia found it much more difficult to establish and maintain missionary networks, unlike their counterparts elsewhere around the globe who 'were woven into the global web along with continental Protestants and missionary colleagues from all parts of the English-speaking world'. See Porter, *Religion Versus Empire?* p. 299.

4. Networks among Charities

Charities were part of extensive local networks which were facilitated by philanthropic men and women who often had interests in more than one charity. These overlaps prompted the transfer of information between charities based on shared interests. Information was shared about inmates, which sometimes resulted in the transfer of inmates between institutions. Moreover, charities corresponded about staff and, more broadly, philanthropic practices. These local networks reveal instances of co-operation and mutual interest, but occasionally, evidence of discord.

The Benevolent Society (Sydney) served as the first port of call for destitute women and children in NSW. Therefore one of its main tasks was to transfer women and children to more specialised institutions for more long-term assistance. In the annual report of 1902, of the 707 women and children discharged from the Asylum that year, 120 were transferred to other institutions.¹²⁰ This figure included one woman and her child who were sent to the Waitara Foundling Home, one woman to the Female Refuge, and one woman and her child to the Infants' Home.¹²¹ Many women who entered the Asylum had done so to give birth and therefore left the institution following their confinement.

Many of the women who applied to enter the Infants' Home (Sydney) had given birth to their children in the Benevolent Asylum, because the Home did not admit pregnant women. When Clara applied for admittance to the Home, it was noted by the committee that her child Cecil had been born in the Benevolent Asylum.¹²² Sydney's status as a

¹²⁰ *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales, year ending 1902* (Ashfield: G. Watson, 1903). During this era, philanthropic practice favoured boarding-out as an alternative to institutionalisation for children, therefore 176 children were referred to the boarding-out officer during this year.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² Infants' Home, ML MSS 2983/10: meeting 13 April 1897.

colonial capital, coupled with the presence of religious sectarianism, meant there were a large number of charities in the city. As such, it was possible for women to move between various institutions.¹²³ One woman admitted to the Female Refuge (Sydney) in October 1868 had spent her childhood in the Anglican Female School of Industry and her adolescence in the Catholic-run House of the Good Shepherd.¹²⁴

In Birmingham fewer women were transferred between institutions. This is perhaps not surprising given Birmingham's status as a provincial town; there were fewer charities here than in Sydney. Moreover, religious conflict was less prevalent here, therefore there were few sectarian duplicates of key charities. Two of the main charities for new mothers in the town, the Lying-in Charity and the ARTYW had different objectives: the former assisted married women, the latter unmarried women. There is, however, evidence of the transfer of children between institutions in the town, which reveals a widespread awareness of different local charities. It was integral to the committee of the Working Boys' Home that any boy admitted to the home was able to work. In 1894 the committee resolved that any boys unable to work should be transferred to the Middlemore Emigration Homes.¹²⁵ In 1896 J. T. Middlemore approached the Working Boys' Home to admit two boys from his Emigration Homes.¹²⁶ Charities also sought to rid themselves of troublesome children by transferring them to other institutions. When the ladies' committee of the Crowley Orphanage despaired of the behaviour of one of the girls in the home, they resolved to

¹²³ After 1880 it was relatively unusual for children to move between institutions, because most children were boarded-out.

¹²⁴ Sydney Female Refuge, A7018: meeting 2 Oct 1868.

¹²⁵ Working Boys' Home, MS 3375/511/2, meeting 13 December 1894.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, meeting 5 November 1896.

enquire ‘whether she could be received by Mr. Middlemore & sent to Canada’ where ‘she may do better’.¹²⁷

These examples point to the existence of networks between charities in both Birmingham and Sydney. The charities were clearly familiar with other charities in their local area and recommended the transfer of inmates as they saw fit. These networks did not simply facilitate the transfer of inmates, they also provided opportunities for sharing information. The ladies’ committee of the Infants’ Home (Sydney) utilised local philanthropic networks to enquire about potential staff members. In 1874 Miss Fairburn applied for the post of matron at the Home. The ladies’ committee corresponded with Miss Osburn, lady superintendent at the Sydney Hospital to ascertain Miss Fairburn’s “fitness” for the situation. Miss Osburn’s assessment of Miss Fairburn was not favourable so the ladies’ committee decided to widen their search for the right applicant.¹²⁸ During the same year, the Infants’ Home also sought to obtain a number of wetnurses for the home. The committee contacted the matron of the Benevolent Asylum for advice. Following a visit to the Asylum the committee members ‘secured the services of a wetnurse subject to the Doctor’s approval’.¹²⁹ It also transpired that committee members had visited the Female Mission Home for the same purpose.¹³⁰

The charities also exchanged information about rules, regulations and philanthropic practices. In 1904 the Benevolent Society (Sydney) sent out a circular letter to various charities in the city ‘asking for the fullest information regarding their operations,

¹²⁷ Crowley Orphanage, MS 517/142: meeting 3 December 1877.

¹²⁸ Infants’ Home, ML MSS 2983/1: meeting 12 August 1874.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, meeting 2 September 1874.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* This visit however, was unsuccessful.

forwarding particulars required'.¹³¹ It was clearly important for the Benevolent Society to possess up-to-date information about charities because the transfer of inmates was a crucial part of its activities. Many other charities in the city also sought to share information. In 1897 the Infants' Home ladies' committee received a letter from Mrs. Abbott from the St. Margaret's Maternity Home, 'thanking the Committee for having so often admitted cases recommended by her', but also stating that she was now in the process of 'opening a Home on a small scale in Newton [sic.] where the babies will be received without their mothers'.¹³² Furthermore, in 1910 the committee of the Infants' Home hastily wrote to the matron of the Royal Hospital for Women when they discovered misinformation was circulating about the Home's rules. The committee stated that they 'had lately heard that a report had been going about that the women coming to the Home were bound to stay 2 years in the Institution'.¹³³ They asked the matron if she would 'kindly contradict the report, if she heard it spoken of in her Hospital'.¹³⁴

Local networks of information were also present in Birmingham, although on a smaller scale. In 1874 the Committee of the Maternal Depositing Society wrote to the Lying-in Charity to warn them about 'the practice of the midwives taking stimulants whilst in the houses of their patients'.¹³⁵ They added 'they would venture to suggest that a rule be made, prohibiting this dangerous practice'.¹³⁶ In spite of the board's failure to act upon this

¹³¹ Mitchell Library, Benevolent Society of NSW, A7213: minutes of the house committee, meeting 22 March 1904.

¹³² Infants' Home, ML MSS 2983/10: meeting 5 January 1897.

¹³³ Infants' Home, ML MSS 2983/17: meeting 28 June 1910.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ Lying-in Charity, HC/MH 1/2/1: meeting 1 October 1874.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

advice, it nonetheless demonstrates the dissemination of information among local charities in the town.

In addition to the sharing of information, networks enabled acts of benevolence between charities. In Sydney and Birmingham, needlework guilds sent items to many local charities. In Birmingham throughout the period the Ladies' Needlework Guild donated items of clothing to the Lying-in Charity, the Working Boys' Home, the Middlemore Emigration Homes and the ARTYW.¹³⁷ The St. Vincent's Home for Working Boys received garments from the Catholic Needlework Guild.¹³⁸ Similarly, the Sydney Needlework Guild, founded in 1897, donated items to the Infants' Home and the Female School of Industry.¹³⁹ In Birmingham, the Free Libraries Committee made a donation of 110 'worn and discarded books' to the Working Boys' Home.¹⁴⁰ In this way, local networks encouraged the establishment of charities that existed specifically to assist other charities, augmenting local networks of benevolence.

Monetary donations also flowed between charities. In 1910 the Infants' Home (Sydney) received a cheque for £3 3s from the Fresh Air League, which stated that at the end of the year they had 'a surplus' of funds, which they had shared between various charities in the city.¹⁴¹ The Waitara Foundling Home (Sydney) received donations from various Catholic churches and schools in the city, including Loretto, St. Patricks, St.

¹³⁷ See Lying-in Charity, HC/MH 1/3/1: meeting 3 October 1905; Working Boys' Home, MS 3375/511/2, meeting 19 July 1894; *Children's Emigration Homes, Twenty-fifth Report*, appendix; *Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women Birmingham and District, Second Annual Report 1907*, p. 8.

¹³⁸ *St. Vincent's Home for Working Boys Annual Report 30th June 1908 to 30th July 1909*, p. 8; *St. Vincent's Home for Working Boys, Annual Report, June 30th 1910 to June 30th 1911* (Birmingham: The Midland Counties Herald Limited, 1911), p. 9.

¹³⁹ Infants' Home, ML MSS 2983/10: meeting 25 May 1897; *The Eighty-Third Report of the Committee of the Female School of Industry*, p. 5.

¹⁴⁰ Working Boys' Home, MS 3375/511/3, meeting 23 April 1900.

¹⁴¹ Infants' Home, ML MSS 2983/17: meeting 11 January 1910.

Vincent's and St. Ignatius. In 1892 the Lying-in Charity (Birmingham) received a £25 donation from the Committee of Birmingham Charity Sports.¹⁴²

For the most part, these local networks were extremely beneficial to charities, facilitating the transfer of inmates, information, money and other resources; social connections and acquaintances were made and retained through philanthropic works. However, on occasion tensions surfaced between philanthropists. In 1891 the board of the Benevolent Society discovered that 'Mr. Ardill, a prominent philanthropist in Sydney, had frequently sent cases for admission to the Asylum without sending a written recommendation in the customary way'.¹⁴³ The board resolved to correspond with Mr. Ardill, requesting that in future he send the necessary recommendations.¹⁴⁴ Mr. Ardill sent an apology to the board but also complained about the 'discourtesy of the Matron towards Miss Williams, the attendant who had brought the women from the Blue Ribbon Home'.¹⁴⁵ Thus the presence of networks could escalate disputes between philanthropists, who were already competing with each other to secure donations and subscriptions. Nevertheless, these networks could also play a part in resolving conflicts between philanthropists and charities.

Whilst many local networks between charities were created and maintained through correspondence, these links were augmented through personal visits to institutions. In 1908 two committee members of the Working Boys' Home (Birmingham), Arthur Lowe and G. O. Smith visited St. Vincent's Working Boys' Home, the Catholic equivalent of their own

¹⁴² Lying-in Charity, HC/MH 1/2/2: meeting 7 January 1892.

¹⁴³ Benevolent Society, A7206: meeting 20 July 1891.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

institution.¹⁴⁶ Likewise, Mrs. Vince, a committee member of the Crowley Orphanage (Birmingham) visited St. Vincent's the same year.¹⁴⁷ In Sydney, Mrs. George Wigram Allen, a member of the Female Refuge ladies' committee visited the Infants' Home in 1874.¹⁴⁸ In the same year Mrs. William MacLeay, a member of the philanthropic MacLeay family, visited the Infants' Home.¹⁴⁹

The establishment and maintenance of local networks were invaluable for charities, resulting in donations, mutual assistance as well as the sharing of information and inmates. The greater number of charities in Sydney resulted in the establishment of wider and larger networks, but such networks were equally important to Birmingham men and women who established smaller, but more durable connections. Whilst networks were carefully cultivated by individuals, it was families who provided charities with ready-made networks.

The importance of families to philanthropic networks

In Birmingham in particular, extensive philanthropic networks existed within and between families.¹⁵⁰ The prominent Nonconformist families in the town, already connected through business and politics, facilitated even stronger bonds through philanthropic activities. Many members of the same family supported the same charity, suggesting the creation of a specific philanthropic identity among some families in the town. For instance, six members of the Keep family donated or subscribed to the Middlemore Emigration

¹⁴⁶ *St. Vincent's Home for Working Boys Annual Report 30th June 1908 to 30th July 1909*, pp. 11-2.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Mrs. Wigram Allen visited the Infants' Home with her mother in law Mrs. George Allen in October 1874. Mitchell Library, Infants' Home Ashfield, ML MSS 2983/53: visitor's book.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Appendix, table 1.

Homes in 1876; in 1897 eight members of the Chance family are listed as subscribers/donators to the same charity.¹⁵¹ For many of the prominent philanthropic families in the town such as the Lloyds, philanthropic activities were simply ‘a way of life and a hereditary duty’.¹⁵² Calling cards which detailed charities supported were frequently ‘passed around among family and friends’.¹⁵³ The ladies’ committee of the Crowley Orphanage used such cards to gain additional support.

These philanthropic family identities meant that charities had a ready supply of committee members. Indeed, when J. D. Goodman resigned as Chairman of the Lying-in Charity, his son, Mr. E. M. Goodman was invited to take his place.¹⁵⁴ Similarly, when Sampson Samuel Lloyd, a member of the Working Boys’ Home committee died in 1899, his son Thomas O. Lloyd was asked to take his seat on the committee.¹⁵⁵ Women also utilised their family connections. When the Bible class teacher at the Crowley Orphanage announced her forthcoming marriage, her sister was engaged in her place.¹⁵⁶ These traditions were less evident in Sydney society, partly because of the high turnover of philanthropists in the colony and the absence of extended family members.

Nonetheless, there were some prominent philanthropic families in Sydney. Here, common interests are apparent between mother and daughter - or daughter-in-law - and father and son. For instance, Mrs. George Allen and her daughter-in-law Mrs. George Wigram Allen both sat on the ladies’ committee of the Benevolent Society; Mrs. Deas

¹⁵¹ For the Keep family’s donations/subscriptions see *Third Report of the Children’s Emigration Homes*, appendix; for the Chances’ see *Children’s Emigration Homes, Twenty-fifth Report*, appendix.

¹⁵² Lloyd, ‘The Lloyds of Birmingham’, p. 111.

¹⁵³ Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, pp. 60-1.

¹⁵⁴ Lying-in Charity, HC/MH 1/2/2: meeting 4 April 1895.

¹⁵⁵ Working Boys’ Home, MS 3375/511/3: meeting 23 April 1900.

¹⁵⁶ Crowley Orphanage, MS 517/142: meeting 26 May 1873.

Thomson and her daughter Eglantine were both committee members of the Female School of Industry from 1879 to 1883. Such shared interests between certain family members were also present in Birmingham. Mrs. J. Adams sat on the Committee of the Crowley Orphanage from 1871 whilst her two daughters held Bible classes for the young girls. Likewise, Mrs. J. S. Wright and her daughter sat on the Crowley Orphanage ladies' committee in the 1870s. This resulted in a philanthropic education for middle-class daughters.¹⁵⁷

Philanthropic links between mothers and daughters were not limited to the middle classes. Some of the midwives employed by the Lying-in Charity in Birmingham followed in their mother's footsteps, pointing to a transference of skills from one generation to the next. Mrs. Eliza Jenkins was employed as a midwife by the Charity between 1870 and the 1880s; in 1900 a Miss Jenkins entered their employment.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, Miss Ada Phillips applied for midwifery training in 1884 at the charity, where her mother was already employed as a midwife.¹⁵⁹ Even though Ada Phillips had applied for the formal training scheme which the charity now provided, it is likely that both inside and outside of formal training hours she continued to learn informally from her mother.

The most common shared philanthropic interests were between husband and wife. Often they served on committees within the same charity. In Birmingham, Mr. Alexander Chance and Mr. William Middlemore sat on the gentleman's committee of the Middlemore Emigration Homes; their respective wives sat on the ladies' committee. Similarly, Mrs. Archibald Kenrick had been a committee member of the ARTYW (Birmingham) since

¹⁵⁷ Carol Dyhouse 'Mothers and Daughters in the Middle-Class Home, c.1870-1914', in Lewis ed., *Labour and Love*, p. 39.

¹⁵⁸ Lying-in Charity, HC/MH 1/2/2: meeting 1 February 1900.

¹⁵⁹ Lying-in Charity, HC/MH 1/2/1: meeting 2 October 1884.

1906; her husband was appointed president of the charity from 1912. In Sydney when Mrs. George Allen joined the Benevolent Society's ladies' committee in 1879 her husband already occupied the position of secretary to the board of management. Lady Renwick was elected president of the ladies' committee of the Benevolent Society in 1903; at this time her husband was president of the board of management of the charity. Mr and Mrs. Dawson were both elected to committees at the Female Refuge (Sydney) in 1864. The involvement of husbands and wives on philanthropic committees resulted in the possibility that 'a wife on the ladies' committee would mention to her husband on the gentleman's committee some matter arising, and he would attend to it'.¹⁶⁰ Many husbands and wives sat on philanthropic committees at roughly the same times, suggesting that philanthropic activities were a source of shared interest. For instance, Lady Renwick decided to resign as the president of the Benevolent Society's ladies' committee (Sydney) in 1908 shortly after her husband's death. This might have been an intended widow's withdrawal from society, but it may also have been a recognition that her philanthropic interests were bound up with her husband.

Whilst many husbands and wives sat on charitable committees, husbands and wives were also integral to charities as staff members, commonly employed as superintendent and matron. In 1874 the Female Refuge (Sydney) employed Mr and Mrs. Macgillivray of Parramatta. Similarly, in Birmingham, Mr. and Mrs. Butter were employed by the Working Boys' Home between 1893 and 1901. Transferring this policy to the British Canadian dominions, J. T. Middlemore employed Mr. and Mrs. Rough to superintend the receiving home for emigrated children in Halifax in 1896.

¹⁶⁰ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 422.

Evidence from charities reveals the importance of families to charities, which in some cases resulted in a distinct philanthropic family identity. This was particularly evident in Birmingham where the philanthropic community was comprised of a number of closely-knit families. In Sydney, these family networks were more transient than in Birmingham although extensive networks were nonetheless created and maintained. Middle-class families, in particular mothers and daughters, fathers and sons and husbands and wives donated and/or subscribed to charities as well as sitting on committees. Moreover, upper working-class husbands and wives and mothers and daughters were vital to charities as staff members. In this way, family groups were fundamental to charities at different class levels.

5. Case Studies

This section considers some of the broader themes of this chapter through the lives of individuals and philanthropic movements. The visit of Daniel Matthews to England in 1869 represents one man's attempts to retain links with home. However, on his arrival, he was confronted with the differences that he perceived between himself and English men and women, which resulted in the assertion of a colonial identity. The life of W. B. Ullathorne provides an opportunity to explore how his colonial experiences - as vicar-general of NSW - impacted upon his later life as Bishop of Birmingham. The third case study, the boarding-out movement, illuminates the ways in which Birmingham and Sydney were linked to broader networks, through which information was shared about philanthropic practices. The growing popularity of the movement, both in the Australian colonies and at home, was facilitated by philanthropic families with imperial and inter-colonial connections.

Daniel Matthews (1837-1902)

Before Matthews began his missionary activities he returned home to England in 1869.¹⁶¹ His visit reminds us of the importance of maintaining family connections across the empire. His imagined England, and the reality that he was confronted with, complicated his perceptions of the mother country and unsettled his sense of home. He paid a special visit to John Mason's shop where the Wesleyan publications that he subscribed to originated from. He was underwhelmed by the shop which he described as 'puny' and with a 'low front'.¹⁶² Fortunately his visit to St. Paul's Cathedral lived up to expectations: 'the wonderful great dome, with its galleries of dizzy height fill the mind with awe & amazement'.¹⁶³ This symbol of English history, as Matthews described it, reinforced his imagination of England as an old country, steeped in history.

Similarly to many colonists, Matthews had extensive family networks in England which he sought to maintain. When he returned to England he stayed primarily with his brother John and his family in Woolwich near London. In addition to paying numerous calls to old friends and acquaintances in London, Matthews made a special tour of the West Country to retain connections with family members there. Indeed, nineteenth-century accounts of colonists returning home 'detail the relatives (aunts, uncles, cousins, and so forth) scattered around Britain to whom visits would duly be paid'.¹⁶⁴ Arriving in Hampshire he paid a visit to his cousin Kate Hookey and her husband who gave him a 'hearty welcome... I speedily found myself at home with them'.¹⁶⁵ In Falmouth he stayed

¹⁶¹ I use the terms "England" and "Englishness" in this section because Matthews chose to use these terms in his writings. To my knowledge Matthews did not visit Scotland, Ireland or Wales during 1869.

¹⁶² Matthews, PRG 359: series 1, entry 5 August 1869.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 88.

¹⁶⁵ Matthews, PRG 359: series 1, entry 2 September 1869.

briefly with his paternal aunt, and in St. Ives he paid a visit to his maternal aunt and uncle.¹⁶⁶ This indicates the importance of maintaining familial links across the empire and the significance of *the family* as one of the key lynchpins of empire.

A common theme of these visits to family members was ‘chatting about the colonies’, bringing them “home” to his relatives.¹⁶⁷ Indeed, he gave a number of his ‘colonial photographs’ to his Aunt in Falmouth.¹⁶⁸ In this way, Matthews contributed to the dissemination of information about the colonies in England as well as retaining links between metropole and colony. His family visits reinforced his sense of belonging and a particular family identity; he made a special effort to visit old acquaintances and places that he remembered from his childhood in Cornwall. In Truro he called upon his old schoolmaster Mr Payne and went to see some of his childhood homes. He discovered that despite the ‘many alternations’ he felt a great ‘familiarity’ with these places.¹⁶⁹ His visit to the Wesleyan chapel where he first heard his father preach, was a particularly poignant moment.

His family identity, which was imbued with Englishness, sometimes operated in conflict with his colonial identity.¹⁷⁰ Indeed, ‘concomitant with the movement of ideas, knowledge and practices across and beyond the networks of empire was the formulation and reformulation of identities’.¹⁷¹ On watching the boat race on the Thames between

¹⁶⁶ Matthews, PRG 359: series 1, entries 6 September and 8 September 1869.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, entry 2 September 1869.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, entry 7 September 1869.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Despite the presence of a recognisable Australian accent at this time, Matthews did not comment upon the differences between his speech and that of his English family. For more information on the Australian accent in this period see Bruce Moore, ‘Towards a History of the Australian Accent’, in Desley Deacon and Joy Damousi eds, *Talking and Listening in the Age of Modernity: Essays on the History of Sound* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2007) pp. 97-111.

¹⁷¹ Lambert and Lester, ‘Introduction’, p. 26.

Oxford and Harvard, Matthews clearly allied himself with the Oxford crew, describing them as his ‘own countrymen’.¹⁷² However he also distanced himself from those aspects of Englishness which conflicted with his colonial identity. For instance, during a visit to Southend with his brother John and his sister-in-law Emma, he discovered that John had secured a first class carriage on the train by giving the guard a sixpence. Matthews reflected: ‘it appears a great many favours can be secured in England by this means’, stating with pride that this practice ‘certainly is not permitted in the colonies’, which had gained a reputation for their egalitarian character.¹⁷³ He was also struck by the deference of the working classes in England: ‘men in dependent circumstances and even beggars, make it a practice to touch their hat’ to ladies and gentlemen.¹⁷⁴ During a visit to Cornwall he was reminded of his other home, stating that he ‘felt a great disposition all day to set fire to some wood piles... such as we are in the habit of doing in Australia’.¹⁷⁵

His sense of colonial identity was reinforced in England through the presence of goods, news and other information from the colonies, made possible by the myriad of networks between Britain and the Australian colonies. On paying a visit to his brother’s workplace in London, he discovered a copy of Melbourne’s *Argus* newspaper in the company newsroom.¹⁷⁶ Of course, English newspapers also brought news from the colonies. By reading an English newspaper, Matthews discovered that Melbourne sovereigns were to be made legal tender in England.¹⁷⁷ Australian goods were also available to buy in England. One evening, Matthew’s brother John brought home some

¹⁷² Matthews, PRG 359: series 1, entry 28 August 1869.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, entry 13 August 1869.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, entry 7 August 1869.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, entry 30 July 1869.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, entry 12 August 1869.

Australian preserved mutton which his company had ordered for distribution in Britain.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, during a visit to Southend, he discovered a man on the beach selling Australian birds - gallahs - for £4. Whilst staying at a boarding house in Plymouth he was unsurprised to meet a man recently arrived from Melbourne.¹⁷⁹

Matthews' visit to England reveals the ways in which colonists strove to maintain contact with their family at home, preserving their *family* identity. His desire to visit old acquaintances and places demonstrates his need to connect with his English roots. However, his expectations of England did not always match with the reality. On occasions he distanced himself by asserting his own sense of colonial identity, which operated alongside his sense of Englishness and his family identity. Indeed, he was constantly reminded of his colonial identity by the constant flow of goods, information and peoples that arrived in Britain. Matthews' visit to England reminds us that colonists adopted multiple identities; sometimes asserting their Englishness, at other times their colonial identity and, at other times, asserting both simultaneously.

William Bernard Ullathorne (1806-1889)

Ullathorne was born in 1806 into a Protestant family who resided in Yorkshire. In his adolescence he became a cabin boy and whilst on ship he was invited to attend a Catholic mass. Similarly to many contemporaries, he experienced a profound religious moment in which he decided to convert to Catholicism. Thus he joined a Benedictine community of monks in Somerset in 1825. During a conversation with Father Polding, Ullathorne discovered there was a desperate need for Catholic priests in the new penal colony of NSW, where Catholic convicts were living and dying with little Catholic religious

¹⁷⁸ Matthews, PRG 359: series 1, entry 2 August 1869.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, entries 26 August and 4 September 1869.

guidance.¹⁸⁰ Despite Catholic emancipation, by 1830 only two Catholic priests were present in the colony; one of whom, Father Therry, had antagonised the colonial government to the extent that he was ‘forbidden entrance to the hospital and jail, even to minister to dying men’.¹⁸¹ Moreover, there was disunity among these priests. Ullathorne expressed a preference to work in the colony and he was appointed Vicar-General of NSW in 1832 by William Morris, Vicar-General for Mauritius. At twenty-six years of age he had been appointed the most senior Catholic priest in the colony.

Illustration Seventeen: William Bernard Ullathorne.¹⁸²



¹⁸⁰ Before the 1820s only members of the Anglican clergy were permitted to preach and minister to convicts in the colony.

¹⁸¹ Rev. P. J. Gibbons, ‘Archbishop Ullathorne and Australia’, *Manly*, 4 (1933), p. 52.

¹⁸² W. B. Ullathorne, *From Cabin-Boy to Archbishop: The Autobiography of Archbishop Ullathorne. Printed from the Original Draft, with an Introduction by Shane Leslie* (London: Burns Oates, 1941), preface.

Preparing for his appointment in NSW, Ullathorne amassed a collection of Catholic books and ‘the choicest classics’.¹⁸³ He arrived in the colony aware of the heavy responsibilities of his appointment: ‘my Bishop, I knew, would be four thousand miles away from me... I felt I should have to act as if the whole authority of the Church was concentrated in my person, and to rely exclusively on my own resources’.¹⁸⁴ Through his presence in the colony he provided some crucial leadership for the Catholic community, uniting the existing priests within a fledgling religious hierarchy. Fortunately he won support from the Governor Richard Bourke who, according to Ullathorne, had ‘a sincere respect for the Catholic religion’.¹⁸⁵ This was significant, for it removed some of the widespread prejudice against the Catholic community and Catholic convicts, if only for a short time.

Ullathorne’s religious duties as Vicar-General were substantial. He was obliged to visit members of the Catholic community in the colony, which from the mid-1830s included the Port Phillip district, later known as Melbourne. In addition, he attended to Catholic paupers, many of whom were housed in the Benevolent Asylum. However it was the issue of transportation which occupied much of his time and energy during the 1830s. Deeply shocked by the conditions on Norfolk Island, he campaigned in both Britain and NSW for the abolition of transportation. In his pamphlet *The Catholic Mission in Australia* (1836) he vociferously denounced the system stating that ‘we have taken a vast portion of God’s earth, and have made it a cess-pool... we are building up with them a nation of crime’ which would become ‘a curse and a plague’ upon the earth.¹⁸⁶ His criticisms were

¹⁸³ Ullathorne, *From Cabin-Boy to Archbishop*, p. 52.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 61. Ullathorne also notes that Governor Bourke agreed to finance the completion of the Cathedral in Sydney, which had remained unfinished for years.

¹⁸⁶ W. B. Ullathorne, *The Catholic Mission in Australia* (Sydney: A. Cohen, 1838, 4th edn), p. 2.

twofold. He cited the barbarity of frequent physical punishments as well as the ‘moral horror’ of the system.¹⁸⁷ By emphasising the barbaric, uncivilised and morally dubious nature of transportation, he sought to represent transportation as fundamentally unBritish.¹⁸⁸ His pamphlet caused considerable controversy in NSW, particularly among pastoralists who relied on cheap convict labour. His comments earned him the title ‘Agitator-General of NSW’.¹⁸⁹ Despite initially weathering the storm, his decision to give evidence to the Molesworth Committee in 1838-9 was the final straw. Amidst growing hostility he left the colony in 1840.

In 1836, the same year that his pamphlet denouncing transportation was published, Ullathorne travelled to Britain to undertake a less controversial mission. He had been instructed by the newly appointed Roman Catholic Bishop of Sydney, John Bede Polding, to select a group of religious Sisters for the colony. To smooth this mission, Polding had corresponded at length with Mary Aitkenhead, the founder of a new religious group in Ireland, the Sisters of Charity. Five Sisters - two of whom were nurses - accompanied Ullathorne to NSW in 1838. Interestingly, one of the group, Sister O’Brien, was a relative of Father Therry, one of the first Catholic priests in the colony. The six month voyage to NSW fostered a close bond between the Sisters and Ullathorne, and on their arrival in the colony he was deeply impressed with their activities among the Catholic poor in Sydney. In particular he praised their efforts with the female convicts in the Female Factory: ‘the reverence with which the Sisters were regarded by all these women was quite remarkable... the whole establishment was bettered by their influence’.¹⁹⁰ The growing number of Sisters

¹⁸⁷ Ullathorne, *The Catholic Mission*, p. 18.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁸⁹ Gibbons, ‘Archbishop Ullathorne’, p. 61.

¹⁹⁰ Ullathorne, *From Cabin-Boy to Archbishop*, p. 154.

were also engaged in many other philanthropic activities such as teaching Catholic children and visiting inmates at the Benevolent Asylum.¹⁹¹

On his departure from the colony in 1840, Ullathorne shared an emotional farewell with the Sisters. He recalled that on the morning of his departure he read the Mass for the Sisters who ‘had come from Parramatta to Sydney for a blessing, and to bid us farewell’.¹⁹² He reflected on his relationship with them, stating that he ‘loved them in God as a father loves his children’.¹⁹³ He had played a significant part in the growth of communities of religious women in the Australian colonies. By 1888 there were 110 Sisters of Charity in Sydney alone.¹⁹⁴

When Ullathorne returned to Britain he was sent to the Midlands, initially to Coventry where he was made Bishop in 1848. On his return home he was not afraid to be controversial, becoming ‘the first monk of the restored English Congregation to openly wear the habit’.¹⁹⁵ His willingness to embrace controversy can be traced back to his vociferous denunciation of transportation which provoked considerable hostility in NSW. Moreover, the separation of church and state and the introduction of a formal Catholic hierarchy in the colony had provided Ullathorne with a ‘pattern’, a template for successful Catholic administration which could be implemented in Birmingham, his next appointment, to make the town ‘a model diocese’.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹ For more information on the activities of the Sisters of Charity in Sydney see Sisters of Charity Archive Sydney, uncatalogued MSS: Sister Genevieve, *The History of the Sisters of Charity in Australia*. The Benevolent Society also invited Sisters to visit the Asylum to talk to the inmates. See *Report of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales for the year ended 31st December 1876*, appendix.

¹⁹² Ullathorne, *From Cabin-Boy to Archbishop*, p. 173.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ Henry Norbert Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers in Australia*, vol. 1 (London: Herbert & Daniel, 1911), p. 492.

¹⁹⁵ Bellenger, *William Bernard Ullathorne*, p. 10. He also supervised the construction of the first Catholic Cathedral in Britain for centuries, at Clifton, Bristol.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Ullathorne was strongly in favour of restoring a Catholic hierarchy in England. However this was highly controversial, not least because of the ‘danger of relighting the fires of anti-Catholicism’ and provoking widespread conflict with the Anglican establishment and the state.¹⁹⁷ Ullathorne was selected by the Vicars Apostolic in the late 1840s to travel to Rome to discuss restoration. This was a repetition of his earlier actions in NSW, when he argued in favour of the establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in the colony, by petitioning Pope Gregory XVI. Restoration was finally achieved in Britain in 1850. The existing presence of the Oxford (or Tractarian) movement in England and the growth of immigration from Ireland smoothed this development, although it resulted in considerable anti-Catholic feeling. During the moment of restoration Ullathorne was appointed Bishop of Birmingham, where he would remain until 1888.

On arriving in Birmingham, Ullathorne was struck by two factors, both of which he compared to his experiences in NSW. The lack of widespread religious conflict in the town - namely Anglican/Catholic tensions which dominated his appointment in NSW - prompted him to comment ‘for the first time in my agitated life I found myself placed in a peaceful jurisdiction’.¹⁹⁸ Secondly, he was surprised by the Catholic community’s unity and their devotion ‘to the episcopal authority’.¹⁹⁹ This contrasts directly with the circumstances of his arrival in NSW when he was obliged to quell the conflict between Father Therry and Father McEnroe.²⁰⁰

Whilst sectarian tensions might have been less evident in Birmingham than in NSW, there was nonetheless an endemic anti-Catholic sentiment in the town which Ullathorne

¹⁹⁷ Bellenger, *William Bernard Ullathorne*, p. 13.

¹⁹⁸ Ullathorne, *From Cabin-Boy to Archbishop*, p. 209.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-1.

repeatedly condemned. Increasing Irish Catholic immigration to Birmingham during the 1850s and 1860s prompted Ullathorne to defend the new arrivals, many of whom were poor. He argued that they were ‘the least befriended’ in the town, and called for their increased support to match the relief provided for Anglican and Nonconformist paupers.²⁰¹ In 1861 there were 11,332 Irish residents in Birmingham, comprising almost 4% of the total population of the town.²⁰²

In June 1867, at a time when Fenianism had stirred up strong anti-Irish feeling, underlying tensions between the Anglican, Catholic and Nonconformist communities in Birmingham came to a head when William Murphy, an anti-Catholic speaker, was invited to give a series of lectures in the town. During the lectures, a number of Irish protestors were arrested, and in subsequent days, violence broke out between English and Irish residents in the town. Although a number of newspapers initially attributed the blame for the riot to the English, by the 1870s the blame had shifted retrospectively to the Irish Catholics.²⁰³ Thus, among the Anglican and English population of the town, opinion had shifted against Catholicism, which was increasingly depicted as ‘un-British, socially disruptive, and potentially politically subversive’.²⁰⁴

As the controversy rumbled on, Ullathorne’s sensitivity to anti-Catholic prejudice, so characteristic of his experiences in NSW - was apparent once again, this time in Birmingham. During an address to his religious community in December 1872 he wrote ‘all the powers of the world, of the sword, and of the pen fight against the Church’.²⁰⁵ At

²⁰¹ W. B. Ullathorne, *Notes on the Education Question* (London: Richardson and Son, 1857), p. 9.

²⁰² Patsy Davis, ‘Birmingham’s Irish Community and the Murphy Riots of 1867’, *Midland History*, 31 (2006), p. 38.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-9.

²⁰⁴ Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain*, p. 34.

²⁰⁵ W. B. Ullathorne, *Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne* (London: Burns & Oates, 1892), pp. 272-3.

this time, Protestants in England - including Birmingham - 'began to feel threatened by the vitality and growth of a group that had traditionally incurred their suspicion'.²⁰⁶ Indeed, in the months immediately following the Murphy riots, a number of anti-Catholic rumours were started in the town, many of which focused on convents and the supposed maltreatment of religious Sisters. The infamous "nunnery story" circulated, in which a nun was supposedly seen climbing over the wall of a convent in order to escape the clutches of the Catholic Church. Ullathorne dismissed the story, stating that the same tale was reported in newspapers in France about religious Sisters there.²⁰⁷ These attacks upon Sisters were particularly disturbing to Ullathorne, who had valued and encouraged such women throughout his religious life. He wrote a series of pamphlets contradicting the rumours, the first of which was published in 1868. In one pamphlet, he recalled his interactions with religious Sisters in NSW and England, stating unequivocally that, 'I never was acquainted with a single case where a nun had violated her vow... those endless tales flow out of a Protestant tradition, and are kept alive by anti-Catholic feeling'.²⁰⁸

Ullathorne was soon infuriated by the publication of another pamphlet, this time authored by Gladstone entitled *The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance* (1874). Gladstone sought to emphasise the perceived tensions between Catholicism and Britishness by speculating upon the true loyalty of English Catholics, whose hearts, he argued, would always belong to Rome. Ullathorne felt the need to respond and *Mr. Gladstone's Expostulation Unravelled* was published the following year. Ullathorne refuted Gladstone's claims, arguing that he was simply using the tired old rallying call of 'old

²⁰⁶ Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain*, p. 37.

²⁰⁷ W. B. Ullathorne, *Three Lectures the Conventual Life, Lecture I* (London: Burns, Oates & Co., 1868), pp. 7-8.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

Popery’ to drum up political support.²⁰⁹ He stated that, ‘the Church has never intended, and does not now intend, to exercise a direct and absolute power over the political rights of the State’.²¹⁰ Perhaps Gladstone had reason to worry. In the 1840s the newly appointed Archbishop Vaughan of Sydney proclaimed that Catholics were first and foremost defined by their religion; their primary allegiance would always remain with Rome.²¹¹ However, Ullathorne attempted to play down this perceived Catholic threat to the British state. He argued that after centuries of persecution the Catholic population in Britain were simply ‘living in peace and content, loving their Church and Pontiff, loving their Queen and country’.²¹²

During the controversy following the Murphy riots in Birmingham, Ullathorne was most aggrieved by the verbal attacks on religious Sisters and convents. Indeed, when Ullathorne arrived in Birmingham he provided the Sisters of Mercy, already active in the diocese, with larger premises at the old seminary at Oscott, called Maryvale.²¹³ He supported the Orphanage run by the Sisters of Mercy financially and offered spiritual support to the Sisters themselves.²¹⁴

Perhaps the greatest testament to Ullathorne’s encouragement of the Sisters’ work is the growth of female religious communities in the diocese of Birmingham. There were seven convents on his arrival in 1850; by 1886, close to his retirement, there were thirty-

²⁰⁹ W. B. Ullathorne, *Mr. Gladstone’s Expostulation Unravelling* (London: Burns & Oats, 1875), pp. 31-2. Significantly, the Liberals (under Gladstone) had lost the election in 1874.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²¹¹ Cunich, ‘Archbishop Vaughan’, p. 148.

²¹² Ullathorne, *Mr. Gladstone’s Expostulation Unravelling*, p. 77.

²¹³ Pinches, *Father Hudson*, pp. 7-8.

²¹⁴ *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Maryvale Orphanage*. It was revealed that the Orphanage had incurred a debt of £1400 due to repairs needed to the structure of the building. Ullathorne agreed to personally pay the interest on the debt for a period of 4 years.

six. Moreover, the number of letters which arrived from religious Sisters all over England during his serious illness in 1884, reveal the mutual high regard between Ullathorne and communities of religious women. Sister Mary Joseph, residing at a convent in Torquay wrote: ‘never can I forget all you have been to us, & all you are - & that, not only to us, as a congregation, but to us individually’.²¹⁵ She continued ‘I pray for you... that your precious life may be prolonged & we may not be deprived of one to whom we owe *so much* - I do not know *what* we shall do without you’.²¹⁶ When Ullathorne left the diocese in 1888 to become Bishop of Casaba, the Sisters of Mercy of the diocese presented him with an address. They thanked him for his kindness, stating that ‘we can never fully appreciate the devotedness with which you have served us, nor thank you for it as we wish, while here on earth... in you we have had a friend and a devoted Superior, zealous to defend our interests and to promote our welfare’.²¹⁷

It is clear that Ullathorne had a significant impact upon the religious Sisters in his diocese and elsewhere in England, but these religious women were also a source of support to Ullathorne. He enjoyed a close friendship with Mother Margaret Mary Hallahan, whom he brought to England to establish an English Congregation of Sisters of Penance of St. Catherine of Siena. One biographer commented that his interactions with Sisters were ‘a great relief to his mind from the more active turmoil of his ordinary life’.²¹⁸ Such sentiments were evident in Ullathorne’s letters to various Sisters. In his reply to the address from the Sisters of Mercy from the diocese in 1888, he wrote ‘I have always had a great

²¹⁵ Birmingham Archdiocesan Archives, letters of William Bernard Ullathorne, B8570: letter from Sister Mary Catherine Joseph to Ullathorne dated 7 Oct 1884.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ Ullathorne, *Letters*, pp. 524-5.

²¹⁸ Anon, ‘Memoir of The Right Rev. W. B. Ullathorne, D. D., O. S. B., Bishop of Birmingham’, *The Oscotian*, 17 (1886), pp. 56-7.

reverence for the virgins of Christ... I have done my best as occasion allowed, to serve you and to assist your advancement.²¹⁹ He added ‘your progress in the religious virtues, and your works of untiring charity, have been one chief consolation in my life... *you have been of more service to me than I have ever been to you*’.²²⁰

Although he was devoted to the religious Sisters within the diocese of Birmingham, he retained a special affection for the first group of Sisters that he accompanied to NSW in 1838. Reflecting on those events, he wrote to Sister M. Williams, the only surviving nun of the group in 1872: ‘do you remember what a poor little sick thing you were on board ship, and for so long a time, and how, when you got well, and began to knit, that poor stocking used to get unravelled, and all the troubles we had, and that strange american [sic]?’²²¹ He admitted ‘I never forget what I always call my first nuns, though I have had many under my care since then’.²²² His legacy lives on among the Sisters of Charity in Sydney; to date a large portrait of Ullathorne hangs in their archives at Potts Point.

Ullathorne’s character was deeply affected and shaped by his experiences in NSW which had a considerable bearing upon his actions in Birmingham. The colony rendered him particularly sensitive to anti-Catholic prejudice, and instilled in him a willingness to embrace controversy. It was, however, his interactions with religious Sisters which had the most lasting impact on his psyche. Indeed he ‘never forgot’ those first nuns and, as a result, when he returned home he was determined to encourage the growth of female religious communities in Birmingham.

²¹⁹ Sisters of Mercy Archive Birmingham, Maryvale Orphanage, 3/200/14/1: Sisters of Mercy letterbook, letter from W. B. Ullathorne to the Sisters of Mercy, Maryvale dated 18 April 1888.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, emphasis added.

²²¹ Sisters of Charity Archive Sydney, Sisters of Charity letters, H412/9: letter from W. B. Ullathorne to Sister M. Williams dated 29 Jan 1872.

²²² Sisters of Charity Archive Sydney, Sisters of Charity letters, H412/39: letter from W. B. Ullathorne to Mother M. Xavier dated 18 Nov 1888.

The boarding-out movement

The boarding-out movement originated in Scotland during the 1830s as a protest against the barrack system of institutionalising pauper children. Under the scheme, destitute children were boarded-out with respectable working-class families. The system slowly gained support in England, and by the 1860s, twenty-six unions had adopted it.²²³ The system addressed the concerns of a growing number of people who believed that children should be raised in a family - rather than an institutional environment. Indeed, cottage homes were also popular in this period in Britain, where small numbers of children were housed together under the care of a “mother” and “father”.²²⁴ Proponents of the boarding-out system stressed the beneficial influence of family life on the children. For instance, at a meeting to discuss boarding-out in Birmingham, Wilhelmina Hall spoke of the family as ‘the divinely-appointed method’ for raising children’.²²⁵

The boarding-out movement gained in prominence largely because of the actions of a handful of families who were committed to change in the way destitute children were cared for. The Hill family strongly advocated boarding-out. Matthew Davenport Hill, former recorder of Birmingham, was well known for his research into juvenile crime. His daughters Rosamund, Florence and Joanna, and his son Alfred, were active within the boarding-out movement. Joanna and Alfred Hill had remained in Birmingham when the family relocated to Bristol and both were involved with the Working Boys’ Home. In his exploration of pauperism in Birmingham, Alfred Hill praised boarding-out: ‘the results are most satisfactory; for the children are nearly all absorbed into the honest working

²²³ *Boarding-out Pauper Children*, p. 4.

²²⁴ Murdoch, ‘From Barrack Schools to Family Cottages’.

²²⁵ Hall, *Boarding-Out*, p. 17, emphasis added. This statement also reflects contemporary fears about hereditary pauperism, which boarding-out also had the potential to eradicate.

population, and cause no further trouble of any kind to the authorities'.²²⁶ Joanna Hill had visited Edinburgh to witness the operation of the scheme and stated that 'no plan, both for cheapness and efficiency, equals that known under the name of "The Boarding-out System".²²⁷ She noted that the scheme had been successfully adopted in Ireland, France, Russia, Germany, the United States, and also in a few parishes in England.²²⁸ Indeed 2,132 children had been boarded-out in Ireland by 1859.²²⁹

Illustration Eighteen: Dr. Alfred Hill.²³⁰



²²⁶ Hill, 'Some Thoughts on Pauperism', pp. 106-7.

²²⁷ Hill, *How Can We Eradicate the Pauper Taint?* p. 1.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ Ramsland, 'The Development of Boarding-out', p. 187.

²³⁰ Birmingham City Archive, Picture Catalogue, Dr. Alfred Hill, Medical Officer of Health, 1827-1922.

A number of meetings were held in Birmingham during the 1860s to discuss the boarding-out system. These meetings attracted those interested in the scheme from all over the country, including poor law guardians and representatives from children's charities. At a public meeting in 1869 among those who attended were: the governor of the Liverpool workhouse, the former Bath board of guardians, the guardian of Chorlton-cum-Medlock union and Matthew Davenport Hill. Hill stated he would 'rejoice if the name of my birthplace is added to the constantly lengthening list of Unions adopting the plan'.²³¹ Various prominent Birmingham men attended the meeting, such as the Rev. R. W. Dale, George Dawson, Mr. C. Sturge and Mr. R. L. Chance. Despite the efforts of the Hills and other supporters of the system, they were unsuccessful in soliciting broader support from the poor law boards.²³² However, in 1873, as the movement's popularity increased, the Kings Norton Union adopted the scheme for its pauper children and Joanna Hill was secretary of the boarding-out committee of the union for many years.

The previous year Caroline Emily Clark, the cousin of Florence, Rosamund, Joanna and Alfred Hill, began her own boarding-out experiment in South Australia in conjunction with Catherine Helen Spence.²³³ They persuaded the South Australian Destitute Board to let them settle a number of children with respectable families in the colony. A small fee was paid to the families: 5 shillings, enough to cover additional expenses but, crucially, not enough to make a profit.²³⁴ In 1874, the newly formed Boarding-out Society in South Australia stated that after two years of operating the scheme, they 'have great pleasure in

²³¹ *Boarding-out Pauper Children*, p. 17.

²³² *Ibid.*, p. 5

²³³ Spence is commemorated on the old \$5 AUS banknote. Henry Parkes is depicted on the reverse of the same banknote.

²³⁴ Garton, *Out of Luck*, pp. 91-2.

declaring their increased faith in the system'.²³⁵ Significantly, in 1874, Caroline Emily Clark was requested by Justice Windeyer to give evidence about the system to the Royal Commission on Public Charities in NSW. The Commission concluded that 'the congregation of children together in large numbers in Charitable Institutions... is prejudicial to a healthy development of character and the rearing of children as good and useful men and women'.²³⁶ The boarding-out system was specifically recommended as an alternative to institutionalisation, citing the success of the movement 'in the Mother Country, as well as in the Colony of South Australia'.²³⁷ The recommendations of the Royal Commission also coincided with the visit of Florence and Rosamund Hill to the Australian colonies, and they also gave evidence to the Commission.²³⁸ The sisters also visited their cousin in South Australia to witness the implementation of the scheme there.

Everywhere they went in the Australian colonies, Florence and Rosamund Hill 'preached boarding-out for children'.²³⁹ In Sydney they spent a great deal of time with Henry Parkes, visiting various philanthropic and government institutions such as the Vernon Training Ship and the Girls' Industrial School.²⁴⁰ At the end of their stay in Sydney, the sisters wrote to Parkes, thanking him 'most sincerely' for all of his 'kind attention' during their visit.²⁴¹ They continued: 'without you we could not so advantageously have

²³⁵ *Boarding-Out Society. Second Annual Report of the Society for the Supervision of Children Placed out from the Magill Institution by the Destitute Board* (Adelaide: William Kyffin Thomas, 1874), p. 3.

²³⁶ State Records of NSW, Royal Commission into Public Charities 1873-4, 4/1083: 'Resolutions to be Moved by the President', p. x.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ Godden, 'Philanthropy', p. 17.

²³⁹ Dickey, *No Charity There*, p. 59.

²⁴⁰ Rosamund Hill also mentioned the possibility of visiting Ashfield, perhaps to visit the Infants' Home. See Mitchell Library, Henry Parkes correspondence, A923: letter from Rosamund Hill to Henry Parkes dated 6 December 1873.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, letter from Rosamund Hill to Henry Parkes dated 14 December 1873.

visited the many interesting Institutions your Colony possesses'.²⁴² The interactions between Parkes and the Hill sisters in 1873 were facilitated by correspondence between Parkes and their father, Matthew Davenport Hill, both former Birmingham men. In 1861 Parkes had gained an introduction via correspondence with Hill through Justice Wise, one of Parkes' acquaintances. Parkes, like Hill, was interested in juvenile crime, and he had established the Vernon Training Ship for boys in 1867. In a letter to Parkes, Hill recommended various pieces of literature on juvenile crime, including his own work, *Suggestions for the Repression of Crime*.²⁴³ Indeed, a copy of Hill's *Papers on Penal Servitude* held by the Mitchell Library in Sydney, bears Parkes' signature on the opening page. Parkes' ongoing interest in Hill and his ideas for reform of juvenile criminals are suggested by the inclusion of a photograph of Hill and Mary Carpenter in a letter sent from Rosamund Hill to Parkes in 1873.²⁴⁴

The presence of the Hill sisters in Sydney no doubt facilitated the dissemination of information about boarding-out. However, proponents of the movement in Sydney utilised their own inter-colonial networks of family and friends to share information. The boarding-out movement in Sydney began officially in 1879, when three Sydney women established the Boarding-out Society of NSW. They were: Mrs. Jefferis, wife of a congregational pastor, Mrs. Garran, wife of the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and Mrs. Windeyer, wife of Justice Windeyer. Explaining the origins of the movement, Mrs. Garran stated that she had corresponded with Miss Spence and Miss Clark, founders of the movement in

²⁴² Parkes correspondence, A923: letter from Rosamund Hill to Henry Parkes dated 14 December 1873.

²⁴³ Mitchell Library, Henry Parkes correspondence, A988: letter from Matthew Davenport Hill to Henry Parkes dated 29 September 1861. In the letter Hill also recommends that Parkes contact a number of Birmingham men, including Arthur Ryland, who had recently visited Irish convict prisons.

²⁴⁴ Parkes correspondence, A923, Hill to Parkes, 14 December 1873.

South Australia, who were her ‘personal friends’.²⁴⁵ Moreover, Mrs. Jefferis and her husband had recently arrived in Sydney from Adelaide, and during the 1870s Mrs. Windeyer corresponded with both Caroline Emily Clark and Rosamund Hill.²⁴⁶ Requests for information were clear in letters between the Sydney women and their counterparts in South Australia. In one letter to Mrs. Windeyer, Caroline Emily Clark began ‘you ask me how we began boarding-out...’²⁴⁷

Illustration Nineteen: Henry Parkes.²⁴⁸



²⁴⁵ Mitchell Library, Andrew Garran collection, Ag54: Mrs. Garran, ‘An Account of the Boarding-out Society’.

²⁴⁶ Mitchell Library, Windeyer Family Papers, Lady Windeyer correspondence, ML MSS 186/13: letter from C. E. Clark to Mrs. Windeyer dated 10 February 1875 and letter from Rosamund Hill to Mrs. Windeyer dated 18 November 1874. The letter suggests a friendship was formed between Rosamund and Mrs. Windeyer. The former recollects going for a drive in Sydney with her sister Florence and Mrs. Windeyer. She concludes her letter ‘give my love to your children, not forgetting Willie & little Lucy’.

²⁴⁷ Mitchell Library, Windeyer Family Papers, Lady Windeyer correspondence, Ac47: letter from Caroline Emily Clark to Lady Windeyer dated 31 December 1876, in which the boarding-out movement is discussed in detail.

²⁴⁸ Mitchell Library, Pictures Collection, P3/P: Henry Parkes in 1882.

In order to establish the system in NSW, Mrs. Garran, Mrs. Jefferis and Lady Windeyer sought the support of Henry Parkes, the Colonial Secretary. He promised the Boarding-out Society £200 in 1880 to meet initial costs.²⁴⁹ Parkes' support of the boarding-out system was cultivated during the Hill sisters' visit to Sydney, and through additional correspondence with their cousin in South Australia, Caroline Emily Clark. Thus the movement gained favour in the colony and it was formally implemented in 1881.

The Hill sisters and others in Britain watched the developments in NSW with keen interest. The Hill sisters returned to Britain in 1874 having witnessed the successful operation of the movement in South Australia. Even more convinced of its success, they continued to convince poor law unions to adopt the scheme in Britain. Indeed, news of the positive results of the system in the Australian colonies soon reached Birmingham, and proponents of the system began to argue that a similar state-sponsored and state-controlled system of boarding-out should be implemented there. At a meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science held in Birmingham in 1886, one of the speakers specifically cited the success of the movement in NSW. Wilhelmina Hall stated that 'during the past five years, 1,675 children have been withdrawn from Institutions and placed out' in the colony.²⁵⁰ Ultimately the absence of legislation on the subject meant that boarding-out was adopted by some unions, but not others.

²⁴⁹ Ramsland, 'The Development of Boarding-out', p. 193.

²⁵⁰ Hall, *Boarding-Out*, p. 29.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the ways in which Sydney and Birmingham were connected to a series of layered philanthropic networks, from the local to the international. The creation and maintenance of these networks was made possible by developments in technology throughout the century. In NSW, networks were predominantly maintained with Britain, demonstrating a close identification with Britain and Britishness. However, the status of colonists as part of the “imperial race” sat uncomfortably with their subordinate status as “colonials”. Indeed, from the middle of the nineteenth century men and women in NSW began to forge their own distinct colonial identity, as well as establishing networks with other white settler societies such as the United States. Thus, during the second half of the nineteenth century the Australian colonies were reassessing their relationship with Britain. The adoption and rejection of metropolitan philanthropic practices and the creation of distinct colonial philanthropic practices was one part of this process.

Philanthropists in both Birmingham and Sydney were keen to adopt the newest innovations in philanthropic practice. Birmingham, which had a proven reputation for reform, created and maintained networks in London as a way of keeping pace with philanthropic developments. Since the establishment of the colony of Victoria, Sydney and Melbourne’s relationship was characterised by a sense of rivalry. Philanthropists in Sydney therefore sought to establish networks with their counterparts in Melbourne to keep abreast of developments there. Whilst these connections between Birmingham and London and Sydney and Melbourne were unbalanced, there was some evidence of reciprocity.

The status of Birmingham as a provincial town and Sydney as a colonial capital had a significant impact upon the character of their respective philanthropic communities. In Birmingham philanthropists were comprised of a small number of tightly knit family groups, many of whom were Nonconformists. Philanthropic men in the town often shared economic or political interests. As provincial men, they had minimal access to national politics and limited scope to effect change in legislation. In contrast, a number of philanthropic men in Sydney had ready access to colonial politics and thus opportunities to enact legislation. Unlike their counterparts in Birmingham, philanthropic men in Sydney were largely professionals. However, the philanthropic community of Sydney was much larger and much more fluid than that in Birmingham which meant that networks within the philanthropy community were more fragile.

Philanthropic men and women often sat on multiple philanthropic committees which facilitated the dissemination of information. Information was shared about staff, inmates and philanthropic practices; inmates were also transferred between various institutions. For the most part these local networks of information within Birmingham and Sydney were productive. However, they also enabled the development of rumours and attempts to bypass the rules and regulations of institutions. These local networks were greatly assisted and maintained by families who subscribed/donated and acted as committee members. Shared philanthropic interests often existed between husbands and wives, mothers and daughters, and fathers and sons. Such family connections were also evident among staff members employed by charities.

The case studies demonstrate the multiple connections between metropole and colony which rendered them mutually constitutive. Daniel Matthews' diary in England provides an opportunity to consider the ways in which colonists visiting Britain were

confronted with various identities as British, colonists, and Australians. As Matthews demonstrated, colonists could assume multiple - and sometimes conflicting - identities. W. B. Ullathorne's experiences in NSW shaped his thoughts about Catholicism and its relation to the state which had a considerable impact upon the way in which he ran the diocese of Birmingham. Specifically, in NSW he had developed an intolerance for anti-Catholicism and an admiration of religious Sisters, both of which he brought home to Birmingham. The boarding-out movement reveals how Birmingham and Sydney were connected to a vast web of networks based on philanthropic interests. The success of the movement in Britain and NSW was largely due to the efforts of a number of family, friends and acquaintances whose networks spanned both metropole and colony.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored philanthropic activities directed towards women and children, both at home in Birmingham, and in a particular colonial context: Sydney. Moreover, it has considered the numerous and layered networks in operation in Birmingham and Sydney which constituted a web of connections linking imperial and metropolitan sites, as well as the wider world.

It has argued that philanthropic activities directed towards women and children were always mediated through broader discourses of class, gender and race. In NSW, racial discourses had a profound effect upon philanthropic activities, resulting in a differentiated philanthropy. From the early-nineteenth century, urban philanthropists devoted their efforts to white women and missionaries assumed responsibility for Aboriginal peoples. As such, between 1860 and 1914 Aboriginal women and children were increasingly perceived to be fundamentally different from their white counterparts. This was in part a result of hardening attitudes towards peoples of colour in the British Empire more broadly, compounded by the specific representation of the Australian colonies as white settler colonies. It is telling that philanthropists in NSW conceived of white children as future *citizens*, whereas missionaries such as Daniel Matthews overwhelmingly represented Aboriginal children as future *members* of society. Despite these perceived innate racial differences, white and Aboriginal women and children were taught similarly gendered forms of work. Whilst missionaries and other philanthropists both strove to civilise Aboriginal and white women and children, for missionaries conversion was central to the process of civilising.

By the turn of the century, the place that Aboriginal and white women would occupy in the new Australian nation was polarised. As the Australian nation situated whiteness at the heart of national identity, white women were enfranchised. Their child-bearing potential was represented as vital to the future of the new nation, and their children were valued as future citizens. In contrast, by virtue of their race, Aboriginal men and women were denied citizenship, excluded from the imagined community of the nation. Moreover, Aboriginal women continued to be infantilised, represented as needing constant protection and supervision. They were depicted as unfit mothers and, from the early-twentieth century, their children were increasingly removed by the Australian government under the guise of child protection.

In Birmingham, discourses of race also seeped into philanthropic activities, although to a lesser extent than in NSW. Urban spaces in Britain were likened to the ‘swamps’ of Africa and these spaces were represented as a specific threat to children.¹ As such, philanthropists in Birmingham sought to rescue these children - depicted as the future of the nation - to mould them into a specifically gendered working-class image. Discourses of class and race were fused in these discussions about the quality of British working-class youth at the turn of the century. Similarly, discourses of class and race operated together in discussions about working-class motherhood in Birmingham. Eugenicists began to speculate about the future of the British race, and the suggestion that the race was deteriorating provoked considerable anxiety among contemporaries. Although theories of degeneration were quashed in the report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, British working-class mothers were subjected to increasing forms of medical and societal scrutiny.²

¹ Booth, *In Darkest England*, p. 14.

² ‘Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration’.

Discourses of class were more prominent in Birmingham than in NSW. However, broadly speaking, in both Birmingham and Sydney men and women of the middle classes assumed a class-based authority to speak for, reform and improve, working-class mothers and children. The philanthropic relationship was highly unequal, infantilising women who, despite their age, were often termed “girls”. However, on occasion women were able to exercise a *limited* agency. This agency was more visible in Sydney, partly due to the greater number of institutions and the slightly different position of women in NSW. In this new society, there was a shortage of domestic servants because there were more employment opportunities.

Although the philanthropic relationship has often been conceptualised as a set of interactions between middle-class/elite men and women and “the poor”, I have complicated this dichotomy by paying close attention to the upper-working class/lower-middle class men and women who were employed by charities. They were liminal figures, occupying an uneasy place between the committee men and women and the recipients. As such, they were required to balance the demands of their employers, the philanthropic men and women, with the realities of running an institution and the needs of recipients. These nuances of class were expressed more clearly among the Birmingham charities, evident in discussions about how such working women should be treated and their *place* within the charities. This reflects more broadly the centrality of particular notions of class in relation to femininity in metropolitan society.

In NSW concepts of class were conceived of differently, and ways of marking social status were more varied. Indeed, the Australian colonies had created a specific colonial (and later Australian) identity based on notions of egalitarianism. Of course, this was in many respects a myth because many men, women and children were reliant upon charity.

Nevertheless, other forms of marking difference were apparent in NSW. The colony had a troubling convict past which the achievement of responsible government and the cessation of transportation could not erase. In a society attempting to establish a new reputation as a respectable white settler colony, it was *behaviour* - rather than a fixed notion of class - that was crucial. Sydney men and women had much to prove and, as a result, were particularly anxious about both their own reputation and the reputation of society more broadly.

Perceived rises in illegitimacy rates and concerns about larrikin youth were troubling to contemporaries who were continually asserting and reasserting the colony's claims to respectability. Whilst many Birmingham philanthropists were concerned about loss of respectability for unmarried mothers, unlike their contemporaries in Sydney, they did not question their own behaviour or the reputation of their city. Significantly, the language of respectability was often lacking in the records of the Birmingham charities. As such, I suggest that the distinction between respectable and disreputable was a more significant marker of difference in NSW than in Birmingham.

Philanthropic efforts were infused with discourses of gender. Philanthropists and missionaries taught gender-appropriate forms of work to male and female recipients. Women and girls - both white and Aboriginal - were encouraged to become wives and domestic servants. Boys were overwhelmingly prepared for waged work to support future dependents, conforming to middle-class concepts of working-class masculinity. Moreover, there was a gendered division of labour within charities. Women were often restricted to membership of ladies' committees which were subordinate to the main/gentlemen's committees. Discourses of gender intertwined with religion for Catholic Sisters operating within the gendered hierarchy of the Catholic church. The Sisters represented themselves and, were in turn, depicted as metaphorical children, under the direction and guidance of

the Bishop. For other white female philanthropists, change was underway by the turn of the century. Ladies' committees were gradually dissolved, indicative of broader changes in women's status in society in both Britain and Australia. This shift also reflects the development of careers for women which evolved from their philanthropic involvement, such as social work.³

The differing statuses of Birmingham - as a provincial town - and Sydney, as a colonial capital, had a profound effect upon philanthropic activities. Birmingham men and women prided themselves on the town's voluntarism, liberalism and self-help. Many men and women in the town, particularly the Nonconformists, were committed to the support of various causes: locally, nationally, imperially, and in the wider world. As a result, the transition to collectivism, although underway, remained contentious. In contrast, the nature of early settlement in NSW permitted a much greater degree of government intervention in the lives of settlers. During the early-nineteenth century this government intervention was normalised by many settlers and they came to expect such interventions. The colonial (and later NSW) government contributed to charities, fueling the expectation among colonists that government assistance was their *right*. As such, the transition to collectivism occurred sooner in NSW and was accepted much more readily than at home. Embryonic welfare reforms, such as early child protection measures were enacted earlier in NSW than in Britain. However, this ingrained collectivism in NSW resulted in a diminished sense of liberality among Sydney men and women, relatively few of whom subscribed and donated to charities in the city.

³ Yeo, *The Contest For Social Science*; Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women*; Koven, *Slumming*; Eileen Janes Yeo, 'The Social Survey in Social Perspective, 1830-1930' in Martin Bulmer, Kevin Bales and Kathryn Kish Sklar eds, *The Social Survey in Historical Perspective, 1880-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 49-65; Lewis, *Women and Social Action*.

The philanthropic men of Birmingham were predominantly manufacturers, reflecting the town's economic character. Philanthropic men in Sydney were mainly professionals, befitting the city's status as a colonial capital. Moreover, despite the similar size of Birmingham and Sydney by 1914, there were many more charities in Sydney. This was in part a reflection of the city's status but also of its religious character. The sectarian rivalries between Anglicans, Catholics and Nonconformists resulted in the duplication of many charities. In Birmingham there was only one layer of duplication resulting in separate Catholic charities. Access to politics for male philanthropists was also very different. Men in Sydney had ready access to colonial politics through membership of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly. Male philanthropists in Birmingham were overwhelmingly provincial politicians, with very limited access to national politics. This had a profound impact on men's ability to enact change through legislation based upon their philanthropic concerns.

Chapter 5 utilised the theme of networks, as conceptualised by historians such as Alan Lester, to explore the many ways in which metropole and colony were linked. The thesis has applied this concept to philanthropic activities to explore the ways in which philanthropists in Birmingham and Sydney utilised existing imperial networks and family connections to share information about philanthropic practices. It has demonstrated the ways in which two seemingly unconnected sites were linked through the webs of information, peoples and commodities which travelled through and between imperial and extra-imperial spaces. As such, this study reinforces the ubiquitous nature of metropolitan and colonial connections.

This thesis has contributed to several different strands of historiography. It has added to the historiography of philanthropy through a study of philanthropic provision for women

and children in two specific sites. The structure of this thesis, specifically the way in which Aboriginal and white experiences of philanthropy are juxtaposed, renders it an important contribution to an Australian historiography of philanthropy/welfare which has tended to separate their experiences. Despite powerful discourses of racial difference operating in the Australian colonies, to some extent white and Aboriginal women and children's experiences of philanthropy were similar. For instance, both Aboriginal and white children were taught similarly gender-appropriate forms of work. More studies are needed that integrate both Aboriginal and white histories into broader national histories. Such research can de-stabilise whiteness, fundamental to unpicking the ways in which it became so central to Australian national identity.

This study is original because it utilises the conceptual frameworks of new imperial history to engage with the historiography of philanthropy. Whilst some work has been carried out on specific humanitarian movements spanning Britain and the Empire, such as anti-slavery campaigns and the Aborigines Protection Society, many historians of philanthropy in Britain have been reluctant to engage with new imperial history.⁴ There is much to be gained, both by new imperial historians and historians of philanthropy, from such engagement.

As chapter 5 demonstrates, philanthropists in Birmingham and Sydney created and maintained a range of networks spanning the British Empire and the wider world. As such, this study has implications for the broader historiography of metropolitan and colonial connections, in particular the ways in which these connections were strengthened or

⁴ For anti-slavery see for instance Clare Midgley, *Women Against Slavery: the British Campaigns, 1780-1870* (London: Routledge, 1992). For the Aborigines' Protection Society see Alan Lester and Fae Dussart, 'Masculinity "Race", and Family in the Colonies: Protecting Aborigines in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Gender, Place and Culture*, 16, (2009), pp. 65-76; Lester, *Imperial Networks*, pp. 105-138; Zoe Laidlaw, "'Aunt Anna's Report': The Buxton Women and the Aborigines Select Committee, 1835-1837", *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 32 (2004), pp. 1-28.

weakened based on the adoption or rejection of philanthropic practices. It is hoped that this thesis will encourage future research into metropolitan and colonial connections, particularly the ways in which philanthropic practices and ideas were shared and developed as they moved between different sites.

A broader study of the boarding-out movement and the child emigration movement would be one way of addressing this gap in the historiography. As we have seen, the boarding-out movement reveals the ways in which philanthropists utilised networks of family and friends - both in Britain and the Australian colonies - to share information about the movement and to gain support. An exploration of the personal papers of the Clark family held in Adelaide would further the work of this thesis.⁵ Moreover, there is much research to be done on the Adelaide Boarding-out Society: a number of the Society's annual reports are held at the State Library of South Australia. The boarding-out movement could be situated alongside a study of the child emigration movement, forming a broader tripartite study of child welfare practices in Britain, Canada and Australia. Indeed, there is a large collection of material on the Middlemore Homes held in the Birmingham City Archives which this thesis has only touched upon.⁶ The ways in which these two practices developed, specifically the process of sharing information and the implementation of these movements in different sites, would enrich our understanding of the ways in which imperial and metropolitan networks of philanthropy functioned.

In addition, this study also has implications for the complex discourses of gender, race and class. It is through returning to the local or regional, I suggest, that the most effective analyses of the interactions between class, gender and race can be made.

⁵ Caroline Emily Clark was related to Florence and Rosamund Hill and their correspondence forms a part of the Clark collection. See State Library of South Australia, PRG 389: Clark Family Papers, 1850-1945.

⁶ Birmingham City Archive, MS 517: Middlemore Emigration Homes Collection.

Discourses of class, gender and race are so powerful and all-encompassing, that specific geographical case studies can provide more tangible conclusions. For instance, this study reveals that in NSW, it was race (mediated through gender) which was the primary marker of philanthropic difference. In Birmingham, by contrast, philanthropic difference was determined primarily by class (mediated through gender).

The close attention paid in this thesis to the “liminal” figures of the lady superintendent/matron has implications for another strand of historiography: labour history. Philanthropists employed men and women to run their institutions, and this thesis has revealed the complex interactions between these two social groups. It would be fruitful to conduct further research into the interactions between philanthropists and their employees, contextualised within the broader labour movement in Britain and Australia. Chapter 5 briefly recounted the mutual co-operation between maritime unions in Sydney, Brisbane, Melbourne and London during strikes in 1889 and 1890.⁷ A study of working-class male co-operation across the globe through trade unions and self-help schemes would be an interesting avenue for further research.

This study also contributes to urban history, particularly concepts of the social mapping of urban space. In many British towns and cities like Birmingham, institutions such as prisons, charities and administrative buildings formed a kind of ‘disciplinary girdle’ around the centre of the urban space.⁸ Many philanthropists in Birmingham lived in Edgbaston, relatively close to the working-class area of Ladywood, where the Crowley Orphanage and ARTYW were located. Despite clear social boundaries between these areas, their relative proximity rendered philanthropic visits more practical. In Sydney,

⁷ Trainor, *British Imperialism*, pp. 131-2.

⁸ Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*, p. 159.

some charities relocated away from the city centre to the prosperous suburbs of Ashfield and Croydon, which had a similar effect of reducing spatial distance between philanthropists and recipients. Of course, social distance was strictly maintained within institutions. There is scope for further research to be conducted into socio-spatial mapping, particularly the locations of urban charities and the ways in which philanthropists traversed urban spaces to carry out their philanthropic activities.

Conceptually, this thesis has developed two new terms: “differentiated philanthropy” and “layered networks”. These terms will be of use to many historians, particularly those who engage with the history of philanthropy and new imperial history/networks. In this study, differentiated philanthropy is utilised to signify the ways in which Aboriginal and white women were rendered distinct from each other in NSW, as a result of the different forms of philanthropic assistance available to them. For Aboriginal women, missions constituted the main source of assistance. However, white women were assisted by a range of urban charities in Sydney. Consequently, in this study, the notion of differentiated philanthropy is based on upon perceived racial difference. However, this term could be used to denote various forms of creating difference through philanthropic activities, based for instance on ethnicity, class or religion. For instance: was there a differentiated philanthropy between the English and Irish communities in Britain?

The term “layered networks” is developed in chapter 5 to explain the various networks which philanthropists in Birmingham and Sydney created and maintained, spanning the local, national/inter-colonial, imperial and the wider world. This furthers research conducted by Alan Lester and David Lambert, which has been invaluable to thinking about the ways in which philanthropic networks were created within the British

Empire.⁹ However, much of this research has been broad in scope, considering the imperial nature of networks; there has been little attempt to incorporate the local into such wider imperial networks. By returning to the local, through case studies of Birmingham and Sydney, it becomes apparent that there were a range of distinct, but often interconnected networks in operation between philanthropists. The term layered networks was developed to explain more comprehensively the various connections made by philanthropists, which were geographically *layered* in tiers from the local to the wider world. It is hoped that this conceptual term will encourage additional research into local networks and connections, many of which shaped metropolitan/colonial connections.

I recognise the limitations of this thesis and there are many ways in which the research questions it poses can be furthered. The inclusion of evidence from missions in Birmingham would have been a particularly useful addition, facilitating an analysis of the ways in which missions at home and in the colonies operated. The inclusion of this material would have enabled me to ask: did missionaries in Birmingham and NSW approach their missionary efforts in the same ways? In addition, what difference did discourses of race make to missionary activities at home and in a particular colonial site? As such, the scope of the thesis would have been broadened and would also have allowed for more balanced discussions of the Birmingham and NSW material. Although historians such as Alison Twells and Susan Thorne have made useful contributions to our understanding of missionary activity at home and abroad, it is always important to have local case studies which can provide opportunities to see the inconsistencies in national/imperial narratives.¹⁰

⁹ Lambert and Lester, 'Geographies'; Lester, *Imperial Networks*.

¹⁰ Twells, *The Civilising Mission*; Thorne, *Congregational Missions*.

Whilst working on the thesis I was struck by the contemporary relevance of many of the themes explored here. In December 2007, Kevin Rudd was elected as the Australian Prime Minister, ending eleven and a half years of John Howard's conservatism and steadfast commitment to a white masculine Australian national identity. One of Rudd's first actions in 2008 was to make an historic apology to Aboriginal communities. Despite this important recognition of past wrongs committed, Aboriginal communities continue to be deeply marginalised in Australian society.

Moreover, whilst I was writing chapter 4 during the winter of 2009-10, considering the implications of child emigration, Rudd made a formal apology on 16 November to former child migrants. The apology was made in recognition of the abuse and emotional distress which some of these British children faced in Australia. The former British prime minister, Gordon Brown, made a similar apology for Britain's part in the movement on 24 February 2010. The repercussions caused by child emigration continue to have a deep and lasting impact upon former child migrants and their families.

More recently, on 24 June 2010, Julia Gillard became the first female prime minister of Australia. It is hoped that developments such as these will continue to erode the perceived centrality of masculinity to Australian identity. However, inequalities of gender, so visible in nineteenth-century society, continue to permeate society in Britain and Australia. In Britain in 1909 women constituted 61% of all recipients of poor relief; during the 1990s they accounted for 60% of all supplementary welfare benefit recipients.¹¹ In Australia too, women represent 75% of the poorest in society, a proportion that has remained relatively unchanged since the late-nineteenth century.¹² Today, the persistence of

¹¹ Lewis and Piachaud, 'Women and Poverty', p. 28.

¹² O'Brien, *God's Willing Workers*, pp. 45-6.

gender inequalities has resulted in numbers of women and children who continue to rely upon charitable and welfare assistance in both Britain and Australia. In this way, the assumption that women and children were most deserving of philanthropic assistance - a belief that was cemented during the nineteenth century - continues to have a lasting impact upon welfare provision in the present.

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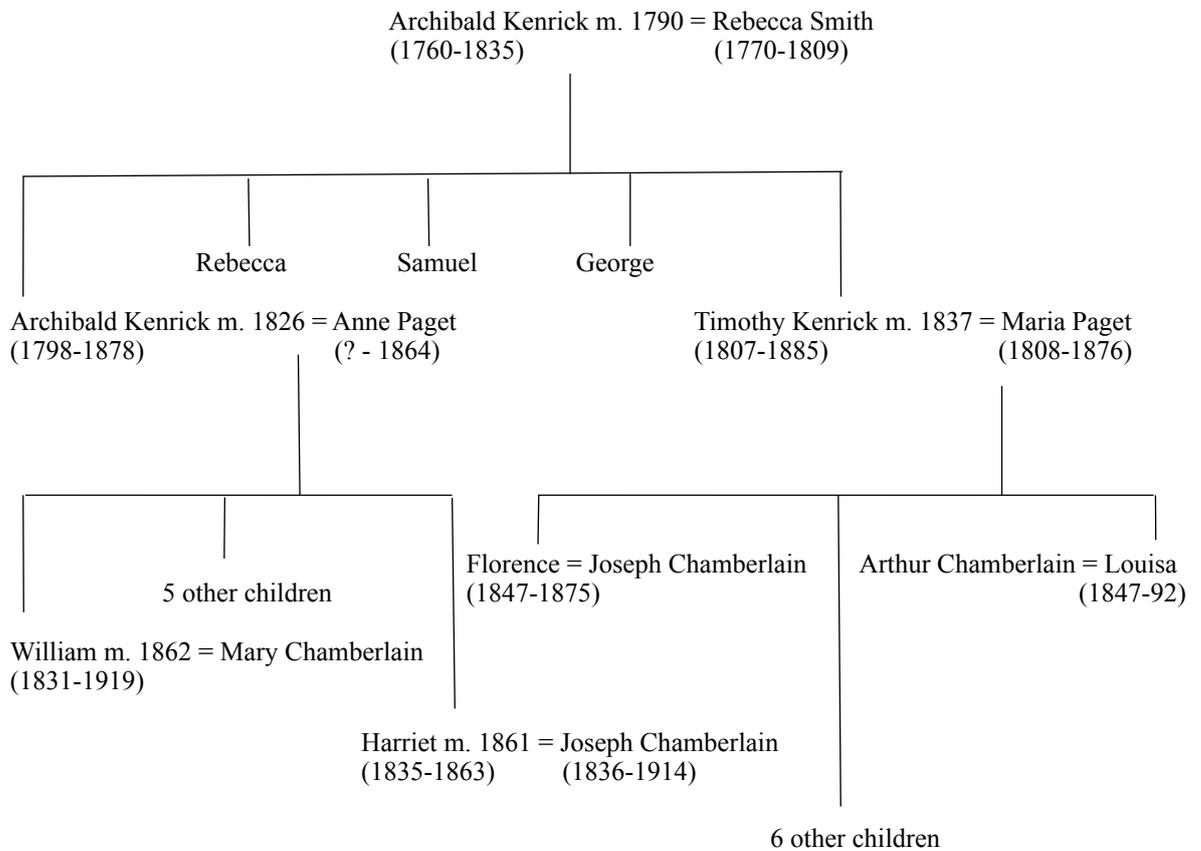
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Appendix

Figure 1. Kenrick Family Tree: Connections with Chamberlain Family (Birmingham).¹



¹ Adapted from Mrs. W. Byng Kenrick, *Chronicles of a Nonconformist Family: The Kenricks of Wynne Hall: Exeter and Birmingham* (Birmingham: Cornish Brothers Ltd, 1932), appendix.

Table 1. Subscription/Donation Rates for Prominent Birmingham Families.²

Family	Family Member	Principal Charity Associated with	Committee Member	Year(s)	Donated/ Subscribed	Year(s)
Albright	Mr. A	Lying-in Charity			✓	1873
	Mrs. ?	Lying-in Charity			✓	1880s
	Miss ?	Crowley Orphanage	✓	1871-?		
Cadbury	Miss Sarah	Lying-in Charity	✓	1902-3		
	Mrs. Barrow	Lying-in Charity	✓	1903-?	✓	1906-7
		ARTYW			✓	1907
	Mr. Richard	Lying-in Charity			✓	1888
	Joel	Middlemore Emigration Homes			✓	1872, 1876
	Maria	Middlemore Emigration Homes			✓	1872, 1877
Chamberlain	Herbert	Working Boys' Home	✓	1892-3		
	various	Middlemore Emigration Homes			✓	1876
	Joseph	Middlemore Emigration Homes			✓	1872, 1876
	Mrs. ?	Crowley Orphanage	✓	1877-1885		
	Mrs. Joseph	Lying-in Charity	✓	1907-?		
	Mr. A	Lying-in Charity			✓	1871
Chance	Alexander	Middlemore Emigration Homes	✓	1877-1890s	✓	1878
	Mrs. Alexander	Middlemore Emigration Homes	✓	1877 - ?	✓	1877, 1878
		Lying-in Charity			✓	1888
	various	Middlemore Emigration Homes			✓	1878, 1897

² The subscription rates are based on select Annual Reports and Minutes. Lying-in Charity: committee minutes of the board of management, HC/MH/1/2/1-2, 1870-1907; Working Boys' Home: minutes of the committee, MS 3375/511/1-3, 1892-1901; Crowley Orphanage: minutes of the ladies' committee, MS 517/142-4, 1871-1892; Middlemore Emigration Homes annual reports: 1873, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902; ARTYW annual reports: 1907, 1909, 1910 and 1912.

Family	Family Member	Principal Charity Associated with	Committee Member	Year(s)	Donated/ Subscribed	Year(s)
	Mr. R. L	Middlemore Emigration Homes			✓	1876
	Mrs. R. L	Middlemore Emigration Homes			✓	1878
	Mr. J. H.	Middlemore Emigration Homes			✓	1876, 1877
Gibbins	Mr. Thomas	Lying-in Charity			✓	1871
	Mrs. Thomas	Lying-in Charity			✓	1871
Kenrick	Mr. Archibald	Association for the Rescue and Training of Young Women	✓	1912 - ?		
		Working Boys' Home	✓	1892-1900		
	Mrs. A.	ARTYW	✓	1906 - ?	✓	1907
Lloyd	Mr. G. B.	Lying-in Charity	✓	1870-1903		
	Mrs. G. B.	Lying-in Charity			✓	1870
		Middlemore Emigration Homes			✓	1877, 1878
		Crowley Orphanage	✓	1871-1880s		1871, 1872
	Mr. ?	Crowley Orphanage	✓	?		
	various	Middlemore Emigration Homes			✓	1876, 1897
	Ambrose	Working Boys' Home	✓	1892-1901	✓	1899
	Mr. S. S.	Working Boys' Home	✓	1892-1899	✓	1893
	Thomas O.	Working Boys' Home	✓	1900-1		
	Mrs. Thomas	Working Boys' Home			✓	1892
	Mrs. J	Working Boys' Home			✓	1893
	Miss E. M	ARTYW	✓	1909 - ?	✓	1907
Nettlefold	Mr. Godfrey	Lying-in Charity	✓	1904 - ?		
	Mrs. Godfrey	Lying-in Charity			✓	1904

Family	Family Member	Principal Charity Associated with	Committee Member	Year(s)	Donated/ Subscribed	Year(s)
	Mr. J. H.	Lying-in Charity			✓	1873
		Middlemore Emigration Homes			✓	1876
	Mrs. J. S.	Lying-in Charity			✓	1904
	Mr. J. S.	Working Boys' Home	✓	1894-5		
Southall	Miss R. B.	Lying-in Charity	✓	1902 - ?		
	Mrs. Alfred	Lying-in Charity			✓	1904
		Crowley Orphanage	✓	1873 - ?		
	Mrs. Thomas	Lying-in Charity			✓	1874
	Mrs. Joseph	Crowley Orphanage	✓	1871 - ?		
Sturge	Dr. Mary	Lying-in Charity	✓	1901 - ?		
	Miss ?	Crowley Orphanage	✓	1874 - 1880s		
Wilson	Mr ?	Lying-in Charity			✓	1871
	Mrs. J. W	Lying-in Charity			✓	1888
		ARTYW	✓	1906 - ?		
	Mr. John	Middlemore Emigration Homes			✓	1876

Table 2. Subscription/Donation Rates for Prominent Sydney Families.³

Family	Family Member	Principal Charity Associated with	Committee member	Year(s)	Subscribed /Donated	Year(s)
Anderson	Robert	Benevolent Society	✓	1896 - ?	✓	1895, 1910
		Female Refuge	✓	1897 - 1910s		
	Mrs. R	Infants' Home	✓	1897 - ?		
Allen	George	Benevolent Society	✓	1821-1877	✓	1880
		Female Refuge	✓	1848 - 1877	✓	1861, 1868, 1870, 1876
	Mrs. G	Female Refuge	✓	1864 - ?	✓	1876
		Benevolent Society	✓	1879 - 1892		
	Lady	Benevolent Society	✓	1879 - 1900s	✓	1895
		Female Refuge	✓	1869 -		
Binnie	Mrs	Benevolent Society	✓	1899 - ?		
		Female School of Industry	✓	1910 - ?	✓	1910
Breillat	Mrs	Female Refuge	✓	1864 - 1880s		
		Female School of Industry	✓	1863 - 1880s	✓	1863, 1879
Callaghan	Mr. S	Benevolent Society	✓	1871 -1883		
		Female Refuge	✓	1864 - 1880s		
	Mrs. S	Benevolent Society	✓	1874 - 1890s		

³ The subscription rates are based on select Annual Reports. For the Benevolent Society: 1863, 1867, 1880, 1886, 1895, 1903 and 1910; Female School of Industry: 1863, 1877, 1879, 1881 and 1910; Sydney Female Refuge: 1861, 1868, 1870, 1876, 1881, 1899 and 1913; Dalmar Children's Home: 1902, 1903, 1912; Waitara Foundling Home: 1910, 1911, and 1912.

Family	Family Member	Principal Charity Associated with	Committee member	Year(s)	Subscribed /Donated	Year(s)
Cowper	Charles	Benevolent Society	✓	1862 - 1864		
	Mrs.	Female School of Industry	✓	1863 - 1870s		
	Mrs. Wm.	Female Refuge	✓	1869 -1880s		
Crane	William	Benevolent Society	✓	1876-1880s		
		Female Refuge	✓	1864 - 1880s	✓	1868, 1876, 1881, 1899, 1913
	Mrs W.	Benevolent Society	✓	1896-1903		
		Female Refuge	✓	1878 - ?		
Dalley	W. B.	Benevolent Society	✓	1871 - 1872		
	John	Benevolent Society	✓	1862 - 1864		
Darley	Lady	Waitara Foundling Home	✓	1900-1908		
		Infants' Home	✓	1878 - 1880s		
Dawson	John	Benevolent Society			✓	1867, 1895
		Female Refuge	✓	1864 - 1868		
	Mrs. John	Female Refuge	✓	1864 - 1890s		
	Mrs. M. A.	Benevolent Society	✓	1879 - 1892	✓	1881
		Infants' Home	✓	1886 - 1891	✓	1886
Docker	Mrs. Wilfred	Infants' Home	✓	1880-1890s		
		Female School of Industry	✓	1881 - 1882		
Fairfax	John	Benevolent Society	✓	1862 - 1864		

Family	Family Member	Principal Charity Associated with	Committee member	Year(s)	Subscribed /Donated	Year(s)
		Female Refuge	✓	1869 - 1870s	✓	1861, 1868, 1870, 1876
	Mrs. J	Female Refuge	✓	1883 - ?	✓	1870
	Miss	Benevolent Society	✓	1903 - ?		
	Mr Alfred	Female Refuge	✓	1869 - 1880s		
Giles	Mrs	Female Refuge	✓	1878 - 1890s		
		Dalmar Children's Homes	✓	1902 - 1910s		
Goodlet	J. H	Benevolent Society	✓	1862 - 1871	✓	1886, 1903, 1910
		Female Refuge	✓	1864 - 1910s	✓	1868, 1870, 1876, 1881, 1899, 1913
	Mrs.	Benevolent Society	✓	1879 - 1902		
		Female Refuge	✓	1864 - ?	✓	1876
	Mrs A.	Female Refuge	✓	1897 - ?		
Hay	Mrs (later Lady)	Benevolent Society	✓	1879 - 1892		
		Female School of Industry	✓	1875 - 1910s	✓	1863, 1881
		Female Refuge	✓	1864 - 1890s	✓	1870
Macfarlane	Mr. A. I	Female Refuge	✓	1912 - ?	✓	1913
	Mrs	Female Refuge	✓	1912 - ?		
	John	Benevolent Society	✓	1862 - 1864		
O'Reilly	W. W. J	Benevolent Society	✓	1877 - 1878	✓	1867

Family	Family Member	Principal Charity Associated with	Committee member	Year(s)	Subscribed /Donated	Year(s)
		Waitara Foundling Home	✓	1900 - ?		
		Dalmar Children's Homes	✓	1901 -?	✓	1902
	Mrs.	Female Refuge	✓	1874 - 1890s		
		Dalmar Children's Homes	✓	1901 - ?		
Stephen	M. H	Benevolent Society	✓	1861 - 1875	✓	1886
		Female Refuge	✓	1864 - 1890s	✓	1868, 1870, 1876
	Alfred (later Sir)	Female Refuge	✓	1864 - 1880s	✓	1868, 1870, 1876, 1881
	Mrs. Alfred (later Lady)	Benevolent Society	✓	1879 - 1882		
		Female School of Industry	✓	1863 - ?	✓	1863, 1877, 1879, 1881, 1910
	Mrs. C. B.	Benevolent Society	✓	1907 - 1909		
		Infants' Home	✓	1897 - 1902		
		Female School of Industry	✓	1892 - 1900s	✓	1881
	Mrs. E.	Infants' Home	✓	1891	✓	1903
	Henry	Female Refuge	✓	1897 - ?	✓	1913
	Mrs. P. J.	Dalmar Children's Home	✓	1911		
	Miss Alice	Female School of Industry	✓	1882-1910		
Thomson	Sir Edward Deas	Benevolent Society	✓	1856 - 1878	✓	1863, 1867, 1880
	Lady Deas	Female School of Industry	✓	1863 - 1883	✓	1863, 1877, 1879, 1881, 1910

Family	Family Member	Principal Charity Associated with	Committee member	Year(s)	Subscribed /Donated	Year(s)
		Infants' Home	✓	1874 - 1883		
		Female Refuge	✓	1864 - 1883	✓	1861, 1868
	Miss E. Deas	Female School of Industry	✓	1879 - 1882		
	Miss Deas	Infants' Home	✓	1891 - 1900s		