MARGARET ESTELLE BARNES AND ANNIE PRAED, Australia's first women graduates in dentistry: twentieth century femininity and professionalism in dentistry.

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CHAPTER 7

ORGANISATIONS

7.1 Introduction

Barnes and Praed were both active in dental and other organisations for the well educated. Before her marriage, Barnes joined Praed as a member of a number of dental and university-affiliated groups. Later, Barnes’ main involvement was with organisations and social groups whose ideologies evolved from meanings of femininity of the kind ascribed to married women of her social class. However, Praed’s sustained membership continued in various groups that were particularly framed around meanings of femininity of the pioneering professional woman and issues of social justice. For Praed the cultural meanings attached to the pioneering endeavour and femininity interacted in complex ways to shape her public and private identity. She was generally active in association with other prominent pioneering women or as a foundation member in the establishment of new progressive organisations.

7.2 Non-dental organisations

Praed’s membership of women’s organisations centred around meanings of femininity and professional pioneering. Most members of these organisations
were also pioneer women in their various professional fields. Barnes’ link with non-dental organisations was connected to her particular meanings of femininity that expressed the cultural values of her class and status. However, she shared with Praed a strong connection to the scientific and pioneering elements in that she saw herself as a ‘modern woman’. It became apparent in the interviews with women dentists that Praed’s activities with women’s organisations were not known to her dental colleagues. The image of pioneering initiatives in the early twentieth century had a strong and central meaning for middle and upper class women with degrees from Sydney University (see Figure 7.1).

These women’s organisations strongly championed women’s rights in legal, political and societal terms. Barnes, but more particularly Praed, sought out these organisations to fulfil a number of personal and professional needs. At one level, the organisations offered them the opportunity to be with their equals in other professions, who also sought an organisational culture that embodied the construct of femininity and professionalism. Barnes joined women’s organisations that upheld the ideologies of her class and educational cultures. Praed, however, also joined women’s organisations that sought to redress the inequalities that were imposed on women by financial, legal and social institutions. It would seem that Praed’s earlier working-class childhood experiences of poverty and work were the motivating forces behind her membership of these kinds of organisation. At some level Praed’s involvement with bodies was modelled after Henry Burton-Bradley’s strong participation in addressing issues of social justice, although Praed’s was forged in gendered
terms. Perhaps at some level Praed sought to assist other women to escape a lifetime sentence of poverty.

**The Class Ceiling.**

I'm off to the Women's Day march — make sure you dust the ceiling before you leave.

FIGURE 7.1
Class ceiling, cartoon
Courtesy Jenny Coopes
7.2.1 **Sydney University Women Graduates' Association**

Cultural meanings of race, class, gender and pioneering blended together to bring forth a new form of femininity for the members of the Sydney University Women Graduates' Association. Margaret Barnes, her sister Pearl, and Annie Praed\(^1\) were among other prominent professional women members. In her capacity as secretary of the Sydney University Women's Council, Madge Barnes (see Figure 7.2) reported in patriotic terms on the war effort by that body to the Women's Club.\(^2\) Barnes' connection with the Women's Club may have been influenced by another member, Mrs Meares-Mitchell,\(^3,4\) the headmistress of Riviere College. The Women's Club was founded 'to provide a place where women interested in public, professional, scientific, literary, and artistic work may spend their leisure moments and associate together'.\(^5\)

Praed, too, may have been involved in this organisation through various connections: the Women's Graduates' Association, the Professional Women Workers' Association, and more importantly through Lotaville's link to the family of John See MLA, the first Premier of NSW as a federated state. It is likely that Praed knew See's wife who was a member of the club's inaugural committee in

\(^1\)University of Sydney Archives: Sydney University's Women Graduates Association; S14, Minutes, Ledgers, Annual reports, General information, Newsletters, Printed items, Scholarship file, Ledger Nov. 1892 – May 1911.


\(^3\)Anon., 1913, 'List of members', *Women's Club: 12th annual report*, Nov., p. 16.


\(^5\)'For women: Clubs of Sydney; history of Sydney organisations; The Women's Club', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 Aug. 1930, p. 7.
1901. Mrs See often officiated at speech days for her daughter's school (Lotaville). 

FIGURE 7.2
Madge Barnes
Courtesy Virginia Hind

Avenues for middle-class women's concerns for social justice were readily accessible. The YWCA was another organisation that generated attention from this class of educated women. Most likely Barnes and Praed found the YWCA's causes appealing: one of the Barnes women was invited to a social function in

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1909. It becomes evident that there was a constant circle of women attending organisations and events of the kind that were underpinned with the philosophies of philanthropy and suffrage. Such organisations offered appropriate participation for white Australian Anglo women of the middle and upper classes. A typical gathering was the Vocations conference held by the Sydney University Women Graduates' Association. Targeting girls from the upper levels of schools, a pioneer medical graduate, Dr Constance D'Arcy, chaired the conference of speakers that included:

Miss Judith Fletcher, who spoke on Photography as a career for women,
Miss Praed, who spoke of Dentistry, Miss Dumolo on Kindergarten work,
Miss Byles on Law, Mrs. Berry on Pharmacy, and Miss Harrison on Analytical Chemistry...Miss Saunders, on behalf of the Headmistresses' Association...

The speakers were all prominent, well-known professional women. It has been reported that Barnes' membership of other organisations included the Society of Women Writers, the National Council of Women, Graduates' Association of NSW and the Australian Federation of University Women, for whom she was the Tasmanian representative.

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8 NSW State Library: YWCA; ML K408, Records, Particulars re annual meetings 1908–1913, Aug. 1908, p. 35.
7.2.2  **Australian Federation of University Women**

Praed's connection with women's organisations is indicative of her commitment to women's issues. A member of the NSW Branch of the Australian Federation of University Women, she attended the eighth conference of this body between 14 and 20 January 1938. Coinciding with the ceremony for her doctorate degree, her presence at the conference was reported as 'After the big moment Praed found time to drink tea at the Women's College with the conferees at the eighth roll-up of the Australian Federation of University Women'.

With eighteen other Sydney graduates, including D'Arcy, Praed contributed financially to the entertainment of visitors from other parts of Australia. Proceedings of the conference included a survey that showed that the number of women who had graduated from universities in Australia at the end of 1936 was 6181: women had graduated in all faculties with the significant exception of engineering.

7.2.3  **United Associations of Women**

Praed's feminist convictions and views of social justice are evidenced by her membership of the United Associations of Women, which adopted the motto "For freedom, equality, status and opportunity". This group was formed in 1922 by Jessie Street, a radical and significant reformer. Praed's level of involvement, however, did not have the high profile of the other pioneering

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11 A woman's letter, Bulletin 26 Jan. 1938, p. 34.

women, such as Byles, D'Arcy, Street and Littlejohn. Street's commitment to feminist ideals extended to her private life where she retained the professional services of D'Arcy and Praed for herself and her children.\textsuperscript{13}

Prominent in the Association and active at an executive level were Dame Constance D'Arcy, also a pioneer in gynaecology, and Marie Byles, 'the first woman admitted to practise as a solicitor'\textsuperscript{14} in NSW, who acted as the Association's legal adviser. It would appear that the culture of pioneering as an endeavour within the United Associations of Women may have been a salient factor in swaying Patricia, the daughter of a former president, Linda Littlejohn, to become Sydney University's first woman graduate in veterinary science.\textsuperscript{15}

Linda Littlejohn, whose journalistic influence with women at large in Australia was considerable through the widely distributed and read Australian Women's Weekly, clearly pushed the boundaries of activism beyond the mere niceties of the middle classes when she expounded:

\begin{quote}
the root of the whole trouble with regard to women at present is that women do not play a large enough part in the making of laws...I have given up working for charities...for though they must exist until conditions are better, there are thousands who are willing to do this work, but there
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{13}Australian National Library Archives: Lady Jessie Street; MS 2683/1/2257, diary, 1933.


\textsuperscript{15}Bygott, U. & Cable, K. J. 1985, Pioneer Graduates of the University of Sydney, University of Sydney, p. 45.
are few who are willing to do the more disheartening but more permanent
and worthwhile work of obtaining better legal rights for women.\textsuperscript{16}

Under Jessie Street's astute leadership of the United Associations of Women, Byles was instrumental in the preparation of the guardianship issues to legislation. Was it possible that Praed's orphan status had some psychological relevance here? Praed never divulged her past. Although Praed retained Byles as her legal consultant, no evidence surfaced in Byles' private papers to indicate a particularly intimate friendship with Praed. While records of the United Associations of Women document Praed's attendance and congratulations on the awarding of her doctorate,\textsuperscript{17} by the late 1940s, little was known of Praed's personal life. When news of her death was received, the records state, 'it was suggested that a letter be written to the relatives of Dr Annie Praed and that her secretary be asked to forward this on'.\textsuperscript{18}

It is clear that Praed was a private person. In light of her childhood and working-class experiences, it would seem that she guarded her privacy strongly among these middle-class women.

\textsuperscript{16}Littlejohn, L. 1935, 'Points of view', \textit{Australian Women's Weekly}, vol. 11, no. 37, 16 Feb., p. 10.

\textsuperscript{17}Mitchell Library: United Associations of Women; ML MSS 2160 ADD ON 427, ML142/71, Box Y4477, Further records, c.1930 – 1970, Minutes of the meetings of the Executive, 24 Feb. 1938.

\textsuperscript{18}Mitchell Library: United Associations of Women; ML MSS 2160, ADD ON 137, Further records, c.1930 – 1970, Minutes of meetings of the Executive, 13 Jan. 1949.
Praed’s dental practice and later that of Alison Macqueen\textsuperscript{19} certainly gained from Jessie Street’s commitment to the advancement of women. Records\textsuperscript{20} confirm that Street attended the practice with her children Belinda, Phillipa and Lawrence. In 1935 Street’s dental treatment expanded into the more technical and expensive form of crown and bridge dentistry. According to Street’s diaries it would seem that Praed and Street’s relationship was more professional than social: the diary of 1936\textsuperscript{21} records ten dental appointments for Jessie Street. Her daughter Phillipa recalls that during dental visits, her mother’s conversations with Praed were of their common feminist interests.

7.2.4 Business and Professional Women’s Club of Sydney

The pioneering graduate woman theme is again demonstrated in Praed’s foundation membership of the Business and Professional Women’s Club of Sydney.\textsuperscript{22} Once again she was joined by other well-known pioneer women graduates including D’Arcy,\textsuperscript{23} the founding President, and Byles.\textsuperscript{24} The organisation was formed with the following edict: ‘The object of this Club shall

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\textsuperscript{19}Australian National Library Archives: Lady Jessie Street; MS 2683/1/2309, Series 1, Address book.

\textsuperscript{20}Australian National Library Archives: Lady Jessie Street; MS 2683/1/2315–2660, Series 1.

\textsuperscript{21}ibid., MS2683/1/2260.

\textsuperscript{22}Mitchell Library: Business & Professional Women’s Club of Sydney; MLS MSS 3329/2(2), Records, Membership 1939–1975, 26 June 1939.

\textsuperscript{23}Mitchell Library: Business & Professional Women’s Club of Sydney; MLS MSS 3329/1(2), Records, Minutes 1939–1975, Minutes Book no. 1, Minutes of the meetings of the Organising Committee,12 Apr. 1939.

\textsuperscript{24}op. cit., Minutes of the meetings of the Executive Committee, 27 Apr. 1942.
be to promote the interests of business and professional women, to bring about a spirit of co-operation and to extend their opportunities.'

Praed's role in the Club was akin to the one she held in United Associations of Women: her membership activity was of the rank and file kind, rather than in the arena of the decision-making executive. However, the following notation suggests that Praed was a regular attendant at monthly meetings: 'Dr. Praed welcomed back after her absence through illness.' As a women's organisation concerned with improving women's opportunities, particularly in their endeavour for equal pay, the Business and Professional Women's Club of Sydney supported other women's groups to initiate action with government bodies and members of parliament.

For a number of years the Club campaigned to restore the girls' right (withdrawn in 1922) to sit for the Public Service entrance examination and supported women who sought election to political positions, both at local or federal level. At the Annual General Meeting in July 1945 the Club's President enthusiastically acknowledged the gains of the war years:

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27 op. cit., Minutes Book no. 2, 4 May 1943 – 13 July 1948, Minutes of meetings of members, 17 May 1944.

28 op. cit., International Night Meeting, Chairman's report, Feb. 1944, p. 3.

There were opportunities for the trained woman and we could see a gradual removal of the old time barriers against woman's progress.

It should be remembered that during the war unskilled women became skilled in a short time.

We should work for women's place on policy-making boards.

What can be done with regard to the election of women to Parliament?

We should interest ourselves in legislation concerning the welfare of men and women in the community as a whole.

We should collaborate and co-operate with women, and pool our thinking and our experiences.

We should participate in questions of general interest in the intellectual field.

All this should help progress.\(^\text{30}\)

Less than a year later, however, the tone had altered and become less optimistic:


During the war there was a tendency to bring remuneration for women nearer to that paid to men doing the same job, but now that hostilities of war have ended, the tendency of employers is to adhere to the basic wage statutory precedent, and fix the rate for the sexes, and not for the job.\(^\text{31}\)

\(^{30}\)op. cit., p. 108, Annual general meeting, 17 July 1945, President's address, p. 2.

\(^{31}\)ibid., p. 146, Minutes of regular monthly meetings, 24 Apr. 1946, Statement by President (Dr Edna Nelson) on Equal pay, "The rate for the job" principle.
Crusading for the rights of women across a broad spectrum,\textsuperscript{32,33} the Business and Professional Women's Club continued the battle in the post-war years when structural barriers against women reappeared forcefully.\textsuperscript{34} Without the substantial support of most newspapers, the limited amount of publicity that drew the public's attention to their concerns came primarily from the work of Mrs Constance Roberston, a journalist with the \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}.\textsuperscript{35}

Once again women doctors experienced overt discrimination over hospital appointments. When the availability of suitable accommodation was yet again mooted as the reason why hospitals were excluding new women graduates, the Club in conjunction with the Sydney University’s Women Graduates’ Association successfully contested the claims by Hospital Boards. However, for Dr Kathleen Cunningham,\textsuperscript{36} who had held the position of Clinical Surgeon at Royal North Shore Hospital during the war, the outcome was unfavourable\textsuperscript{37}. Cunningham had:

\textsuperscript{32}ibid., 5\textsuperscript{th} Annual meeting, 17 July 1944, President’s report, pp. 1–4.

\textsuperscript{33}ibid., p. 66 Minutes of monthly meetings, 2 Aug. 1944, Annual report of the Professions & Trades Committee.

\textsuperscript{34}ibid., p. 160, 7\textsuperscript{th} Annual general meeting, 30 July 1946, Reports of Chairman of Standing Committees: Professions and Trades (Research); Minutes book no. 3, p. 56, Minutes of meetings of members, 9 Nov., 1848; Minutes book no. 2, p. 146, Meeting of regular monthly meetings, 24 Apr. 1946, Statement by President on Equal pay.


\textsuperscript{37}ibid., Annual general meeting 28 July 1947, Annual report, p. 2.
been demoted to make way for a returned man and was thus reduced in status. She had done a Senior’s Surgeon’s work for a number of years and had responded to every living call – in one week having done 33 hours in theatre above her regular hours. Dr. Cunningham had resigned as she could not agree to hold a position to a younger and inexperienced person. Vacancies were advertised and Dr. Cunningham was passed over.  

As wartime gains for women faded rapidly, the post-war period heralding a return to earlier attitudes to professional women, Praed tended to become disheartened. Even when more flexible membership credentials were introduced in the post-war years of the late 1940s, numbers of women members in this club declined. Falling membership is significant evidence of the power that bureaucratic and especially government bodies had on the restructuring of femininity in the post-war period. A new unfavourable environment came into existence for professional women. It is not surprising that the health of professional women declined: in role reversals both Praed and Cunningham became hospital patients.

Feminist ideals, it would seem, were central to Praed’s values and therefore informed her meaning and understanding of femininity. However, her

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38Ibid., p. 168, Minutes of meetings of the Executive Committee, 6 Aug. 1946, p. 3; Minutes of Special meetings, 18 Dec. 1947, p. 1.


involvement with organisations that campaigned for women’s rights was not well known amongst her dental colleagues. If she invited women colleagues to participate in these groups, no mention has yet been found.

7.2.5 Feminist Club

Skinner appears to have been the only woman dentist with an association with the Feminist Club, whose convictions were:

Feminism does not seek dominance for woman – it seeks simply, justice and full self-expression, believing that the time is quickly approaching when man and woman together, shall guide and control the nation, as they have the home, through all ages that are past.⁴¹

As Jessie Street once shared the presidency of this organisation, the argument of a shared feminist connection between Praed and Skinner is strengthened by this link – a link that offers further support to the argument that Praed acted as a role model to the younger Skinner.

Joseph Skinner’s recollection of Praed records that she was a member of the Macquarie Club⁴² that later merged with the Queen’s Club. As there is no access to the Club’s archival material it has not been possible to confirm this.

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⁴¹Buck, M. 1930, ‘Clubs for women: Sydney organisations III; The Feminist Club’, Sydney Morning Herald, 4 Sep., p. 3.

However, Praed may have shared her interest in cards, bridge in particular, with women who were associated with the Macquarie Club. 43

7.3 Dental organisations

7.3.1 Introduction

Membership in dental organisations for Barnes and Praed contained a complex matrix of meanings arising out of race, class, gender, pioneering and professionalism. Within this matrix, factors interacted around a double helix of scientific and philanthropic beliefs. This spawned a professional identity of a feminine kind that lacked the secure but narrow footing of the heterosexual white Anglo masculine members in the profession. Essentially, the timing factor operated and manifested itself in complex dimensions, in accordance with the interaction of personal, societal and political forces. Such forces shaped individual expressions of identity, with consequential effects on participation in professional organisations.

An example of the ways in which class, pioneering initiative and professionalism functioned in a significant time frame is found in Barnes’ and Praed’s role as foundation members of dental bodies. Such organisations with an initial shortage of male recruits (an experience in common with the dental school during periods of war) not only welcomed women to fill the empty ranks but elected many to executive positions. Increasing numbers of men, however,

redefined the gender allocation within these bodies, and women were then designated roles that were more in keeping with societal definitions of femininity. Professionalism and femininity cemented with class to locate women dentists within these bodies, confining them to the areas of dental education and preventive dentistry. These areas were in keeping with middle-class constructs of femininity and philanthropy.

At the turn of the century, with the dental profession struggling to become established, dental organisations were locked in competition with each other. Into this environment women were welcomed to swell membership levels.

7.3.2 Containment and exclusion

Women’s containment within the housekeeping sphere of the dental profession embodied eugenics and suffrage philosophies. In the main it was the women dentists who took dental health education to the public forum. Organisationally, it was this sphere that gave women dentists professional visibility to the public, at a time when they were least accepted. Praed, accompanied by Dulce Skinner, fulfilled this role especially during ‘Health Week’.44 Further evidence of containment of a gendered kind is found in the gender mix in the eleven committees of the NSW Branch of the ADA.45

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45 The New South Wales Branch of the Australian Dental Association will be abbreviated to ADA (NSW Branch).
Praed, served only on the Dental Health Committee. The only other woman on
the Executive was the Director of Dental Health Education of the time.\textsuperscript{46}

Praed's expertise and interest in prosthetic dentistry was not shared in the
Prosthetic Study Club of the ADA (NSW Branch). Women were generally
excluded from the spheres of the profession that displayed a dominantly
masculine culture.

7.3.3 \textit{Odontological Society of NSW}

The Odontological Society of NSW hailed Praed as 'the first lady member'\textsuperscript{47} in
1904, at a time when the profession was striving to establish professional
standards that would ensure social recognition. By 1914 this situation had
changed for Irene Butler-Wood, a 1913 Sydney University graduate who sought
affiliation with The Odontological Society at a meeting in Brisbane with her
dentist father. Of this episode she wrote, 'there was a dead silence & no-one
moved until I took the hint & left, my Father got up & came out with me'.
Recalling this discrimination Butler-Wood drew a connection with women in the
medical profession in Brisbane during the same period, 'When I came to
Queensland, Dr Lillian Cooper (surgeon) and Dr Eleanor Greenshaw
(physician) had been practising a number of years, the men would not work
with them'. The significance of the timing becomes more evident when, with
manpower shortages during World War I, her membership was re-evaluated.
She recalled 'The war changed things. I could have joined afterwards but I wouldn't'.

The relationship between timing and the presence of women dentists in dental organisations is essential in the interpretation of their presence and participation, particularly at an executive level.

7.3.4 University of Sydney Dental Graduates' Association

Praed's election to office bearer, in the early days of the University of Sydney Dental Graduates' Association, exemplifies the importance of timing in women's involvement in dental organisations. The members of the University of Sydney Dental Graduates' Association were deeply committed to the establishment of university qualifications as the standard for dental practitioners. With few dentists meeting these requirements and a great need for members, the right climate was at hand for women to be included or accepted.

However, Praed rarely presented any clinical cases at these meetings and her contribution to discussions was commentary. Her appointment as the

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51 Anon. 1914, 'University of Sydney Dental Graduates' Association', Commonwealth Dental Review, vol. 11, no. 4, p. 255.
Association's representative at the Sixth International Dental Congress in London in August 1914 was in an honorary capacity. Less actively involved in the same body was Barnes who replaced Praed as Honorary Treasurer while she was in the UK, probably at Praed's request as a friend.\textsuperscript{52}

Commitment to dental organisations was a recurring theme for Praed throughout her professional career. This degree of engagement provided her with an identity in personal, professional and social terms, and it offers further evidence that dentistry was the major focus in her life and essentially shaped it. Pioneering as an endeavour would surface time and again in Praed's involvement in the establishment of new professional organisations throughout her postgraduate years.

\textbf{7.3.5 Society of Dental Science}

In August 1920, Praed became a member of the Society of Dental Science.\textsuperscript{53} With councillors Fairfax Reading and Septimus Hinder, her former academic tutors, she was upholding the ideology of a professional body of dentists who championed the scientific (and therefore university) qualifications as opposed to the art-trade-apprenticeship training.\textsuperscript{54} In this body, Praed was in company with most of her 1906 fellow classmates, including Houghton Bradley, Crouch,\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{52}Id., 1914, 'University of Sydney Dental Graduates' Association'. \textit{Commonwealth Dental Review}, vol. 11, no. 12, p. 646.

\textsuperscript{53}ADA (NSW Branch): NSW Society of Dental Science, Minute Book of the Society of Dental Science, Apr. 1919 – June 1929, p. 36.

\textsuperscript{54}Ibid., p. 113.

\textsuperscript{55}Ibid., p. 31.
Neave, Marshall, Hardie, Starkey, and Moxham. To achieve this level of professional recognition many were politically active in centralisation of the organisational aspect of dentistry.

Competition for members between vying dental organisations favoured women's entry into this society. The doors opened to the two Misses Hamilton of Newcastle who joined in 1921. Skinner and Crowe followed Praed's example and were elected as members in 1920. Documents show that there was indeed, a pattern of support among the women dentists who nominated other women for membership, for example, Dagmar Joyce Sylow, nominated by Skinner, joined in 1928. Therefore, in the formative years of dental bodies, women were crucial to their establishment. In 1927, at the Sixth Australian Dental Congress, the Society of Dental Science merged with the National Dental Association of Australia to become the Australian Dental Association.

The expression of gender in a professional sense can be illustrated in the manner and content of specimen presentations at the Society of Dental

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56 ibid., p. 105.
57 ibid, p. 106.
59 ibid., p. 306.
60 ibid., Jan. 1921, p. 347.
61 ibid., Feb 1920, p. 403.
62 ibid., p. 16.
63 ibid., p. 482.
Science. One councillor, Miss Kennard, displayed specimens that were always of a unusual nature, for example, 'a bicuspid where a fish bone had been driven by mastication through the canal of a root and projected beyond the apex'. By contrast, male dentists, by focusing on technological or scientific specimens, were establishing a professional authority of a masculine culture.

There is little evidence to establish in definite terms the degree of Praed’s participation in the dental organisations. Whilst a regular attendee, Praed was more likely to second a motion rather than propose one. However, during the mid-1920s, another woman dentist, Isabella Swann, was active in the Dental Association of NSW. In later life, Swann expanded her activities into the politics of social injustice and the peace movement.

7.3.6 **Australian Dental Association (NSW Branch)**

A masculine presence predominated in the Executive Committee of the ADA (NSW Branch) from 1927 until 1932 when Dulce Skinner became the first woman member. Skinner’s appointment to the Dental Health Committee of the Executive fulfilled the ideals of femininity of the eugenics kind.

Earlier in 1932, Annie Praed’s attempt to be elected to the same Committee was hindered because she was the only woman among four nominations for

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65 University of Newcastle Archives: Longworth family; AB8023–24, Papers.

66 ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); Minutes of meetings of the Executive Council, Nov. 1927 – Sep. 1932, 26 Sep. 1932, p. 3.
two vacancies on the Executive Committee of the ADA (NSW Branch). It was decided to delay the election for the vacancies until the next meeting to allow further nominations.67 It is significant that the election was held at a Special Meeting within the same month and the minutes record only the names of the elected members (both men), and not the names of the nominees.68 The gender situation changed to some degree during World War II, when once again the male presence decreased. Doreen Musgrave’s election in 1939 to the committee of the Dental Health Department was without opposition.69 Records also confirm that Praed was a regular attendee of the Australian Dental Association’s general meetings during World War II.70 Once again, the timing factor of World War II presented a favourable organisational culture for a number of women dentists including Praed and Musgrave,71 to hold executive positions. This argument is supported by the fact that Annie Praed was a foundation member, and was elected as the first Honorary Treasurer72 and a member of Council (1945–1946) of the Dental Alumni Society of the University of Sydney.73

67Ibid., 7 Mar. 1932, p. 5.

68Ibid., Minutes of Special meeting of the Executive, 30 Mar. 1932, p. 1.

69ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); Minutes of meetings of the Executive Committee, Nov. 1939 – Sep. 1941, Dec. 1940, 19 June 1939, Dental Health Education Department: Vacancy on Committee of the Dental Health Education Department, p. 39.

70ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); Minutes of general meetings, Mar. 1940-Nov. 1946.


72Ibid.

7.3.6.1 Rural divisions of Australian Dental Association (NSW Branch)

The degree of activity of women dentists in the rural branches of the ADA (NSW Branch) is not known, as few documents from the rural branches have survived. While Loretta Brady was a regular attendee at meetings of the Western Division of the ADA (NSW Branch) between 1926 and 1967, neither she nor any other woman became a member of the executive of any committee. Other women dentists in the district included Mrs Y. McCarron and Margaret Tranter Brown, who had a practice with her husband Geoffrey in Parkes. The only other available rural documents, the 1930–1936 records of the Mid-North Coast Branch of the NSW ADA, show no women attendees.

Two apprenticeship-trained dentists, Mary Ellen E. McInerney of Bellingen and Marjorie Biden Chidley of Dorrigo, made their first appearances at a meeting of the North-East Division of the ADA in May 1940 when the main agenda item was the provision of dental treatment of RAAF. & AIF recruits. Interestingly, Chidley applied for membership of the ADA in July 1940, although she had been registered since 1935. It would seem that the war years were more favourable for women to seek membership in an organisation that had a more masculine culture during peacetime.

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74 ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); Western Division, Historical Collection, Minutes book, 1926–1967, pp. 71–448.

75 ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); Minutes of meetings of the Mid North Coast Division, May 1930 – Nov. 1936.

76 ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (North-East Division); Minute Book, Mar. 1937 – May 1940.

77 ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); Minutes of meetings of the Executive Council, Nov. 1939 – Sep. 1941, July 1940, p. 79.
Many women applied for restricted membership or resigned. Resignations after World War II were greater, and often finance was cited as the cause. Most probably this was a consequence of the unfavourable social implications of working-women, particularly married ones. Part-time work was not readily available for women pre-1980 either in the public or private spheres. The argument that women in professions are contained within feminised spheres holds true for Praed and for many of the other women who entered the dental profession before World War II.

7.3.7 Dental Public Health

7.3.7.1 Introduction

Dental health education was the one arena of the ADA (NSW Branch) where women dentists not only had strong visibility and acceptance, but also a definite voice. It is significant that initially women held the full-time position of Director of Dental Health Education. This resulted in the formation of a feminised culture in this sphere of the profession and created an environment where the views of women dentists were welcomed and supported. After World War II, the gender equity disappeared when Bates, Musgrave and Skinner resigned. The number of women dentists was reduced to two, Mawson and Praed.

7.3.7.2 Dulce Skinner

Dulce Skinner, first as Assistant-Director of Dental Health for NSW\textsuperscript{78} and later as Director took up the cause of children’s dental health, in keeping with the

\textsuperscript{78} ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); News cuttings of the Dental Health Education Department, p. 4, 'Teeth ills from wrong diet'.
racial hygiene philosophies of the Feminist Club\textsuperscript{79,80} of which she was an active member.\textsuperscript{81}

With Hazel Crowe, her close friend from Sydney Girls' High School, Skinner started the dental clinic at the Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children, running it for ten years.\textsuperscript{82} Being a member of the New Health Society was another avenue for Skinner's commitment to these principles.\textsuperscript{83} Skinner targeted the women's organisations that upheld eugenics philosophies, including the YWCA.\textsuperscript{84} Skinner's ability to reach an audience was due to her communicative skills, described as:

True to her belief that only by amusing people can a lecturer hope to get the average audience interested in her remarks, Dulce Skinner, in her address at the Feminist Club yesterday on dental health, had her listeners laughing frequently by her piquant turn of phrase and jest.\textsuperscript{85}

\textsuperscript{79}ibid., 'Conference: Feminists and politics', \textit{Daily Telegraph} 23 Mar. 1934.


\textsuperscript{81}ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); News cuttings of the Dental Health Education Department, p. 34, 'Social calendar: Monday...Address, Miss D. Skinner, Younger Feminist Club.

\textsuperscript{82}Miss Dulce Skinner', \textit{Daily Telegraph} 9 Oct. 1935, p. 11.

\textsuperscript{83}Milk supplies', \textit{Sydney Morning Herald} 14 Aug. 1935, p. 17.

\textsuperscript{84}ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); News cuttings of the Dental Health Education Department, p. 49, 'Schoolboys: Dental knowledge, \textit{Sun} 29 Oct. 1935.

\textsuperscript{85}ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); News cuttings of the Dental Health Education Department, p. 49.
Reports of her presence promoting dental health occur across a spectrum of public spaces. In this role she brought preventive dentistry to the attention of the press in a variety of forms: articles written by Skinner appeared in newspapers of the day. Regular broadcasts were another means by which Skinner informed the public about dental education; topics included ‘the story of your teeth’ and ‘the importance of dental education’. Skinner targeted children by visiting schools. She was also instrumental in popularising the dental essay competition for schools, with the winning entries being published in the Dental Journal of Australia.

As a single woman, Skinner constructed motherhood around meanings of citizen mother. It was Christian salvation in a public ‘Madonna’ form. In a sense she became the public mother of all children’s teeth, as she shared with mothers generally the responsibility of dental care. Skinner targeted dental education towards the mothers, writing that it was ‘upon the mother the child


89 ‘Display by infants-Health week in Newcastle-many addresses’, Newcastle Sun 5 Mar. 1936, p. 10; ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); News cuttings of the Dental Health Education Department, pp. 70–72, ‘Health & Milk Week October 6th to 19th 1936’.

90 ibid., p. 35; p. 39; p. 53; p. 55.
depended for strong healthy teeth’. It was therefore women’s responsibility as mothers to see that ‘every child should be taken to the dentist for an overhaul every six months’.91

Skinner’s contribution significantly raised awareness of oral health and the image of the dental profession. The Dental Board of NSW provided the annual grant of £250 that financed her salary. Skinner was present at an interview to report on the department’s activities to members of the Board, who ‘were impressed by the magnitude of the work undertaken by the organisation’.92 The ADA (NSW Branch) recorded her contribution:

Miss Skinner’s valuable services as Director, in which she had developed and consistently expressed a concept of dental health which had a clear and definite psychological appeal for the public.93

Public health dentistry of this form benefited the private practice of dentistry that was dominantly masculine. Retirement in 1937 from her position after marriage was merely a formal public arrangement. Skinner continued in an unpaid voluntary capacity, expanding her responsibilities during periods when the department was without an appointed director.94


92NSW State Archives: Dental Board of NSW; 7/5159, Fair Minutes Books, vol. 6, Jan. 1929 – May 1937, Minutes of meetings, p. 373, Dec. 1936, Dental Health Department of ADA.

93ibid.

7.3.7.3   Joan Bates

Joan Bates, a 1934 dental graduate who filled Skinner’s position as Director of Dental Health Education Department, followed her predecessor’s model of dental education.\(^95\) Under her direction, dental health education expanded into schools with publications in *The Home and School Journal*.\(^96\) Bates’ appointment was described in gendered terms as:

> Only two occupants have filled the important chair of the Director of the Dental Health Education Department of the New South Wales branch of the Australian Dental Association. And both have been women with the degree of Bachelor of Dental Surgery. The first Miss Skinner...when she gave up the position in favour of matrimony the powers-that-be in the realm of dentistry decided that as one woman had done the job so splendidly it was only fit and proper that another should succeed her.\(^97\)

Bates’ commitment to her position was also extraordinary. It is unclear to what degree these commitments were self-imposed. Bates extended her services by providing dental health education to the dental profession, affiliated health services, defence forces, and schools as well as the public. The increasing work load of radio broadcasts, lectures, attendance at conferences from agriculture to health, the organisation of Dental Health Week, the preparation of

\(^{95}\)ibid., pp. 88–225.

\(^{96}\)ibid., pp. 144–5.

\(^{97}\)ibid., p. 156.
publications, posters, reports, and the daily output of public relations placed enormous pressure on Bates. The department's minutes of the meetings held during this period when women were most active suggest a level of commitment and energy not found among other records of committees. Always seeking innovative directions, Bates introduced the monthly 'New ideas' segment. I suggest that this high degree of commitment is overcompensation and is due to women's sense of professional insecurity.

The contribution by Bates in her capacity as Director calls for validation. During one visit to Newcastle for Health Week, Bates gave thirty lectures, two broadcasts and distributed 500 copies of the publication 'Healthy Mouths'. In the same month some of her duties included the organisation of forty radio broadcasts throughout NSW and lectures to Abbotsleigh Girls' School and the Home League of the Salvation Army. In one month alone, she organised the 'Family Dentist' radio segment to be put on the air 139 times.

As an acknowledgement and indication of the extent of Bates' activity and commitment, the following is a list of her achievements as Director:\textsuperscript{98,100}

1. supplied booklets, dental posters and dental lecture material to the Defence Forces of Australia.

\textsuperscript{98}ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); Minutes of meetings of the Dental Health Education Department, Dec. 1939 – Apr. 1948, Apr. 1940, pp. 1–3.

\textsuperscript{99}ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); Minutes of meetings of the Executive Council, Nov. 1939 – Sep. 1941, Apr. 1939, p. 13.

\textsuperscript{100}ibid., May 1939, p. 28.
2. supplied articles to: *National Fitness Journal; Education Gazette; Teachers' Federation of NSW Journal, Education; Girl Guide Movement's Guiders' Magazine*.

3. supplied dental health education to the dental profession: journal articles; booklets; lectures; recall cards for sale to the profession and material for lectures and broadcasts.

4. organised the publications: 'Healthy mouths'; 'Sample days menus'; 'The use and care of artificial dentures'; 'Your baby's teeth and your own'; 'Diet and oral hygiene' and 'Dentistry as a career'.

5. organised and attended the dental component at Sydney Royal Agricultural and District Shows, Newcastle and Sydney's Health Weeks.

6. provided schools with lectures; posters; demonstration models; essay competitions; school poster competition; lesson plans on dental health that were incorporated into the syllabus; material for dentistry as a career.

7. personally gave lectures to: Home League of the Salvation Army (at various locations); Salvation Army (various locations); University Settlement; Annual Conference of Agricultural Bureaux; Royal Military College, Duntroon; dental nurses; Karitane and Tresillian Mothercraft trainee nurses; Feminist Club; schools; Mothers' Club of the Leichhardt Child Centre; trainee nurses at Prince Alfred Hospital; Mothers' Club of Free Kindergarten, Surry Hills; employees of Department of Road Transport and Tramways; employees of Sutcliffe's Clothing Factory, Newcastle; Women Pharmacists' Association; trainee nurses of Royal North Shore Hospital.

8. organised essay competitions for schools in the daily newspapers.
9. established a film library: organised purchases, loans, and initiated the creation of a film on dental health education.

10. initiated an annual children's dentistry issue in the Dental Journal of Australia

11. prepared reports to ADA (NSW Branch); NSW Dental Board and 'Walter & Eliza Hall' Trust.

12. liaised with other organisations: e.g. NZ Division of Dental Hygiene, Department of Health; American Dental Association; British Medical Association (NSW Branch) over a broadcast series 'Highways to Health'; Australian Nursing Federation; NSW Department of Education; NSW Teachers' Federation; NSW Nutrition Advisory Committee (Introduction of Oslo lunch in school tuck shops); NSW Parents and Citizens Association; Cookery Supervisor of the Sydney County Council; Apple and Pear Board; Baby Health Clinics; Movement for Educational Progress; Hospitals (routine dental care of patients).

13. provided educational material to: Royal Prince Alfred Hospital; Tasmanian departments of Education, Public Health, and national Fitness Council; NSW Road Transport and Tramways Department; NSW Bush Nursing Association; medical students; Farmers Pre-natal Clinic; Queensland Study Group; student teachers at Sydney Teachers' College; Wholesale Drug Co. for distribution to pharmacists.
A gendered sphere of dentistry evolved, therefore, as dental health education became feminised. A 1931 dental graduate, Jeanne Mawson,\textsuperscript{101} replaced Bates, who had continued for some time after her marriage (Mrs Joan Savage).

Financial and organisational methods were drawn from the paradigms of Mawson’s predecessors. In this capacity she brought the popular figures from the Walt Disney cartoons to the dental education material, securing them from the Disney Corporation at cost.\textsuperscript{102}

7.3.7.4 Dental Health Committee

After World War II a replacement for the Director of the Dental Health Education was not found. The Chairman of the Dental Health Education Committee delegated the organisation of the school essay competition to a typist, Miss Ida Crooke.\textsuperscript{103} This action supports the argument that the culture of dental education was feminised.

By April 1949 the position of Director remained vacant. After Praed’s death and Mawson’s retirement, women suddenly disappeared from the Dental Health Education Department. The appointment of a director proved difficult due to lack of funding. One wonders about the demands of the position and the financial remuneration. Voluntary assistance on a part-time basis, offered by

\textsuperscript{101}ibid., pp. 233–4.

\textsuperscript{102}ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); Minutes of meetings of the Dental Health Education Department, Dec. 1939 – Apr. 1948, Mar. 1948, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{103}ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); Minutes of meetings of the Executive Council, Nov. 1949 – May 1953, Dec. 1949, p. 20.
A. A. Allen, was withdrawn after two half days. His resignation cited personal reasons.

Without an appointed director, decentralisation of dental health education in the 1950s fell to the committee members of the Dental Health Committee and regional branches. While preventive dentistry took on new meanings with Noel Martin, broadcasts and lectures decreased to an almost non-existent level. Significantly, it was women dentists who were sought to provide lectures to nurses and these continued under the voluntary support of women.

The task of public relations was contracted outside the profession to a consultant, Asher Joel, whose recommendations were not well received:

Mr Joel’s report was, in general true, but that he had adopted the wrong attitude towards the work of the Committee, in that it was not in a financial position to do things on the large scale that Mr Joel recommended. Dr. Magnus said it was far better to do what little was possible in the education of the public in dental health, than to do nothing, as suggested by Mr. Joel.

104 ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch): Minutes of meetings of the Dental Health Education Department, Dec. 1939 – Apr. 1948, May 1949, p. 3.
107 ibid., p. 4.
In the post-war years, dental health direction shifted to the technological aspect of toothbrush design and the public measure of water fluoridation of domestic water supplies. Dental health education was reconstructed into a masculine sphere under the leadership of Noel Martin, who later became the Dean of the Faculty of Dentistry at the University of Sydney.\textsuperscript{108}

7.4 Participation at conferences

Visible examples of the construction of gender within the dental profession can be found in the positions of men and women at conferences. Women's presence at the First Dental Congress was reported in dental publications in terms of preferred and hierarchical forms of femininity in professional spheres. The status of the wives of prominent professional men was certainly well above that of the women dentists.

Wives were described in terms of femininity constructs of dependency. Wives tended to the husband, the dentist's needs, in return for financial dependency. This construct of femininity defined the wife's work and occupation in terms of the dentist's companion, his hostess, his assistant and his attractive accessory. The presence of women at the congress was recorded in the following hierarchical structure:

---

\textsuperscript{108} ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch), Minutes of meetings of the Dental Health Education Committee, Jan. 1949 – May 1954.
Mrs. Burne, wife of the President, contributed very largely to the success of several social functions and was a hostess that was a host in herself.

Mrs. Weston, wife of the Secretary-General, proved to be an effective aid, supplementing in many ways her husband’s efforts.

Both ladies were deservedly, and we may say permanently, popular.\textsuperscript{109}

The two wives featured more prominently than the collective four women dentists attending the conference whose presence was noted as:

Four lady dentists graced the First Australian Dental Congress with their presence: Mrs. Torvell and Miss Grey, of Melbourne, Miss Madge Barnes and Miss Annie Praed, of Sydney.\textsuperscript{110}

In labelling women dentists as ladies, the women dentists were assigned a joint construct of professionalism and femininity in terms of class. In contrast, male dentists and their wives were defined in simpler gendered constructs: male dentists as dentists, and by implication, masculine. Wives were located in a societal construct of femininity that was bound to a male dentist. Social hierarchies in subtle ways were constructed as a function of a professional class, but with distinct gender connotations. Among the women attending these conferences there were degrees of rank between the wives of professional men and women dentists. The very order of the report suggests that women dentists were socially subordinate to the wives of their professional colleagues.

\textsuperscript{109}Anon. 1907, ‘Congress items’, \textit{Commonwealth Dental Review}, vol. 4, no. 4, p. 100.

\textsuperscript{110}ibid.
Therefore, a professional culture existed that assigned an inferior construct of femininity to the women dentists.

That the dental profession was the rightful place of men was reinforced in numerous ways. Social activities for dentists at congresses were structured within gendered parameters. Women dentists were excluded from social activities with male dentists, being segregated and grouped with the wives of male dentists. Wives and women dentists treated as a homogeneous body more than suggests a subordinate role, supportive of male dentists. Often the educational role in oral hygiene and preventive dentistry became blurred between women dentists and the wives. The containment of women dentists in this way suggests a melting of professional boundaries along gendered lines. This supports the argument that women dentists were contained within the housekeeping areas of the dental profession.

The Congress festivities were gendered to exclude women from the informal professional networking of the social activities, containing them within the sphere of the dental wives:

A charming evening was arranged for the ladies, on the date of the Congress banquet (which was limited to men). It commenced with a special dinner at Paris House, at which we were privileged to peep, and noticed they were unmistakably enjoying themselves. Later, they were
taken to the theatre, and ably chaperoned by Mrs. Burne and Mrs. Weston, to whose combined efforts was due the pleasing result.\textsuperscript{111}

Women dentists were left between a societal construction of femininity and a professional identity that was inherently masculine. Without a legitimised space, women dentists' sexuality had no fixed meaning and was in tension between contesting meanings of femininity. On one hand, the ideal femininity had sexuality contained within the moral sanctity of marriage and on the other hand, the meaning of immoral expression of sexuality was perceived to be outside marriage, outside the domestic sphere. Musgrave, too, found the issues of sexuality had different dimensions for men and women dentists. As she explained:

\begin{quote}
But I had to be very impartial and apart – the other me was over there and that was a good thing because you would see relationships in other years and the demonstrators and the lecturers didn't like it. It (sexuality) interfered with work – it definitely did and it didn't work. The men could be at work and at play at the same time. During the day I was a male and during the night I was a female. I was in two worlds.\textsuperscript{112}
\end{quote}

In her discussion on the construction of nurses' sexuality Bashford explored how the role of Christianity:

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{111}Ibid., p. 100.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{112}Interview with Doreen Musgrave, loc. cit.
\end{flushright}
meant that femininity held a different cultural relationship with 'flesh' or 'sin' or 'virginity/celibacy', than did masculinity. Moreover, masculinity could not simultaneously signify sexuality and asexuality, in the same way that femininity could. In that 'woman' was so fundamentally constructed on the dichotomy of virgin and temptress, particular women could effectively represent the contradiction between the spirit and the flesh, so central to Christianity. The permanently ambiguous symbolic status of the sexuality of nursing is a clear exemplification of this.\footnote{113}

For single women dentists, their professionalism contained these contesting meanings of sexuality. Their male colleagues' sexuality was contained within the dental profession in narrowly defined parameters of Anglo, heterosexual, white men. While chaperoning single women dentists may appear to have been culturally appropriate in 1907, it is interesting to note that implications of unbridled sexuality of single women dentists were evident even during the heady 1970s days of sexual liberation. In a report on a dinner for women dentists, the guest speaker, a man, the 'only male present', was sexually protected as he was 'accompanied by his charming wife'.\footnote{114}

The eugenics philosophies underpinned the role of women in the dental profession. The dental nurse, too, attended to the needs of the dentist in the practice in much the same manner as his wife did in the home. The dental


\footnote{114}{Anon. 1977, 'Honorary member Mrs. Dulce Barr', ADA (NSW Branch) Newsletter, Oct. 1977, p. 2.}
congress article contained an example of how particular cultural meanings of
femininity for the dental nurse were formed around hygiene and domesticity. 
However, the hierarchical culture of the dental profession placed nurses, who 
were unmarried, below women dentists. For these women, paid work in 
gendered terms was seen in the context of the working class, while women 
dentists’ work was defined in terms of philanthropy. Financial independence 
and class operated in an inverse relationship.

Miss Alley, the Matron of The United Dental Hospital, came in for an 
unstinted measure of praise from those who were early enough, and 
sufficiently mind free, to observe the excellent order in the hospital rooms. 
Everything was bright and clean and trim as could be, which, considering 
the number of clinics going on simultaneously each day, and the ever 
crowded rooms, was a marvel of management.\textsuperscript{115}

Intellectual inquiry and study, however, were distinctly claimed as the male 
domain. The same article praised the professional and technological expertise 
of fourteen men.\textsuperscript{116} Mackinnon has described the reproduction of class as a 
‘contradictory and antagonistic process’\textsuperscript{117} and this example is an argument that 
professions ‘can be seen as having reflected and reinforced woman’s separate 
position in society, “her special role” was translated into modern, more efficient

\textsuperscript{115} Anon. 1907, ‘Congress items’, op. cit., p. 100.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{117} Mackinnon, A. 1984, One Foot on the Ladder: Origins and outcomes of girls’ secondary 
schooling in South Australia, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Qld, p. 175.
terms'. Researchers have noted women's poor participation rates in conferences. Whilst Barnes did not give any papers at the dental conference that she attended, Praed presented three times.

Comments of the kind 'and a woman, mind you!' point to the biased gendered view on professionalism that men rightfully owned the space of professional presentation. Praed's use of language during her 1907 presentation confirms this view: subordination and weakness in self-effacing statements that reaffirm generally held views on femininity, such as 'I do not claim to have discovered anything new...after a great many failures have at length, arrived at something workable at least and:

Out of the fullness of my ignorance I made every possible mistake...Dr. Hinder has paid me too high a compliment in his A B C suggestion. I am afraid my knowledge of electricity would make it hardly an A B C merely, certainly not extending even as far as D, to say nothing of E or F. I thank you all for the exceedingly kind manner in which you have received the paper.

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118 Ibid.
120 Ibid., p. 165.
121 Ibid., p. 163.
121 Ibid.
122 Ibid.
123 Ibid., p. 167.
It is significant that the remarks from her male colleagues following the paper focused more on their own expertise, complimenting her in a patronising tone. Examples of these are

I do not find much to criticise in Miss Praed's paper, for the reason that it is mostly composed of indisputable facts, and not theories. There are one or two points which I think the essayist has overlooked, and which may be of service. I refer to the wiring of the muffle.\textsuperscript{124}

W. J. Tuckfield then proceeded at great length, extolling his own expertise. Praed's replied with 'I am indebted to Mr Tuckfield for his comments; but I would like to point out that he has overlooked the fact that I did mention the end-wiring of the furnace'.\textsuperscript{125} This example demonstrates the difficulty women faced in spheres where it was considered already that men rightfully owned scientific knowledge.

Praed did not present a paper again until 1933. She expressed a femininity of a self-effacing kind in her introduction: 'but I do feel the utmost temerity in approaching a subject handled in so masterly a manner by Dr Wilfred Terrell, who was so lately with us'.\textsuperscript{126}

\textsuperscript{124}Ibid., p. 165.

\textsuperscript{125}Ibid., p. 167.

The perception of male dentists as the rightful owners of dental knowledge is revealed in some of the qualifying and corrective comments they made about Praed's paper. Such an intrinsic culture served to undermine women dentists' expertise in the more masculine spheres of dental knowledge. The following clearly exemplifies this argument: 'I think Miss Praed has given us the very latest method of equalising the tissues, although a rather lengthy procedure'.

While women dentists who attended dental congresses were few, it is important to acknowledge their existence. Significantly, fewer participated academically or organisationally except in the social activities area (see Figures 7.1 to 7.9).

In 1938, at the 10 ADA Congress held in Melbourne, Praed returned to her research topic, prosthetic dentistry, to deliver a paper titled 'The problem of the full lower denture'. This paper gave a detailed account of her denture construction technique that evolved from an intimate knowledge and observation of her personal oral environment. Question time was not documented. This time, Praed introduced her paper with:

Without in any way claiming this last word, I offer, for consideration and discussion, some ideas and methods evolved over a period of years' struggle with this problem of the full lower denture.

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127Ibid., p. 323.


129Ibid., p. 439.
By 1938 Praed had achieved the doyen status within the dental profession. Combined with the benefit of her many years' clinical experience and a postgraduate qualification, Praed showed a greater degree of confidence in her knowledge at this point in her career.

I make no apology for multiplicity of detail, having found it better to take all possible precautions in times set aside for the purpose than to have a patient call for an "easing" at the most inconvenient time. Minimising appointments must not be the chief aim prior to fitting the denture. Many of the items at first glance may appear trifling, but, as McEwen says: "it is the little thing that counts" – and it is the sum of the "little things" that makes for success in this very important branch of our profession, full denture prosthesis.¹³⁰

A detailed attendance list of the women dentists who were at the 5 and 10 ADA Congress is not available. However, at the 10 congress, held in Melbourne in 1939, Annie Praed and Miss G. Lewis from South Australia were the only woman chairpersons of the academic sections. In keeping with the concepts of containment within an organisational culture, their section was preventive and children's dentistry.¹³¹

¹³¹Anon. 1939, 'Chairmen and Vice-chairmen of sections', Proceedings of the 8 Dental Congress, ADA, Melbourne, p. viii.
### Table 7.1

**Women dentists' participation at 1 ADA Congress**  
**February 1907, Sydney**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miss Gray</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Collins St. Melbourne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Ada Tovell</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Madge Barnes</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Macquarie St.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Annie Praed</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>135 Macquarie St.</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### Table 7.2

**Women dentists' participation at 2 Australian ADA Congress**  
**October 1909, Melbourne**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Miss F. Gray</em></td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>110 Collins St. Melbourne</td>
<td>Mr R.A. Cooper – same address</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs H. Cooper</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>56 Collins St. Melbourne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Mary M. Crombie</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Commercial Rd., Yarram Yarram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss I. Hutchings</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>68 Walpole St. Kew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss S. McChesney</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>110 Collins St. Melbourne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Rea</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>“Hilderin”</td>
<td>Canterbury Park, Balwyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs A.J.I. Tovell</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>110 Collins St. Melbourne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss. M. Burns</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>A.M.P. Buildings Edward St., Brisbane</td>
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*Presented: 'The care of children's teeth'*

### Table 7.3

**Women dentists' participation at 3 Australian ADA Congress**  
**July 1912, Brisbane**

<table>
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<th>Name</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miss. M. Burns*</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>A.M.P. Buildings Edward St., Brisbane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss. L.E. Huet</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Rockhampton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Rendle</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Townsville</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Annie Praed</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Crombie</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Yarram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss F.B. Gray</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Marion Rae</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs A. Tovell</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Melbourne</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Hon. Secretary of Aetiology, Pathology & Therapeutics Committee; Oral hygiene, Materia medica & Therapeutics Committee.
### Table 7.4

**Women dentists’ participation at 4 Australian ADA Congress**  
**August 1921, Adelaide**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miss B.O. Bennett</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Adelaide</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs A.J. Larkin</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Newcastle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellen Nicholls</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Auburn</td>
<td>F.W.D. Nicholls, Auburn attended.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Crombie</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Yarram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Z. Craig Dixon</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Rae</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Balwyn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs A.J. Tovell</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss. M. Burns</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss. L.E. Huet</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Rockhampton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Norma Muir</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Irene Butler Wood</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td>F.G. Butler Wood, Brisbane, attended.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Table 7.5

**Women dentists’ participation at 6 Australian ADA Congress**  
**August 1927, Melbourne**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Crombie</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Yarram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss E. McDonogh</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Northcote</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Rae</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs A.J. Tovell</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss V. Kennard</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Homebush</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Annie Praed</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss B.O. Bennett</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Adelaide</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss G. Tebbutt</td>
<td>WA</td>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>Student. C.O. Tebbutt, Perth, attended.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Burns</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss L. D. Friend</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss N.L. McKee</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss F.E. Stephens</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss K. Coe</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss D. Gruter</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss B. Johnstone</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss V. O’Brien</td>
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Table 7.6

Women dentists' participation at 7 Australian ADA Congress
July 1930, Brisbane

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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Adelaide</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss G. Tebbutt</td>
<td>WA</td>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M.M. Crombie</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Yarram Yarram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss A. Praed</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Burns</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss F.G. Butler-Wood</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss L.D. Friend</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs I.V. Gillies</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss N. Muir</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Miss N.L. McKee</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss F.E. Stephens</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td>Marborough</td>
<td>E.F. Stephens, Maryborough, attended.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss K. Coe</td>
<td>Qld</td>
<td></td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss D. Guter</td>
<td>Qld</td>
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<td>Miss B. Johnstone</td>
<td>Qld</td>
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<td>Miss M. McKee</td>
<td>Qld</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miss V. O'Brien</td>
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Table 7.7

Women dentists' participation at 8 Australian ADA Congress
August 1933, Adelaide

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miss Annie Praed</td>
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<td>Sydney</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss B.O. Bennet</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Adelaide</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss E.M. Freestun</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Adelaide</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss G.E. Lewis</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Adelaide</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss W.E. Preedy</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Adelaide</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss L.M. Randle</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss A.C. Funder</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Packer</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Student</td>
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</table>
Table 7.8

Women dentists’ participation at 9 Australian ADA Congress
August 1937, Sydney

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs D. Barr*</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Centennial Park</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Annie Praed#</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Bessie Brassington†</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss J.K. Bates</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Strathfield</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs M. Cox</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Edgecliff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss J.D. Mawson</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Eastwood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss D.J. Sylow</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Camperdown</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Miss B. Woodcock</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Dandenong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss G.E. Lewis</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Tusmore</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miss W.E. Preedy</td>
<td>S.A</td>
<td>Adelaide</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss J.E. Johnson</td>
<td>WA</td>
<td>Guildford</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Packer</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Highbury East</td>
<td>Non-attending Member</td>
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</table>

* Dental Health Committee, NSW; General Committee, Ladies’ Social Committee
# President: Ladies’ Social Committee

Table 7.9

Women dentists’ participation at 11 Australian ADA Congress 1948

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sybil F. Park</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td></td>
<td>Co-presenter¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara Y. Sinclair</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td></td>
<td>Co-presenter²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss D. Musgrave</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td></td>
<td>Presenter³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs D.C. Baker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss MA Campbell</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs M. Cohen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss S.M. Harrold</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Miss J.E. Johnson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miss M.L. Kernot</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mrs B. Murray</td>
<td>Austria</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss W. Preedy</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss E.M. Ross</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Taylor-Thomas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss G. Tebbutt</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Crombie</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-attending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss E. Kneebone</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-attending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss J.B. Stillman</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-attending</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.5. Publications

Available and acceptable avenues for the publication of women's writings were limited for a greater part of the twentieth century in Australia. For many women, the only publishing path available was in domestically defined publications in accordance with middle-and upper-class ideals of femininity. The genre and publication outlet for women's writings being contained within societal meanings of femininity is exemplified in Barnes' writings. In accordance with her class and marital status, Barnes' writing, which emerged in published forms after her marriage, belonged to the genre of children's literature. Published in the children's section of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, Barnes' writing was in keeping with the ideals of motherhood.

Suitable sites for dental publications for women were more difficult to find. When Praed offered her thesis for publication in serialised form in the *Dental Journal of Australia*, the Journal Committee responded by formulating the following guidelines:

the Executive...that the matter of the suggested publication of Dr. Praed's thesis be referred to the members of the Prosthetics Section of the Advisory Reading Committee – Dr. J. V. Hall Best and Mr L. S. Beckett – with a request that following due consideration, a selection be made of those portions of the thesis regarded as of greatest interest to the profession, and that the Dean of the Faculty of Dentistry of the
University of Sydney be then consulted by the readers with a view to publication in the Journal of the portions selected.\textsuperscript{132}

By the following month, there was a revision of the criteria:

(i) That the selection of theses for publication is based on the appeal to the majority of readers. The academic standard or purely scientific value of the work is not the governing factor

(ii) That theses approved by the Journal Committee and its officers be printed in part only, subject to the writer's approval; that the portion considered technically interesting be published in not more than three consecutive issues; and that no individual issue contain more than ten pages

(iii) That the Journal Committee considers that it would be a great advantage to the Association to secure a copy of each thesis by gift or purchase for the Library and, when obtained, its availability for purposes of reference be duly notified in the Journal for the information of members.\textsuperscript{133}

It would seem that Praed's thesis failed to meet these criteria, while Mr R. Harris\textsuperscript{134} thesis for his Master of Dental Surgery not only fulfilled publication criteria, but copies were printed and available at a price. H. R. Kemp's\textsuperscript{135} thesis

\textsuperscript{132} ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); Minutes of meetings of the Journal Committee, 1938 – 1940, 27 May 1938, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{133} Ibid., 15 June 1938, pp. 1–2.

\textsuperscript{134} Ibid., 5 July 1939, pp. 1–2.

\textsuperscript{135} Ibid., 15 May 1940, pp. 1–2.
for his Master of Dental Science was also accepted for serialised publication. Over the decades Kemp, Harris and J. V. Hall Best, Harris' mentor and former employer, were members of the Journal Committee.

Cass has illustrated that women often take a subordinate role in research.\footnote{Cass, op. cit., p. 83.} This too has been the fate of other early women dentists. Ellice Weir was discouraged from publishing her thesis in the \textit{Australian Dental Journal}, yet she was assistant editor for many years and claimed to have been the 'editor's editor'.\footnote{Interviews with Ellice Weir, 3 June 1996 & 14 June 1996. \textit{Women in Dentistry Project 1995–1999}.} Doreen Musgrave was not given the professional support for research or publication. Cass and other researchers have found that 'it is rank which is the predictor of high productivity, since it is rank which provides access to the material conditions and culture of research and publication'.\footnote{Cass, op. cit., p. 86.}

In the world of dental research, rank has been predominantly in the hands of men forming an organisational culture that clearly excluded women. In accordance with their perceptions of discrimination which are predominantly cultural and therefore gendered in nature, Weir and Musgrave did not see this as discrimination. Fellowship of a personal kind with their male peers created a filtered view of these issues among the early women dentists and the masculine professional culture reinforced this perspective.
Cass found that perceptions of discrimination were least likely among women in medicine/veterinary science, especially among the lower ranks. Significantly, women were also more likely to recognise discrimination against others, but not to their immediate personal experience.\textsuperscript{139} Cass notes that the reference point in discrimination issues was other women, rather than men. For these women the very issue of discrimination carried some stigma, not dissimilar to rape, where avoidance advice was the basis for the understanding of discrimination perceptions. The conclusions of the study are:

women are advised, by clear implication...not to marry and have children (and be labelled unnatural women, bitter spinsters left on the shelf) or to behave like men, get in there and become involved in the politicking (and be labeled pushy and accused of making sexual overtures to men). There are no male equivalents, carrying the same pejorative overtones of 'dragon lady', 'frustrated old maid', 'castrated bitch', 'maiden aunt', or 'ball breaker'.\textsuperscript{140}

The interviews with women dentists to date confirm these findings: women were unaware of discriminatory practices and only extreme situations were mentioned. However, the overall feeling was that their position was not secure and it required their constant attention to levels of excellence. Musgrave captures the essence of these practices in:

\textsuperscript{139}ibid., p. 106; p. 113.
\textsuperscript{140}ibid., p. 115.
It was a bit of a battle. You had to work very hard. You couldn’t slacken off and you not only had to be as good as men you had to be better to be accepted.¹⁴¹

7.6 Conclusion

The participation of Barnes and Praed in organisations contained complex meanings of femininity and professionalism. Their memberships of women’s organisations were underpinned primarily by meanings of class and femininity. New meanings of feminism and pioneering piloted the Sydney University Women Graduates’ Association. Praed continued this form of association throughout her life as a member of the United Associations of Women and the Sydney Business and Professional Women’s Club. However marriage determined Barnes’ choice of associations, as she shifted to the unpaid sphere of philanthropy exemplified by her role in the Sydney Kindergarten Union.

Women’s organisations offered Barnes and Praed an organisational culture that embodied constructs of femininity and professionalism, at a time when professions such as dentistry, medicine and law had a dominant masculine culture. Members of these women’s organisations found fellowship with women who sought constructs of femininity that embraced the ‘new woman’ ideology. Praed ventured further than Barnes into other women’s organisations with strong feminist views that were more active at a political level.

¹⁴¹ Interview with Doreen Musgrave, op. cit.
Barnes’ and Praed’s levels of participation in dental organisations were determined primarily by the shortage of male recruits. At those times when male dentists were in short supply, meanings of femininity faded under the banner of professionalism, to give them a visibility not available at other times. The containment of women dentists in the more feminised spheres of the profession has been argued. It is no accident that the other members of the dental team are gendered. Dental assistants, hygienists and therapists, who all work under the supervision of dentists, are almost exclusively women. Their duties are underpinned by meanings of eugenic ideologies.

In later life when Praed’s role in dental organisations gained the mythical status of dentistry’s matriarch, she attained eminence through her longevity of presence in the dental profession. Due to the limited numbers of women entering the profession and with even fewer sustaining a practice after marriage, Praed stood alone as the legendary ‘woman dentist’. Therefore Praed’s presence commanded attention as she gained this level of status. However, her pre-eminent figure only serves to point out further the general invisibility of women dentists in a profession which had, in Praed’s lifetime and throughout the twentieth century, a dominant masculine culture.
CHAPTER 8

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES AFTER GRADUATION

8.1 Introduction

Australian cultural beliefs during Barnes' and Praed's lifetimes held that careers for women in the professions were defined according to marital status: the underlying tenet being one of absolute choice between marriage or career. This clearly is an example of gender division in the professions placing women members on tenuous footings. Periods of war redefined these beliefs out of expediency, but only on the basis that the status quo would be re-established with peace. While marriage certainly flagged the end of a professional career for most women, the opposite held true for most men. According to Cass and other researchers,1 marriage for men was advantageous, as wives were part of the hidden infrastructure upon which male professional lives were based.

Once university qualifications became the standard for dental education, very few married women practised outside the family model of practice. Groups of women, again in familial relationships of sisters, mothers and daughters were not uncommon among those trained through apprenticeships.

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Meanings of work for middle and upper class women incorporated a number of notions of femininity that had emerged with the arrival of suffrage beliefs, the eugenics philosophy and the ideals of federation of the Australian states. Underpinning these new concepts was the notion that work for women was philanthropic in nature as opposed to the masculine concept of professionalism as scientific.

Women professionals were caught between societal meanings of femininity where work was cast in this philanthropic mould and professional meanings of work that were grounded in the masculine notions of scientific and technological expertise. This gendered difference would ultimately have economic consequences that disadvantaged women in the professions. Most probably the argument that professional women’s work was primarily valued for philanthropic merit is the reason for the lower income of Praed in comparison with her contemporary male colleagues. In keeping with societal beliefs of woman’s moral superiority there emerged a gendered form of altruism in the professions, containing women dentists in a style of practice that was to their financial disadvantage.

8.2 Organisational culture

The culture of a profession affects its members in both overt and covert ways. This culture impacts on their career choices in a gendered context. From the beginning of the professionalisation of dentistry at the turn of the century there emerged a professional culture of a masculine kind. The mechanisms by which
women are located in the profession are defined in terms of containment and exclusion.²

Witz argued that this construct of professionalism of a masculine kind is unencumbered by domestic and childcare responsibility. The male professional of this model has a ‘female servicer’ a wife, who is expected to carry out a range of duties for her husband allowing him to devote more time to the organisation’s affairs.³

Gallos⁴ too recognised the gendered component in paid work. She concluded that:

> men have been socialised to achieve identity primarily through work and professional accomplishments, in that sense men are heavily dependent on their work while women construct their conceptions of themselves, their lives, and the world around them differently from men.

This centrality of work in men’s lives is entrenched in the culture of a society and shapes the construction of masculinity. According to Gallos⁵ these cultural factors have historical, social, political, and intrapsychic elements that influence

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⁵ibid. p. 118.
career choice and work practice. For women dentists, tensions arise between their professional role and the societal construction of femininity. Work for educated middle-class white Anglo Australian women, for more than half of the twentieth century, has primarily been unpaid and contained within either the domestic private or philanthropic public spheres.

In his longitudinal study of four student groups at the University of Sydney, Anderson also noted the influence of the organisational culture on the construction of identity. Anderson's conclusion that 'every profession has its stereotype' was reached by quantitative and qualitative studies over three decades. He noted that by the end of a university course, the individual was socialised by the culture of the organisation. Anderson's research demonstrated that a professional stereotype emerged more in the more masculine professions of medicine, law and engineering than in the more feminised profession of teaching.\(^6\)

Other researchers have recognised the importance of historical, cultural, societal and psychological factors in the construction of femininity and masculinity, and how these constructs in turn affect career choices. Neittaanmaki et al. have stated that 'sex roles for men and women are deeply rooted in culture and transmitted from one generation to another, and are resistant to change' and they also concluded that 'sex-stereotyped images and models influence career choice'.\(^7\)

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Women's career choices are formed around a frame of femininity. According to Matthews, the twentieth century has affected the construction of white Anglo Australian femininity in three sites: sexuality, work and motherhood. In locating themselves within these sites, these women are caught between contesting societal and psychological forces. Resulting tensions position the woman between the pull-push forces of femininity and the masculine culture of the workplace.

Summers' evaluation of the pioneer women with academic qualifications was:

The educated woman who, perhaps after a short period of pursuing a career, renounced all to become a wife and mother was deemed to have successfully carried out her 'highest' vocation, but the woman who chose to follow her profession and did not marry was regarded as not being a 'real' woman.

Women's success was measured in terms of marriage and motherhood, with their professional career a rather temporary diversion or an option for those women deemed 'unfortunate' to find themselves single.

Powles reported with the conclusions of Alexandroff's review of the literature concerning women in 'non-traditional work':

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many studies support the view that most of the difficulties that women encounter in non-traditional work are social in nature, either explicit discrimination in training or employment, or sex-role stereotyping which leads to subtle psychological problems such as role conflict and fear of success. Women who seek entry into occupations defined as male may be regarded as ‘deviants’ and subjected to social sanctions.¹⁰

Gallos¹¹ argued that the construct of professionalism is less complicated for men because they are less burdened by multiple and contesting meanings of masculinity.

Lake,¹² too, suggests that the meanings of femininity are contradictory. Lake argues that meanings of femininity are formed around ‘sexual allure’ on the one hand, and on the other, ‘maternal thinking’. For the greater part of the century the societal construction of the work ethic for middle and upper class white Anglo Australian women has been contained in the unpaid labour of the domestic and public spheres. Migrant groups have individual cultural meanings of femininity and professionalism. At the University of Sydney, changing patterns of immigration in Australia after World War II are mirrored in the cultural presence of women in dentistry.


Crompton and Le Feuvre's study of women in banking in two countries (UK and France) demonstrated that the organisational culture of banking adversely affected women's career choices. They discovered that the more favourable maternity leave and childcare arrangements in France had little effect on women's success in attaining positions in upper management. Their study concluded that the organisational culture favoured male advancement to upper management while women were contained in the lower strata.\textsuperscript{13}

When the culture of the workplace, organisation or profession is of a masculine nature, it reinforces the centrality of paid work for males who are free of domestic and childcare responsibilities. Women dentists are caught between contradictory societal and organisational pressures to define themselves in a construct of professionalism that incorporates femininity.

These contradictory societal forces are at the core of understanding the complexity of femininity and professionalism constructs in women dentists' lives and the implications of these factors for their career choices.

8.3 Available work

A Bachelor of Dental Surgery guaranteed men and women the right to practise in dentistry. While Barnes and Praed did not face the obstacles of seeking residency or clerk requirements that the pioneer medical and law women

experienced, their career options were limited. However, it is interesting to note that for most of this century women dentists have predominantly practised either alone, with other women, or with family members, but rarely in partnership or as associates with male colleagues who are not related. Musgrave described her experience of finding work as one where there was 'prejudice against employing women except in some practices where some patients wanted a woman'.  

14 Judith Taubman, who graduated in 1950, voiced the gender barrier in employment opportunities:

I have never had any unfavourable reaction from the public as a female graduate, but I have had three complete refusals of employment from male graduates purely because I was a female.

I think women students should be advised to marry (a) dentists or (b) doctors if they wish to have the opportunity to practise after marriage.  

15 Clearly, meanings of femininity of the post-war period shaped Taubman's views of professionalism.

Qualification to practise dentistry did not guarantee a secure income for women dentists, as their choices were limited. Most of the early women dentists ventured into solo practice or into established family groups. It would seem that Praed's association with Twemlow was more of a personal relationship rather
than a solely professional one. Private solo practice was probably the most likely available option for Barnes and Praed. Belgrave\textsuperscript{16} has argued that women were restricted in the purchase of practices, especially those owned by men because the male patients in particular would not continue to attend the practice if a woman were to take over.

The institutionalised practice of dentistry was not available in 1906. Later its appearance offered the main career path for women professionals. For the pioneer professional women in medicine\textsuperscript{17} and dentistry, their main sphere of practice was treating women and children, especially those in public institutions. Women established these institutions, not only to meet the needs of women and children, but also to provide an employment avenue for professional women who had limited opportunities to practise.

Available work for early women dentists in private practice was restricted. Exceptional periods occurred during World Wars I and II when women stepped into male dentists' positions for the duration of the war. Opportunities in the public sector were not available until the 1920s.

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Two institutions committed to the treatment and welfare of women and children were Sydney’s Rachel Forster Hospital, founded in 1922, and Melbourne’s Queen Victoria Hospital, (1897) which in 1901 had appointed its first woman dentist, Miss Ethel Godfrey, albeit a non-graduate. However, containment in this form carried low professional status because male colleagues did not seek employment in institutions, except in an honorary capacity, which had a higher moralistic value.

The culture of a masculine profession becomes established at university. Informal networks during student days were established through the masculine activities of sport and pub cultures that excluded women. This was a distinct disadvantage to women dental students as it reduced the opportunities for work after graduation. Separate common rooms fostered informal networks for both men and women. However, for men the outcome was more fruitful, leading towards securing future career paths, whereas for women it was in terms of emotional support during their student days.

Gaining the qualifications necessary to practise in the profession of dentistry did not give women an easy path to a successful career. Barriers in gendered

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19ibid., p. 41.

20ibid., p. 44.

21Comino Cerny Z. 1996, Social change and the presence of women in dentistry at Sydney University in dentistry, workshops conducted at Enhancing the balance, personal and professional: Women in dentistry, an international symposium, Melbourne, 13 July.
terms of professionalism, (masculinity) have presented women dentists with obstacles that their male colleagues have not had to encounter.\textsuperscript{22}

8.4 Uniforms

Professional identity confronted by societal constructs of gender is most visible in the description of professional attire. Elsie Sautelle, Praed's former 'dental assistant then called a secretary,'\textsuperscript{23} illustrated this point when she wrote how Praed 'sewed her own print surgery dresses by hand.'\textsuperscript{24} Praed's professional attire offers a metaphor for gender boundaries in the dental profession: the print and dress establishing femininity, yet the qualifying 'surgery' indicating a professional site. The choice of a dress rather than the traditional white coat emphasised femininity, particularly the use of print material and the term 'dress'. This affirmed a gender difference. Anna Enno, a graduate of 1974, also emphasised the gender difference in her description of the uniforms for men and women students. Enno stated that the 'boys (students) wore coats and looked like dentists. We (women students) wore dresses and looked like nurses.'\textsuperscript{25}

Bashford's analysis noted that nurses' uniforms were 'a sign which could be read different ways by different people', that the nurses' uniform could be both


\textsuperscript{23}Sautelle, E. 1966, 'Notes on Annie Praed'. \textit{Doreen Musgrave Collection}.

\textsuperscript{24}ibid.

\textsuperscript{25}Interview with Anna Enno, 6 May 1995. \textit{Women in Dentistry Project 1995–1999}. 
a 'provocation and disguise' and that the symbolism of a nurses' uniform contained contradictory images that left women in uneasy positions.\textsuperscript{26}

Women dentists' work attire was strongly connected to notions of femininity. This was in direct contrast to their male colleagues whose uniform clearly defined a professional image in simple terms. Therefore I argue that work apparel for women dentists conceals complex and contradictory meanings of femininity and professionalism.

8.5 1906 to World War I

During this period and for most of the twentieth century, the functioning economic unit was underscored by a belief that paid work was a male domain. By maintaining these positions for men and women, meanings of work were founded on societal concepts of femininity and masculinity within a class and racial context.

For white Anglo middle and upper class women, the major responsibility was their elevated role of the 'citizen mother' that was driven by a form of nationalism. Women's roles were integrally related to increasing the population. Women were positioned in emotional rather than economic sites, yet the driving force behind this construct of femininity was economic. But it was the men who owned economic responsibility. Lake and Holmes claimed that as 'mothers – as

producers of the state’s ‘greatest asset’ — women were said to render a national service parallel to that performed by citizen soldiers.\textsuperscript{27}

Economic prosperity went hand in hand with population growth. The introduction of the maternity allowance for married women served to further this role for white Anglo middle-class women.\textsuperscript{28} Another major obstruction to women’s pursuit of economic independence was the outcome of the Harvester case in 1907, which was brought down by Justice Higgins. His decision, in setting a family wage for men, cast men as the breadwinners and left women without parity in wages. This action impacted culturally and economically on the meaning of women’s earnings in paid employment for future generations. The fallout from the injustice of the wage judgement brought down by Higgins infiltrated to all levels of the workplace. In the professions, the breadwinner as masculine pushed women into limited sites that were philanthropically designated.

The apprenticeship scheme had facilitated women’s entry into the dental profession at a number of levels. Primarily as part of the family economy, it allowed women to practise as apprentices with family members, an arrangement that was socially acceptable. Secondly, in rural areas where there were shortages of male dentists, women were more readily accepted into apprenticeships that did not require institutional training. The centralisation of


dental education to an urban university severely stemmed the flow of women into the profession, the exception occurring in the interval of the war years when there was a shortage of men.

At the turn of the twentieth century a number of indentured women dentists were still practising in Sydney. Among them were Misses Keelan, Hamilton, A & R. Oldfield, Swann, Williams, Amy Smith, Kathleen Maloney and R. Wintle. In NSW country regions women dentists included Amy Mackay (Taree) and within family practices Julia Annerley (Kempsey) and Mabel Wells (Newcastle). Barnes’ and Praed’s entry into the private practice of dentistry was therefore not without the precedence and presence of other women. What set them apart was their university qualifications and to some degree their class.

After graduating, Barnes commenced a solo practice in 193 Macquarie Street (see Figure 8.1). Recalling that time she wrote:

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30 NSW State Archives: Dental Board of NSW; 7/5169, Rough Register of Dentists, 1902–1924, no. 1444.

31 ibid., no. 1468.


33 NSW State Archives: Dental Board of NSW; 7/5169, Rough Register of Dentists, 1902–1924, no. 1407.

34 ibid., no. 1134.

35 ibid., no. 1344.

four of us new grads (Starkey, Hardie, Stockwell & I) started in the same house & while we waited for an influx of patients we amused ourselves wandering in & out of each others rooms advising & criticising our shining equipment.\footnote{37}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{193-Macquarie-St-Sydney.png}
\caption{193 Macquarie Street Sydney\footnote{38} \newline Courtesy City of Sydney Archives}
\end{figure}

It is unknown how Barnes financed the establishment of her practice. Most probably the funds came from the same source that had met her university expenses. The practice of dentistry during this period required little technological equipment. Easily transportable, the equipment and material

\footnote{37}{Barnes. M.E. 18 Mar. 1966, Correspondence. Doreen Musgrave Collection.}

\footnote{38}{City of Sydney Archives:}
costs were small in comparison with those incurred by today's standards. As Barnes shared telephone expenses with Stockwell\textsuperscript{39} in her rooms at Macquarie Street and later with Praed at Challis House (Figure 8.2), this factor may be significant in the degree of her financial encumbrance.

\textbf{FIGURE 8.2}
\textit{Challis House, Martin Place Sydney}\textsuperscript{40}
\textit{Courtesy Mitchell Library}

For women dentists at the turn of the century, their patient base mirrored cultural attitudes towards professionalism. The multiple meanings of femininity at the turn of the century are exemplified in Barnes' recollection of her first patient. She described the moment as:

\textsuperscript{39}Sydney Government Telephone Exchange List of Subscribers 1905, loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{40}State Library of NSW: Mitchell Library,
my very first patient was a totally unknown gentleman. He noticed my startlingly new brass plate & called in to make an appointment. His reason being that he approved of women entering the professional world. He and his family & many of his friends were my patients until I retired to be married.\footnote{Barnes M.E. 22 Aug. 1964, ‘Notes’, Correspondence. \textit{Doreen Musgrave Collection}.}

Her statement clearly demonstrates that in general there was a public disapproval of women in professions at this time. However it also indicates an emerging femininity with a suffrage influence. The male patient here has embraced the ideology surrounding the idea of the ‘new woman’ with all its ambiguous connotations about a range of possibilities for new femininities.\footnote{Bashford, op. cit., p. 225.}

A component of Barnes’ practice was her appointment as dentist to Scots College, a Sydney private boys’ school. In the 1960s, excited by the advent of mouthguards, she wrote:

I am intensely interested in your mouthguards – and mad that I did not think of it myself when at work. I think I mentioned being Dentist for Scots College in the Rev. Aspinall’s headship there. And it would break my heart when these boys came in – football season especially – with cracked or split or missing incisors. Why did I never have that brilliant inspiration – I felt I lost a chance to acquire fame – and – or fortune. I
would dispense with the fortune willingly if I could have made such a
contribution to the sporting world especially to the school boys.\textsuperscript{43}

Barnes' post at Scots College was most probably due to her network with the
Aspinalls at Riviere College (see Chapter 4). The Rev. A. Aspinall, who had
publicly championed women's right to professional appointment also appointed
his daughter, Dr Jessie Aspinall, to tend to the boys' medical care at this time.\textsuperscript{44}
In voicing her concern for the welfare of children, Barnes was once again
positioned within the philanthropic site of professional work in keeping with the
definitions of work for women of her class. Professional identity for women was
contained within the concepts of middle-class femininity grounded in social
mothering. Another underlying theme here is Barnes' drive for pioneering as an
endeavour in the form of scientific invention. Nevertheless the context is one of
middle-class women's 'philanthropic culture, rather than men's scientific
culture'.\textsuperscript{45}

During this period and until her marriage Barnes enjoyed the security of
residential stability at Ravenscraig, Neutral Bay. Praed, on the other hand,
continued along the path of frequent relocations that became her pattern for the
first quarter of the twentieth century. A number of directories have her listed as

\textsuperscript{43}Barnes, M. E. 21 June 1966, Correspondence. Doreen Musgrave Collection.

\textsuperscript{44}Durie, E. B. 1979, 'Aspinall, Jessie Strahorn', in Australian Dictionary of Biography 1891–1939,

\textsuperscript{45}Bashford, op. cit., p. 78.
living at William Twemlow’s Hermitage, Middle Harbour (1905–1907) after her move from Redan Street, Mosman. As with ‘fifteen to twenty percent of the metropolitan Sydney’s adult population’ boarding houses met Praed’s residential needs during this period. Barnes’ niece, Darryl, referred to these as ‘genteel boarding houses (of which there were many in Neutral Bay)’. After Twemlow’s death in 1909 Praed lived with Annie Twemlow at Tournay, Redan Street Mosman until 1911. Between 1913 and 1915, she resided at Cremorne Road, Cremorne and in 1916 during the war she moved to Wavertree, Kurraba Road, Neutral Bay, across the road from her friends Elsie and George Sautelle, where she remained until 1922 (see Figure 8.3). 

51 Commonwealth of Australia: NSW Electoral Roll; Division of North Sydney, Subdivision of Mosman, 1909, p. 115, no. 6852. 
52 Commonwealth of Australia: NSW Electoral Roll; Division of North Sydney, Subdivision of Mosman, 1909, p. 141, no. 8402. 
54 State of NSW: Electoral Roll; Division of North Sydney, Subdivision of Mosman, 1913, p. 165, no. 9873. 
55 State of NSW: Electoral Roll; Division of North Sydney, Subdivision of North Sydney, 1915, p. 184, no. 10998. 
56 State of NSW: Electoral roll; Division of Warringah, Subdivision of North Sydney, 1916, p. 75, no. 4437. 
57 State of NSW: Electoral roll; Division of Warringah, Subdivision of Neutral Bay, 1922, p. 109, no. 6409.
This pattern of relocating residence at regular periods was mirrored in Praed’s choice of professional practice. The T&G Buildings practice address in 1919 was Praed’s final port after a series of locations. From her first known practice at 82 King Street (1900–1903), she moved to 316 George Street (1904–1905), then to 135 Macquarie Street (1905). Later, in 1910, Praed relocated to Suite 6, Sixth Floor, Challis House, Martin Place where Barnes joined her in 1914. Elsie Sautelle’s views of Praed’s pre-World War I practice illustrate the gendered barrier that Praed faced in her efforts to become established:

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60 Sydney Government Telephone Exchange List of Subscribers 1905, Postmaster General’s Department, Sydney, p. 342.
62 Sydney Telephone Directory Feb. 1914, Postmaster General’s Department, Sydney, p. 95.
In 1906, the University granted the B.D.S. and her practice having grown (though with much tribulation, the public feeling against women in the profession was still very strong, and her patients were very largely children, or old friends with here and there an occasional brave male patient) she moved into 135 Macquarie Street, and remained there until it was bought by the B.M.A., when she moved to Challis House.\textsuperscript{63}

Between 1922 and 1948,\textsuperscript{64} Praed practised in Suite 705 at the T&G Buildings,\textsuperscript{65} 40 Park Street Sydney (see Figures 8.4 and 8.5). This was a well known address for a number of dental practitioners for over 70 years, described by Franki, as 'In popular Sydney parlance, T&G stood for "Tooth and Gum Building" because of the abundance of dental surgeries it contained.'\textsuperscript{66}

Coincidentally, in her early days at the T&G, Praed was in the company of another first, Miss M. I. Hamilton,\textsuperscript{67,68} who had earlier laid claim to being Australia's first woman dentist (see Chapter 5).

\textsuperscript{63}Sautelle, E. 1966, 'Notes on Annie Praed'. Doreen Musgrave Collection.

\textsuperscript{64}Sydney Telephone Directory Feb. 1948, Postmaster General's Department, Sydney, p. 92. Telephone no. MA 5528.

\textsuperscript{65}Sands' & Sydney Telephone Directories.


\textsuperscript{68}Maitland Weekly Mercury 29 June 1895, p. 2.
Public resistance to women entering the profession and university generally remained a dominant cultural practice. Evidence for this argument is found in the relatively few women who graduated from the dental school at the
University of Sydney. Between 1907 and 1913, only two women graduated out of a total of forty-two candidates.

8.6 World War I

With the departure of the men to the call of war, paid work was redefined in gendered terms during World War I. Women moved in to fill male occupations left vacant by the absent men. For the first time, women ventured into ‘new fields of work such as banking, insurance and the public service’.69 The redefinition of femininity, during World War I, to embrace the women’s movement into the paid workforce, was viewed as imperial patriotism and therefore in keeping with the philanthropic meanings attached to work for middle-class women.

With World War I and the labour shortage of men, middle-class women were encouraged to seek work in the public sphere. A number of sources including newspaper articles,70 an item in a dental journal71 and a letter written by Madge

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69 Lake & Holmes, op. cit, p. 28.


Barnes\textsuperscript{72} suggest that women's labour in professional sectors was in demand. Dental records\textsuperscript{73} also demonstrate that increased numbers of women registered under the apprenticeship scheme during this period.

World War I changed the meaning of middle-class women's relationship to paid work, once perceived as the 'laborious necessity for the working class.'\textsuperscript{74} When the \textit{Legal Status Bill} was passed in 1918, structural barriers were removed, thus providing new opportunities in professional positions for women. Scott noted that 'every sex disability has been removed except the position of Judge in the High Courts and the power to act on juries'.\textsuperscript{75}

The imperial patriotic cry was proclaimed in a number of ways, newspapers carrying the message to women. In the women's section on Wednesdays, the \textit{Daily Telegraph} between November, 1915\textsuperscript{76} and January 1916\textsuperscript{77} ran a weekly column, 'Careers for women'. Targeting the demand for labour, women were summoned to patriotically respond to the needs of the Empire. Women's presence in the workforce, however, was defined in terms of male absence:

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\textsuperscript{72}Barnes M. E. 22 Aug. 1964, 'Notes', Correspondence. \textit{Doreen Musgrave Collection}.

\textsuperscript{73}NSW State Archives: Dental Board of NSW; 7/5166, Signature Book, no. 1, June 1901 – Feb.1923, pp. 177–86.


\textsuperscript{75}Mitchell Library: Rose Scott; ML MSS 38/448X, Miscellaneous papers, National Council of Women, 1919–1914, microfilm, XY Reel 3054, no. 45, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{76}'Careers for women: Medicine', loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{77}'Careers for women: The matron', loc. cit.
“in view of the general shortage among men students” we are told “it is satisfactory to learn that increasing numbers of women are wanting to study medicine”\textsuperscript{78}.

Demand for medical services heralded an appeal to enlarge the London (Royal Free Hospital) School of Medicine which was the ‘only school in London at which women can receive a medical education’.\textsuperscript{79} Australian women medical practitioners similarly realised new demands for their expertise:

Initially much prejudice existed against the woman doctor, but now the demand for her is higher than it has ever been, owing to the shortage occasioned by the war.\textsuperscript{80}

Gendered redefinitions of paid work became the catch cry to attract women to meet the demands of the workforce created by war. Constructs of femininity were reshaped in terms of patriotic duty. Women became ‘mothers of the Empire’ as they were called upon to deliver and sacrifice their sons to the greater good. Responding to this cultural shift, public sites of work contained contested meanings of femininity and masculinity, as the article ‘Women in men’s work’ illustrates:


\textsuperscript{79}ibid.

\textsuperscript{80}\textit{Daily Telegraph} 24 Nov. 1915, loc. cit.
The success both in industry and public works seems to be undoubted. On all sides employers speak of their punctuality, energy, and good temper, no matter what labour they have to perform.\(^81\)

In both these newspaper items there is a distinct meaning attached to the ownership of paid work in the public domain. Clearly this sphere belonged to men, with the wartime shift perceived merely as a temporary transfer. Another example that illustrates this point is the newspaper item, ‘Our public women’, that profiled Lady Anderson Stuart, wife of the Dean of Medicine, University of Sydney, who stated ‘When the war is over what pleasant and interesting memories our women workers will have’.\(^82\) (Figure 8.6).

In this series of newspaper articles, Praed was the representative of the dental profession. The practice of dentistry was redefined in gendered terms as a most favourable career for women. Journalistic appraisal of the suitability of a career as a dentist for women redefined the profession in terms of femininity:

Provided a woman is physically robust, has had a good education, is clever with her hands, adaptable and sympathetic, there is no reason why she should not qualify as a dentist with very good prospects of making a successful career.\(^83\)

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\(^{81}\)ibid.

\(^{82}\)‘Our public women’, *Daily Telegraph* 3 Nov. 1915, p. 6.

\(^{83}\)Careers for women: Dentistry’, loc. cit.
FIGURE 8.6
Five women featured in the ‘Careers for women’ series in Daily Telegraph

Praed’s university attendance was constructed not only as desirable in intellectual and social terms, but as economically possible. The article stated ‘the subjects of dentistry are interesting and attractive, the course not so long and the fees reasonable.’\(^\text{84}\) (Figure 8.7).
CAREERS FOR WOMEN.

DENTISTRY.

Provided a woman is physically robust, and has a good education, in three with her hand, she cannot be denied the opportunity of taking a place in the profession of dentistry. A man she should not qualify as a dentist with very prospect of achieving a successful career. In subjects of professional study are interesting and attractive, the course not too long, and the fees reasonable. Moreover, when the art of dentistry is seen and a woman emerges successfully from the ordination of her hands, she has the satisfaction of feeling that, whatever be her profession, she is not restricted by sex.

The field of dentistry seems to be growing ever broader and broader, and the fact that the health of a nation is largely dependent upon the care of the teeth has come to be generally recognised the world over. Since, too, the State has taken in hand the supervision of the dental profession, it is evident that the student must furnish evidence of having completed her course of study with distinction, in order to be granted a diploma. 

MISS ANNIE PRAED,

who was chosen to represent the Dental graduates of the Sydney University at the International Dental Congress, held in London last year. She was the first woman graduate in dentistry at the Sydney University, obtaining her diploma in 1912, and was Bachelor in Dental Surgery in 1913.

Children's teeth in these schools over which have control, is accomplished importance which the profession of dentistry has assumed. A connection with public health is thus created. And the more is this so. For it is not the teeth of the adult that the dentist should be interested in, but the teeth of the child. Seeking to interest the child in the future, a visit to the dentist should always be pleasing. 

- Necessary Training.

Before commencing their studies, candidates must pass the preliminary examination for the degree of Bachelor of Dental Surgery and pass the examination for registration in the Peninsular and Oriental dental societies. The examination, beginning in June, lasts for four years. The degree is obtainable in Great Britain, and the fees for the whole course are £50.

During the period of study instruction is being completed her twenty-first year, and also a certificate of most fees and character to the satisfaction of the Senate. 

Any student who has served or is serving an apprenticeship in mechanical dentistry with a registered dentist may, on the report of the School of Dental Science, be exempted from the whole or a part of the prescribed work, or pass the special examination in dentistry at the University.

FIGURE 8.7
Annie Praed, 'Careers for women', Daily Telegraph
The message conveyed professionalism in desirable feminine terms: the use of language such as the word 'attractive' delivered a strong association with the feminine. A noted lack of emphasis on the scientific knowledge and expertise more in keeping with meanings of masculinity in professional terms served to attract and appeal to notions of femininity in middle-class women.

These newspaper articles and their accompanying photographs exemplify the diversity of meanings of femininity that were available during this period. Many of the photographs have an alluring quality of femininity while others fall with the parameters of stereotyped asexual portraits. In a number of these photographs, the cameo framing affirms the decorative and femininity. The images suggest that the woman professional is a decorative icon rather than the definitive professional person, a man.

The fluidity of gender boundaries expressed itself in a variety of ways; while most reversed after the war, some changes were established in permanent and acceptable work sites for women, albeit single women. During World War I secretaries underwent a gendered transformation that had permanent effects: a position that once was classified as masculine became feminine. The tone of the article 'Careers for women: The general secretary' captured this gender shift when it pointed out 'for instance a woman is secretary of the Dental Board of NSW'.

\[^{85}\text{Careers for women: The general secretary', loc. cit.}\]
Dentists were being redefined in social and gendered ways. Pre-war professionalism of a dominant masculine kind underwent a transformation into the feminine as the male members went off to war. Women were persuaded to join the workforce by framing the appeal in terms of the ideals of citizen motherhood: the care of the young along scientific principles would guarantee the nation's future population and therefore its survival. The article's motherhood message to women was emphatic:

Since the State has taken in hand the supervision of children's teeth in those schools over which it has control, the paramount importance which the science and art of dentistry has assumed in connection with public health is fully recognised. And who more fitted to care for the teeth of the children than the woman dentist?  

The demand for dental services was directly proportional to the increase in military recruits. Men seeking to enlist were often declared physically unfit due to their dental status. A reasonable standard of oral health had become an imperative in the increasing demand for troops to service the war front. Changing technological warfare created an environment with consequences to oral health. With the war, dental health demands increased among the soldiers due to poor oral hygiene, smoking habits and the psychological trauma associated with the trenches. One common complaint, *acute ulcerative necrotising gingivitis*, was known as 'trench mouth' for most of the twentieth century.

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century. A call for organised dental corps for the services was raised among the profession, for servicing the troops at home and in the war zone. 87

As the war claimed male dentists to fill the ranks of the dental corps, the civilian needs for dental treatment fell upon a small number of practising dentists. Women dentists were in demand for civilian dental services, as evidenced by Barnes' words 'both Ann & I were kept very busy as so many of our dentists had joined the Forces'. 88

For the duration of the war Barnes and Praed practised together at Challis House, Martin Place, Sydney. The demand for dental treatment and the shortage of dentists in the labour force was met by an increase in the number of women dentists who qualified under the apprenticeship scheme as evidenced by the number of Dental Board registrations. 89 Rural areas were particularly under-serviced and under this scheme, women dentists such as Edith Stewart (Dunedoo) and Isabella Ann Larkin (Newcastle) met the civilian dental needs.

Fanny Gray, the first woman to graduate in dentistry from the University of Melbourne, came out of retirement to attend to the soldiers' dental treatment. Prior to the war, the societal values of her class deemed it correct that she

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89 NSW State Archives: Dental Board of NSW; 7/5166, Signature Book, no. 1, June 1901 – Feb. 1923, pp. 177–86.
ceased dental practice upon marriage. However, with the war, work for married women was redefined in heroic terms:

Mrs. Innes retired from active practice after her marriage, and despite the fact that she has now family ties to keep her fully occupied she was not found wanting when the call came. We heartily congratulate Mrs. Innes on her patriotic effort.  

Elsie Sautelle reported that Praed, while in the UK, applied and was refused an Army commission as a dentist on the basis of gender. As a dental corps had not been mobilised at this time the accuracy of this information is unknown.

In 1914 another Australian woman dentist who was also visiting the UK did, however, take her dental experience to the war front with varying degrees of professional acceptance, underpinned with layered gendered meanings. Martha Burns, a graduate from Melbourne’s College of Dentistry, was taking a well deserved rest after seven years of working in her established Brisbane practice which she described as ‘rather in the way of being an innovation: a woman practitioner properly qualified’. 

With the outbreak of World War I during the congress Burns offered her services to the Australian Voluntary Hospital as nursing sister and dental surgeon. She wrote:

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90Fischer, loc. cit.

I was fortunate enough to have my offer accepted. I had brought with me my syringe, extracting forceps, and amalgam instruments. Before going to France with the unit, I got some regulating wire, forceps, Godiva, clove oil and G.P. 92

It would seem that her job description was not clearly defined, for later she wrote:

I have volunteered to nurse the wounded soldiers here and have been chosen for the hospital staff of the Commonwealth Hospital, in which Lady Dudley is taking a great interest...My dental qualification, added to my nursing ability, procured me the position. 93

Elsewhere Burns wrote ‘We, the nurses, slept on rugs...There were eighteen of us chosen from forty Australian trained-women then in London’.94 It would seem that Burns’ identity as a dentist became blurred once she located within the feminised domain of nursing. That Burns’ dental qualifications equated to nursing skills was an impertinent assumption on her behalf.

Dental treatment, far from the ideal under war conditions, presented Burns with an ethical conundrum:

92 Ibid., p. 196; G.P. (gutta percha) is a filling material. Today it is used exclusively in root canal therapies.


94 Burns, M. 1915, loc. cit.
Fortunately I had kept my forceps in my suitcase, not handed them in to the store; the anaesthetics were all in the store, so I had to do the extraction without. The orderly stood it manfully, and was very glad to get rid of the offending molar. The sacrifice of this good molar (had it been possible to treat) was so against my principles that, through Lady Dudley, I soon discovered Mlle. Cardaran, a woman graduate from Bordeaux, to whom I sent all future cases.  

Clearly Burns' dental qualifications were not initially recognised. Burns discovered that femininity and masculinity were often contested in professional terms during the war. Burns' dental qualifications met resistance by a male surgeon:

The anaesthetist said to the surgeon, who operated, "Sister Burns will extract the tooth." I stood ready in gown and with hands sterilised. The old-fashioned surgeon, my superior officer, looked at me, said nothing, selected a scalpel and made the incision. It broke my heart to see it. Needless to state, the tooth had to be extracted eventually, and a few days later the Colonel asked me to go up to the camp and see the patient and extract the molar...among the orderlies there was an L.D.S. of England. I saw the medical officer in charge of the camp, and asked him to get the orderly to extract the molar.

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96 ibid.

96 ibid., p. 197.
A labyrinth of meanings attached to professionalism and gender underpinned Burns' presence at the war front. Multiple readings of these meanings of professionalism certainly place gender as the most notable barrier. However, professionalism, too, underpinned Burns' impotence to perform dental procedures. Dentistry was still a fledging profession, fighting for recognition in the public and medical circles. It was on this lack of recognition that Burns focused her attention, rather than on gender. In aligning herself with her dental colleagues, she did not register the gender implications. Burns pointed out these views to her Australian colleagues:

My brothers and sisters in the dental profession here in Australia will sympathise with me to the full about this case. Will the old practitioners in general surgery never realise that we also are a learned profession and specialising in oral surgery? 97

Later on the war front Burns' dental qualifications were not questioned; she tended to the seriously injured at St. Nazaire and Boulougne before returning home in June 1915. It would seem that the troops' urgent needs at the front evaporated professional and gender boundaries:

Another case I attended was a fractured lower jaw. The fracture was between the centrals, which were very loose, as also were the laterals. Using Angle's regulating wire, I wired the teeth from the first molar right to the same tooth on the left side. I then softened Godiva modeling

97 ibid.
compound, and shaped it to the jaw, holding it in place till hard; removing it, I made holes through it with a heated instrument, and passed bandages through these holes; the bandages are always applied. After I had placed the Godiva splint and closed the patient's mouth, the occlusion of the teeth and the wiring, in combination with the splint, giving immobility. This patient — a German — had the left side of his face blown away, and his vocal cords destroyed, as well as all the flesh blown off his left hand. He walked to the ambulance wagon outside our hospital at St. Nazaire, and was taken to England on the hospital ship.  

Burns voiced pride in her professional expertise in her account of this incident. In detailing her technique to her colleagues she aligned herself in the newly established professional category, 'dentist', in non-gendered terms. Burns' account exemplifies the complex and dynamic meanings attached to professionalism, femininity and masculinity during the extraordinary circumstances of war.

Barriers of gender were overcome when women doctors reversed this attitude: an Australian-born New Zealander, Agnes Bennett, probably became 'the first medical woman granted a commission in the British Forces'.

Praed's alleged exclusion from professional war service as a dentist was also the experience of American women doctors who sought war commissions.

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98ibid., p. 198.
99Hutton Neve, op. cit., p. 118.
100Morantz-Sanchez, op. cit., p. 277.
During World War I professional qualifications gained through university training remained outside the scope of many women and only one woman graduated out of a total of 23 candidates between 1914 and 1919. A similar trend occurred in the USA, when the percentage of women in the profession shifted from 3.1% in 1910, to 3.2% in 1920, dropping to 1.8% in 1930.\textsuperscript{101,102}

8.7 Inter-war years

The interval of the inter-war years presented an atmosphere when meanings of femininity and masculinity were formed predominantly from political definitions of national survival, particularly during the Depression at the end of the twenties when ‘buildings stopped, wages dropped, jobs petered out. The Government Savings Bank of NSW closed its doors...part of a great world recession of trade’.\textsuperscript{103}

A number of societal forces were operating in defining complex and contradictory notions of femininity that had an impact on women’s participation in the workforce and their attendance at universities. Conservatism and liberalism would inform women on notions of femininity across a spectrum of meanings.


A central theme shaping social attitudes was the political drive to increase the population decimated by the lives lost in the war and the low birth rate during that period. Eugenics philosophies underpinned the drive for a healthy, able, Anglo population. Under the banner of patriotism, the responsibility for economic and social prosperity fell to women whose duty it was to procreate and raise their offspring according to scientific principles. These ideas were translated into institutional structures. At this time the study of science in secondary schools was divided along gender lines. While boys studied science, girls were segregated into a form of science, domestic science, which left them unprepared for the science curriculum at university.

Economic prosperity in these terms was constructed around meanings of masculinity that assumed men’s wellbeing as the breadwinner. Population growth, also perceived as necessary for economic prosperity and insurance against future wars, was conveyed to women as a national duty. In pursuit of this drive for procreation, a powerful twofold construct of femininity emerged. One aspect advocated the development of healthy bodies through the outdoor girl image during the day, while an almost contesting aspect emphasised a sensual romantic image in the evening. The Australian Women’s Weekly magazines of this time displayed images of athletic girls in sporting and outdoor activities during the day and then transformed them into romantic and sensual figures in elegant fashions for evening wear. Women’s sporting achievements in cricket, tennis and golf were featured with great importance in this magazine. Women’s economic independence slid into the background, although women’s organisations continued to press for equal economic and legal rights. Indeed,
the *Australian Women’s Weekly* printed regular columns written by well-known feminists, including Linda Littlejohn. The word ‘feminist’ was widely used and did not have the strong pejorative associations that it had among certain circles in later decades.

Women’s wages over this time remained at 54% of the male wage. The vision of economic abundance was based on population growth through migration (preferably British) and increased birth rates. Women’s roles were cast in the form of ‘population producers’ as an economic strategy. However, maternal duty embraced new scientific thought as mothers ‘were to be instructed in scientific and economical practices by experts trained in the new fields of infant welfare and home management’.\(^{104}\)

Femininity once again was organised around domesticity for Anglo women of the middle and upper classes. Ideology translated into time-consuming practices that contained educated white Anglo middle-class women to the home as working-class women had abandoned domestic work in favour of the factory occupations which offered better conditions and wages. Motherhood for women of these classes was elevated to a level of national importance. An address to the Young Women’s Christian Association on employment and immigration by Marjorie Herring exemplifies the construction of motherhood for women of these classes:

\(^{104}\)Grimshaw, Lake, McGrath, & Quarty, op. cit., p. 227.
The serious need of efficiently trained home helpers, in order that Australian mothers should have better opportunities for bringing up their families in such a way that children will be a national asset, which at present is impossible, through lack of domestic help, the whole time and strength of mothers is taken up by domestic chores.\textsuperscript{105}

Another factor that impinged on the constructs of femininity and professionalism was the changing provision of secondary education in schools. A gendered secondary school curriculum emerged, favouring boys' entry into the professions. Education in girls' schools emphasised domestic sciences at the expense of general science. Few girls' schools offered the necessary subjects for entry into the science-based faculties at the university. Physics was absent from most girls' schools even in the 1970s.

Additional factors that shaped societal notions of femininity were the images of women and men conveyed through the medium of cinema. The \textit{Australian Women's Weekly} of the 1930s captured day/night images of an outdoor-adventure/romantic new woman. American films of this period, offering constructs of femininities around the 'sexual desire' of the hedonistic flapper, had an effect on societal factors shaping women's aspirations of a professional career. Mae West, a popular Hollywood actress of this time, spawned the image of women's independence in adventurous and sexual terms rather than economic.

\textsuperscript{105}Mitchell Library: YWCA; ML MSS 3262 MLK 405, Minutes of meetings of the Employment & Immigration Committee, 1919–1921, 13 Oct. 1919, Marjorie Herring.
A new femininity emerged during the 1930s: the aviatrix as an icon to some young women who became the "bachelor girl"...Modern and stylish, confident and free, she enjoyed a career in law, medicine, dentistry or commerce."¹⁰⁶ (See Figure 8.8)

FIGURE 8.8
Cover of 1930s Australian Women’s Weekly

Only a few women were in a position to access an education because of the financial hardships of the inter-war Depression. Final years of dentistry at the University of Sydney between 1920 and 1930 reflect these societal forces: seven women graduated out of a total of 155 candidates.

The Australian Women’s Weekly’s regular column, ‘Interesting People’, on either page 2 or 3 depicted three to four different successful women, most of whom were

¹⁰⁶Grimshaw, Lake, McGrath & Quartly. op. cit. p. 247.
The Australian Women's Weekly's regular column, 'Interesting People', on either page 2 or 3 depicted three to four different successful women, most of whom were from Europe or the USA.\textsuperscript{107} The women presented every week were inspirational enough for young girls to consider alternatives to their mother's experiences. Dorothy Waugh, who was one of these women, had gained dental qualifications through an apprenticeship in Melbourne. After she had graduated from Temple University in the USA, she became an instructor in dental prosthetics at her alma mater.\textsuperscript{108}

However, as is often the case in times of high unemployment of white men, blame was apportioned. In 1932, the NSW government legislated against the employment of married women as teachers or lecturers. Support from the media publicly vindicated the rights of men. Keith Mackenzie's 1934 article in the Sydney Morning Herald claimed that:

> under the influence of 'feminism's shameless banner' women had stolen men's jobs. In the interests of patriotism women should 'refrain from entering the professions where they compete with men'.\textsuperscript{109}

The economic downturn during the 1930s Depression produced a societal and political culture that powerfully opposed women's participation in the workforce. Societal meanings of masculinity were under threat as job opportunities

\textsuperscript{107}Australian Women's Weekly 1934–1935, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{108}Anon. 1934, 'Let's talk of interesting people: Dr. Dorothy Waugh', Australian Women's Weekly, 1 Sep. 1, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{109}Grimshaw, Lake, McGrath, & Quartly, op. cit., p. 251.
diminished. Public acceptance of working-women, particularly married women, dropped dramatically until with the political and patriotic re-ordering of gender during World War II, women stepped into the absent men’s jobs. Societal attitudes of this time were driven further by public acclamations of women’s rightful place in the home.

Doreen Musgrave's father and Eila Bruce's parents were teachers who struggled through the Depression years. The mothers’ experience of teaching in NSW shaped their attitudes in career guidance for their daughters: not only were they paid less than their male counterparts, they also had to resign upon marriage.\textsuperscript{110} Therefore they encouraged their daughters to pursue careers in professions which guaranteed autonomy. While Doreen and one sister (who discontinued upon marriage) entered the dental school, another sister graduated in pharmacy. Eila Bruce's elder sister, Gwen, studied medicine, later specialising in anaesthetics which was at that time a feminised sphere in the medical profession.\textsuperscript{111,112}

Pursuit of equality with the emphasis on difference continued to elevate motherhood to moral heights during the Great Depression years. However, high unemployment and the availability of contraception left the nation with the lowest

\textsuperscript{110}Spaul, A. 1982, \textit{Australian Education in the Second World War}, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Qld, p. 142.

\textsuperscript{111}Interview with Doreen Musgrave, op. cit.

birth rate ever recorded. Newspaper pieces of the kind ‘University Girls Bad Mothers’ and ‘More Marriages Now, but Fewer Births’ reinforced women’s role in the home and overtly discouraged women taking up careers. Educated women were attacked for failing to meet societal definitions of women’s domestic responsibilities. Criticism was reported such as:

The University trained girl makes one of the worst types of mothers, said Dr. Sandford Morgan, Director of Maternal Welfare in Adelaide, at the conference of the Australian Federation of University Women at the Sydney University today.

Dr. Morgan suggested that probably a University training robbed a girl of her maternal instinct.

These comments were supported by the eighty-year-old Miss Sarah Hynes, whose traditionalist view on the importance of domestic training for girls seemed at odds with her own achievements. Hynes was the oldest graduate present at that conference of the Australian Federation of University Women, and she was also the first woman botanist to hold an official position in Australia. Hynes claimed that ‘Half the men become drunkards because their wives cannot cook’. In other words, she squarely placed social responsibility

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113 Grimshaw, Lake, McGrath, & Quartly. op. cit. p. 246.
116 ibid.
of a moral kind in the hands of women. This kind of social message undermined women’s presence in scientific courses at university level. Hynes of course was speaking from a privileged position of class.

Ian Marshall\(^1\) was interviewed about his mother, Clara Clarice Sandford, and her sisters, Elma and Olive. The Sandford women did not practice procreation of the patriotic kind. Marshall’s mother restricted childbearing to two, and Olive, who remained single, was a nurse and worked in Melbourne for the Red Cross during World War I. The youngest of the three, Dr Elma Sandford Morgan, married, had two children, divorced, and although she was a public advocate against careers for women, favoured career interests over domestic ones. There is strong evidence to suggest that the fertility message, in a national context, targeted women who did not belong to the upper levels of society.

Acceptance of women in the professions in this social climate was not favourable. Musgrave’s defence of her presence in an article ‘Women in dentistry — by one of them’ was accompanied by a bracketed editorial comment, ‘And not necessarily the opinions of “The Articulator”’. In the closing paragraph Musgrave’s vision of professionalism was still housed within the parameters of masculine dominance:

> In the faculty itself, in the hospital, does woman intrude? If she does, she deserves resentment. But it is noticeable that in most cases she

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endeavours to make her presence agreeable or unnoticed, to become
almost one of the boys — yet retaining for her non-professional hours the
utmost femininity.119

Here Musgrave’s construct of professionalism was based on the male model that
excluded femininity. In her construction of professionalism Musgrave drew upon
meanings of femininity along themes of the day/night model found in the images
of the Australian Women’s Weekly in which the romantic and sexual aspects of
femininity were reserved for the evenings. Outdoor daytime sporting activities
found in the magazine’s portrayal of young women were for Musgrave translated
into another form of activity, dental practice.

In an environment of anti-woman campaigns, women’s groups emerged that
devoted their energies to the pursuit of relief and the provision of equal pay. It
was at this time that Annie Praed was among other pioneer women graduates
from law and medicine who joined Jessie Street in the United Associations of
Women120 and the Business and Professional Women’s Club of Sydney.121

Coming from a family of dentists, Dulce Skinner in 1923 became the sixth woman
to graduate in dentistry from the University of Sydney. Skinner’s support of
feminist ideals can be determined by her affiliation with the Feminist Club of


120Mitchell, W. 1979, 50 Years of Feminist Achievement: A history of the United Associations of
Women, United Associations of Women, Sydney, p. 37.

121ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); Minutes of meetings of the Executive Council, Nov.
1949 – May 1953.
Sydney. Most probably Skinner's membership came about through her mother, who was a prominent elder in this organisation.\textsuperscript{122} Marriage for Dulce Skinner heralded the termination of her position as Director of the Dental Health Education Department of the NSW Branch of the ADA.\textsuperscript{123}

Barnes also retired from dental practice after her marriage on 4 June 1921\textsuperscript{124} to a divorced mechanical engineer Kenneth Maltby-Robinson, (known as Sapper from Army days). Barnes moved considerable distances as a result of her husband's work demands. However, for Barnes, retirement from dentistry was more in response to the psychosocial forces of class attitudes than geographical implications. Retirement from the paid work sphere was customary for women of her class. After marriage, her employment transformed from the paid to the unpaid philanthropic kind. (Figure 8.9).

Sydney University's first woman graduate in veterinary science, Patti Littlejohn, also faced limited career choices after her marriage to Terry Abbott. Patti accompanied him to Borneo, East Africa, the Seychelles Islands and New Guinea while he pursued a career in public health medicine.\textsuperscript{125} Unable to procure any veterinary work in the Seychelles, she acted as her husband's

\textsuperscript{122} Mitchell Library: Feminist Club of NSW; ML MSS 1703/K21802, Newspaper clippings, 1934–1975, Cuttings concerning younger feminists.

\textsuperscript{123} Anon. 1937, 'Presentation to Miss Skinner', Australian Dental Journal of Australia, vol. 41, no. 7, p. 442.

\textsuperscript{124} NSW Registrar of Births, Deaths & Marriages: Index to the Register; Between the Wars Index, 1919–1945, 1921, no. 8195.

unpaid private secretary. One of her tasks in this capacity was to organise the dietary needs of the 'hospital, prison and mental asylum' which had a very restricted budget and a number of limitations as she pointed out:

It is an awful lot of work, as not only do you have to be sure all the calories, vitamins, etc. are there in required amounts, but also be sure the foodstuffs are available locally, and most important it has to be costed so that it is within the hospital finances.

Those restricted finances increased the demands on Abbott by challenging scientific parameters. While this task was part of her husband's appointment duties, Abbott undertook these financial and administrative matters. Her contribution to his career was considerable, as exemplified by her efforts over institutional diets:

Just for interest I might mention that the prison diet we submitted cost 63 cents = 101/2d. (approx.) a day per head. But the colony cannot even afford that, and it is very hard to provide the minimum requirements necessary for health at a lower cost.

Patti Littlejohn Abbott drew on constructs of femininity from her times (post-WWII) and Anglo class background to define herself as her husband's partner, even though she did not receive financial compensation for the work she

126 ibid., p. 127.
127 ibid., p. 125.
128 ibid., p. 137.
carried out in this position. However, the influence of her mother’s feminism did not erase feminist constructs of femininity, and when circumstances changed in New Guinea she worked there for ten years for the Veterinary Department.\textsuperscript{129}

Army archival\textsuperscript{130} documents record Kenneth Maltby-Robinson’s enlistment as February, 1917; birthplace as Adelaide; departure from Australia as 31 October 1918; reported as hospitalised\textsuperscript{131} with variocele as a result of service near Rouen in France and his discharge from the Army in January, 1920. Kenneth Robinson had married Gertrude Mabel Blanch in 1907 at Ramornie.\textsuperscript{132} Their daughter, Isabel, was born in Sydney in 1908.\textsuperscript{133} After WWI his petition for divorce on the grounds of desertion was finalised the month (21 May) before his marriage (4 June) to Madge Barnes.\textsuperscript{134} His former wife also remarried (20

\textsuperscript{129}ibid., p. 160.

\textsuperscript{130}Australian War Memorial: World War I Personnel Records Service; Series B2455, Personnel dossiers for 1st Australian Imperial Forces ex-service members.


\textsuperscript{132}NSW Registrar of Births, Deaths & Marriages: Index to the Register; Federation Index, 26 Sep. 1907, Ramornie, no. 161.

\textsuperscript{133}NSW Registrar of Births, Deaths & Marriages: Index to the Register; Federation Index, 9 Dec. 1908, Mosman, no. 5835.

\textsuperscript{134}Supreme Court of NSW: Register of the Family Law Division; 262/1920, Kenneth Maltby-Robinson (Petitioner) and Mabel Gertrude Robinson (Respondent).
August) in the same year.\textsuperscript{135} Although the \textit{decree nisi} contained maintenance and visitation arrangements, the Barnes family was unaware of these.\textsuperscript{136}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image}
\caption{Madge Barnes and Kenneth Maltby-Robinson's wedding}
\textit{Courtesy Virginia Hind}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image}
\caption{Madge Barnes and Sapper Maltby-Robinson, Maria Island}
\textit{Courtesy Peter Tindale}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{135}NSW Registrar of Births, Deaths & Marriages: Index to the Register; Between the Wars Index, 20 Aug. 1921, Sydney, no. 2156. (P. Davis)

\textsuperscript{136}Supreme Court of NSW: Register of the Family Law Division; 262/1920, ibid.
Accommodating to her husband’s career, Madge Barnes travelled to Maria Island (Tasmania), New Zealand and Queensland before returning to Sydney in the 1930s. After her marriage Barnes joined Sapper for a short period at Kandos Cement Works where he was manager.

Work for Sapper resulted in a shift to Maria Island, where in 1924, Diego Bernacchi had opened a new cement works that raised the island’s population to 500. While Barnes was in Tasmania her mother, Teresa, died in Stanwell Hall, Melville Street, Hobart, on 23 February 1929. Grief and sorrow flow through Barnes’ short story ‘Untold tales’, which is set on Maria Island. Perhaps the deaths of her father, sister and mother found their way into her descriptions of the tombstones of the island’s cemetery.

Tending to the social and welfare needs of a population of four hundred on Maria Island, off the east coast of Tasmania, was in keeping with meanings of Barnes’ marital status, class and gender: Sapper was manager of the island’s National Portland Cement Company between 1928 and 1933. (Figures 8.10 and 8.11) At Maria Island, Barnes applied eugenic and turn of the century ideologies as she ‘helped the Bush Nurse and organised a kindergarten, as well

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139 Barnes, M. c.1928, Untold tales. Virginia Hind Collection. Descriptions of the tombstones of Margaret Boyd (16 Oct. 1845), James Andrew and Fred. William Boyd (1844), John Heddly (1830), Sarah Griffiths (1848), Johanna Glenwright (1844), and Tokotoai Meloutwana (1847).

140 Commonwealth of Australia: Tasmania Electoral Roll; Division of Franklin, Subdivision of Spring Bay, 1928, p. 8; 1930; p. 8, no. 402; Wise’s Tasmanian Post Office Directory 1932–33, H. Wise & Co., Melbourne, p. 137.
as working for education. With the closure of the cement works on Maria Island in 1930, Sapper found work in NZ (Figure 8.12). Once her professional career ended, Barnes redefined her femininity in terms of a wife of her class.

FIGURE 8.11
Sapper Maltby-Robinson, Maria Island
Courtesy Peter Tindale

\[141\] Anon. (undated), Newspaper cutting, Florentine Album. Madge Barnes Personal papers, Virginia Hind Collection.
Barnes’ philanthropic work continued at Tarakohe, near Nelson (NZ) where her husband was manager of the Golden Bay Cement Works. This pattern she maintained on her return to Sydney with voluntary clerical work at Rachel Forster Hospital and secretarial work at Government House during the Duke of Gloucester’s visit.\textsuperscript{142} During the mid-1930s in Sydney Sapper, and Barnes’ nephew Barry established an engineering works at Broadway. When the

\textsuperscript{142}Anon. (undated), Newspaper cutting, ibid.
Depression affected the financial success of this venture, Sapper was without work and it was at this time that they lived at Kellyville, near Sydney.

Ian Marshall's boyhood view of Barnes and Praed captures the essence of these women during the 1930s when Barnes had clearly shed her professionalism and embraced middle-class femininity constructs of wife and adventurer. Ian Marshall recalls:

I just remember her (Barnes) a fairly slim sort of woman...had glasses and her husband Sapper...bald-headed...small sort of stature...very charming couple...she got on very well with my family...he did too...we were always very pleased to see them...I remember her (Praed) as being a rather shy type she was not as outgoing I didn't think as Meg Barnes...Meg Barnes was interested in talking of the days at university but not necessarily get involved in dentistry...because she had given it up...it was a pity really because I think they had quite a struggle financially for many years. I don't know the reason why she didn't practise because they had no family at all...but that's why the conversation was usually just general rather than dental whereas I'm sure it was it was just the reverse between my father and Annie Praed...Meg Barnes was probably much easier for me to get on with than Annie Praed. Annie Praed was perhaps rather aloof and more ...well wrapped up completely...that was her whole life dentistry whereas Meg Barnes was always very interesting about the life she had led having lived on Maria Island...Darras Cement Works, Queensland...they were both shall we say odd ends of the Empire, they used to fascinate me because she used to tell me various things that
they were almost pioneering days...because there were very few facilities in either place. Whereas Ann Praed she never discussed anything like this at all and I think she had a rather different type of younger life because I understand she was adopted...she didn't speak about at all...Meg talked about these places...not about her family... I was in my teens...she came across as a extremely devoted woman to her husband...they seemed to be extremely well suited and very happy together...So I think she would have gone anywhere at all where that he was sent to...she used to tell stories about these places...she visited us regularly in the 1930s...when she moved to Kellyville we visited there two or three times...Annie Praed was...more heavily built than Madge Barnes who was more petite...Praed came across as far as a child was concerned with very little sense of humour. She was rather a strict type I would say with her glasses sitting staring at you and just answering your questions in just a few words. Whereas Meg Barnes was very outgoing, full of personality and she just seemed able to get across with children perhaps easier than Annie Praed which because of their backgrounds possibly...charming to adults...Kellyville very isolated-primitive 'pioneering'.\textsuperscript{143}

As Mrs Maltby-Robinson, Barnes was appointed Secretary of the NSW Kindergarten Union from 1934 to 1936.\textsuperscript{144} Significantly, the description of Barnes' occupation as 'home duties' on the electoral rolls from 1935 to 1937

\textsuperscript{143} Interviews with Ian Marshall, op. cit.

\textsuperscript{144} Mitchell Library: Sydney Kindergarten Teachers' College, MLK 03829, Annual reports, 1902–1979, 1934, p. 3; 1935, p. 3; 1936, p. 3.
was in keeping with prescribed forms of femininity for her class at that time.\textsuperscript{145} Barnes took up the mantle of the citizen mother in a number of ways through her community work to meet dominant meanings of femininity: wife and mother. She was involved with the Blind Society (translating Braille), the Kindergarten Union involvement, and wrote children's literature that was sometimes published in the 'For the Children' section of the \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}. The position of Secretary to the NSW Kindergarten Union was most probably linked with her friends from Riviere College. The eugenics ideas that were cultivated at Riviere College probably shaped Barnes' life in a gendered and class dimension, as evidenced by her activities in the Kindergarten Union and her love of outdoor physical activities. Philanthropic work of the Kindergarten Union type had a gendered and class meaning as middle and upper class women took on societal moral responsibility for women and children.

The economic and political environment of these times is reflected in the gender participation in dental graduates at the University of Sydney: 10 women graduated out of a total of 134. A singular group was the graduating class of 1938 which had four women – three of whom had attended Orange High, a rural co-educational high school, which had an enthusiastic and inspirational woman science teacher.\textsuperscript{146,147}

\textsuperscript{145}\textit{Commonwealth of Australia: NSW Electoral Roll; Division of Wentworth, Subdivision of Woollahra, 1935, p. 55, no. 3285, (20A Mona Road, Edgecliff); 1936, p. 59, no. 3482, (54 Mona Road, Edgecliff); 1937, p. 64, no. 3813, (54 Mona Road, Edgecliff).}

\textsuperscript{146}Interview with Doreen Musgrave, op. cit.

\textsuperscript{147}Interview with Ella Bruce's husband, John Edye, op. cit.
The migrant presence was limited in the late 1930s. The influx of refugees from Germany was visible among the women dental students. Wilhelmine Neu, who had already qualified from a German institution, joined the second year student body in 1937.\(^{148}\) She failed to meet the xenophobic standards of the NSW Dental Board, even with such multiple qualifications as 'certificate from Erlangen University, certificate of the Final State Board Examination, University of Leipzig, DDS Basle University (Switzerland)'.\(^{149}\)

During the interwar years, attitudes to women's participation in the commercial and professional workforce had reversed: it was now being depicted as being damaging both to women and their families. Women in the workforce were receiving negative social messages. Concerns were voiced from both educational and government officials on how the changing pattern of women's participation in the workforce was 'capable of undermining the whole social fabric of NSW'.\(^{150}\) Was social pressure influential in Barnes' choice to marry at this time? How did post-war construction of femininity, especially for women of her class in terms of paid work, affect her perception of self as a woman? Frank Marshall's son, Ian, was puzzled about Barnes' retirement from dental practice, particularly considering the difficulties of the Maltby-Robinsons' financial situation.\(^{151}\) Certainly there are family stories of romances, a broken


\(^{151}\) Interview with Ian Marshall, op. cit.
engagement (initiated by Barnes) and a card from Ypres that suggests an earlier attachment. One major point of consideration in this line of argument is that she listed her occupation on her marriage certificate as 'private life' and by her death in 1975, this had changed to 'dentist' after an absence of 54 years from the practice of dentistry. It would seem that Barnes aligned her femininity along dominant cultural practices.

As a reactionary change swept through the community after World War I Barnes embraced new directions in her personal life that spelt the end of her professional career in dentistry. Allen summarised the limiting consequence of marriage for women scientists as 'women's careers were hindered by the need to follow their husbands wherever their jobs led them: most unable to find employment commensurate with their degrees and experience.'

For Praed, as a single woman dentist, however, a different political and social environment existed. Praed's identity in terms of femininity was formed around meanings of pioneering and professional status. Between the wars, and more particularly during the Depression years, her professional career would have been subjected to a hostile political and social atmosphere. It is significant that it was in 1932 she joined the United Associations of Women, an organisation dedicated to women's rights. Unprecedented economic hardship generated such a strong national outcry against working-women that women professionals

152 NSW Registrar of Births, Deaths & Marriages: Index to the Register; 1975, no. 8195.

also suffered public disapproval. In some ways, Praed fashioned her life on separate public and private terms, along the lines of Henry Burton-Bradley's model.

FIGURE 8.13
Map locating Malcolm Buildings, Malcolm Lane, Sydney
Courtesy City of Sydney Archives

Praed’s practice mobility mirrored the instability in her income potential. In the years immediately following World War I, most probably in an effort to seek more work, it would seem Praed operated a couple of practices simultaneously.
While still at Challis House she established rooms at the T&G Buildings in 1919 and later the Malcolm Buildings, Malcolm Lane in 1921 (Figure 8.8). By 1922, Praed operated only at the T&G Buildings practice.

During this period Praed also relocated her residential address from the more prestigious Lower North Shore to a flat in Carsell House, William Street, Darlinghurst which was within walking distance and therefore more economical in both time and money. Praed's residence was always of a rental nature, either in boarding house or an apartment.

By 1931 the Westminster Flats (see Figure 8.14) in William Street became home to Praed. Praed's shift to a flat in the mid-1920s, was in keeping with the middle classes' drift towards this type of dwelling. The major contributing factor to this shift was the shortage of available domestic help as working-class women moved into factories that offered better wages and working-conditions. This fashionable trend towards flat dwellings was not sustained and did not re-emerge again until the 1960s. As nearly a quarter of these flats were built in Kings Cross during the mid-1920s, it most probably accounts for Praed

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155 Sydney Telephone Directory Apr. 1921, Postmaster General's Department, Sydney, p. 228.
156 Fitzgerald, S. 1995, Living City: Sydney's streets, Sydney City Council, Sydney, p. 92. (Malcolm Lane is situated between Abercrombie Lane and Bond Street).
158 Sands' Sydney Suburban & Country Commercial Directory 1931, J. Sydney, Sydney, p. 125. Listed tenants include costumiers Misses Burrows (no.2) & Roberts (no.17), Miss F. Masters, dressmaker (no.10); Praed (no.11).
choosing this location.\textsuperscript{159} Barnard's description of this development was that 1924 'was the peak year. Twelve thousand one hundred and eighty buildings were erected in the city at a total cost of more than fourteen million pounds'.\textsuperscript{160} By the mid-1920s the Kings Cross, not unlike Praed, had fashioned a new identity:

In Sydney the phenomenon of the new age was Kings Cross, the hill above the city with its cosmopolitan crowds, its tightly packed flats and apartments, its neon signs, its shops that never closed. It had beauty and gaiety in those days and something of rarity. It was more like a stage scene than anything else in Australia.\textsuperscript{161}

At the Westminster, tenants were predominantly single women, most of whom also earned their livelihood from their dextrous skills, particular from sewing. William Street, the thoroughfare between the suburbs and the city, was home to a diverse range of residents, 'tinker, and tailor, butcher and baker, landlady and lodger, prostitute and pimp'.\textsuperscript{162} As a location, William Street was home to the outsider in society. This choice of location adds evidence to the argument of illegitimacy of Praed's birth.

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\textsuperscript{160} Barnard, op. cit., p. 69.

\textsuperscript{161} Ibid., p. 75.

\textsuperscript{162} Kelly, op. cit., p. 85.
August 1937 represents a moment in the lives of Barnes and Praed that captures the diversity and commonality of their lives. A point of intersection was
a serendipitous discovery on the same page of the *Sydney Morning Herald*\(^{163}\) that reported Barnes and Praed at two different functions on the same evening.

During the third week of August, the Ninth Australian Dental Congress was being held at Sydney University. Praed’s presidency of the women’s entertainment committee exemplifies the social and professional boundary issues for women dentists. The wives of dentists held all the other executive positions of the committee. Bessie Brassington and Dulce Skinner (Barr) were the only women dentists on the committee. Praed’s long standing in the dental profession and concomitant age coupled to define her professional and social position in terms of matriarchal status.

A week before the congress an extensive report, ‘Women plan, social side of dental congress in Sydney’ appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald*.\(^{164}\) Dominating this article were photographs of women: women dental students and the wives of dentists, with Praed the only woman dentist. The grouping of the photographs is particularly interesting: the wives appeared individually surrounding a group photograph of the women undergraduates in academic gowns.

\(^{163}\) For Women: Dinner dance concludes Congress’, *Sydney Morning Herald* 21 Aug. 1937, p. 11.

\(^{164}\) For Women: Miss M. Saywell; Winner, Flower Princess’, *Sydney Morning Herald* 12 Aug. 1937, p. 17.
FIGURE 8.15
Women students, Faculty of Dentistry, University of Sydney, 1937
*Courtesy University of Sydney Archives*

From left: June Allen, Joan Groundwater, Ellice Weir, Roma Ryan, Rosalyn Griffiths, Eila Bruce, Elizabeth Detrich, Joan Brooks, and Doreen Musgrave (seated in the middle).
FIGURE 8.16
Social Committee for ADA Dental Congress, 1937

The positioning of Praed's photograph directly above the students reinforces an iconic image of the matriarch (see Figure 8.16). Certain factors stand out: the centring of Praed and the students; the solidarity implied by the grouping of the students and the peripheral arrangement of the wives. It would seem that Praed, as President of the entertainment committee, was exercising her authority by making women dentists the focus. This represents a point where femininity of a professional kind was asserted over the dominant and more socially acceptable form of femininity, the wife.

Significantly in the student photograph, Musgrave is seated at a desk in the centre, surrounded by the other students who were all standing.

Barnes and Praed were very active socially that week. On the same evening, Barnes was attending the Flower Princesses Ball that marked the end of Kindergarten Week,\textsuperscript{166} while Praed was engaged at the Dental Congress dinner. As the social functions of the Congress focused on women's fashion, Praed’s outfits were mentioned at every social event. The newspaper covered the social events that Barnes and Praed attended during that week. They were reported as ‘Miss Annie Praed wore a black satin crepe gown studded with diamante and coloured beading in the corsage’\textsuperscript{167} while ‘Mrs. Maltby-Robinson wore an emerald green hip length velvet coat with a black floral crepe frock’\textsuperscript{168}.

It would seem that Barnes and Praed had more in common than the colour of their dresses. Their presence at these functions was fulfilling socially acceptable rather than professional forms of femininity. This moment in their lives and its press coverage is most significant. For while it seemed that their lives appeared to have shifted in opposite directions in occupational terms, they shared a common societal construct of femininity, one in which professionalism was either absent or restricted within tight parameters.

The gendered notion of social moral responsibility was still present in the 1930s, and reflected a turn of the century value system. In this sense a continuum existed that gave way to an allegiance with temperance ideology.


\textsuperscript{167}For Women: Miss M. Saywell; Winner Flower Princess’, loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{168}For Women: Dance recital for Kindergartens’, \textit{Sydney Morning Herald} 23 Aug. 1937, p. 3.
Occupational choices after graduation  502

There were, however, other forces operating for a small number of women who resisted the popular views on women's rightful place in the domestic realm. Women again surfaced publicly as pioneers in established male professions in the late 1930s, when E. C. V. Guilfoyle\(^{169}\) became the first woman optometrist to qualify under the diploma course in optometry and Helen Turner qualified in architecture from the University of Sydney.\(^{170}\)

Table 8.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1938 Report of the 8 Conference of Australian Federation of University Women: Women Graduates in Australia(^{171})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melbourne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brisbane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adelaide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobart</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*Med. = Medicine; Dent. = Dentistry; Econ. = Economics; Arch. = Architecture; Educ. = Education.

As Table 8.1 illustrates, few women entered the dental profession before 1938 in Australia. This was also the case for women physicians in the USA.\(^{172}\). The data from the University of Sydney between 1906 and 1945 also show that only a few women were present in final years (see Tables 8.2, 8.3 and 8.4). It is

\(^{169}\) Mitchell Library: Feminist Club of NSW; ML MSS 1703/ K 221801, Newspaper clippings.

\(^{170}\) Mitchell Library: Feminist Club of NSW; MSS 1703/ K 221802, Newspaper clippings – cuttings concerning younger feminists.


\(^{172}\) Morantz-Sanchez, op. cit., p. 329.
evident from these figures that Praed, even by 1938, remained a member of the minority within her profession and among other women graduates.

Table 8.2

1923–1929 men and women in final years of dentistry at the University of Sydney

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1923</th>
<th>1924</th>
<th>1925</th>
<th>1926</th>
<th>1927</th>
<th>1928</th>
<th>1929</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.3

Years 1930–1939 men and women in final years of dentistry at the University of Sydney

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1932</th>
<th>1933</th>
<th>1934</th>
<th>1935</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>1937</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1939</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.4

Years 1940–1944/45* men and women in final years of dentistry at the University of Sydney

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1943</th>
<th>1943/4</th>
<th>1944/45</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Combined years due to condensed course without vacations during World War II

Between the wars, women professionals were criticised by male authority. Single women were targeted psychologically, socially and occupationally. Their financial independence sent shock waves to middle-class men in positions of authority that translated into less financial equity and promotional opportunities for women within professional organisations.\(^{173}\)

The impact of these times affected the position of women dentists in the profession in gendered terms. Professionally they took up the social role of 'citizen motherhood' as they focused on an educational role in the Australian Dental Association, in the Faculty of Dentistry at Sydney University or in the community. Community welfare in an educational capacity for preventive dental practices was a major focus for Praed, who served as a committee member of the Dental Health Committee from its inception until her last year of life.\textsuperscript{174}

The Faculty of Dentistry provided Praed with another philanthropic work site suitable for a woman of her class and profession. In many ways the faculty, which was quite small for the first half of the twentieth century, became Praed's surrogate family.

Altruism informed pioneer women dentists' approach to their practice of dentistry: in keeping with the ideology of the eugenics and suffrage movements they were contained to a greater degree within the voluntary educational realms of the profession. As advocates of preventive dentistry they were active in educating the community about the benefits of oral hygiene.

The eugenics philosophies infused the role of Anglo women dentists in the dental profession for the majority of the twentieth century. Dulce Skinner, who graduated in 1923, exemplifies a number of these arguments. Skinner addressed the Feminist Club Conference of 1933 in Sydney on dentistry in the

Public Health Programme; on the agenda at the same conference was a session titled 'Racial Hygiene'. In accordance with the ideas of the eugenics philosophy, a primary role for women was the health of young children utilising scientific method. Dulce Skinner and her fellow school and university classmate, Hazel Crowe, were appointed to the Out-patients Dental Clinic of the Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children in Sydney, and in 1935 Skinner maintained her educational role as the first Director of the Dental Education Department of the ADA. For the 1937 Australian Dental Congress in Sydney, Skinner (later Barr) was 'the only woman on the Congress Commission and vice-chairman of the Dental Health Section of the Congress'.

8.8 Postgraduate studies

Praed's undertaking of a postgraduate degree raises the themes of pioneering, the timing factor and their relationship to opportunity. Pioneering in the new degree of the Doctor of Dental Surgery is another example of the significance of the timing factor in Praed's life. Her role at its inception deserves attention, for once again we see Praed seconding a motion that provided her with a moment of opportunity.

175 Mitchell Library: Feminist Club of NSW; ML MSS1703/K21802.
177 'For Women: Opening of Dental Congress', Sydney Morning Herald 17 Aug. 1937, p. 5.
178 Anon. 1911, 'University of Sydney Dental Graduates' Association', Commonwealth Dental Review, vol. 8, no. 11, p. 457.
In the 1930s, Praed's matriarchal status in the dental profession and her association with other pioneer women graduates may have drawn her attention to the 'Interesting people' section of the September, 1934 Australian Women's Weekly. This column featured an item on Dr Dorothy Waugh, born the year after Praed, and a former Melbourne apprentice-trained dentist. After graduating with honours from Temple University, Philadelphia, Waugh joined the prosthetic teaching staff. She may have been inspirational to Praed's pursuit of her doctorate in dental prosthetics.

Conditions for Praed's venture into postgraduate study favoured a successful outcome. An environment emerged that would not be available to many women dentists for most of the century. Praed not only was unencumbered by the obstacles of marriage for women of her generation, but she also benefited from her age and image as the doyenne of women dentists. Dawson has found that many factors prevented the pursuit or completion of postgraduate studies, and of these she found that marriage was 'generally good for men, but less good for women in that they are expected to make the major accommodations in the marital situation'.

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179 Anon. 1934, 'Let's talk of interesting people: Dr. Dorothy Waugh', loc. cit.

180 Victorian Registrar of Births, Deaths & Marriages: Index to the Register, 1837–1888, 1873, no. 794, 20 Nov.

Praed's academic record proved an added advantage in the context of her age and associated status to exempt her from the prerequisite examination.\textsuperscript{182} Discouragement from male academics may have been absent during this window period and her age, most probably, was an advantage.

There was public acknowledgement when the \textit{Australian Women's Weekly}\textsuperscript{183} announced Praed's admittance to the degree of Doctor of Dental Science on the 17 January 1938.\textsuperscript{184} However, academic advantage was not realised from her newly gained postgraduate credentials; she remained in the Operative department with a restorative dentistry focus rather than in the Prosthetic Dentistry department where her expertise in dentures would have been more befitting. Prosthetic dentistry was a major department in the faculty, for it commanded greater power than other departments. Power was directly related to curriculum time allocation. As dental technicians at this time had not won the right to treat the public, the construction of dentures was solely in the hands of dentists. Without the public health measure of the fluoridation of the water supply and with elevated levels of sugar consumption, the Australian population had a high rate of extracted teeth. Therefore the denture requirements of the public were such that this department had a clear advantage over other departments. Musgrave reflected on this situation with an element of surprise.

\textsuperscript{182}University of Sydney Archives: Faculty of Dentistry; G.3/8/1, Minutes of meetings, 26 July 1935, p. 1533.

\textsuperscript{183}Anon. 1938, 'What women are doing: Doctorate of Dental Science', \textit{Australian Women's Weekly}, 29 Jan., p. 35.

\textsuperscript{184}University of Sydney Archives: Faculty of Dentistry; G.3/8/1, Minutes of meetings, 30 Mar. 1938, p. 182.
when she realised that 'Annie was in Operative though she had done her thesis in a Prosthetic subject. Strange when I come to think of it'.

Only months before Praed's death, the NSW Branch of the ADA invited her contemporary, former Melbournian Dr Dorothy Waugh, to present a lecture entitled 'Aspects of full denture construction of special interest to the general practitioner'. Waugh's expertise was well known as she had published a 1936 article in the acclaimed dental journal, *Cosmos*. As the minutes of general meetings regularly recorded Praed's apologies for absences, it is most likely that Praed attended this lecture on the topic that she too had researched extensively. Whilst Waugh received acknowledgement from her alma mater Temple University (Pennsylvania) with an appointment as instructor in the Department of Prosthesis, Praed retained an honorary appointment in a department that was not in her field of research.

As Dawson found, women were often actively discouraged from postgraduate study and publication by male superiors. Significantly, to date no other woman has been awarded the degree of Doctor of Dental Science at the University of Sydney. The personal dimension acted as a catalyst for scientific inquiry in Praed's doctoral research: her own need for comfortable, well-fitting

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185 Interview with Doreen Musgrave, op. cit.


188 Dawson, loc. cit.
dentures gave her insights into denture problems. Thus Praed's research, based on the personal and subjective, departs from the masculine concept of the scientific paradigm.

Grosz and de Lepervanche have pointed out that:

\[\text{sciences do not simply reflect socio-cultural norms but, more insidiously, they develop scientific norms, procedural rules and regulatory criteria which are active contributions to (and not merely passive reflections of) social relations. Knowledges of the life-processes are always in some way or other implicated in the socio-political and cultural norms of their times, but this remains largely unrecognised by biologically orientated researchers. Those who practise the more 'hard core' sciences such as physics and mathematics may recognise these implications in the life sciences, but cannot always perceive them in their own.}^{189}\]

I suggest that the connection between the personal and scientific inquiry was not welcomed by administrators who, at that time, were struggling to establish dental research as an academic pursuit against the weight of dental clinicians, and who therefore claimed superior ownership of dental knowledge. For this new breed of dental researchers, the inclusion of research by women in fields of a personal interest would have appeared to undermine their academic and professional goals. The rightful ownership of scientific knowledge as a

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masculine domain, and the subordination of women into assistant roles have been noted in studies of the discoverer of the DNA structure, Rosalind Franklin.\textsuperscript{190}

The response to Praed’s research was mirrored later by Ellice Weir, when she expressed an interest in publishing her Canadian thesis research. By way of role modelling, Weir\textsuperscript{191} was inspired by Praed’s connection of research to the personal. Weir’s observation of her own, her brother and father’s dental erosion was the inspiration of her research, which moved beyond a mechanical model to a dynamic interdependent model, involving ‘development, physiology, environment, growth and nutrition’.\textsuperscript{192} Weir’s innovative approach was to view the dental condition of erosion in relationship to the dental, the body and the environment.

A gendered perspective to scientific research has been argued by a number of researchers, including Grosz and de Lepervanche who includes Harding’s views:

> girls tolerate ambiguities more easily and perceive science as a way of ‘helping other people’ more frequently than boys who, by contrast, tend to regard science more as a form of mastery. In short, Harding explains that, empirically speaking, women tend to do science with different aims

\textsuperscript{190}ibid.


from men, yet the models that the sciences themselves actively affirm accord largely with the masculine rather than the feminine responses.\textsuperscript{193,194}

Linkage of the personal to scientific research also underpinned Eila Bruce’s postgraduate studies. Bruce’s observation of her sons’ growth and development triggered an interest in orthodontics, leading to a postgraduate degree with one of her sons providing the research data. Musgrave, too, was drawn to her research interest through her contact with young children. I suggest that this personal component of women’s research may be a relevant motivating factor for further research and in itself may be the obstacle to its acceptance as scientific research. Researchers have noted that the Nobel Prize winning geneticist Barbara McClintock’s research model differed in gendered approach because ‘she questioned the methods of procedure, the fundamental techniques and axioms of her chosen field’.\textsuperscript{195} Gendered domains with exclusionary outcomes for women have contained women in scientific research to achieve less favourable conditions and consequences.

\textsuperscript{193}Grosz & de Lepervanche, op. cit., p. 20.

\textsuperscript{194}Harding, J. 1986, Women and science: Filtered out or opted out?, public lecture given to the University of Sydney, Sydney, 30 Apr.

\textsuperscript{195}Grosz & de Lepervanche, op. cit., p. 23.
8.9 Women's earnings

Probate records for Barnes and Praed indicated they left small estates upon death. As Praed was single, without dependants and earning an income derived from her profession, the size of her estate merits attention. Among the documents an important aspect was the absence of home or property ownership (a block of land on the outskirts of Sydney being the exception). Did Praed's earnings never amount to enough for home ownership? Did her honorary work for the faculty affect her earnings? Did she as a woman dentist not earn the equivalent of her male colleagues? It would seem that the latter is more than likely. Her estate by comparison with that of her class peer, a single male with no dependants, Bevan Walter Neave,\textsuperscript{196} was meagre. Neave, who died soon after Praed in 1952, bequeathed a number of properties, a vast quantity of shares, furniture and money.

Voluntary work is unpaid work and, when tangled with cultural meanings of gender and class, it is transformed into middle-class women's work of a philanthropic kind. For dentists, the organisational culture defined feminised sites for women as dental practitioners contained within the 'ranks of the volunteers'.\textsuperscript{197} Did Praed's work in the faculty result from the declining demands of practice in a climate where women dentists were not favoured by the general public? Or did the faculty, which was small during Praed's professional lifetime, have meanings of personal attachment for Praed? Musgrave, too, described

\textsuperscript{196}Supreme Court of NSW: Probate Index; Series 4, 27 Oct. 1952, no. 396380.

her association with the faculty before and during World War II in such terms.\textsuperscript{198} Reflecting on Praed's commitment to the faculty, Richard Sautelle\textsuperscript{199} drew attention to Praed's emotional attachment to the Faculty of Dentistry. Praed's actions support the concept of women's work having primarily a psychosocial rather than an economic meaning, in keeping with societal meanings of femininity for women of her class. The implications of the social and economic values of women's work were a legacy of the Harvester decision. In recognising men only as the breadwinners, Justice Higgins' judgement in the Harvester\textsuperscript{200} case of 1907 set a principle that legally sentenced generations of women to inequity in paid work, in cultural and financial terms.\textsuperscript{201}

Praed did not achieve the income of her male colleagues. Without a family to support and even allowing for her financial generosity to indigent students, the size of her small estate supports this argument. Recent research in the USA has confirmed a gender disparity in earnings of dentists.\textsuperscript{202} Dolan's review of the gender trends noted that women dentists:

\textsuperscript{198} Interview with Doreen Musgrave, op. cit.


\textsuperscript{201} ibid.

earned significantly less income from the practice of dentistry, even after controlling for age, practice ownership, hours worked per week, and other personal characteristics.\textsuperscript{203}

The financial experience of Praed was similar to that of women medical practitioners who 'were also far less successful in achieving the high incomes medicine offered their male colleagues'.\textsuperscript{204} In medicine and dentistry, surgery provided the highest incomes: few women, however, have entered the masculine domains of surgery. Dennerstein's\textsuperscript{205} study of women medical practitioners confirmed lower incomes than their male peers: 'a career underachievement by women graduates and the negative effects of gender relate in large part to societal expectations of sex roles'.\textsuperscript{206}

The image and status of the pioneer woman dentist was central to Annie Praed's identity. Her last known letter, written in the last months of her life, confirms the centrality of dentistry in her life. Having volunteered to mark examination papers in a subject that was not technically oriented, she wrote:


\textsuperscript{204}Belgrave, op. cit., p. 203.


\textsuperscript{206}Ibid., p. 261.
I missed out on my weekly bridge last week, the reason being I was snowed under by student exam papers – Gill Arnott asked me to take a 'section' only 217 – but had a very nice letter from Mr. Ash...this morning thanking me for my help – said he could never have done it in the time! On my way to Iris Cooper's I took a taxi to the Hospital & delivered my 'section'; it was Dental Jurisprudence for 3rd years.207

This example of Praed marking papers for the Dean highlights how women were subordinated in male-dominated spheres. Voluntary work for Praed in this context reveals how men in the powerful and paid positions allotted the more housekeeping aspects of volunteer work to women. Research confirms this argument of women's participation in male-dominated spheres. Praed certainly was the token professional woman, and her being a 'first' certainly enhanced this exceptional image. Being single also made her professional role more a stereotyped one with more acceptability but with diminished femininity. Cass and other researchers have shown that:

in occupations where men are dominant both in absolute numbers and in their monopoly of top positions, processes are established which reinforce women's minority and subordinate status. Women are perceived and treated as tokens ('exceptions') or as representatives of their sex, subject to the alleged psychological disabilities associated with

the feminine stereotype (for example, of ambition, low-career motivation, emotionalism, inability to make decisions).\textsuperscript{208}

Dentistry became the essence of Praed's life as confirmed by Sautelle.\textsuperscript{209} Ian Marshall expressed similar sentiments.\textsuperscript{210} Praed too expressed how without dentistry, her life seemed empty:

I go to the Marshalls till after Xmas day, then don't know what I shall do till Feb 8, when we begin work at the D.H.\textsuperscript{211} – mostly posts for the Students – am hoping by that time to have picked up sufficiently to go back to work.\textsuperscript{212}

Praed's diminished income most probably was attributable to a number of factors based on gender. Her dental practice had a gendered patient base consisting of treating predominantly women and children.

This was also the experience of Ellice Weir, whose father and brother treated few children. With high sugar levels in their diet, children had high caries rates prior to the fluoridation\textsuperscript{213} of the water supply in NSW (1968–1971). In treating

\textsuperscript{208}Cass, op. cit., p. 79.

\textsuperscript{209}Interview with Richard Sautelle, op. cit.

\textsuperscript{210}Interview with Ian Marshall, op. cit.

\textsuperscript{211}D.H. signifies the University of Sydney's campus at the Dental Hospital, Chalmers Street, Surry Hills.

\textsuperscript{212}Praed, A. 14 Dec. 1948, loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{213}Franki, G. op. cit., p. 201.
considerably more children who required more time, Ellice' Weir's income was considerably less than her brother's and father's. Studies have confirmed that women dentists spend more time with patients than their male colleagues.\textsuperscript{214}

Musgrave's approach to the economic aspect of dental practice revealed how contesting femininities operate on the issue of money and commerce:

I didn't run at a loss but I didn't charge half high fees and I never wanted to be famous or a top competitive, competing with my colleagues as to status and respect of my fellow professionals. I just wanted to be happy and comfortable and unstressed.\textsuperscript{215}

For women dentists, paid work had mixed and inherited meanings. On the one hand, for Anglo women of the middle classes, work in the public sphere was strongly associated with voluntary philanthropic unpaid work. On the other hand, paid work in professional and business terms was defined in economic and masculine terms. In Anglo middle-class constructs of femininity, women were financially dependent on men. Therefore, women dentists were caught in a tension between competing gendered constructs of work. Commercial acumen and competitiveness are decreed exclusively masculine attributes. However, economic competence in a domestic context was not only admirable, but also desirable. Musgrave's confident proclamation that 'women are much more practical because they have to be. I sometimes think a woman could run

\textsuperscript{214}Niessen, op. cit., p. 26.

\textsuperscript{215}Interview with Doreen Musgrave, op. cit.
the country better because they run a home\textsuperscript{216} exemplifies the gendered spheres of financial capability.

Musgrave’s two quotations above illustrate the contradictory societal meanings of femininity. Whilst economic competence was a desirable quality in domestic terms, the opposite held true in commercial ones. Studies have noted that:

whereas economic rewards and security of employment often take precedence in males’ career pursuits, these factors, while also important to women, are modified by their desire for the social rewards and human interests which many women continue to seek in traditionally female areas of study and work.\textsuperscript{217}

Contradictory meanings attached to economic competence have been constructed around meanings of business and domesticity. Informing an ideal of femininity constructed along the ‘virtues of selflessness and charity’\textsuperscript{218} was a societal concept for the middle and upper class woman of the nineteenth century and one that strongly shaped Praed’s mode of professional practice. Praed’s maternal and charitable notions of femininity were expressed in terms of a personal and political nature towards patients, indigent students and the faculty. Annie Praed’s relationships to her patients were a complex mixture of

\textsuperscript{216}ibid.

\textsuperscript{217}Powles, op. cit., p. 100.

class and gender. Her colleague, Joe Skinner, with whom Praed shared professional rooms, had the opportunity to observe Praed with her patients:

Her demeanour to her patients was very formal and correct but financially she was generous to those in need...In practice during the 1939–1945 War, she would not render an account to any of her patients who were in the Armed Services.²¹⁹

Praed was known to supplement needy students with equipment. She contributed to the faculty in unpaid work including marking papers and demonstrating to students. She waived fees to service men and their families in the spirit of patriotism. It would seem that Praed fulfilled some of Chambers’ arguments that ‘a real lady was not just pious and polite, but genuinely charitable’.²²⁰

In many ways, Praed fulfilled the stereotype of the professional woman, one who was single and dedicated to her profession. Musgrave has related that Bessie Brassington (1929 final year) was single and devoted to Praed. It would seem that Brassington modelled herself on Praed. Not only was she a ‘temporary lecturer’ in the Operative Department at the university until 1962, she also conducted a private practice in the T&G Building.²²¹ It would seem that Praed was supportive of younger women graduates in dentistry: Musgrave


²²⁰Chambers, op. cit. p. 176.

recalled 'when I graduated Annie took me down to Cahill’s to dinner and introduced me to all the staff because she had dinner there every night'.

Cahill’s restaurants promoted an atmosphere of gentrification: a suitable venue for the professional image Praed embraced. For early women dentists who bridged the personal and the professional, this meant facing contradictions and obstacles for which society offered no role models. For Barnes the combination of marriage and work was not an option worthy of consideration.

Women and men practised their professions as a function of their class. Herein lies the difference. For men, class operated with a dominant economic core, with altruism rather like a sugar coating. On the other hand, for women of Anglo origins philanthropy formed the core of their professionalism, while economics was peripheral, not finding a comfortable niche. In this way colonial notions of class were annexed from those of the Empire. For these women, philanthropy was intimately integrated with work in the public sphere, while for the men it was distanced.

8.10 World War II

World War II changed women’s participation in the workforce. Femininity was reconstructed around work that was defined in patriotic terms. The donning of

\[222\text{Interview with Doreen Musgrave, op. cit.}\]

uniforms by women was symbolic of the national importance of women in the workforce. By the time Japan entered the war in 1941, there were 800,000 women in the workforce and 6,000 in the land army. Spaul noted that:

the year 1942 was also important for the emergence of another related issue, the beginning of a national policy on wartime children’s centres. It became apparent once the war economy had adjusted to the needs of the Pacific War that married women, including mothers with young children, were moving into industry.

Children’s centres, facilitating women’s involvement in paid employment, operated long hours (between 7a.m. and 7p.m.) and offered a range of services, from hot meals, education, to play and rest periods. This social acceptance of women in the workforce — albeit temporarily — was mirrored in the dental profession. Career avenues that had favoured male graduates in the past offered new opportunities of work to this generation of women. Such opportunities were not available to earlier and later generations (until the 1980s). Marie Patison gained invaluable experience in crown and bridgework with an excellent technician while the highly acclaimed specialist owner of the practice was away on military duty overseas. In Sydney, Eila Bruce also found private practice work readily available with an older male dentist. Patison’s and Bruce’s wartime


226Ibid., p. 245.

experience of culturally sanctioned childcare informed their attitudes. After the war Cotton was involved in establishment of a kindergarten in her suburb.

Societal values shifted for women during World War II as they entered the public arena of the workforce in increasing numbers. A number of structural changes facilitated women's participation in paid employment. Childcare centres were established to maintain married women in the workforce. With the societal acceptance of women in occupations previously held by men, the construction of femininity was redefined. The establishment of the Women's Employment Board protected women's wages, which realised 60–100% of the male rate.\(^{228}\) Another landmark was the election of the first two women to Federal Parliament.\(^{229}\) Once again the social commentator, the *Australian Women's Weekly*, captured these images (see Figure 8.17).

Changing societal attitudes towards women in the professions at this time were reflected in the number of women who undertook dental studies. In 1945 their presence was noteworthy, for it was reported that 'the ever-increasing number of women undergrads has this year swelled to thirty, the largest number that has ever been together at one time in our faculty'.\(^{230}\) Figures in final years of dentistry reflected changed societal values, with more women graduating than in earlier years (see Table 8.5). The year 1949 mirrored this trend particularly well with four of the seven women having served in the armed forces during the war.

\(^{228}\) Grimshaw, Lake, McGrath, & Quarry, op. cit., p. 260.

\(^{229}\) Ibid., p. 262.

In 1946\textsuperscript{231} there was a then record number of forty-five women enrolled, half of them in first year; by 1947\textsuperscript{232} this had increased to fifty-one. The degree of attraction to a dental career was also noted in the USA, where the women’s presence in the profession rose from 1.5\% in 1940 to 2.7\% in 1950.\textsuperscript{233}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{Two Australian Women’s Weekly covers during World War II}
\end{figure}

However, the post-war period again affected white Anglo middle-class meanings of femininity. The impact was swift, and was reflected in fewer women enrolling in the Faculty of Dentistry at the University of Sydney. In 1948, the dental student undergraduate magazine commented:

\textsuperscript{231}Anon. 1946, ‘Women’s notes’, Articulator, vol. 9, no. 4, p. 27.


\textsuperscript{233}Women’s Action Program, Office of Special Concerns, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning & Evaluation, & Department of Health, Education & Welfare, op. cit., p. 9.
The ranks of the women students in the faculty have diminished considerably this year, mainly because only two first years joined us in March. This was a marked drop from the average of fifteen over the past three years.\textsuperscript{234}

Table 8.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final year</th>
<th>No. of women</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>1949</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During World War II, Praed’s activity in the dental profession was informed by meanings of femininity and patriotism. The Australian Army Medical Corps Comforts Fund Dental Auxiliary operated under Praed’s leadership. Here again she fulfilled a patriotic role in keeping the culture and values of her gender, class and the dental profession. Once again middle-class women’s work was being defined in philanthropic terms. In keeping with ideology of this kind, Dulce Skinner Barr too was also active in the auxiliary, as the secretary.\textsuperscript{235}

By this time Praed’s long-term visibility within the dental profession had conferred the status that continues today. Praed’s activities with the fund gave her an involvement in keeping with the kind of welfare role that middle-class women had during the war. Femininity underpinned the activities of the

\textsuperscript{234} Anon. 1948, 'Meet the ladies', Articulator, vol. 9, no. 6, p. 72.

\textsuperscript{235} ADA (NSW Branch); ADA (NSW Branch); Minutes of General meetings, Feb 1928 – Nov. 1939, Nov. 1939, p. 2.
Comforts Fund: social entertainment,\textsuperscript{236} sewing\textsuperscript{237} and a tuck shop, which was established at 2nd floor, BMA House\textsuperscript{238} and later transferred to Forsyth House, Castlereagh Street.\textsuperscript{239} Even more revealing is the original name of the fund, Ladies' Dental Auxiliary.\textsuperscript{240}

Barnes spent the early war years with her husband Sapper, who found his last place of work at the Darra Cement Works in Queensland, where he remained until the war ended.

\subsection{8.11 Post-World War II}

Political pressure reshaped societal values again after World War II to oppose married women in the workforce. The professions became the domains for returned soldiers' rehabilitation by redefining masculinity through work. A dominant construct of masculinity resurfaced in the dental profession during this period. A strong masculine culture emerged that remained without significant change for many years. It was not until the 1980s that the effects of a buoyant economic times gave the Women's Movement's voice attention in the media and informed women widened their occupational goals towards

\textsuperscript{236} ibid., Mar. 1940-May 1956, Apr. 1940, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{237} ibid., June 1943, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{238} ibid., Mar. 1942, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{239} ibid., May 1943, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{240} ibid., Mar. 1940, p. 1.
careers in the professions. Musgrave summed up the gender tensions after the war:

After the war – women didn’t want to leave work then. They had tasted freedom and money and they had men’s jobs and the men were sort of lost too because none of them came back normal. Even when they married the men didn’t know the women they had left behind any more. They were complete strangers. Their marriages didn’t work. They were more bonded to their mates than to their wives.241

Repatriation was a multi-level force in post-war Australia. The re-establishment of men in social and psychological terms had a major impact on women. Once again women were redefined to meet the nation’s economic and societal needs. Two major areas of women’s lives were targeted by overt and covert means: work and sexuality. The power of media institutions, such as the Australian Women’s Weekly and the Hollywood film industry, prescribed acceptable forms of femininity that left most women with little choice but to focus on domesticity. Articles in the Australian Women’s Weekly during and after the World War II encapsulate most pointedly the directional force of change in women’s lives. Lake supports Wright’s argument that:

although some women welcomed the post-war chance to return to the home, other women wished to consolidate on their gains, and some might have been persuaded to do so had a magazine such as the

241 Interview with D. Musgrave, ibid.
Weekly taken the lead. But after the war the magazine focused its attention on the traditional sphere of feminine interests, always following old trends, rather than innovating new ones.242

The ideological drive of capitalism in the post-war years took on a missionary zeal as a competitive response to the opposing political ideologies of communism and socialism. As capitalism’s survival depended on consumerism, advertisements targeted women by defining their needs in terms of materialism. Pre-war and wartime thrift gave way to consumerism in the quest for economic prosperity. Women’s spending patterns changed as femininity was imbued with consumerism. Men and women were subjected to a multitude of forces that compressed their options of masculinity and femininity. Men and women were reassigned to their pre-war roles in the paid workforce and home duties, respectively. In many ways there was a suppression or even denial of the change that had occurred during the war for women in terms of paid work. With the push to reinstate past patterns, men were once again the breadwinners and femininity constructs were grounded in dependence, particularly financial, to men. This change contributed to social tensions that deepened with the arrival in Australia of large numbers of migrants from Europe.

As public policies were instituted to support these beliefs, white Anglo middle-class men and women were caught in tighter constructs of femininity and masculinity. For women in the professions, negotiation around these meanings

of work became difficult and it is not surprising that this was reflected in the numbers of women from this social group who entered the faculties of dentistry, engineering, medicine and veterinary science.

In this post-war period, Praed’s gender and age worked in a number of ways to enhance and suppress her professional image. On the one hand, seniority and gender secured a sense of matriarchal importance. On the other hand, as modernity swept across the nation, bringing advances in technology and scientific discoveries, her age and gender hindered the size of her practice. With the winding down and termination of the Dental Comforts Fund that had engaged Praed’s energies during World War II, she had less and less to occupy her time.

Work practices reverted to those of pre-war times. Married women were again considered superfluous in a workforce where the breadwinner was once a dominant masculine construct. Exemplifying this shift was The United Dental Hospital Board’s decision that ‘staff changes (are) expected now that hostilities have ceased and married members of the female staff will be leaving’.

White Anglo men and women were caught in the tide of social change that left them in narrow constructs of femininity and masculinity. Franki described this period as ‘an age when married women were expected to be fully occupied with home duties and Australian men regarded husbands who ‘sent their wives out

\[243\] Franki, op. cit., p. 176.
to work' as 'hungry'. Inequities in wages for men and women dentists mirror the downturn that had begun during World War II:

In June 1958, the Hospital advertised for a dentist in the Orthodontic Department. The salary range for males was 21 pounds 3 shillings and one penny to 29 pounds 16 shillings and one penny per week; females from 17 pounds 19 shillings and 6 pence to 25 pounds 6 shillings and 7 pence per week.245

Salaries for women dentists at the United Dental Hospital did not reach parity until the late 1960s.

8.11.1 Last Days

Annie Praed altered her will in the June before her death. It would seem this action was linked to her goddaughter's decision to live in UK with her new husband. The Sautelles had become Praed's surrogate family: a friendship that had many bonds. Elsie Sautelle, her former dental assistant, had married an apprenticeship-trained dentist, George, with whom Praed 'talked dentistry'.246 Being neighbours in Neutral Bay between 1916 and 1922247 most probably enriched the friendship. Mrs Richard Sautelle's account of Praed's last days of life in Weston, the private hospital, indicated that she seemed to have lost the

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244 Ibid.
245 Ibid.
246 Interview with Richard Bentley Sautelle, loc. cit.
247 Commonwealth of Australia: NSW Electoral Roll, Division of North Sydney, Subdivision of Mosman, 1916, p. 75, no. 4437. (Wavertree, Kurraba Road, North Sydney); Subdivision of Neutral Bay, 1922, no. 6409. (Wavertree, Kurraba Road, North Sydney).
spirit to live. Her loyal friend wrote that 'poor old Nin – she won't want to
recover I know – she just doesn't seem to want to live any longer – its such an
effort.' Praed's will had no mention of her dental practice, nor did her
executor have any knowledge of any dental equipment or materials at the time,
suggesting that Praed and Joe Skinner had made a prior agreement.

The Sautelle family arranged a private burial and cremation. Praed's death was
observed formally at a meeting of 125 members of ADA (NSW Branch).
Records of the minutes of that meeting reported the occasion as:

In opening the Meeting, the President referred to the great loss to the
profession in the death of Dr. Annie Praed, who was one of dentistry's
outstanding people. Not only had she achieved high academic distinction
but, with her charming personality, was universally liked. He asked the
members present to stand in silence as a token of the appreciation of the
high esteem in which Dr. Praed was regarded by all.

Earlier in January 1948, the Dental Health Education Committee (formerly
known as the Dental Health Education Department) honoured her in a similar


\[249\] ADA (NSW Branch); ADA (NSW Branch); Minutes of General meetings, Mar. 1940 – May 1956, Mar. 1949, p. 1.
tribute at the monthly meeting and acknowledged her as ‘a most enthusiastic worker’.\textsuperscript{250}

Barnes, however, spent most of the post-war years in Queensland. In their retirement Barnes and her husband, Sapper built flats at Labrador (see Figure 8.18) that proved financially unwise: their choice of location and timing for Gold Coast development was unfavourable. Betty Tindale recalls Barnes as a person who enjoyed the company of people and the outdoors, and who was not domestically oriented. Betty spoke of Barnes' determination to stay physically active even while suffering from severe bunions on her feet, describing her as 'an amazon with large feet'. Her podiatry problems, Barnes felt were attributable to the years she spent pedalling the dental drill. Barnes' retirement at Southport was a happy one but as time passed a number of those close to her died. Her \textit{Sad Days} list includes Sapper (6 August 1963) and her best friend Pearl Mitchell (1 September 1964).\textsuperscript{251}

\textsuperscript{250} ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); Minutes of meetings of the Dental Health Education Committee, Jan. 1949 – May 1953, Jan. 1949, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{251} Madge Barnes: Personal papers, ‘Sad Days’. \textit{Virginia Hind Collection}. 
FIGURE 8.18
Derriwong, Frank Street, Labrador
Courtesy Virginia Hind

FIGURE 8.19
Madge Barnes and Sapper Maltby-Robinson, Southport, c.1960
Courtesy Peter Tindale
For about 30s. (the modest price of the knives made lovingly by hand from molybdenum steel alloy) the problem of a blunt carving knife can be reduced to a minimum. Mr. K. M. Robinson, of 10 Brighton Parade, Southport, will make any type of knife to order, and he prices them according to the length of blade. These knives will keep an edge far longer than will stainless steel.
Barnes' and Sapper's last home was at 10 Brighton Parade, Southport (see Figures 8.19, 8.20, 8.21 and 8.22). After Sapper's death Madge Barnes remained there before a short stay at the nearby Blue Sisters' retirement village. Ian Marshall and the Tindales remember them as a happy couple devoted to each other. Between 1973 and 1975 Barnes circulated between her niece, Darryl (Delegate), nephews Barry (Wahroonga) and Peter (Melbourne) and their families.\textsuperscript{252} When her health declined in the early 1970s she moved to Sydney to be with her nephew Barry until his terminal illness forced her into Ballina Private Hospital at Gordon where she died at ninety-four years of age

on 11 April 1975.\textsuperscript{253} She was cremated at the Brisbane Crematorium\textsuperscript{254} and buried there with Sapper, rather than in the Barnes' family plot at Waverley Cemetery.

\section*{8.12 Annie Praed, mentor}

A number of records provide evidence that Praed acted as a mentor to her younger colleagues, particularly women. Although a number of these records are non-critically full of praise (the common problem of insider historiographies), they contain some reflection of this mentor role by her very availability as a woman of her long standing within the profession. Magnus' published memories are exemplary of these issues:

If the work was good she would praise it so that the patient could hear her remarks; if, on the other hand, some criticism was necessary, she would take the student our of earshot of the patient and explain where it was faulty. On many occasions I have heard her say to a patient: "You are fortunate indeed to have such a capable operator looking after you". One has to be careful in praising a student's work, but praise from Annie Praed somehow did not tend to give a student an exalted opinion of his or her work, but rather did it tend to make one strive to do even better work.\textsuperscript{255}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[253] NSW Registrar of Births, Deaths & Marriages: Index to the Register, 11 Apr. 1975, no. 9675.
\item[254] Brisbane Crematorium, T63 Section 6 Columbarium 8. \textit{Virginia Hind Collection}.
\end{footnotes}
Joe Skinner expressed a similar opinion:

Kind and helpful to dental undergraduates, she watched the welfare of the women undergraduates in particular. She was instrumental in furnishing the first women's common room at the Dental Hospital. On many occasions she was known to have given books and dental instruments to indigent students. 256

Magnus quoted Professor Arnott's view of the support Annie Praed gave to the women undergraduates in the Faculty of Dentistry:

She always found additional time in order to give special attention to the women students in the Faculty. The wealth of her experience was readily tendered to them in a gentle and affectionate manner, and in this way she endeavoured to mould the professional careers of her students. 257

Magnus pointed out Praed's contribution as a mentor:

There are many women graduates who have benefited by their association with Dr. Praed, and of them I feel that I should mention Miss Marie Patterson, who is the only woman to graduate with Honours Class 1; Miss Hazel Crow and Miss Dulce Skinner (Mrs. John Barr) who were the first full-time dental surgeons appointed to the staff of the Royal

256 Skinner, J., loc. cit.
257 Magnus, op. cit., p. 254.
Alexandra Hospital for Children... Miss Richards, who commenced her studies... at the University of Sydney in 1926... gave up her studies and married a missionary... twenty-two years later she resumed her studies at the Adelaide University... Miss Norah Matthews, later Mrs. Bernal Honey... Miss June Allen... attached to the Pathology Department... Miss Barbara Sinclair.\textsuperscript{258}

Although these comments clearly carry a gendered tone and depict Praed in matriarchal terms, they offer a link between Praed and the women dentists of Anglo origins who followed her during her lifetime.

8.13 Annie Praed oration

Although the Executive Committee of the ADA (NSW Branch) established the Annie Praed Oration the year after her death, it was not delivered until 1951. At the time a member of the committee, Sullivan, stated that 'the name Annie Praed typified high ideals in dentistry'.\textsuperscript{259} This statement contains meanings of both femininity and professionalism of an altruistic kind.

At that meeting it was moved that the oration be delivered at the Annual General Meeting, provided that a NSW Congress was not held in the same year. The same Executive gave recognition to fellow 1906 classmate, Frank

\footnote{\textsuperscript{258}Ibid.}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{259}ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); Minutes of meetings of the Executive Council, Nov. 1949 – May 1953, Nov. 1949, p. 12.}
Marshall,\textsuperscript{260} who was still alive, in the form of an annual university prize. With a foundation of £338.9.6, the Frank Marshall Prize is still awarded. Praed’s memory and honour did not fare as well. The Annie Praed Oration disappeared over the decades, being resurrected only in 1997 at the twentieth NSW Dental Convention held at Coffs Harbour\textsuperscript{261}.

Pomp and ceremony marked the occasion of the inaugural Oration held at the Great Hall, University of Sydney. Professor A. J. Arnott delivered the oration, ‘The historical development of dentistry as a profession in NSW’, the following attending dignitaries:

Federal Minister for Health, the Rt. Hon. Sir Earle Page; and the State Minister for Health, the Hon, Mr. M. O’Sullivan, the Presidents of the Royal Australasian Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, the President of the Dental Board of New South Wales, and the President of the United Dental Hospital of Sydney...Dr. J. V. Hall Best, President of the Australian Dental Association; Dr. A. J. Collins, President of the British Medical Association, New South Wales Branch; Professor Dew, Vice President of the Royal Australasian College of Surgeons; Dr. Tebbutt, representing the Royal Australasian College of Physicians; Professor Carne, Dean of the Faculty of Veterinary Science; Sir Harry Moxham, Past President of the Australian Dental Association; and H. R. Maze, Registrar of the University of Sydney; Surgeon-Commander Richards,

\textsuperscript{260}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{261}The author attended this Convention in August 1997.
Lieutenant-Colonel Skinner and Squadron-Leader Clarke, representing the Services.\textsuperscript{262}

By 1953 the oration, renamed as a lecture, was incorporated into the September Ordinary General Meeting, with Professor Arnott giving a brief history of Praed before delivering a lecture in his speciality of oral surgery.\textsuperscript{263} A similar delivery followed in 1954 with J. H. Wilson’s lecturing on 'Some clinical and technical aspects of partial denture design'.\textsuperscript{264}

8.14 Conclusion

Underpinning women dentists’ entry into the workforce was the cultural assumption by the men in the profession that female commitment to the profession was not equal to that of their male peers. This discriminatory assumption resulted in women being treated unequally either by containment or exclusion. Work options were limited for Barnes and Praed. Their career choices, to work in private practice and, in Praed’s case also to work in an honorary capacity for the Faculty of Dentistry, support this argument.

The societal and professional cultural values surrounding work and marriage for middle-class women were responsible for Barnes’ exit from practice of dentistry after her marriage. Structural barriers forced women to follow perceived models

\textsuperscript{262} ADA (NSW Branch): ADA (NSW Branch); Minutes of General meetings, Mar. 1940 – May 1956, 16 Oct. 1951, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{263} Ibid., 22 Sep. 1963, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{264} Ibid., 22 June. 1954, p. 1.
and few sought individual solutions: without organisational or social sanctions for childcare there were few options for married women to continue in their professions.

Throughout the late nineteenth century and twentieth century political forces have affected the participation of women as dental practitioners. Political factors constructed a domestic ideology to meet masculine societal needs. The working-experience of Barnes and Praed during World War I captures this point most poignantly: both were in great demand due to the shortage in manpower.

For Barnes and Praed meanings of work were informed by many factors, including class, gender, religious views, family, schooling, society – the Old World and the colony. The interaction of these forces forged a complex outcome for white Anglo women in the middle and upper classes, where an Old World concept of leisure was countered by colonial pragmatism.

Barnes and Praed moved between the world of the workplace, with its masculine culture, and the feminine domestic one. In crossing boundaries certain barriers and occasionally opportunities presented to them. Sexuality is central to an understanding of their relationships with their fellow students: while many early graduates in interviews and letters refer to this relationship as ‘brotherly’, I have argued that women dentists’ sexuality was contained in terms of asexuality in their working-relationships with their male peers.
Complexities of a gendered and societal nature were uncovered in Barnes' and Praed's participation in the workforce as dentists. Their patient base was predominantly women and children, suggesting a gender difference in comparison with their male colleagues. Their practice of dentistry was, to a great degree, an extension of the boundaries of domesticity. Praed's free treatment to servicemen and their families fulfilled both class and suffrage ideologies of 'citizen mother' for white Anglo middle and upper class women whose public work was of the philanthropic kind. Another documented factor is that women dentists generally spend more time treating individual patients than their male counterparts.\textsuperscript{265}

Praed's exit from private practice was without fanfare: certainly no announcement of her retirement emerged from official documents or interviews. We know that her will, written 18 June 1948, made no mention of her practice or equipment, yet her practice was listed in the NSW telephone directory for Sydney in November, 1948.\textsuperscript{266} From 1947, Dulce Skinner's brother, Joe who was also listed at Croydon Park, shared the same T&G address and telephone number as Praed.\textsuperscript{267} It would seem that, with a feminist mother and sister, Joseph Skinner was ideally situated to form a professional arrangement with Praed. Details of Praed's estate revealed material circumstances unexpectedly low for a single professional person without dependants.


\textsuperscript{266} \textit{Telephone Directory Sydney Nov. 1948}, Postmaster General's Department Sydney, p. 92.

Economic factors, either individually, or on a societal level significantly affected Praed's and Barnes' occupational choices. For Praed, financial responsibility continued until death. It would seem that her income was significantly less than that of her male peers because of a number of factors: poor public acceptability of women dentists, with the possible exception of the war years; the free dental treatment she provided; and the lower fees she most probably charged. These were all in keeping with the concept of philanthropic value of work for white Anglo middle-class women. Barnes' marriage, on the other hand, redefined her financial situation, her occupational choices moving completely into the unpaid private domestic area or public sphere of social welfare.

For white Anglo women of the middle classes, meanings of philanthropy influenced their work practices in both paid and unpaid spheres. Boundaries blurred between these spheres, leaving women dentists with ambivalent meanings of financial independence gained through paid employment. For women dentists working in private practice, the meaning of fees for service was underpinned by meanings of philanthropy of a feminine kind. I would suggest that this was the reason they were more likely to charge lower dental fees, and had a larger charitable component of their practices than their male colleagues.

For Barnes and particularly Praed, whose working-professional life spanned more than four decades, their professional identity formed across contesting gender terms.
CHAPTER 9

GENERAL CONCLUSION

On Wednesday, 11 April 1906, two women, Annie Praed and Madge Barnes, and eleven men heralded a new era of dentistry: the decisive movement from the old apprenticeship of the colonial period to the new university educational standard of the early twentieth century. This was a shift that changed the culture of dentistry at both organisational and academic levels. A new culture emerged that had implications for the presence of women in the dental profession.

Barnes and Praed were at the junction of change, when women moved from the more accessible apprenticeship system to a system that eventually restricted women's access and activity as it redefined itself in terms of a dominant masculine organisational culture. This gendered mechanism of change would leave women to negotiate contesting notions of femininity and professionalism. The intersection of conflicting notions of identity contained or restricted women dentists to designated spheres of the profession underpinned with societal notions of femininity, and tended to exclude them from the more masculine spheres of the dental profession.
The gendered culture of the dental profession was not in a cultural vacuum; powerful societal forces tipped the dominant ethos. Through the twentieth century Barnes and Praed faced a number of political factors which shaped personal choices and dental practice. I have argued that it was this interaction between the political and the personal that constituted career choice, either initially or after graduation.

I have explored this interaction in detail in a number of ways: within family, school, university, profession and the broader society. Major external forces affecting the dynamics of this equation included the ideology of the suffrage and eugenics movements, World Wars I and II, and the post-war periods.

Because gender has informed the approach, the oral history interview has contributed to and augmented other more traditional research data, particularly written primary sources, both published and unpublished. Oral history has enriched the value and quality of the research in numerous ways, but ultimately it has provided a perspective outside the collective institution by giving voice to the individual. In particular a number of women described their individual life experiences.

At this juncture it would seem appropriate to reflect on a number of reference points within the thesis. In defining points of reference the language of naming Barnes and Praed as pioneer women dentists is suggestive in itself of gender bias in exclusionary terms. Whenever we define a woman as ‘woman dentist’, ‘lady dentist’ or ‘female dentist’ we are to some degree supporting or
emphasising an ideology of containment and therefore by inference, a masculine construct of professionalism.

By specifying gender difference we are also creating a separatist model for professionals with an embedded masculine work culture that supports the image and values of 'aggressiveness, scientific objectivity, careerism, individualism and commitment to paid work'\(^1\) which is oppositional to societal constructs of femininity. Work to the exclusion of the personal is common to masculine forms of professionalism. However, for women, societal values infuse the meaning of paid work with contradictory and more complex messages.

I have attempted to inter-weave the personal and the political elements that shaped Barnes' and Praed's choices, to offer insights into the interconnection between these elements. Women entering workplaces with a dominantly masculine organisational culture were faced with redefining their identity at an individual level from societal and professional reference points with specific gendered meanings: adapting their femininity to fit a professional identity steeped in masculinity. Barnes and Praed constructed their identities through a complex interaction between their personal circumstances, the dental profession and their social and political environments. Bashford has described how women in the professions were:

caught in the contradictory position of affirming their femininity and respectability through this image of benevolence on the one hand, and on the other, actually wanting their need for, and right to remunerative employment to be recognised.²

In this thesis the factors that shaped Barnes' and Praed's initial career paths and occupational choices after graduation have been investigated to tease out the links between individual, social and profession constructs of femininity and masculinity.

In Chapter 2 the concept of myth construction was used to explore the ways in which men and women are portrayed within the institutions of family and profession. The unravelling of these myths supported the argument that there are contesting and contradictory or oppositional elements in the expression of femininity. The interaction of factors at individual, cultural and political levels shaped constructs of femininity. A number of women took on a composite construct of femininity and professionalism in their career choices. Some of these women became dentists.

The meanings and origins of these complexities are encapsulated in the following excerpt from an interview with Doreen Musgrave, who was the only woman in her final year of 1937. This section of the oral history interview effectively summarises a number of the theoretical considerations surrounding gender relations that have been raised in the thesis.

ZC: You say that the men in your year treated you as one of the boys?

DM: Or a kid sister.

ZC: So if we can look at that? How would they have treated the women they went out with as differently to you?

DM: They did. I was one of them. I was almost male, unless it was a boyfriend I was being close to at the time.

ZC: So in a way they were treating you as a man as it were, but you weren't a man?

DM: Yes.

ZC: But they were treating you as a woman but you were not a woman?

DM: That's right.

ZC: And how did that fit with you?

DM: Oh I don't know I just accepted it. I felt part of their society too. I had a different outlook to most women: a very different outlook to most women.

ZC: Did you feel your sexuality came into this at all?
DM: No only if I was going out with a guy, then it did. During the day I was a male and at night I was a female.

ZC: So there was that separation of you in the workplace and you socially?

DM: That's right.

ZC: And you could feel the difference?

DM: I could. Yes I could.

ZC: In what way?

DM: I was of two worlds. I lived in two separate factions.

ZC: Even when you were mixing with your peers?

DM: Yes. Even going to a ball. I was close to the man I was with but the rest of them I was on their side. Different from the women.

ZC: How do you think this affected your identity?

DM: It made me different. Very different.

ZC: Was that there do you think as a possibility when you were younger?

If you could reach into that?
**DM:** I think that I was probably different younger too. As a child I think I was different too. I've always had a -- well it's not a masculine outlook but it's a positive outlook that women didn't have because it was crushed in them or it was never there because they weren't given it or encouraged to have that outlook. But I was born with it I think.

**ZC:** It's pretty amazing when you look at the women that would have been your peers that you chose dentistry -- you had this outlook -- that it wasn't squashed as you say?

**DM:** Perhaps my mother is responsible. My father was responsible for the education side but the practical side, that would be my mother because she was very practical and inventive, creative.

**ZC:** And she supported you emotionally through your choice?

**DM:** Yes she did.

**ZC:** And yet that would have been very unusual for a mother at that time?

**DM:** Probably it was because of her desires that she hadn't done what she had wanted to do.

**ZC:** So at some level she's been enormously influential?

**DM:** But all the women in my family are the same. Although my grandmother didn't want to educate women. Your main role was to get
married and have children as far as my grandmother was concerned and yet she was an autocratic figure too. She was one of twelve and almost the youngest but she bossed all the rest around. And very practical. She tended to all the medical needs of people for miles around. Her husband was a teacher too — my grandfather. But she always dealt with medical problems and knew all about everything.

**ZC:** So you had these very strong women?

**DM:** Very strong and my great-grandmother was the same.

**ZC:** Is your daughter the same?

**DM:** Yes my daughter is strong. She's a doctor.³

This extract captures and expresses major elements of the thesis. It also illustrates that the interview structure and the relationship between the interviewee and interviewer were not rigid, thus allowing for a complex dynamic that facilitated exploration of topics, ideas and values. Musgrave's descriptions of her relations with her male peers at university reach deep into gender relations generally. She draws from a diversity of institutions, from the profession itself, to her family from a multi-generation view, to expose 'competing discourses of femininity' which reveal the 'contradictions and part of the confusion of femininity' in which a few middle-class women redefined the

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division between public and private. The oral history interviews also offered an opportunity to explore gender within family myths, particularly in the ways that family cultures shape women’s attitudes and choices.

The exploration of common threads in that personal-political interaction gives recognition to the connection between Barnes, Praed and Musgrave, later women dentists and women generally. The connecting factors validate women dentists’ experience as part of a woman’s continuum.

Both women’s lives portray the expression of multiple forms of femininity in their lifetime through their relationships with friends, professional colleagues and for Barnes, with individual members of her family. However, Barnes’ and Praed’s forms of femininity were informed and shaped by their personal and political environment — both private and public. These complexities found expression against a gender constant that was grounded in a woman’s primary role in the home being a nobler role than a profession. Even careers that were available to women as paid work remained a masculine concept, and when women did venture into this sphere their financial rewards did not reach the levels of their male colleagues.

This thesis looked at two individual lives from multiple perspectives and revealed that for these two women, while they were exemplary as pioneer women dentists, their pathways in life were circumscribed to a greater degree by the constructs of femininities. The choices Barnes and Praed faced throughout their lives were traced and analysed in order to gain insights into the ways these women
negotiated their way through the maze of societal constructs of femininity and professionalism. Femininity and professionalism are concepts with contesting meanings for women, and this duality has implications for women dentists today, as the dental profession in Australia remains a predominantly masculine culture.

The representation of Barnes and Praed in previously published accounts of their lives is indicative of the limited options for women dentists. When Barnes disappeared from the dental profession after her marriage to meanings of femininity defined by her class and marital status, her occupational choices were shaped by these factors. In analysis, Barnes’ life took on a serialised form: child, student, dentist, wife, and widow. Her departure from the profession of dentistry to enter marriage, society’s realm of sanctioned femininity, left her invisible as a woman dentist until late in life when she was resurrected during a period of change when women’s issues gained more media attention.

This change came from two interrelated levels. One level was the societal level, when a new wave of the women’s movement in the 1960s, boosted by shortfall in workforce labour, forced the debate on the construct of femininity around paid work. This had an effect on the other level: the dental profession. As this was a period when fewer men sought careers as dentists, women were encouraged to fill the gap. This recruitment drive was a re-occurring strategy throughout the twentieth century and it is interesting to note that Barnes’ presence has a cyclical tone. In 1906, she was in the inaugural class of 1906. She was ‘resurrected’ in the 1967 Australian Women’s Weekly article when she became the representative grand dame of dentistry, lighting the way for new women to be
recruited into the profession, after an absence and invisibility of more than forty years. Common to both periods (1906 and 1967) was the shortage of male recruits into the dental school at the University of Sydney.

While Annie Praed remains a mystery to some degree, the available evidence of her narrative demonstrates the complex interaction between a number of factors that can shape career choices and opportunities. Such factors are timing, class, gender, education and personal circumstances. Against the odds of gender and class, or perhaps because of her gender and class, Annie Praed, the adolescent servant in an upper class household, had the opportunity of an education that led to pioneer achievements in the dental profession. She went on to become Australia's first woman to be awarded the Licentiate in Dental Surgery and one of two women in the inaugural enrolment for the Bachelor of Dental Surgery. In 1938 she became Sydney University's first and only woman to receive the Doctorate of Dental Science.

Praed denied her past; I would suggest to some degree she disguised and even suppressed the facts. When viewed from a multiple perspective, Annie Praed's life story provided an opportunity to gain insights into the complexities that class and gender play in the construct of professionalism.

Praed's life at one level would seem to have been in stark contrast to that of Barnes. Yet in analysis, the lives of both women shared limitations of choice circumscribed by societal forms of femininity. Meanings of societal femininity and meanings of professionalism rooted in masculinity inherently shaped their
practice of dentistry. Their negotiation around these contesting forms of identity left them marginalised in professional terms. Barnes' disappearance upon marriage rendered her invisible until societal and professional factors resurrected her site in the dental profession. Most probably Barnes' reconstruction was in part due to the mythical matriarchal throne vacated by Praed's death.

In keeping with the insider historiography genre, Praed's life had been constructed in heroic and legendary proportions in dental history. She became distinguished because of singleness: she stood out because there were so few women in the dental profession and because of her longevity in the profession due to her unmarried status. In other words, a legend was created around forms of femininity and professionalism: her devotion to the dental profession formed around constructs of femininity grounded in family concepts, transferred to the profession. Praed's unpaid work in the dental profession is a link to the unpaid domestic work of women; her limited earnings in the profession support this argument. Praed fulfilled the stereotype of the professional woman, single and devoted to the dental profession. The profession equated with the family in terms of maternal duty. This stereotype upholds a construct of femininity of iconoclastic stature, that of the 'virgin mother', the essential matriarch. The very suppression of the details of her early life suggests a final image of Praed as two people within one person, the one retaining the public image and the other, the private, dwelling and contained within. In this public-private divide, Praed has much in common with her benefactor Henry Burton-Bradley.
Work for white Anglo middle-class women dentists had significantly different meaning from what it had for their male counterparts. For women dentists, work was grounded in philanthropic meanings and therefore economically disadvantageous except during periods of redefinition of femininity around work, such as occurred during World War I and II. For men, work was grounded in economic terms of masculinity and paid work, as the family breadwinner.

Barnes may have appeared to alter her direction dramatically after her marriage. However, in many ways, she and Praed continued to lead lives that were shaped by societal constructs of femininity. After marriage, Barnes took up the mantle of philanthropic work in bush nursing and kindergarten organisations whereas Praed continued this form of work within the dental profession at faculty and dental organisational levels. Praed’s professional experience after World War II shifted according to societal factors reconstructing femininity around domesticity. Public acceptance of women in the professions was again redefined.

Women dentists today and in the past share with women generally the limitations of choice that are shaped around societal constructions of femininity and work. In 1998, with a conservative government and high unemployment, women are once again being targeted to correct the shortage of jobs. A recent front-page article with the headline ‘Working women under fire’ discussed the redefinition of women’s participation in paid workforce from full-time to the part-
time. Incentives to persuade married women to shift from full-time to part-time involve offers of a "home-maker's allowance". The increased cost of childcare, brought about through policy constructed around private funding without government subsidy, is another factor that reshapes women's presence in the workforce.

The implication for women dentists today is that their lives are shaped and influenced by the dynamic interaction of a number of personal, professional and societal factors. It has been demonstrated in this thesis that societal influences from time to time alter societal perceptions of women's presence in the paid workforce and this affects the way women dentists negotiate their sites in the dental profession. Over the twentieth century, societal and cultural meanings of femininity and the masculine culture of the dental profession have blurred women dentists' professionalism.

The utilisation of multiple sources and viewpoints in this thesis has freed the analysis from being contained by previously held assumptions about women dentists. In the very questioning of these assumptions and by giving a number of voices, particularly those of women dentists, the opportunity to be expressed, the analysis has been expanded to embrace gender within a broader context of conflicting societal and professional factors.

\(^5\)ibid.
5 Parkinson Street
Wollongong
14.3.66.

Dear Mrs. Rouse,
...I lived in Bellingen away in the country and was offered an articleship by a local dentist. It was uphill going, for no lectures were available there; so I did four years with him, then went to Sydney to tackle the Full Board requirements, qualifying in 1935. My old Boss opened a surgery 20 miles from him at Dorrigo, & put me in there. It was a timber & dairy area, & there were 2 other dentists, both male. I had much struggle & humiliation because I was small, & many a time was told “Ah! You wouldn’t be strong enough!” Came the war, & I helped by working in 3 practices to liberate a man down the coast who enlisted. During those war years I circulated round these 3 practices, 6 days a week sometimes travelling by car, sometimes hitchhiking on trucks, & goods trains - accommodation was pretty poor & the hotels served no meals; & more than once I slept in the dental chair because no other bed was available. No cleaner or laundress available, so I had to undertake these chores too. By the end of the war I’d had it, & left Dorrigo to try 12 months of locum work in the country. That was very educational - you have no idea how the other chap works till you take over his job. I was amazed at the primitive conditions, and lack of any adequate instruments with which to work, so brought a couple of chisels, & some surgical needles, holder, & scalpel, & was very glad of them often. It was too awkward removing hidden roots with sharpened carving instruments and no elevators. One place I worked at had no matrix bands or instruments for building up shape. When I got tired of living in a case, I came to Wollongong and am still here....

FIGURE 9.1
Marjorie Chidley’s correspondence to Doreen Musgrave

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Perhaps the last word is best left to Marjorie Chidley (see Figure 9.1), an apprentice-trained dentist in a rural area. From the 1930 to the 1960s she experienced and bridged a number of boundaries: those of gender, geography and professional qualifications. Her letter essentially reveals that the professional experience of a woman dentist, at any one time, is linked to the cultural factors operating in a profession, for after all, the profession is a microcosm of the society it serves.
CHAPTER 10

POSTSCRIPT

Women dentists at The University of Sydney, 1950–1998

Why Dentists are wonderful people

Dentists are very competent men. They are also very conscientious men—in fact, they do their best to make sure that their patients never have to come back to them.

Among the things which they do, seemingly to deprive themselves of their livelihood, is to recommend emphatically that everyone should drink milk.

FIGURE 10.1
‘Why dentists are such wonderful people’¹

10.1 Introduction

A masculine culture has dominated the dental profession in NSW since World War II. Only in the 1970s did women begin to enter the Faculty of Dentistry at the University of Sydney in visible numbers. This trend continued into the 1990s as the proportion of women in final years reached levels ranging from 36–50%.

For Anglo women, professionalism in dentistry has maintained pre-World War II meanings of femininity infused by the ideologies of post-war feminism. Significantly, the majority of women entering the faculty in the remainder of the twentieth century have family origins in countries where women are highly represented in their dental professions. There are two major factors that operate in such countries: firstly, the cultures of those dental professions are not predominantly masculine and secondly, meanings of femininity are constructed around meanings of paid work and professionalism among the middle classes.

10.2 1950s – late 1960s

By far the most significant factor in the post-war period was migration. The women in the final years of the dentistry course during this period mirror migratory patterns. The drive to reconstruct masculinity damaged by the war was a central force. Structural and societal pressures forced women to vacate their jobs to the large numbers of returned soldiers. Measures taken included the dismantling of the Women’s Employment Board and the abandonment of child care centres. These actions hindered women’s access to work and set
back the World War II gains for equal pay. Spaull’s comments confirm the significance of the Board:

It showed considerable sympathy to women in men’s occupations. It set the wages which varied between 70–100% of the male rates. This was in distinct contrast to the other industrial tribunals which determined the female wage rate at 54% of the male wage rates.²

Women were again almost forcefully reconstructed into domestic femininities as producers of a future population imperative for the nation’s survival against impending wars. Engagements and marriages among dental students in the late 1940s and early 1950s were numerous and highly publicised in the ‘Women’s notes’ segments of the undergraduates’ magazine. Femininity was defined around women’s roles as wives rather than paid work. Evidence for this argument is found in the editor’s response to the concluding line of the 1951 ‘Women’s notes’: ‘To all the girls we wish a very successful year, bringing the attainment of their ambition closer’ which was ‘What, marriage or the B.D.S.?’³

Certainly masculinity prevailed in professionalism of the 1950s, as captured most succinctly in the final paragraph of the article ‘The Australian dentist’ which was ‘Well gentlemen, after graduation it is up to you, will you become just


³Anon. 1951, ‘Women’s notes’, Articulator, vol. 9, no. 9, p. 60.
another dentist, or will you become a professional man?"^4 By the failure to mention women as dentists and the containment of professionalism in terms of masculinity, women were rendered invisible.

Once again the students in the final years of dentistry embodied societal change as demonstrated by the large numbers of men, particularly returned servicemen. The creation of the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme gave returned soldiers ‘tuition costs and a living allowance (£3.5s weekly for a single person and £5 for married persons, the latter above the basic wage)’.^5

A gender difference in living allowance favouring men made it difficult for women who had served in the military to take up university education. Protests from women’s groups including the Business and Professional Women’s Club of Sydney and the University of Sydney Women’s Graduates’ Association redressed this disadvantage.^6,7

Professional bodies gave the returned soldiers the support to pursue a professional career. The NSW Branch of the ADA established a Rehabilitation Committee to support the needs of demobilised dental officers. Refresher courses were offered as a means of reconstructing a civilian and professional


^5Spaull, A. 1982, Australian Education in the Second World War, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Qld, p. 255.


^7Ibid., July 1945, p. 105.
identity for men.\textsuperscript{8} Demands for faculty facilities and services were such that students' needs were not met, resulting in high failure rates.\textsuperscript{9} A mass of masculinity restricted Anglo women's entry. The culture of universities changed and disadvantaged women. This is reflected in the increased number of men in the final year figures at the University of Sydney (see Table 10.1). The 1952 photograph of the teaching staff (seventy-one men) of the Faculty of Dentistry at the University of Sydney is visual evidence of the dominant masculine culture of the profession during this period (see Figure 10.2).\textsuperscript{10} It is not surprising that of the fifteen women who entered the dentistry course in 1952,\textsuperscript{11} eight proceeded to the second year of the course, and only six graduated in 1955.\textsuperscript{12}

**Table 10.1**

**Number of men in final years, Faculty of Dentistry, the University of Sydney, 1949–1955**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final year</th>
<th>No. of men</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>142</td>
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<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>79</td>
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<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Population growth was politically and socially engineered as the answer to economic prosperity in post-war Australia. Increases in population from raised

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\textsuperscript{8}ADA (NSW Branch); ADA (NSW Branch); Minutes of meetings of the Rehabilitation Committee, Nov. 1944 – Oct. 1945, Nov. 1944, p. 1.


\textsuperscript{10}Anon. 1952, *Articulator*, vol. 9, no. 10, p. 35.

\textsuperscript{11}ibid. p. 39.

\textsuperscript{12}*University of Sydney Calendar 1954*, University of Sydney, Sydney, p. 249; 1957, p. 1172.
birth rates were supplemented by immigration which, according to Hugo ‘has been of great significance in shaping Australia’s population growth and composition in the post-war period’.¹³

FIGURE 10.2
Teaching staff – 1952 – Faculty of Dentistry, University of Sydney¹⁴

Migration became the catch-cry at this time. Initially migrants arrived as refugees from Eastern Europe. This pattern of migration was mirrored in the women who were in graduating classes at the University of Sydney. Women in final classes were from Latvia, Lithuania and Poland — countries that had high


representations of women (80%) in the dental profession\textsuperscript{15,16} and a number of women had qualifications from these countries. Therefore, a career in dentistry was not considered unusual for Polish-born Barbara Korb who graduated in 1959.\textsuperscript{17} Indeed, the Eastern European presence was so strong among the women students that Jean Dunlop, a dental student in 1955, recorded it in the ‘Women’s notes’ of the dental undergraduates magazine \textit{The Articulator}. Dunlop wrote that ‘last year’s lunchtime concerts have been replaced by...the Latvian lessons for those of us who are otherwise unable to take part in the Common room conversation’.\textsuperscript{18}

In 1956, Desley Coates continued this theme, writing ‘Latvian lessons continue to flourish but they provide the greatest interest to those who already have an expert knowledge of the subject’.\textsuperscript{19} Similarly in the 1957 edition, it was reported that ‘Latvian, too, still is the most spoken language besides English which is universal.’\textsuperscript{20}

By 1966 women’s presence in final year had diminished to one: Sophie Jakubowski, dux of every one of her university years, was born in Lithuania. Her


\textsuperscript{17} Korb, B. 1966, Correspondence. \textit{Doreen Musgrave Collection}.

\textsuperscript{18} Dunlop, J. 1955, ‘Women’s notes’, \textit{Articulator}, vol. 10, no. 1, p. 51.

\textsuperscript{19} Coates, D. 1956, ‘Women’s notes’, \textit{Articulator}, vol. 10, no. 2, p. 64.

\textsuperscript{20} Anon. 1957, ‘Women’s notes’, \textit{Articulator}, vol. 10, no. 3, p. 58.
mother was a Lithuanian-qualified dentist who later retrained at the University of Sydney. 21

As Australian women of Anglo origins were again socialised by well-orchestrated government propaganda into domestic and child-rearing roles, there were few in the final years of the dentistry course (mid-1950s to mid-1970s) or working in the profession outside family units. Professionalism was grounded in masculinity whilst femininity was narrowly reconstituted into domestic terms for Anglo middle-class women. Rita Kalde, a 1960 graduate of European background, was encouraged by her own dentist, a woman, to study dentistry. Kalde recognised the complexities of cultural influences that were operating for women dentists seeking employment in the 1960s. Her explanation for the low number of women in the dental profession is circuitous in gender and cultural terms:

When I graduated and was looking for an 'assistant-ship' in dentistry I realised that the female dentist was not in demand. When I finally managed to get a position I was rather well accepted by the children, however there were a few males who thought my wrists would not be strong enough to pull a tooth out; however when this was disproved they became strong supporters of female dentists. In my opinion the public, especially children would demand female dentist; unfortunately there are very few females practising dentistry and therefore the public is not used to the idea. Also I think the males in the profession could improve our status by regarding as equals and not as unusual characters trying to

invade a field in which they have a monopoly. Unfortunately the Australian women are not very career minded and unlike in some countries in Europe, the economic position also does not force the woman to seek careers – so I think it will be quite a long time before our numbers will grow appreciably.\textsuperscript{22}

Kalde's solution was to establish a practice in her home in 2 Cross Street, Guildford. Like Musgrave, she sought this option as a way of combining home and work, a practical arrangement in terms of post-war femininity and professionalism. Barbara Korb also discovered that the masculine organisational culture of dentistry and a societal culture in which the dominant femininity in the professional class was contained in unpaid work limited employment opportunities for women dentists. Korb compared the prejudice she encountered among patients, friends and male dentists:

\begin{quote}
Male Dentists (Australian): reaction, worst of the lot especially when applying for position as assistant. It consists of doubts as to ability, fear of patient reaction, indifference, and male ego – perhaps not liking to admit that a woman can do what is considered as a man's job just as well.\textsuperscript{23}
\end{quote}

Societal forces operated against white Anglo middle-class women's desire for tertiary education and married women's participation in the workforce. Illustrations of these societal attitudes towards the construction of femininity for Anglo middle-

\textsuperscript{22}Kalde, R. 5 June 1966, pp. 1–2, Correspondence. Doreen Musgrave Collection.

\textsuperscript{23}Korb, op. cit.
class women can be found in the letters of women dentists from this period. For example, in the mid-1960s, a graduate of the mid-fifties wrote:

women I meet at mothers' meetings etc. are contemptuous of women with degrees e.g. 'Mrs. X's child throws tantrums; what would you expect from a BA.'s child?' was a comment made to me last week, by a nurse who didn't know I had any qualifications. I find I make more friends, men and women, if I keep the B.D.S. a secret.\textsuperscript{24}

And another woman, who was dux of her class in the 1940s, wrote:

however I must make it clear that dentistry is now only a hobby – something that takes but a few hours a week...my main interests centre around my children and my home.\textsuperscript{25}

The attitudes expressed in the above examples clearly capture how for white Anglo middle-class women, femininity was no longer constructed around paid meanings of work and professionalism.

Doreen Musgrave reached out to other women dentists in the mid-1960s. In her organisation of a dinner in their honour, she sought information on women dentists from both systems of training, apprenticeship and university. Her research on early women graduates was later published. Fuelled by Musgrave's

\textsuperscript{24}Dunlop Burton, J. 14 June 1966, pp. 4–5, Correspondence.\textit{Doreen Musgrave Collection}.

\textsuperscript{25}Patison Cotton, M. 24 Mar. 1966, p. 3, Correspondence.\textit{Doreen Musgrave Collection}.
energy, an interest in women dentists developed, resulting in a story about them in the *Australian Women's Weekly*. The article acknowledged the continued presence of women in the dental profession, celebrated the pioneer women dentists and publicised the establishment of a scholarship for a schoolgirl in her last year of high school. It is interesting to note that in this article, constructs of professionalism and femininity coalesced in domestic terms when Musgrave wrote:

> It is a better profession for a woman than medicine...You can marry, set up a surgery in your own home, run it, and bring up children while you are practising.  

The influence of such an article can be debated. However, it is interesting to note that more women of Anglo background entered the Faculty of Dentistry in 1968 and 1969 than any year post-World War II. A change in the NSW school curriculum, with the high school years extending from five to six years, left 1967 as the bridging year between the two systems. The first students to sit the inaugural Higher School Certificate examinations entered university in 1968.

Changing and contesting meanings of femininities during the sixties and seventies can be noted in the titles of women’s sections of the student magazines of this period. Titles include the ‘Women's common room notes’,

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27 Ibid., p. 13.
'Compensating curves', 29 'The dental women: notes from the common room', 30
'Woman's world', 31 'But you're only a girl' 32 and 'Women...now and then'.

In Australia during the mid- to late 1960s and early 1970s, a number of other
factors were redefining women's roles in education and the workforce. Full
employment relieved men's fear of competition for jobs, and therefore women
were ideally situated to meet the demands of the job market. Increased
consumerism, an outcome of capitalist practice, raised the desire for material
goods and this in turn pressured the one-income family. An ideal climate
allowed the women's movement to be heard. Hearing the message of liberation
in terms of economic independence and sexual freedom which was aided by
the breakthrough in biological control offered by the contraceptive pill, the
previously uninterested media were responsive to the views of women
liberationists.

A small band of women led a long campaign for equal pay in the teaching
profession. Success was realised in 1963 (NSW). 34 Essentially, this affected
middle-class views on women's participation in the workforce, as teaching was
a favoured avenue for women. The effects were twofold; firstly, a stronger

32Cheryl IV. 1972, 'But you're only a girl', Articulator, p. 32.
33Musgrave, D. 1974, 'Women...now and then', Articulator, pp. 20–22.
34Spaull, p. 285.
visible presence, particularly of married women, gave girls role models of working-women. Secondly, women teachers brought women's issues into the schoolroom and the public arena.  

10.3 1970s

Societal change was in progress as traditionally established patterns of authority and behaviour were being questioned and challenged. New notions of behaviour, identity and values were visible in the recently arrived medium of television, 36 which was rapidly adopted by the public. The availability of the contraceptive pill gave women fertility control and heralded sexual liberation. Social restrictions dissolved: music and dance evolved into a less structured form and fashion responded with the mini for women and long hair for men. Politically, the election of a Federal Labor government after more than two decades of conservative government was significant. The Whitlam government of 1972 established childcare centres and awarded equal pay, which were issues women's groups had continuously lobbied for over decades. All these changes brought new agendas to the Australian individual, the community and the nation.


Economically and politically buoyant times favoured women's issues in the media and attention was given as women's groups were propelled into political action. The Women's Electoral Lobby, formed in 1972, agitated for legislative change, equal pay, childcare, safe contraception and the end to discrimination in employment and training. Class and political barriers between women dissolved over the issue of conscription and Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War. Women from the conservative middle classes joined left wing political groups in demonstrations against the government: actions that forced the government to
rethink its views. Authority was being questioned across all layers of society, creating a climate where change underpinned Australian thinking and behaviour for the decades ahead. Women's liberation took on many issues including sexuality and economic independence.

Espousing these views, new magazines burst onto the public arena. One such magazine, POL, in 1974 published an article 'The $30,000 women' which included Doreen Musgrave under her married name, Mrs Gordon Rouse. Drawing attention to the fact that that 'men outnumber women by eight to one' in this bracket, the article explored the reasons for the low numbers of women among higher income earners.

**Table 10.2**

*Presence of women in final years 1974–1981*  
*Faculty of Dentistry, the University of Sydney*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>9.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>15.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>17.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>25.27</td>
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<td>1978</td>
<td>20.83</td>
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<td>1979</td>
<td>25.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>23.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>25.00</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Interestingly five years later, 25.93% of the 1979 graduating class were women – nineteen of the twenty-eight being of Anglo background. From 1977, a definite pattern of higher numbers of women in the final years is evident (see

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Table 10.2). In the USA a similar trend occurred, with the presence of women in
the profession shifting from 2.1% in 1960 to 3.4% in 1970.\textsuperscript{39} Enrolment figures
in the USA during the mid-1970s also showed a major change (63%) between
the 1974–1976 period and the 1973–1974 one.\textsuperscript{40}

In this period the dental profession in Australia, like its counterparts in the USA
and the UK, experiencing the shortage of white male recruits, looked towards
women to fill the shortfall.\textsuperscript{41,42,43}

Once again the meaning of professionalisation was redefined to ensure its
survival. But the boundaries of professionalism shifted to incorporate meanings
of femininity that were then considered beneficial to the profession. During this
period of recruitment, the focus shifted to include the nurturing aspects
attached to societal notions of femininity:

that women are good with children, need flexible or limited working-hours,
are non-entrepreneurial...to support recommendations that women are
best suited for those areas of the profession most affected by increased

\textsuperscript{39}Women’s Action Program, Office of Special Concerns, Office of the Assistant Secretary for

\textsuperscript{40}ibid., p. 10.


\textsuperscript{42}Talbot, loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{43}Women’s Action Program, Office of Special Concerns, Office of the Assistant Secretary for
demands for services children's dentistry (pedodontics), public health
dentistry, and prepaid services.\textsuperscript{44}

This concept of women entering the dental profession in gendered terms shows
that their recruitment was professionally engineered to contain their practice of
dentistry within select feminised spheres of the profession. This is further
evidence of a masculine dominant culture asserting its form of professionalism.

Political change at this time gave women economic advantages that women's
groups had been trying to introduce for decades. When the marriage bar was
removed from the Public Service in 1966 a new era arrived for women in the
workforce. A new gendered composition in paid work was visible as women
entered the growth areas of manufacturing, banking, insurance, and teaching.
Union membership for women increased too, once they were no longer perceived
as temporary employees.\textsuperscript{45}

Migration during the 1960s was predominantly from Southern Europe. German
and Dutch immigrants also arrived in Australia in their greatest numbers during
the 1950s and 1960s, decreasing after 1974.\textsuperscript{46}

The family background of the women in the final year of 1973 mirrored the
diversity in the Australian community (see Table 10.3). For the first time since

\textsuperscript{44}Ibid., p. 10.

\textsuperscript{45}Thompson, E. 1994, \textit{Fair Enough: Egalitarianism in Australian society}, University of NSW

\textsuperscript{46}Hugo, op. cit., pp. 88-9.
World War II, there was a visible presence of women, particularly of Anglo background. During these years, there were more women with origins from Eastern Europe than women from Southern European and Asian regions. Asian women's education in dentistry was made possible through the Colombo Plan Scholarship. Another factor that echoed societal change from the 1940s to the 1970s, was the number of women who had dentists among family members: one mother was from Eastern Europe, and there were two sets of parents who had graduated from the University of Sydney in the late 1940s.47

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**Table 10.3**

Social backgrounds of women dental students in final year 1973
Faculty of Dentistry, the University of Sydney

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>No. of women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern European origin</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern European origin</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo-Celtic</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother a dentist</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both parents dentists</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 10.4**

Women in final years 1906–1997
Faculty of Dentistry, the University of Sydney

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1906–1910</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911–1920</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921–1930</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931–1940</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941–1950</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951–1960</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961–1970</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971–1980</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981–1990</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991–1997</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

In 1973 women's presence increased to 22% from a previous decade average of below 10% (Table 10.4). Eugenic beliefs regarding national hygiene that had been handed down over Anglo generations resurfaced as preventive dentistry gained new territory with water fluoridation. For women of this cultural background, dentistry appealed in philanthropic terms in much the same way that earlier generations of white middle-class Anglo women were attracted to nursing and teaching. A graduate from this period described her mother's influence:

having been a nurse and she always loved playing the nursing role when we were sick. She was wonderful at that, and because I did think I was going to do nursing first, it was a very positive thing in me picking that sort of caring career. I would have done nursing if I didn't get into dentistry.\textsuperscript{48}

In the early 1970s, immigration from Southern Europe was supplemented from Asia. The appearance of Asian immigrants was possible because of the removal of racial discrimination in migrant selection.\textsuperscript{49} Because having a tertiary education is perceived as one of the avenues of upward social and economic mobility, a number of migrants also embraced professionalism, but not in the gendered terms associated with Anglo cultures.

Professionalism of a masculine nature was being challenged by femininity in the late 1970s. Images from the \textit{Articulator} magazines over this period capture

\textsuperscript{48}Interview with Anna Enno, 6 May 1995. \textit{Women in Dentistry Project 1995–1999}.

\textsuperscript{49}Hugo, op. cit., p. 88.
clearly the assertion of masculinity over a professional identity, which was meeting an increasing presence of women.

Valedictory sections in these magazines portrayed photographs of students with biographical notes. The photographs of the final year male students in 1972\(^{50}\) were presented in well-defined simple, black outlines, while the photographs of women students were presented in highly decorative frames. In emphasising the difference, the resulting icons constructed a professional image of masculinity, rendering the women as decorative and hence more feminine, and less professional.

FIGURE 10.4
Two 1970 final year dental students\(^{51}\)

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Pringle has stated that 'masculinity is constructed in opposition to the feminine, as a denial of the feminine, but does not exist without it'. As that particular year there was an increase in women's representation (13.5% from a previous average below 10%), I suggest that the male students needed to reassert their masculine identity by constructing the women in the feminine.

FIGURE 10.5
Centrefold of the 1978 Articulator

A centrefold, a parody of the current women's magazines (e.g. Cleo) that appeared in The Articulator of 1978, featured sixteen final year white nude male

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53Ibid.
students holding the dental student logo, SUDUA. (Sydney University Dental Undergraduates' Association). 54

What is this photograph telling us? A simple image! Yet one that conveys the complexity of the way in which visible and invisible societal forces shape identities, roles, attitudes, choices and values. On one level, this photograph is just a group of young men having fun. There is no indication at either individual or group level of gender or racial conspiracy. A colleague, who appears in this photograph, stated that the women were invited to join in. However, were the women in a position of choice?

Absent were the body of twenty-three women in that graduating class, thereby rendering them invisible. Absent, too, were the five male Asian students of that year. The absence of Aboriginal people, too, is significant. Thus, on another level, this photograph is about values, attitudes, identity, roles, choices and absences. The absence of particular groups renders them invisible and reaffirms an image of professionalism in dentistry as one of white masculinity. This is an example of covert rather than overt discriminatory practice.

This response by the dominant masculine culture (when the minority group's visibility increased beyond 10% and was below 30%) is in accordance to the Kanter and Stein study. Their study described the dynamics of difference in an organisation. Bluitt used this study to illustrate the experience of women students in American dental schools between pre-1960 and 1990. Bluitt

concluded that gender difference dissolved once the minority group reached above 30% representation within a homogeneous organisation and that the most difficult period for women was when their presence was between 10–30%.\textsuperscript{55}

10.4 1980s

Economic factors in the 1980s that fuelled high levels of inflation and consumerism reformed the nation's views on the family breadwinner. The two-income family, once the domain of the working classes, emerged among the middle classes. A result of the fertility control of the 1960s,\textsuperscript{56} the "two children family"\textsuperscript{57} appeared as the norm, and family resources focused on education for their offspring.

All these factors contributed to an increase in the number of women in the final years of dentistry at the University of Sydney. The cultural backgrounds of these women were predominantly from Southern European and Asian origins. It has been shown that second generation southern European women have higher levels of tertiary participation than first.\textsuperscript{58}


\textsuperscript{56}Hugo, op. cit., p. 58.

\textsuperscript{57}Ibid., p. 50.

Activism by women's groups in a political climate of economic growth in the early 1980s met with favourable legislative outcomes such as the introduction of the *Equal Opportunity Act* in 1984.\(^59\) For middle-class women, meanings of femininity were redefined to include paid work. More women no longer identified themselves solely as wives and mothers. Social researcher Hugh Mackay considered 'the most significant socio-cultural changes of the last 50 years: the emergence of the working mother as a mainstream phenomenon'.\(^50\)

Student attitudes to the merging and changing meanings of femininity and professionalism were once again depicted in their magazine, the *Articulator*, during the 1980s. Gender in the workforce was undergoing change as the male breadwinner met women seeking financial independence. Not only did *The Articulator* sometimes not eventuate, but also the segments on women students slowly disappeared. Titles for the women's segments from this time include 'The female dentists: guide to men',\(^61\) 'Women in dentistry: a personal perspective'\(^62\) and 'Women's report'\(^63\) which in 1987 was the last to appear after sporadic entries from the late 1970s. Dissolution of the gender difference as

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\(^{50}\)Mackay, H. 1993, *Reinventing Australia: The mind and mood of Australia in the 90s*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, p. 29.


\(^{63}\)Downing, D. 1987, 'Women's report', *Articulator*, p. 3.
women's presence increased beyond 30% is in keeping with the Kanter and Stein description of organisational dynamics as reported by Bluitt.64

Workforce participation rates for women in dentistry showed a dramatic change among 20-24-year-olds from 29% in the 1980s to 43% in the 1990s.65 Birrell et al have argued that since secondary schools now prepare young women for tertiary education, there is more equal opportunity for women's entry into all professions, except in computing science and engineering.66 Enrolments increased in the areas of economics, dentistry medicine, law and engineering during the 1980s, but not to the same degree at the postgraduate level.67

However, women still earn less than men do once they enter the part-time work sphere, because of the demands of femininity constructs based on family commitments. While entry into the professions dramatically increased for women from 1981 to 1991, unemployment for many women in the professions has reached equity in gender terms according to Birrell, who stated that 'only in dentistry, health, computing science and engineering do young women experience higher unemployment levels than men'.68

64Bluitt, loc. cit.
66ibid., p. 50.
10.5 1990s

In the late 1980s and 1990s the women in dentistry reflect the multicultural diversity of Australia's population. Migration patterns are evident in multifactorial levels: increased numbers of women from second generation southern European stock combined with first generation Indo-Chinese reflect Australia's immigration shift. This strong presence from Indo-China arose from the mid-1970s refugee immigration. These trends have continued in the 1980s and the 1990s. An outcome of the political changes in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s was the flow of refugee immigration from the war victims of the former Yugoslavia.\textsuperscript{69}

Social backgrounds of the final year women students of 1994 illustrate Australia's multiculturalism and migration patterns. Vietnamese origins predominate among the women students, followed by those from Hong Kong. There was one woman from Poland, Russia, and Korea respectively.\textsuperscript{70}

At the University of Sydney, women in final years of dentistry during the mid- to late 1990s range from 36\%-50\% of total students.

The 1998 Australian Bureau of Statistics survey on dental services revealed that in NSW, of the 2,668 dental practitioners, 548 were women. Overall, in Australian the proportion of women dentists rose from 16\% in 1993 to 21\% in 1998.\textsuperscript{71}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[70]ibid.
\end{footnotes}
Patterns of practice indicate that more women than men dentists are found in the public sector.\(^{72}\)

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Changes to the *Dentists Act*, no. 139, in 1989 gave dentists the right to ‘incorporate with another member of their profession or with a non-dentist family member’ and gave the NSW Dental Board new regulatory powers over advertising in dentistry.\textsuperscript{73} Advertising, which had been abolished in the 1927 Dental Act, re-emerged as the dental profession shifted to engage in a commercial style of practice management.\textsuperscript{74} Examples of past and contemporary advertising, often mirroring each other, capture this cultural perspective to dental practice at the turn of both centuries.\textsuperscript{75}

10.6 Conclusion

Change in Australia from 1906 to 1998 has resulted in a pluralistic society with diversity of attitudes and values. With the impact of immigration, multiculturalism has emerged in visible terms in the post-war period. Gender in the workplace has shifted from a dominant masculine presence to one where women’s presence is evident. However, indigenous people have not had the access or opportunity to enter the professions. Even their right to vote was denied until 1967.\textsuperscript{76} No acknowledged Aboriginal women or men have graduated in dentistry from the University of Sydney within this period 1906–1998.

\textsuperscript{73}Franki, op. cit., p. 263.


Meanings of femininity and professionalism over the twentieth century are linked to cultural values, which are defined in complex ways in a multicultural society. Access to professionalism has not been available to minority groups such as the Australian indigenous people, for a number of economic, political and societal factors. For many migrant groups, femininity and professionalism are constructed in meanings that reflect not only the migratory experience but also the individual ethnic cultures. Immigrants from countries where women have had a strong presence in professions, especially the health professions of medicine and dentistry, transport these cultural values to Australia.

FIGURE 10.7
Unrequited love no. 5
Courtesy Judy Horacek
The Anglo cultural experience, however, has influenced women in cultural, political and societal ways to contain the breadwinner in male terms for the major part of the twentieth century. Therefore professionalism has been contained in masculine constructs. For women who are caught in this societal construct of gender, femininity is constructed in terms of the body (Figure 10.7) rather than intellectual abilities.

Conservative views of an Anglo origin are resurfacing during an economic and political climate that is shifting its constructs of femininity along conservative family lines. Argued in this way, part-time work fulfils these ideals of moral values but disadvantages women economically as their career paths are limited. With the voices of women's groups again being publicly silenced, the government's withdrawal of financial support for childcare and the introduction of a home allowance, the economic and political power brokers are again attempting to reshape women's perceptions of identity. Birth and marriage rates at their lowest levels in history and rising divorce rates are reinforcing the need for women's financial independence at a time when life spans have elongated. Although women's earnings have increased over the past thirty years, they still fail short of male earnings. According to the 1998 survey by the Graduate Careers Council of Australia, women dental graduates have the highest average starting salary among women professionals. With high costs of housing in capital cities such

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as Sydney, and middle-class parental expectations for costly higher educational levels for their offspring (an outcome of lower birth rate) there will be only challenging tensions affecting women's participation in the workforce. Tertiary education attracts little government funding, and with a self-funding ethos in place the cost of a university education will be available to those with sufficient funds. The construction of femininity will be caught and defined by many contradictory meanings, giving rise to the questioning and redefinition of class and cultural beliefs. For women with children or dependants, there are a number of factors that are problematic to their participation in the workforce:

- Availability and cost of aged and child care
- Lack of male responsibility for housework and childcare
- Part-time work not being a validated career path
- Complexity of women's roles in comparison to men
- Mixed societal messages and attitudes shaping the construction of femininity

These factors have been present for all generations of women throughout the twentieth century in Australia. Political and economic change has at different intervals facilitated women's participation in tertiary education and in the workforce. These changes are reflected in the changing presence of women in dentistry from 1906 to 1998.

It is significant in societal and cultural terms that the faces launching the University of Sydney 1998 annual appeal were those of BDS graduate, Kim
Yoshinaga and her mother, Pam Yoshinaga. Kim, who is the daughter of an Anglo-Australian mother and a Japanese-Australian father, was raised in the NSW regional city of Newcastle.
A.1. Jessie Street diary entries

**Australian National Library**
Lady Jessie MG, Series 1.
MS2683/1/2255, 1931 diary:
18 Feb. 10.00am dentist; 22 Feb. 10.00am dentist;
25 Feb. 10.00am dentist; 27 Feb. 10.00am dentist; 2 Mar. 10.00am dentist.

MS2683/1/2256, 1932 diary entries:
5 Feb. 3.15pm dentist; 11 Feb. 3.45pm Roger to dentist;
22 Feb. Ring dentist; 29 Feb. 2.00pm Praed; 4 Apr. 4.00pm Praed;
5 Apr. 10.00am Praed; 6 Apr. 10.00am Praed; 5 Apr. 10.00am Praed;
27 June 10.00am Praed; 22 Aug. 10.00am Praed; 24 Aug. 10.00am Praed;
25 Aug. 10.00am Praed.

MS2683/1/2315 2660, 1933 diary entries:
3 Mar. 11.00am Praed; 7 Mar. 11.00am Praed; 10 Mar. 11.00am Praed;
13 Mar. 11.00am Praed; 14 Mar. 2.30pm D'Arcy; 16 Mar. 3.30pm Praed;
22 Mar. 11.00am Praed; 13 Apr. 2.00pm Roger-dentist;
24 July 3.00pm Praed with Lawrence; 31 Aug. Roger-dentist;
21 Sep. 4.00pm Praed; 23 Sep. 10.00am Praed with Lawrence;
25 Sep. 12.30pm Phillipa to D'Arcy; 26 Sep. 3.45pm Praed;
3 Oct. 11.00am Praed; 12 Nov. 12 noon Praed with Lawrence.

MS2683/1/2258, 1934 diary entries:
26 Mar. 4.30pm dentist; 13 Apr. Phillipa & Roger to dentist;
12 June Lawrence to dentist.

MS 2683/1/2259, 1935 diary entries:
10 Feb. 3.30pm Lawrence to Praed; 10 Feb. 4.00p, Self. Praed-bridge;
23 Oct. 10.00am Praed; 25 Oct. 10.00am Praed.

MS2683/1/2260, 1936 diary entries:
Address Section: Praed Y5947.
2 Mar. 10.00am Belinda to Praed; 3 Mar. 10.00am Praed;
7 Mar. 10.00am Ring Praed; 20 Oct. 10.00am Praed;
23 Oct. 10.00am Praed; 24 Oct. Ring Praed; 6 Nov. 10.00am Praed;
10 Nov. 10.00am Praed; 16 Nov. 10.00am Praed; 18 Nov. 10.00am Praed;
20 Nov. 10.00am Praed; 24 Nov. 2.00pm Praed; 21 Dec. 10.00am Praed.

MS 2683/1/2261, 1937 diary:
18 June 2.00pm Praed; 17 July 1.00pm Praed; 21 July 1.30pm Praed;
6 Dec. Ring Praed; 16 Dec. 10.00am Praed.

MS 2683/1/2271, 1947
21 July Praed; 1 Sep. Praed.
No Praed in address section.
A.2  Lists of pupils known to have attended Lotaville School, Randwick

A.2.1 Pupils awarded prizes 1898
Bearup, Maud                     Loebel, Rita
Capper, Frank                    Monahan, Dorothy
Capper, Poppy                     Nicholle, Clarrie
Crossland, Rosalie               Parrot, Amy
Crouch, Amy                       Scott, Agnes
Crouch, Cecil                     Searle, Lottie
Dawson, Evelyn                    See, Lilly
Horsely, Jean                     Southward, Essie
Hughes, Ada                        Walsh, Lallie
Hughes, Dorothy                   Webb
Hughes, Eric                       Webb
Humphries, Edith                   Wethererill, Lillie
Leary, Yetta                       Yates, Annie

A.2.2 List of pupils awarded prizes in 1899
Bearupp, Miss
Fearon-Sherlock, Grace
Hughes, Ada
Parrott, Amy
Scott, Agnes
See, Lilly-daughter of Hon. John See, MLA
Villemain, Germaine

A.2.3 Pupils of Lotaville awarded prizes in 1900
Aldritt, Gladys                   Parrott, Amy
Bearup, Maud                      Parrott, Ivy
Bryan, Violet                     Roberts, Clare
Capper, Isabel                    Scott, Agnes
Crouch, Amy                       Searle, Lottie
Grave, Daisy                      See, Lillie
Gurney, Ethel                     Walsh, Ivy
Hughes, Dorothy                   Walsh, Leslie
Monaghan, Dorothy

3*Speech days: Riviere College*, *Sydney Morning Herald* 20 Dec. 1900, p. 3.
A.2.4 *Names of girls in Charlotte Elizabeth Hughes’ birthday book 1888*
It is possible that these girls were pupils of Lotaville.

Bleasdale, Lola
Bloomer, Beattie
Cameron, Kate
Crossland, Lizzie
Freeman, Jeannie
Harris, Amy
Harris, Anna
Harris, Ethel
Harris, Florence
Leipner, Linda Olive
Lowe, Ada H.
Major, Bertha
Neville, Beatrice

Newman, Florence
Sands, Eleanor
Sands, Elvira
Sands, Marcie
Saxby, Effie
Scott, Olga A. T.
Sharpe, Lille
Telfer, Annie (lived at 38 St. Marks Rd. Randwick)
Twaites, Ada E.
Walford, Jessie
Waldron, L. Kathleen
Woodfield, Bertha
A.3 Lists of pupils known to have attended Riviere College, Woollahra

Table A.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DeLissa, Ethel Naida</td>
<td>Jan. 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos, Mary</td>
<td>Sep. 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'Arcy, Constance</td>
<td>June 1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooks, Mabel</td>
<td>Sep. 1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarrett, Marjorie Kate</td>
<td>Nov. 1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fullerton, Lottie</td>
<td>June 1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fell, Catherine</td>
<td>Nov. 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodder, Nelly</td>
<td>July 1878</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. 3.1 List of pupils who received prizes in 1898

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Prize Recipient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ayres, Mary</td>
<td>Jones, Muriel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barkas, Zilla</td>
<td>Ladd, Zoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brodziak, Birdie</td>
<td>Lord, May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brodziak, Gladys</td>
<td>McGhee, Carrie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brodziak, Viola</td>
<td>McGhee, Maisie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broughton, Ruby</td>
<td>McLedd, Amy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunn, Jeanie</td>
<td>Phibbs, Florrie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caro, Irene</td>
<td>Phibbs, Lilly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter, Hilda</td>
<td>Pratt, Hilda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cole, Muriel</td>
<td>Pratt, Myrtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cormack, Evelyn</td>
<td>Quaife, Hesper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumming, Hazel</td>
<td>Quaife, Viola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'Arcy, Connie</td>
<td>Reid, Violet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis, Ada</td>
<td>Somerville, Ethel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis, Marjorie</td>
<td>Somerville, Gracie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Lissa, Lillian</td>
<td>Somerville, Ruby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donovan, Cora</td>
<td>Suttor, Retta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fancourt, Florrie</td>
<td>Suttor, Stella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grave, Daisy</td>
<td>Thompson, Connie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadfield, Connie</td>
<td>Trewennack, Ella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermann, Ida</td>
<td>Trewennack, Kathleen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermann, Zara</td>
<td>Waine, Dora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hogg, Amy</td>
<td>Walker, Janet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, Kathleen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A. 3.2  List of Riviere College pupils awarded prizes 1899

Ayres, Mary  Moses, Essie
Barnett, Brenda  Moses, Hadiee
Begg, Gladys  Neil, Georgie
Booth, Clara Neillson, Maggie
Brodzick, Birdie  Phibbs, Florrie
Brodzink, Ivy  Phibbs, Lily
Broughton, Ruby  Quaife, Hesper
Davis, Ada  Quaife, Viola
Chalon, Dora  Rabbits, Ethel
Chalon, Isobel  Reid, Violet – matriculation pass
Cowlishaw, Winnie  Riley, Ruby
Cumming, Hazel  Riley, Freda
D'Arcy, Constance*  Somerville, Ethel
Davis, Marjorie  Somerville, Grace
De Costa, Violet  Somerville, Ruby
De Lissa, Lillian  Suttor, Clare
Duret, Winnie  Suttor, Reta
Fullerton, Lottie*  Thompson, Connie
Herrmann, Ida  Trewenack, Ella
Herrmann, Zara  Trewenack, Kathleen
Jay, Alma  Vickery, Ethel
Jewell, Poppie  Vickery, Lillian
Jones, Kathleen  Walker, Janet
Keele, Lily  Ware, Hilda
McLeod, Amy  Waine, Dora
Mitchell, Minnie

*Entrance to law, medicine, & sciences

A. 3.3  Names of girls in Madge Barnes Album c.1901

Madge Barnes' Album contains a number of names of Riviere College students and often accompanied by small photographs and sometimes poems.

Begg, Glays M.  Maillery, Wilfred
Budden, Ada  Mair, Addie
Caro, Irene  Mitchell, Pearl
Davis, Ada S. C.  Phibbs, Florence
Haussmann, Julie  Proctor, Elma
Herrmann, Ida, M.  Rivett, Elsie
Jones, Kathleen  Suttor, Clare
Keele, Lily  Suttor, Reta
Mailer, Agnes  Somerville, Ethel

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A. 3.4  

*List of Riviere College pupils awarded prizes 1890*²

| Ayres, Mary | McCleod, Amy |
| Barnes, M. | McCleod, Belle |
| Barkas, Marjorie | McCleod, Rita |
| Barnett, B. | Mailler, Agnes |
| Begg, Gladys | Marr, Addie |
| Bennett, Vera | Miller, Agnes |
| Bennett, P. | Mitchell, Pearl |
| Brodziak, B. | Moses, E. |
| Brodziak, Gladys | Moses, H. |
| Brodziak, Ivy | Paling, E. |
| Brodziak, V. | Phibbs, Florrie |
| Broughton, Ruby | Poppis, E. |
| Caro, Renie | Proctor, Elma |
| Chalon, I. | Proctor, J. |
| Chalon, V.D. | Quaife, V.H. |
| Cowlishaw, W. | Rabbitts, E. |
| Cramp, Eva | Rivett, Elsie |
| Cramp, S. | Somerville, Ethel |
| Cramp, V.E. | Somerville, G. |
| Davis, Ada | Sutton, Reta |
| Davis, M. | Tilley, Eileen |
| Davis, Q. | Tilley, Ina |
| de Costa, V. | Tilley, May |
| de Lissa, L. | Tilley, O. |
| Duet, Winnie | Trewenack, K. |
| Hall, P. | Vickery, Ethel |
| Haussmann, Julie | Vickery, Irene |
| Hermann, Ida | Vickery, L. |
| Hynard, V.V. | Walker, J. |
| Jay, Alma | Waine, D. |
| Jewell, P. | Wakey, D. |
| Keele, Lily | Ware, H. |
| Lewis, Clare | Whitehead, V.R. |

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²'Speech days: Riviere College', *Sydney Morning Herald* 20 Dec. 1890, p. 3.
### Table A.2

**Women members of ADA (NSW Branch) Register of members 1927–1953**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
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<td>75 New South Head Rd., Vaucluse.</td>
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<td>175 Macquarie St. to &quot;Sunnyside&quot;, 13 Kirkoswald St. Mosman.</td>
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<td>Burns, S. M. Mrs</td>
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<td>Church, Beatrice Ellen</td>
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<td>Cox, Margaret Jean</td>
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<td>45 New South Head Rd, Vaucluse, to 75 New South Head Rd, Vaucluse, to 7 Greenfield Av., Middle Cove.</td>
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<td>Crawford, Mrs</td>
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<td>Groundwater, Joan Airlie</td>
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<td>Huenerbein, Cecilia</td>
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<td>Harris, Olive Ednor</td>
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<td>Kurt, I. M.</td>
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<td>250 Hunter St. Newcastle to 59 Tudor St. Newcastle.</td>
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<td>Longworth, I.</td>
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<td>Neu, Hilma</td>
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1878–1879

Barnes, Stafford
Henry

Twemlow, William

Electoral Rolls 1878–1879, Mudgee, Police district of Mudgee, p. 1183, no. 139, leasehold, Market St.

Electoral Rolls 1878–1879, East Sydney, p. 2005, no.12558, freehold 599 Crown St., residence George St., no. 12561, 7 Hunter St., shop, residence Middle Harbour freehold.

Electoral Rolls 1878–1879, West Sydney, p.2181, no. 9698, freehold 58 Pine St., residence Middle Harbour freehold.

Sands’ Sydney & suburban directory for 1879, p. 266, dentist, 9 Hunter St.

1881–1882

Barnes, Stafford
Henry

Twemlow, William

Electoral Rolls 1881–1882, Mudgee, Police district of Mudgee, p. 1304, no. 100, leasehold, Market St.

Electoral Rolls 1881–1882, East Sydney, p. 2175, no. 7644, 252 George St. shop, residence Middle Harbour.

Electoral Rolls 1881–1882, South Sydney, p. 2306, no. 7366, 527 Crown St., residence, George St., no. 7367, 36 Pine St., residence Middle Harbour.

Electoral Rolls 1881–1882, West Sydney, p. 2458, no. 8730, Fowler St. freehold, residence Middle Harbour.

Sands’ Sydney & suburban directory for 1882, p. 537, 252 George St.

1882–1883

Barnes, Stafford
Henry

Twemlow, William

Electoral Rolls 1882–1883, Mudgee, Police district of Mudgee, p. 1470, no. 103, household, Lewis St.

p. 1338, no. 101, household, Dennison St.

Electoral Rolls 1882–1883, East Sydney, p. 2235, no. 7423, 252 George St., shop, residence Middle Harbour freehold.

Electoral Rolls 1882–1883, South Sydney, p. 2363, no. 7231, 36 Pine St., residence Middle Harbour.

Electoral Rolls 1882–1883, West Sydney, p. 2513, no. 8590, Fowler St. freehold, residence Middle Harbour.

Sands’ Sydney & suburban directory for 1883, p. 512, Fig Tree Point North Willoughby.

1883–1884

Barnes, Stafford
Henry

Praed, John

Twemlow, William

Electoral Rolls, 1883–1884, p. 320, no. 3106, residence Cobar.

Electoral Rolls 1883–1884, South Sydney, p. 2694, no. 7853, Pine St., residence, Middle Harbour.

Electoral Rolls 1883–1884, West Sydney, p. 2756, no. 9263, Fowler St. freehold, residence Middle Harbour.
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<td>Electoral Rolls 1886–1886, South Sydney, p. 2813, no. 8000, 36 Pine St., residence Middle Harbour.</td>
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<td>West Sydney, p. 2979, no. 9616, Fowler St., freehold, residence Middle Harbour.</td>
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<td>Sands’ Sydney &amp; suburban directory for 1886, p. 876, dentist, Head of Long Bay, North Willoughby.</td>
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<td>1887–1888</td>
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<td>Electoral Rolls 1885–1886, St. Leonard’s, p. 2779, no. 4835, freehold Middle Harbour.</td>
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<td>South Sydney, p. 3106, no. 8848, 36 Pine St., residence Middle Harbour.</td>
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<td>Wise’s PO directory 1886–1887, p. 950, Middle Harbour.</td>
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<td>Electoral Rolls 1885–1886, South Sydney, p. 3286, no. 8937, 36 Pine St., residence, Middle Harbour.</td>
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<td>Electoral Rolls 1885–1886, West Sydney, p. 3475, no. 10568, Fowler St., freehold, residence Sydney.</td>
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<td>Wise’s PO directory 1887–1890, p. 862, Sailor’s Bay Rd. Willoughby.</td>
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<td>Electoral Rolls 1888–1889, South Sydney, p. 3437, no. 8787, 36 Pine St., residence, Middle Harbour. West Sydney, p. 3621, no. 10526, Fowler St. freehold, residence Middle Harbour.</td>
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<td>Electoral Rolls 1891–1892, South Sydney, p. 3775, no. 9069, 36 Pine St., residence Middle Harbour. West Sydney, p. 3950, no. 9981, Fowler St., freehold, residence, Middle Harbour.</td>
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<td>Electoral Rolls 1895–1896, Marrickville, p. 488, no. 120, Harriet St., chemist.</td>
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<td>Sands’ Sydney &amp; suburban directory for 1896, p. 529, Calvert St., Marrickville.</td>
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<td>Sands’ Sydney &amp; suburban directory for 1898, p. 912, 1/82 King St.</td>
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<td>Hughes,</td>
<td>Sydney Government Telephone Exchange, list of subscribers, p. 156, Lotaville, Randwick.</td>
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<td>Wise’s PO Directory 1902, p. 1009, 82 King St.</td>
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<td>p. 1364, Sailor’s Bay Rd., Willoughby.</td>
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<td>Sands’ Sydney &amp; Suburban Directory 1903, p. 1054, 1/82 King St.</td>
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<td>Wise’s PO Directory 1903, p. 990, 82 King St.</td>
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<td>Sands’ Sydney &amp; Suburban Directory 1903, p. 1155, 1/82 King St.</td>
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<td>p. 1155, Sailor’s Bay Rd., Willoughby.</td>
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<td>Sands' Sydney &amp; Suburban Directory 1904, p.1054, 316 George Street; p.r. The Hermitage, Middle Harbour.</td>
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<td>Wise's PO Directory 1904, p.1633, 316 George St.</td>
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<td>Electoral Roll 1908, Division of North Sydney; Polling place Neutral Bay, p.8, no.369, Harriet St., Neutral Bay.</td>
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<td>Barnes, Maria Teresa</td>
<td>Electoral Roll 1908, Division of North Sydney; Polling place Neutral Bay, p.8, no.371, Harriet St., Neutral Bay.</td>
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<td>Electoral Roll 1908, Division of North Sydney; Polling place Neutral Bay, p.8, no.372, Harriet St., Neutral Bay.</td>
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<td>Sands' Sydney &amp; Suburban Directory 1905, p.1086, 135 Macquarie St. p.r. The Hermitage, Middle Harbour.</td>
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<td>Sydney Government Telephone Exchange, list of subscribers, p.342, 135 Macquarie St., tel. 2671.</td>
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<td>Wise’s PO Directory 1905, p.1144, Fig Tree Point, Willoughby.</td>
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<td>Wise’s PO Directory 1906, p.1053, 135 Macquarie Street.</td>
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<td>Wise’s PO Directory 1906, p.1147, Fig Tree Point, Willoughby.</td>
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<td>Wise’s PO Directory 1906, p.1386, 135 Macquarie St.</td>
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<td>Sydney Government Telephone Exchange, list of subscribers, 1907, p.58, 193 Macquarie St., tel. Central 4321.</td>
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<td>Wise’s PO Directory 1907, p.1130, 135 Macquarie St.</td>
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<td>Wise’s PO Directory 1907, p.730, Harriette St., Neutral Bay.</td>
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<td>Wise’s PO Directory 1907, p.1237, Fig Tree Point, Willoughby.</td>
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1908
Hinder, Septimus
Barnes, Madge
Praed, Annie
Meares, Mrs MA
Twemlow, William
Barnes, Madge
1909
Barnes, Maria Teresa
Barnes, Matilde
Praed, Annie
Twemlow, Annie
Twemlow, William
Meares, Miss M. MA
Twemlow, Mary
Sands' Sydney & Suburban Directory 1908, p. 96, 135 Macquarie St.
Sydney Government Telephone Exchange, list of subscribers, 1908, p. 59, 193 Macquarie St., tel. Central 4321.
Sydney Government Telephone Exchange, list of subscribers, p. 271, 135 Macquarie St., tel. 2671.
Wise's PO Directory 1908, p. 1120, 135 Macquarie St.
Sydney Government Telephone Exchange, list of subscribers, Oct. 1908, Riviere College, Nelson St. Woollahra, tel.: Waverley 82.
Wise's PO Directory 1908, p. 1211, Fig Tree Point, Willoughby.
Sydney Government Telephone Exchange, list of subscribers, Feb. 1909, p. 61, 193 Macquarie St., tel. Central 4321
Wise's PO directory 1909, p. 740, 193 Macquarie St.
Electoral Roll 1909, Division of North Sydney, Polling place Neutral Bay, p. 8, no. 412, Harriet St. Neutral Bay.
Electoral Roll 1909, Division of North Sydney; Polling place Neutral Bay, p. 8, no. 413, Harriet St. Neutral Bay.
Electoral Roll 1909, Division of North Sydney, Subdivision of Mosman, p. 115, no. 46852. Redan St., Mosman.
Sands' Sydney & Suburban Directory 1909, p. 1185, 135 Macquarie St.
Wise's PO Directory 1909, p. 1107, 135 Macquarie St.
Electoral Roll 1909, Division of North Sydney, Subdivision of Mosman, p. 141, no. 8402, Redan St. Mosman.
Wise's PO directory 1909, p. 1205, Fig Tree Point, Willoughby.
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<td>Sydney Government Telephone Exchange, list of subscribers Apr. 1912, p. 74, 193 Macquarie St., tel. City 2049.</td>
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<td>Barnes, Madge</td>
<td>Electoral Rolls 1913, Division of North Sydney; Subdivision of Mosman, p. 11, no. 600, Harriet Street, Neutral Bay. Sydney Government Telephone Exchange, list of subscribers, May 1913, p. 85, tel. City 2049.</td>
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<td>Electoral Rolls 1913, Division of North Sydney; Polling place Neutral Bay, p. 11, no. 599, Harriet St., Neutral Bay.</td>
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<td>Electoral Rolls 1913, Division of North Sydney; Subdivision of Mosman, p. 142, no. 8492, 31 Prince Albert St., Mosman; no. 8470 Clarice Kate, home duties; no. 8472, David Mark, clerk, no. 8474 Earnest Myers, barrister; no. 8475 Estelle, home duties. Sydney Government Telephone Exchange, list of subscribers Dec. 1913, p. 347, Queen St., Woollahra, tel. Paddington 160.</td>
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1914

Barnes, Madge
Sydney Government Telephone Exchange, list of subscribers, Apr. 1914, p. 93, 193 Macquarie St., tel. City 2049.
Challis House, tel. City 1528.

Meares-Mitchell, Mrs MA
Sydney Government Telephone Exchange, list of subscribers, Apr. 1914, p. 378, Queen St., Woollahra, tel. Paddington 160.
Praed, Annie

1915

Barnes, Pearl Ella

Barnes, Madge

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The Doreen Musgrave Collection refers to a collection of copies of personal letters, writing and other effects of pioneer women dentists and/or their families that was collected by Doreen Musgrave in the 1960s. Unless stated otherwise, this material is in the possession of the author, who is indebted to the generosity of Doreen Musgrave and Professor Sidney Levine. This collection will be lodged with the University of Sydney Archives.

The Virginia Hind Collection refers to personal letters, writing and other effects of the Barnes/Tindale family. Virginia Hind is Margaret Estelle Barnes’ great-niece.

The Sally Burton-Bradley Collection and Robert Irvine Collection refer to personal letters, writing and other effects of the Henry Burton-Bradley family.

The Peter Tindale Collection refers to photographs, writing and other effects of the Barnes and Tindale families.
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