'Beyond the Wall'

Ballarat Female Refuge

A Case Study in Moral Authority

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A Case Study in Moral Authority

Submitted by
Dorothy Glennys Wickham
T.P.T.C. Ballarat

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Statement of Authorship

This thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma.

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This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

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Signed ……………………………………

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' Beyond the Wall '

Front Entrance, Ballarat Female Refuge
Scott Parade, 2000
Photograph: Trina Jones

Summary

This thesis examines the Ballarat Female Refuge, the first such institution on the Australian goldfields, as a case study of the interrelationship between charity and power. Established in 1867 by a group of twenty-six Protestant women with the intention of reforming prostitutes, the Refuge became a shelter for single mothers. An analysis of its history over the period 1867 to 1921 highlights attitudes towards female sexuality, and demonstrates how moral authority was exercised through this highly-gendered institution.

The thesis locates the Ballarat Female Refuge within both an international history of female refuges and the network of voluntary charities which developed in nineteenth-century Ballarat. It argues that such charities were influential in the consolidation of class barriers in the goldfields city. While they were founded as a result of both evangelical religious fervour and humanitarian concern, they sought to impose middleclass moral values on their inmates, simultaneously conferring status and prestige on their committee members

The thesis analyses the Protestant Ballarat Female Refuge through an examination of its committee, staff and residents in order to identify aspects of both power and mutuality in the charity relationship. It also looks at the symbolic systems operating at the Refuge, in particular the meanings of the wall and the laundry in the processes of exclusion and reformation.

Drawing on narrative, biographical, statistical and genealogical sources, it details the ways in which moral authority was exercised through the Ballarat Female Refuge.

Acknowledgements

There are so many people who have had an impact on this study that I cannot thank them all personally. The researchers and staff at the Public Record Office Victoria, the staff at the many repositories, the casual phone calls from those searching for relatives who were women at the Refuge, and my friend Debbie, whose experiences of the Alexandra Babies' Home, have provided impetus for this work.

My long-suffering family, Wayne, Jacqui and Andrew, and dear friends, Florence Chuk, Clare Gervasoni, and Ann Gervasoni have had to share their lives with 'my girls at the Refuge'. I could not have made this journey without their constant support and encouragement.

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Lastly but not least, Shurlee Swain, my supervisor, who has given so much in time and effort, I thank sincerely for teaching me a broader historical understanding, for being patient and allowing me the space to test my ideas. It has been an emotional and rewarding experience and I am grateful to Shurlee who has journeyed with me, 'Beyond the Wall' and opened unimagined vistas.

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Abbreviations

Records

BTCM	Ballarat Town and City Mission
GG	Government Gazette
VPP	Victorian Parliamentary Papers
VPRS	Victorian Public Record Series
VA	Victorian Agency

Institutions

AIGS	Australian Institute of Genealogical Studies
BAC	Ballarat Archives Centre
CHLS	Central Highlands Library Services
GM	Gold Museum, Ballarat
GSV	Genealogical Society of Victoria
MAC	Melbourne Archives Centre
ML	State Library New South Wales; Mitchell Library; Dixson Library
MUA	Melbourne University Archives
NLA	National Library Canberra
PROV	Public Record Office Victoria
RHSV	Royal Historical Society of Victoria
SLV	State Library Victoria
UBAHC	University of Ballarat Art and Historical Collection

Place Names

Ballarat

The locations were officially gazetted with spelling as 'Ballaarat' and 'Ballaarat East', however, the most common usage is now 'Ballarat'. There are some organisations such as 'The Ballaarat General Cemeteries', which still carry the nomenclature 'Ballaarat'. For the purpose of this thesis 'Ballarat' generally has been used to refer to the location about which I am writing, except where, historically, the usage 'Ballaarat' occurred.

Female Refuge

Although the institution was commonly known as The Refuge its official name has changed over time:

Ballarat Female Refuge   1867 – 1900s

Ballarat Female Home   1900s - 1921

Ballarat Town and City Mission Rescue Home   1921 +

Scott's Parade

The street in which the second Ballarat Female Refuge was built was firstly called Dyte's Parade, then Scott's Parade, and is known as Scott Parade.

Preamble

The Hopetoun day was hot and languid. Ten year old Thomas Ellis watched his toy boat float merrily in the waters of the local reservoir. His parents, the Wesleyan missioners, William and Sarah and his siblings, Eleanor and Fanny Pearl, were enjoying the lazy picnic. Suddenly, there was a cry as the small boy saw his boat being taken away in the current. His father ran to rescue the craft, but fell into the cold waters clutching his chest. His heart had 'burst' according to oral family history. Sarah was left with three small children to raise.

Family Group: Sarah Jane Ellis, William Ellis and children
From left: Thomas, Fanny Pearl and Eleanor circa 1894
Source: Private Collection

The year was 1897 and she had already lost a young husband and a baby, the twin to Eleanor. In 1906 Sarah Jane Ellis became matron of the Ballarat Female Refuge and remained in that position until 1920, when she managed Warrawee, a private hospital.

Sarah Jane was my maternal great grandmother and it was this family involvement that stirred an interest in the Ballarat Female Refuge. My childhood abounded with stories of the Refuge and my great grandmother walking the streets of Ballarat to attend to 'poor' girls' confinements before she took over the position of matron at the Refuge. Many of my cousins and aunts were born 'at the Refuge'. My relatives were also 'inmates' and workers of the Refuge, whilst one of the babies born at the Refuge, although not directly related to our family, was brought up as a brother to my mother.

This evidence I was privileged to was all anecdotal, family legend, and unsubstantiated. It was not until I began this project that I began to research 'The Refuge' seriously and methodically, and to wonder at the reasons for its existence.

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PHILANTHROPY
&
POWER

Mechanisms of power in general have never been much studied by history. History has studied those who held power – anecdotal histories of kings and generals; contrasted with this there has been the history of economic processes and infrastructures … we have had histories of institutions, of what has been viewed at a superstructural level in relation to the economy. But power in its strategies, at once general and detailed, and its mechanisms, has never been studied. What has been studied even less is the relation between power and knowledge, the articulation of each to the other.[1]

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[1] Michel Foucault: *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, Edited by Colin Gordon, New York, Pantheon, 1980, p. 50

CHAPTER ONE

Your researches bear on things that are banal, or which have
been made banal because they aren't seen. [It is] striking that
prisons are in cities, and yet *no one sees them* … In a sense that
is how history has always been studied. The making visible of
what was previously unseen can sometimes be the effect of using
a magnifying instrument … But, to make visible the unseen can
also mean a change of level, addressing oneself to a layer of
material which had hitherto had no pertinence for history and
which had not been recognised as having any moral, aesthetic,
political or historical value.[2]

Female refuges are hidden behind high walls, physically, morally and emotionally.
This case study of the Ballarat Female Refuge goes beyond the walls to ask
questions about gender, class, religion and the operation of power within the
institution. In so doing it will fill a gap in the social history of Ballarat, and make a
contribution to ongoing feminist debates on the nature and function of social control.

The Ballarat Female Refuge was established by a group of Protestant women in the
latter part of 1867. It occupied modest premises in Grant Street, Ballarat East, but its
high fence, made it look to many like a nunnery in miniature.[3] This building was in
operation until January 1885 when the staff and residents moved into the new
double storey, red brick building in Scott's Parade, Ballarat East.[4] A maternity ward

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[2] Foucault: *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and other Writings 1972-1977*, p. 50
[3] *Ballarat Star*, 4 September 1867. For location of this refuge see Appendix 1, Map 1.3
[4] See Appendix 1, Map 1.3

was added to the complex around 1897 and was followed, in 1909, by specialist accommodation for infants, known as the Alexandra Babies' Home.

The Ballarat Town and City Mission was also founded in 1867.[5] It went on to establish the Canadian Rescue and Children's Home at Butt's Hill, Canadian Gully, in 1897, and the George Street Children's Home in 1916.[6] These two institutions were amalgamated by 1920 and in the following year the Town and City Mission took over the running of the Ballarat Female Refuge and Alexandra Babies' Home as well, moving the women and children from its institutions to the complex at Scott's Parade.[7] The Ballarat Town and City Mission Rescue and Children's Home continued to provide accommodation for single mothers and their babies until 1941 with the Alexandra Babies' Home surviving until 1973.[8]

Figure 1.1 Ballarat Female Refuge with (inset) Alexandra Babies' Home, 183 Scott Parade
Source: *Ballarat News*, 6 September 2000

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[5] Rev. Irving Benson (editor): *A Century of Victorian Methodism*, Spectator Publishing Company, Melbourne, 1935, p. 147

[6] For the location of these two institutions see Appendix 1, Map 1.3. For details of the Town and City Mission Rescue and Children's Homes see 'Canadian Mission Rescue and Children's Home' (author unknown), Ballarat Litho & Printing Company Pty. Ltd., n. d.; *Ballarat Star*, 23 April, 1898; *Ballarat Courier*, 11 January, 1898; *The Ballarat Town and City Mission Visitor*, 1 October 1903; 1 March 1907; 6 December, 1907; 8 May, 1917; 8 August, 1918

[7] BTCM 17: Matron's Register: Canadian Rescue and Children's Home, 23 Jul 1918-Jan 1930. This register shows the last entry (in June 1921) for the Canadian Rescue and Children's Home.

[8] Details of these institutions can be found in BTCM 12: Ballarat Town and City Mission Alexandra

Ballarat Female Refuge & Ballarat Town and City Mission

Evolution and Amalgamation

Non-Denominational Group   Non-Denominational Group

Ballarat Female Refuge 1867   **Open Air Mission 1867**

Ballarat Town Mission 1870

Relocated to 183 Scott's Parade 1884

Canadian Rescue and Children's Home (1897 – 1921)

Alexandra Toddler's Home (1909- 1973)

George Street Children's Home (1916 –1920)

Ballarat Town and City Mission Rescue and Children's Home 1921

Rescue Home closed 1941
Alexandra Babies' Home closed 1973

Table 1.1 Flowchart showing the comparative dates of opening and closure:
Ballarat Town & City Mission Rescue and Children's Homes and Ballarat Female Refuge
Source: BTCM Records, Central Highlands Regional Library Corporation, Ballarat

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Babies' Home Reports. See for example the letter from Matron Frances M. Jonkergouw expressing regret at the closure of the Alexandra Babies' Home dated 8 November 1973.

When a Ballarat woman, Martha Clendinning, wrote to the Victorian Government to ask for assistance in founding a refuge she had a long tradition on which to draw. She referred specifically to Melbourne's Madeline Street Refuge saying that the new institution would provide shelter for that same 'unhappy class'.[9] The Madeline Street Refuge closely followed the pattern of other Protestant female refuges established throughout the Western world since 1758.[10] All such refuges exercised moral authority over the behaviour of working class women, functioning as the end point of the disciplinary network within which sexually active female bodies were enmeshed in a patriarchal society.[11] However, they also provided a home for single women in the latter stages of pregnancy and the early months of motherhood, offering one of the few practical and humanitarian solutions to what was perceived as a 'problem' in the societies in which they were located.[12]

Female refuges form a gendered subset within the category of the asylum. Most historians have argued that Protestant female refuges evolved from the Magdalen Hospital, which was established in London in 1758.[13] Sherrill Cohen, however, has shown that female refuges have their origins in Italy in 1257 as part of a continuum which persists through to present day women's refuges, suggesting a commonality

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[9] PROV, VPRS 1207, Unit 550, Item 3152, Treasurer's Correspondence, Inward Registered Correspondence. Letter from Martha Clendinning dated 23 July 1867

[10] Edward J. Bristow: *Vice and Vigilance, Purity Movements in Britain since 1700*, Gill & McMillan Ltd, 1977, p. 52, 65-66; Shurlee Swain: *A Refuge at Kildare, The History of the Geelong Female Refuge and Bethany Babies' Home*. Gibb St, Geelong: Bethany Child and Family Support, 1985, pp. 42-43; Sherrill Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500, From Refuges for Ex-Prostitutes to Shelters for Battered Women*, Oxford University Press, 1992. pp. 130 -141, 166

[11] Peggy Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue, Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939*, Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 30-31; Mariana Valverde: *The Age of Light, Soap and Water, Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1993 (Reprint), p. 100

[12] Bristow: *Vice and Vigilance, Purity Movements in Britain since 1700*, p. 62; Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue*, p. 5; Carol Smart: "Disruptive bodies and unruly sex: the regulation of reproduction and sexuality in the nineteenth century." In *Regulating Womanhood: Historical Essays on Marriage, Motherhood and Sexuality*, edited by Carol Smart, London, New York, Routledge, 1992, p. 8

[13] See for example Shurlee Swain with Renate Howe: *Single Mothers and Their Children: Disposal Punishment and Survival in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 73

in the origin of Protestant and Catholic institutions too often obscured by sectarianism.[14] Frances Finnegan illustrates the continuum, in the case of the Catholic institutions, run by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd. She argues that the institutions in Ireland which incarcerated women until the late twentieth century preserved intact the ideology and regulations of the 1641 foundation at Caen, itself a descendent of the first Italian institutions.[15] A few historians such as Judith Godden and Edward Bristow, in writing about the female refuge, allude to the early French and Italian institutions, Godden stating that 'The oldest refuges appear to have been run by French and Italian nuns for a variety of 'fallen' women', and Bristow exposing the dislike of Protestant reformers such as Jonas Hanway for the 'popish' precedents. However, most of the early studies of female refuges in the English tradition dismiss the relevance of the European precedents.[16] By ignoring the commonality in the origin of both Catholic and Protestant gendered institutions, such studies failed to acknowledge the part these institutions played in the evolution of asylums.[17]

Institutions for women 'preceded and anticipated many later developments in the creation of institutions' so that they were not only precursors to the female refuge but also to a whole range of other asylums, the 'total institutions', which most scholars

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[14] Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500,* front page, pp. 4–5, 142–164. Judith Godden: 'Sectarianism and Purity Within the Woman's sphere: Sydney Refuges During the Late Nineteenth Century', In *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 14, 1987, p. 292; Bristow: *Vice and Vigilance, Purity Movements in Britain since 1700*, pp. 64-65

[15] Frances Finnegan: *Do Penance or Perish: A Study of Magdalen Asylums in Ireland*: Congrave Press, 2001, pp. 20-21

[16] Edward Bristow alludes to the fact that London's Magdalen Hospital was modeled upon the European rescue homes, but claims that these homes were not overly successful. They had however existed in substantial numbers for over 500 years. See Bristow: *Vice and Vigilance, Purity Movements in Britain since 1700*, pp. 52, 65-66

[17] H. F. B. Compston: *The Magdalen Hospital: The Story of a Great Charity*, London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1917; Betsy Rogers: *The Cloak of Charity: Studies in Eighteenth Century Philanthropy*, London, Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1949; Bristow: *Vice and Vigilance, Purity Movements in Britain since 1700*, 1977

recognize as having emerged in the eighteenth to nineteenth century.[18] The total

institution, according to Goffman, was formally administered and catered for 'like–

situated' individuals in a residential environment.[19] Although historians have debated

the origins, purpose and motivations of these asylums from many different

perspectives, female refuges have only recently become a focus of historical study.[20]

The earliest study of a Protestant female refuge was William Dodd's 1759 book

describing the aims, rules and regulations of the London Magdalen Hospital.[21] In the

twentieth century, Reverend H. F. B. Compston, (1917) and Betsy Rogers, (1949)

produced histories telling the story of the institution.[22] Bristow's 1977 work, *Vice and*

Vigilance, moved beyond the narrative approach to locate the Magdalen Hospital

within the wider context of the British social purity movement, however, many of the

histories that followed were more influenced by the provocative 'social control thesis'

which saw all philanthropy as more oppressive than humanitarian. Was the female

refuge, therefore, simply a site for the containment of working class sexuality? In her

1976 study of a range of Melbourne charities Swain suggested that this was too

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[18] Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500*, front page, pp. 3, 4–5, 142–164; For a discussion on the periodization of 'confinement' see David J. Rothman: *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic*, Boston, Little Brown, 1971, p. xiii. See also Michel Foucault for the dates of the emergence of asylums. In *Madness and Civilisation* he asserts that carceral institutions evolved in seventeenth century Europe, which differs from his later work *Discipline and Punish* in which he advocates that they emerge in the nineteenth century. He explains this anomaly by arguing that they are not incompatible, that the first confinement is 'that of pure community', while the second is confinement by a 'disciplined society'. For Foucault's analysis see Michel Foucault: *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*: Random House, 1965, pp. 38-64; Michel Foucault: *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*: Second Vintage Books Edition, 1995, pp. 198-199. Female asylums preceded both dates.
[19] Goffman: *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*: Pelican, 1968; p. 11. For an critical account of Goffman's work in relation to the female refuge see Sherrill Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500*, pp. 3-4
[20] Swain with Howe: *Single Mothers and Their Children*, p. 1; Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue*, p. xx; Morton, Marion. *And Sin No More: Social Policy and Unwed Mothers inn Cleveland: 1855-1990*: Ohio State University Press, 1993, p. 3
[21] William Dodd: *Magdalen Hospital, London, England, Rules, Orders and Regulations of the Magdalen House for the Reception of Penitent Prostitutes*. 2 ed. London, 1759. See also Dodd's later work: *An Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Magdalen Hospital for the Reception of Penitent Prostitutes. Together with Dr. Dodd's Sermons to Which Are Added, the Advice to the Magdalens, with the Psalms, Hymns, Prayers, Rules, and List of Subscribers*, 5 ed. London: Printed by W. Faden for the Charity, 1776

narrow a view. 'Charity, in whatever form it was administered, involved an interaction, and it was an interaction from which both giver and receiver expected to receive some gain'.[23] Historians, such as Judith Godden who wrote about Sydney female refuges (1987), Peggy Pascoe whose study encompasses three ethnically diverse refuges in America's mid-west (1990), Marion Morton in her Cleveland study (1993), and Frances Finnegan's exposé on the Magdalen Asylums run by the Sisters of Charity in Ireland (2001) have pursued a similarly multifaceted approach, looking at the female refuge through the lens of social relationships and interactions, in particular gender and class relationships.[24] The focus thus moved from early empirical accounts to a theoretical approach, which examined the 'inmates' of the refuge, who were invariably working class women, and it now also examines the nature and organization of the female refuge and its interrelationships.

Female refuges belong to a broader history both of philanthropy, and, of the wider culture of which they were a part.[25] Martin Gorsky's introduction to *Patterns of Philanthropy* gives an excellent account of the changes in the ways in which historians have approached the study of philanthropy.[26] The early works of Jordan and Owen were based particularly upon statistical analyses and saw 'the motive for philanthropy in functional terms' as a practical altruistic response by society to a perceived need.

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[22] Compston: *The Magdalen Hospital*, 1917; Rogers: *The Cloak of Charity*, 1949

[23] Shurlee Swain: "The Victorian Charity Network in the 1890s." Ph.D., Melbourne University, 1976. p. 147

[24] See Judith Godden: 'Sectarianism and Purity within the Woman's Sphere: Sydney Refuges During the Late Nineteenth Century'; Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue*; Morton: *And Sin No More*; Finnegan: *Do Penance or Perish.*

[25] For a broader reading of philanthropy on the world stage see Warren Ilchmann, Stanley Katz, and Edward L. Queen 11: *Philanthropy in the World's Traditions*, Indiana University Press, 1998, Introduction ix-xv

[26] Martin Gorsky: *Patterns of Philanthropy: Charity and Society in Nineteenth-Century Bristol*: The Royal Historical Society The Boydell Press, 2000, pp. 1-12

Later historians such as E. P. Thompson, Harold Perkins and Gareth Stedman Jones examined the subject through the lens of class and class-consciousness.[27] As Gorsky shows, this emphasised the role of philanthropy in mediating social relations at the time when the 'middle' and 'working' class were coming to understand their own distinctiveness as groups.[28]

In order to explain the complex relationship between class and philanthropy, Gareth Stedman Jones drew upon anthropologist Marcel Mauss' concept of the centrality of reciprocality in understanding the interaction between the giver and recipient of the gift.[29] Mauss argued that 'ritual gift exchange was a means of asserting status and establishing social structure'.[30] The act of giving, he argued, was less about altruism than about power, the giver expecting to receive something in return, even if this is the humility of the receiver.[31] Gorsky argues that 'Gift theory usefully augmented interpretations of philanthropy based upon class formation and interaction' … If [for example] the purpose of the gift is to convey status then the function of public subscription lists can be understood as an announcement of membership of an elite, while the concept of reciprocity helped explain the role of charity in securing the worker's consent for the inequities of capitalist society'.[32]

This approach has focused attention on the actors on both sides of the charitable relationship. The emphasis on shared values, generated from below as well as from above, and longer-run continuities, opens the way for current interpretations of

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[27] For further discussion on this point see Gorsky: *Patterns of Philanthropy*, p. 4
[28] Gorsky: *Patterns of Philanthropy*, p. 3
[29] Marcel Mauss: *The Gift*, Paris, 1925, trans. I. Cunnison, reprint London 1967
[30] Mauss: *The Gift*, pp. 37-41, 73
[31] Gareth Stedman Jones: *Outcast London: a study in the relationship between classes in Victorian Society*, Oxford, 1971, p. 252
[32] Gorsky: *Patterns of Philanthropy*, p. 6

philanthropy as a manifestation of social conflict or consensus.[33] Frank Prochaska's

work has consolidated these interpretations showing that in a range of activities and

institutions the working class <u>was</u> involved with charity and there was a shared belief

by all classes in a common cause. Philanthropy, (which, as McCord suggests, could

be 'just what it claimed to be – open-hearted generosity'), thus shared values and

'cut across class' and culture.[34]

Traditionally asylums have had a philanthropic veneer so it is not surprising that the

historiography of the asylum follows a similar pattern to that outlined above. Most of

the early works on asylums were from within the field of psychiatry, being meticulous

empirical analyses. Goffman's early work *Asylums* (1961) introduced stigma theory

and the concept of categorising, isolating and segregating 'deviant' individuals. The

concepts of categorisation, isolation and segregation were central to the works of

theorists such as Michel Foucault *Madness and Civilization* (1965), David Rothman

The Discovery of the Asylum (1971), and Andrew Scull *Museums of Madness* (1979)

who all argued that asylums were places of domination and control.[35] Although there

were some defenders of the humanitarianism of the asylum 'solution', increasingly

both sociologists and historians came to look at such institutions through the lens of

social control. Whether the origins and nature of nineteenth century asylums were a

practical humanitarian solution, or systems of social control, was vigorously

debated.[36] Thomas E. Brown in 1985 predicted that due to the experience of this

dialectical process, a new approach would emerge.[37] Brown's and Cohen's

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[33] Gorsky: *Patterns of Philanthropy*, pp. 1-12
[34] Gorsky: *Patterns of Philanthropy*, pp. 8-9
[35] Thomas E. Brown: Dance of the Dialectic? Some Reflections (Polemic and Otherwise) on the Present State of Nineteenth-Century Asylum Studies in *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 11, 1994, p. 273; Michel Foucault: *Madness and Civilization*, 1965; Rothman: *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic*, 1971; Scull, Andrew T. *Museums of Madness: The Social Organization of Insanity in Nineteenth-Century England*. London: Allen Lane, 1979
[36] Brown: 'Dance of the Dialectic?', p. 271
[37] Brown: 'Dance of the Dialectic?', p. 268

comprehensive accounts of the emergence of the social control theories demonstrate how, in the post-empiricist phase, sociologists and historians began to look at asylums through the lens of social control.[38]

In his account of the origins of the asylum in nineteenth century America, Rothman linked the notion of 'rehabilitation to the practice of incarceration' and argued that this occurred in response to social change and the way in which punishment was administered.[39] Cohen argues that Rothman conceived the asylum 'as a microcosm of the perfect social order, a utopian experiment in which criminals and the insane, isolated from bad influences, would be changed by subjecting them to a regime of discipline, order and regulation'.[40] Rothman introduced an appreciation of the paradoxes of the 'humane asylum' noting that many were harsh disciplinary institutions with countless complexities.[41] He differed in the traditional view of reform in that he believed that society's response was, 'systematically misguided' and there were '… uniform failures', but he provided a much needed argument for recognising the boundaries of humanitarian reform. [42]

Scull, an historical sociologist, produced a structural Marxist account of the origins of the English asylum. He examined the asylum through a materialistic lens in terms of the functional needs of the capitalist system. The emergence of a capitalist market system and the associated social structure, he argued, saw the need to control the rising working class with new systems of domination. As Cohen argued this approach 'renders docile the recalcitrant members of the working class, it deters

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[38] Brown: 'Dance of the Dialectic?', pp. 267-95; Stanley Cohen: *Visions of Social Control: Crime, Punishment and Classification*, Polity Press in Association with Blackwell Publishers, 1985, pp. 1-36
[39] Cohen: *Visions of Social* Control, p. 21
[40] Cohen: *Visions of Social Control*, p. 19
[41] Cohen: *Visions of Social Control: Crime,* p. 21
[42] Stanley Cohen and Andrew Scull (Eds.): *Social Control and the State: Historical and Comparative*

others, it teaches habits of discipline and order, it reproduces the lost hierarchy'. He also understood it as a 'transition from a paternalistic social order to the capitalist market system [which] calls for new forms of regulating economic and social relationships.[43] Michael Ignatieff moved the debate further with the publication of his thesis *A Just Measure of Pain* in 1978.[44] While agreeing that the emergence of the penitentiary in the wake of the industrial revolution was evidence of a new form of social control, he argued that historians needed to pay attention to the inmates of the new asylums.[45]

Foucault, Rothman, Scull and Ignatieff all see power as central to the nineteenth century asylum experience. However, as Cohen argues,

> The prison for Rothman is a model of functional order and equilibrium; for orthodox Marxists … it is a model of capitalist relations of production; for Ignatieff it is a model of emerging class hierarchy. Only Foucault sees it as a system of power in itself.

It was the work of Michel Foucault, then, that has most fundamentally changed the focus of historical research into asylums. He argued that the new institutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries served as repositories for the potentially disruptive lower classes.[46] The second phase of Foucault's work, his analysis of what he terms the 'dividing practices', of exclusion, separation and domination, is particularly important in analysing the incarceration of women in female refuges. In his later *History of Sexuality Volume One* he introduces the idea of subjectification,

Essays, Martin Robertson & Company Ltd., 1983, p. 4

[43] Cohen: *Visions of Social Control*, p. 23

[44] Michael Ignatieff: *A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850*, 1 ed. New York, Pantheon Books, 1978

[45] Cohen: *Visions of Social Control*, p. 23-24; Ignatieff: *A just Measure of Pain*, 1978

the process by which the 'dividing practices' internalised by the inmates of such institutions. Foucault's analysis of the carceral system and of the body as 'subject' provide an obvious focus for this thesis.[47]

An underlying premise in many of Foucault's arguments is the categorisation of behaviours as problematical or 'deviant' as opposed to accepted, 'good' or 'moral' behaviour. Douglas demonstrates how through this binary concept 'moral' came to equal 'normal', while those who refused to comply were perceived as 'deviant'.[48] Refuges which dealt with women thought to be socially 'deviant' because of their sexuality, and hence in need of 'control', can thus be understood as subsets of the broader category of asylums functioning as disciplinary regimes, which sought to normalise deviance.[49]

The argument that asylums functioned as sites for the exercise of moral authority rather than benevolence has refocussed attention on the interrelationship between charity and power, in particular on the role of charity in affirming status, an argument that emphasises elements of mutuality inherent in the charity relationship. Gorsky's study of the role of the endowed charities of Bristol, England, emphasises the important role that elites traditionally played in their formation and maintenance.[50] Shapely's work on nineteenth-century Manchester has a similar focus,

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[46] Foucault: *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 198-199; Thomas E. Brown: 'Dance of the Dialectic?', pp. 267-295

[47] Foucault: *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 198-199; Michel Foucault: *The History of Sexuality*, volume 1, London, 1981, pp. 106-107. Foucault's theories were accused of being non-rational and non-utilitarian, creating and classifying deviance however they provide a coherent and reasonable means of explaining and interpreting the institution known as the female refuge.

[48] Jack Douglas (Ed.): *Deviancy and Respectability: the social construction of moral meanings*, Basic Books, New York, 1970; Michel Foucault: *The History of Sexuality*, pp. 106-107

[49] For works based upon a Foucauldian analysis see Godden: 'Sectarianism and purity within the women's sphere: Sydney Refuges during the Late Nineteenth Century', pp. 291-306; Swain with Howe: *Single Mothers and Their Children*, 1995. Refuges for unmarried mothers are analysed analogously to asylums as a disciplinary regime, which sought to 'normalise' overt female sexuality.

[50] Gorsky: *Patterns of Philanthropy*, 2000

demonstrating particularly the social benefits that charity work brought to committee members.[51] In this sense, scholars have argued, the emerging elites needed a poor or 'deviant' class, such as 'fallen' women, in order both to exercise their moral authority and demonstrate their status.

The recognition of such mutuality in the charity relationship has brought historians to focus on the place of the client in institutional history.[52] Indeed, they would argue, that the philanthropic relationship is built upon a degree of shared value and mutual exchange.[53] Ignatieff suggested that his own work and Foucault's 'confused … the social fears motivating the construction of institutions with … their actual function'.[54] Power, as Foucault demonstrated is not unidirectional but can be seen flowing from below as well as above. In order to adequately understand the nature of this power from below, the daily functioning of the asylums and the experiences of their inmates have to be taken into account.

Historians studying the development of charity in the Australian colonies have engaged with similar historiographical debates. Brian Dickey has undertaken much of the foundational work, producing an empirical account of the way in which services were provided in settler communities. Like Richard Kennedy, Dickey was suspicious of any claims to altruism or agency, contrasting regressive charity with the notions of equality and entitlement that, they would argue, should be central to social provision in Australia. By contrast Shurlee Swain, Jill Julius Matthews, and

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[51] Peter Shapely: *Charity and Power in Victorian Manchester*. Great Britain: Chetham Society, 2000
[52] For works about this relationship see Michael Ignatieff: *A Just Measure of Pain*; Gorsky: *Patterns of Philanthropy*; Shurlee Swain: 'Exceptional Givers: A Preliminary Study of the Foundations of Benevolence in Colonial Victoria', in *Australian Philanthropy*: Research Papers, edited by Diana Leat, Melbourne, 2000, p. 31; Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500,* p. 9; Brown: 'Dance of the Dialectic?' p. 271
[53] Martin Gorsky shows that the idea of shared values and consensus within social groups as motivation for the implementation of philanthropy is attractive and 'long predates current revisionism'. See Gorsky: *Patterns of Philanthropy*, p. 8

Judith Godden have focussed more directly at the social dynamics of the charitable relationship. They acknowledged the agency of the people such charitable institutions contained. As Swain has argued, 'Historians intent on exposing the ways in which the middle class sought to control those less privileged than themselves have not been alert to the opportunities which the recipients of such 'kindness' took to speak in their own defence.'[55] She alerts the historian to the opportunity to 'listen for the voices … in courts, before charitable committees, and in letters to newspapers, magazines, and government departments'.[56] The question of 'human agency', as shown in Swain's and Matthew's work, is fundamental to an adequate understanding of power relations and to an adequate and balanced examination of the asylum.

Positioned within such current scholarship on philanthropy, this thesis, as a case study of a single institution, provides the opportunity to test these new theories of charity within a specific historical and geographical location, the Victorian gold rush city of Ballarat.[57] The dimensions and dislocation of society on the Victorian goldfields have been explored in David Goodman's comparative study, *Gold Seeking: Victoria and California in the 1850s.*[58] The Victorian colonists, he argued, 'thought about the disruptions of gold in terms of the positive categories of their own culture, which came to them from earlier periods of British history', thus, Australian society followed the English model integrating the ideas of moral values and traditions into the social and economic structure.[59] Goodman likened the radical responses of society during the Victorian gold rushes, to the effects brought about

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[54] Ignatieff: *A Just Measure of Pain*, pp. 180 and 153
[55] Swain with Howe: *Single Mothers and Their Children*, p. 6
[56] Swain with Howe: *Single Mothers and Their Children*, p. 6
[57] Gorsky: *Patterns of Philanthropy*, p. 7
[58] David Goodman: *Gold Seeking Victoria and California in the 1850's*: Allen & Unwin, 1994
[59] Goodman: *Gold Seeking Victoria and California in the 1850's*, pp. xii-xiii; David Goodman: '"Gold

by the upheaval and disruption of industrialisation and urbanisation in England and the reaffirmation of agrarian values.[60] This had the effect of producing the same perceived 'problem clientele' in society as was evident in Britain, and therefore similar social problems with the containment of this 'deviant' category of society. Institutions were thus established on the goldfields in answer to this perceived need.

Apart from Goodman's examination of the goldfields, the *History of Ballarat* by William Bramwell Withers, and Weston Bate's two-volume local history, the historiography of Ballarat has been predominantly descriptive, focusing particularly on the Eureka Rebellion rather than seeking to develop a more complex understanding of the social dynamics of the goldfields town.[61] Although many biographical and genealogical accounts show that class and religious distinctions within the Ballarat region existed, these structures have been largely unexplored.[62] The role that women played in the development of the city has been also ignored. Some of the previous research is, at best confusing, and at times inaccurate. Works such as Louise Asher's and Bronwyn Fensham's are foundational but problematic.[63] The few references to the Ballarat Female Refuge in the existing literature are

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fields/Golden fields': The Language of Agrarianism and the Victorian Gold Rush' In *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol 23, No. 90, pp. 19-41

[60] Goodman: *Gold Seeking: Victoria and California in the 1850s*, p.123

[61] Weston Bate: *Lucky City, The First Generation at Ballarat:1851-1901*: Melbourne University Press, 1978; Weston Bate: *Life After Gold*: Melbourne University Press, 1993; William Bramwell Withers: *History of Ballarat and Some Ballarat Reminiscences*: Ballarat Heritage Services, 1999 (facsimile)

[62] See for example Anne Beggs Sunter: James Oddie: His Life and the Wesleyan Contribution to Ballarat, M.A., Deakin University, 1989; John Spooner: *The Golden See: Diocese of Ballarat: The Anglican Church of Western Victoria*: John Ferguson Ltd., 1989; Newman Rosenthal: *Formula for Survival The Saga of the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation*. Melbourne: The Hawthorn Press, 1979; Jan Croggan: Methodists and Miners: The Cornish in Ballarat 1851-1901, In *A World Turned Upside Down: Cultural Change on Australia's Goldfields 1851-2001*, Kerry Cardell and Cliff Cumming (Eds.), Humanities Research Centre, The Australian National University, 2001, pp. 61-77

[63] Louise Asher: Women on the Ballarat Goldfields - 1850s and Early 1860s, Fourth Year (Hons.), University of Melbourne, 1977; Bronwyn Fensham: "Right Handsome Girls"; Women on the Ballarat Diggings in the 1850s, Master of Arts, Monash University, 1994

generally inaccurate, categorising the institution simply as a repository for prostitutes.[64]

This thesis seeks to develop a more complex analysis of the role of the Refuge in the emerging goldfields town. It is structured both thematically and chronologically. Having reviewed the literature the thesis proceeds in Chapter Two to examine the evolution of female refuges demonstrating the way in which such institutions contained women defined as deviant, while offering their 'benefactors' a location within which they could exercise moral authority. Chapter Three traces the history of the voluntary charities in Ballarat showing how the emerging elites used charity to establish and maintain their status while exercising moral authority over those they considered their social inferiors. Chapter Four looks in detail at how this process operated in relation to both the women who established the Refuge in 1867 and subsequent committee members. Chapter Five focuses on the physical and symbolic aspects of the Refuge in order to demonstrate the way in which moral authority was reinforced through its architecture and physical structure, language and geographic location. Chapter Six analyses and examines the organization of the Ballarat Female Refuge arguing that the relationships and interactions between Refuge staff and clients provided the space within which moral authority was exercised and female sexuality was controlled. The thesis concludes with a summary of principal findings and recommendations for further research.

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[64] Bate: *Lucky City*, p. 176; Leisa Van Hamond: "Prisoners of Poverty?" Prostitution on the Ballaarat and Surrounding Goldfields 1855 – 1870, Bachelor Of Arts (Hons.), Australian Catholic University, Aquinas Campus, 1995

CHAPTER TWO

FAITH

THE BIRTH
OF
THE FEMALE REFUGE

Nor death itself can wholly wash their Stains;

But long-contracted Filth ev'n in the Soul remains.

The Reliques of inveterate Vice they wear;

And spots of Sin obscene in ev'ry Face appear.[1]

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[1] E. P. Thompson: *Witness Against the Beast, William Blake and the Moral Law*, Cambridge [England]; New York, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 180

CHAPTER TWO

FAITH

The female refuge was a product of moral tension and anxiety around female sexuality embedded in Judeo-Christian culture.[2] In societies where property and descent passes through the male line, female chastity has been highly valued and transgression harshly condemned.[3] The Refuge in Ballarat can be situated within a worldwide pattern of institutions designed to punish and contain females who were sexually active outside marriage.[4] Such asylums for women have their origins well before the period that Foucault terms 'the Great Confinement' and, arguably, provided a model for the closed institutions that he identifies as emerging in eighteenth century Europe.[5]

Foucault coined the phrase the 'Great Confinement' to explain what he saw as the 'birth' of prisons, reformatories, schools, mental asylums, benevolent asylums, hospitals, armies and police forces at that time.[6] Several changes took place in European society during that period, including the shift away from ecclesiastical to secular control, revolutions in morality and consciousness, and the growing control of

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[2] This argument is explored in Ivan Bloch: *Sexual Life in England: Past and Present*, Alfred Aldor, London, 1938, pp. 212-227; Alan Hunt: *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 4;

[3] See for example Swain with Howe: *Single Mothers and Their Children*, pp. 1, 180; Hunt: *Governing Morals*, pp. 6-7; Keith Nield: *Prostitution in the Victorian Age: Debates of the Issue from 19th Century Journals*: Gregg International Publishers Limited, Introduction, p. 1; Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500*, p. 3; G. R. Quaife: *Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives*, Billing & Sons Ltd., 1979, pp. 38-52

[4] The history of such institutions is discussed in Swain with Howe: *Single Mothers and Their Children*, p. 73; Finnegan: *Do Penance or Perish*, pp. 8-10, Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500*, p. 133; Bristow: *Vice and Vigilance, Purity Movements in Britain since 1700*, p. 52; Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue*, pp. xvi, 32-34

[5] Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500*, p. 17

[6] Michel Foucault: *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 198, 225. See also Cohen: *Visions of Social Control*, p. 25

the state in everyday life.[7] The term the 'Great Confinement' refers to the development of closed institutions where control and reform were achieved through the dualities of enclosure and exclusion, discipline and protection.[8] In such institutions corporal punishment was placed second to regimes of confinement, regulation, and restriction. The locus of punishment was transferred from the body to the 'soul', understood as the new 'character', harder to determine and pinpoint, more subtle and nuanced than the purely physical being.[9] Moral rather than physical authority became the means by which bodies became docile, conforming willingly to the exercise of power.[10]

Women, however, had been subject to exclusion and confinement long before the eighteenth century.[11] Cohen's study of the evolution of female refuges illustrates the consistency of moral regulation of females over time.[12] The emotional responses to being female in a male dominated world can perhaps be best portrayed and explained in other forms of expression such as opera, art and literature.[13] 'Flowers alone are chaste' sings the tormented Lucretia, having been raped by Tarquinius in Benjamin Britten's *Rape of Lucretia*.[14] Janáĉek's powerfully emotional opera *Jenufå* expresses the anguish, grief, and shame of an unplanned pregnancy, of

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[7] Foucault: *Discipline and Punish*, p.73. See also Bristow: *Vice and Vigilance, Purity Movements in Britain since 1700*, pp. 2-5

[8] Foucault: *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 139-140. See also Goffman: *Asylums*, p. 11; Ann Goldberg: *Sex, Religion, and the Making of Modern Madness: The Eberbach Asylum and German Society, 1815-1845*, Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 95

[9] Foucault: *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 16-17,114, 126, 303-306

[10] Foucault: *Discipline and Punish*, p.138

[11] Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500*, p. 17

[12] Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500*, pp. 132-136

[13] Patricia S. Kruppa: '"More Sweet and Liquid than any Other": Victorian Images of Mary Magdalene' In *Religion and Irreligion In Victorian Society: Essays in the Honor of R. K. Webb*, R. W. Davin & Helmstadter (editors), Routledge, 1992, pp. 117-132; Fraser Harrison: *The Dark Angel: Aspects of Victorian Sexuality*, Universe Books, 1978, pp. 64-65, 80-81, 144-145, 160-161; Swain with Howe: Single Mothers and Their Children, pp. 13, 33, 184. These references all relate to photos or film images and the significance of the image.

[14] Benjamin Britten: *The Rape of Lucretia* Op. 37, 1946; The name 'Lucretia' was still being applied to 'fallen' women in Australia in the 1860s. Kay Daniels and Mary Murnane: *Uphill all the way: A Documentary History of Women in Australia*, University of Queensland Press, 1980, p. 48.

concealment and infanticide, providing an insight into the private domain of a working class woman and her family around the turn of the twentieth century.[15]

In medieval society female sexuality was regulated through the institutions of marriage and monasticism both emphasising chastity and virtue within their confines.[16] Women had the choice, however constrained, between a celibate life in the convent or monastery or a sexually active life within marriage, although the Italians modified this choice somewhat with the establishment (around 1576-78) of the innovative '*Malmaritate*' (translated as the 'House for the Unhappily Married'), which permitted some legitimate option for married women who required respite from their marriage contracts for a variety of reasons.[17] For most women, however, uncontained sexuality was dangerous, a perceived difference or 'deviancy' associated with 'prostitution'.[18] Ann Summers argues in *Damned Whores and God's Police* that through this dichotomy the virtuous woman was constructed in relation to the production of the unvirtuous 'prostitute' woman, just as the opposite was the case.[19]

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[15] Gabriella Preissová's 1890s play was first performed as an opera in Brno in 1904. Jenufå, emotionally and physically isolated in her parent's house, is anticipating the birth of her son. She is single without the choice of marriage to the father of the child. Her parents hide her, and their shame, for the term of her pregnancy, so that when visitors arrive she is always banished to the bedroom. Jenufå's son is born, and her stepmother, unbeknown to Jenufå, who is delirious with fever, takes him to the frozen river to perish in the cold and ice. Leos Janáĉek, *Jenufå*, 1904; Hans Hollander: *Leos Janáĉek: his life and work;* translated by Paul Hamburger, John Calder, London, c1963
[16] Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500*, p. 14
[17] Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500*, pp. 8 and 178. Cohen cites from the writings of Gregory Martin, an English priest who wrote *Roma Sancta.*
[18] Linda Mahood: *The Magdalenes*, Routledge, 1990. p. 3
[19] Anne Summers: *Damned Whores and God's Police*. 2 ed. Ringwood: Penguin, 1994, pp. 202

Figure 2.1 Etching of Saint Mary Magdalen in a record book of the Monastero delle Convertite.
(Archivio di Stato, Florence, CS126:62 [1435-1620])
Source: Sherrill Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since* 1500, Figure 3

Sherrill Cohen has traced the confinement of unchaste women back to the thirteenth century.[20] The earliest institutions were established to convert and reform prostitutes. Cohen argues that the 'deepest roots of ex-prostitutes' asylums hark back to the fundamental Christian motifs of sin, penitence, conversion, and redemption'.[21] The idea of the reformation of the Magdalen emanated from the sanctified image of Mary Magdalen, understood at this time to be a repentant prostitute.[22] The first such institution, Convertite Santa Maria Maddalena Penitente, was established in 1257, thirty years after Pope Gregory IX approved the inauguration of the Order of Saint Mary Magdalen which gave prominence to the sanctified image of Mary Magdalen.[23]

Public and private benefactors throughout Italy followed the *Convertite* example.[24] Convents and residential asylums for women existed in Florence, Venice and Bergamo, in the thirteenth century and, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, spread to Spain and France.[25] Monastic orders for penitent prostitutes (Magdalanes) were also established in Marseilles, Metz, Naples, Paris, Rouen and Bordeaux between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.[26]

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[20] Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500*, pp. 13-41,127-142
[21] Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500*, p. 128
[22] The Bible: Matthew: 21, Verses 31-33
[23] Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500,* p. 15
[24] Jean Eudes, who founded the Caen order, consciously modelled the French refuges on the prior Italian institutions. The word *repenties* was substituted for *converties.*
[25] See Figure 1.2
[26] Brian Pullen: Support and Redeem: Charity and Poor Relief in Italian Cities from the Fourteenth to Nineteenth Centuries In *Continuity and Change*, Vol. 3, 1988, pp. 177-208 as cited in Cohen, p. 178

EVOLUTION OF FEMALE REFUGES

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│          FLORENCE  -  MEDICI FAMILY 1257                 │
│     The Convertite of Santa Maria Maddalena Penitente    │
│  (Converted prostitutes of the Penitent Saint Mary Magdalene ) │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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CATHOLIC

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│              ITALY, SPAIN, FRANCE 1300s +                │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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PROTESTANT

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┌──────────────────────────┐          ┌──────────────────────────┐
│   MAGDALEN HOSPITAL       │          │ NOTRE-DAME de CHARITE du  │
│    LONDON 1758            │          │  REFUGE, FRANCE, 1641     │
└──────────────────────────┘          └──────────────────────────┘

┌──────────────────────────┐          ┌──────────────────────────┐
│    CARLTON REFUGE         │          │  BON PASTEUR, D'ANGERS    │
│   MELBOURNE, 1856         │          │    FRANCE, 1831           │
└──────────────────────────┘          └──────────────────────────┘

┌──────────────────────────┐          ┌──────────────────────────┐
│    GEELONG REFUGE         │          │     ABBOTSFORD            │
│    GEELONG, 1865          │          │   MELBOURNE, 1863         │
└──────────────────────────┘          └──────────────────────────┘

┌──────────────────────────┐
│ BALLARAT FEMALE REFUGE    │
│         1867              │
└──────────────────────────┘
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Table 2.1 Evolution of Female Refuges
Sources: Sherrill Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since* 1500, 1992; Swain with Howe: *Single Mothers and Their Children*, 1995; Swain: *A Refuge at Kildare, The History of the Geelong Female Refuge and Bethany Babies' Home*, 1985; Shurlee Swain: *The Victorian Charity Network in the 1890s*, 1976; Finnegan: *Do Penance or Perish*, 2000; Jean Guthrie: '*Caring for the Fallen Ones': An Examination of the role of 'fallen women' in Melbourne Society and the Conduct of Female Refuges 1870-1890*, Fourth Year Thesis, University of Melbourne, Department of History, 1981; Judith Godden: 'Sectarianism and Purity Within the Woman's Sphere: Sydney Refuges During the Late Nineteenth Century', pp. 291-306; *Ballarat Star* 27 April, 1867; 30 April 1867; 30 July 1867; 4 Sep 1867; PROV, VPRS 1207, Unit 550, Item 3152

Around 1495 a particularly virulent form of syphilis developed in Europe. Although, in retrospect it seems obvious that the disease was spread by military and naval detachments, at the time prostitutes were identified as the source.[27] Anxiety over the spread of syphilus saw an explosion in the establishment of residential asylums for women in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[28] Cohen argues that, in the Catholic world, the 'revival of the medieval imperative to convert prostitutes' was reflected in an increased level of institutionalisation.[29] Refuges such as the Conservatorio delle Zitelle Periclitante (1530), Vergini Miserabili (1540), Santa Marta (1543 Rome), Hospital du Refuge (1640, Marseilles), Clermont's Refuge (1668), Recluses (1689), Filles Penitentes (1689 Lyons), Notre Dame de Charite du Refuge (1641 Caen) were established at this time.

However the anxiety around syphilus was also coincident with the Reformation and the schism in the church was reflected in the practices adopted for the containment of female sexuality. Protestant reformers' attacks on both convents and monasteries removed the dedicated celibate life as an option for women. By disavowing the intercessory role of the saints they diminished the legacy of Mary Magdalen as the penitent sinner and thus, Cohen has argued. 'removed an appealing symbolic lure for prostitutes to convert'.[30] With the convent-like institutions of Catholic Europe now condemned as Papist, ex-prostitutes in Protestant countries were encouraged to marry or lead respectable lives as single women.[31]

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[27] Claude Quetel: *History of Syphilis*. Translated by Judith Braddock and Brian Pike, 2 ed: Polity Press, 1990, pp. 33-50, 323; Folke Henschen: *The History of Diseases*. Translated by Joan Tate. 2 ed, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1966, pp.123-133

[28] Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500*, p. 18

[29] Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500*, p. 17

[30] Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500,* p. 129; Kruppa: '"More Sweet and Liquid than any Other": Victorian Images of Mary Magdalene', pp. 117-132

[31] Rogers: *The Cloak of Charity: Studies in Eighteenth Century Philanthropy*, p. 37

It was 1758 before the first Protestant refuge was opened in Britain. Even then the founders of London's Magdalen Hospital had to overcome Protestant suspicions of the 'popish convents' and 'sacred prisons' on which it was modelled.[32] However, John Hanway and Robert Dingley, merchants who had travelled throughout Europe, argued that this view was built more on prejudice than on fact. 'Though we think ourselves much wiser than other nations, we are many centuries behind several of them.' Hanway argued, 'Persons of both sexes, in Italy, France, Spain, the United Provinces, and several other countries … have erected many institutions of this kind [through] a sense of moral and religious obligation'.[33] In order to establish such an institution while adhering to Protestant ideals Hanway invoked the notion of voluntarism, aligning this with the Protestant emphasis on the moral responsibility of the individual. In democratic Britain, Hanway argued, a Magdalen hospital would not replicate the compulsory and authoritarian attitudes of Catholic institutions.[34]

> It is one of the absurd tenets of the Romish church, to engage
>
> people to make vows, and to shut them entirely from the world,
>
> whether their hearts subscribe to such seclusion or not; but this is
>
> not the case in all instances, even with that church, as appears from
>
> what I have mentioned above; and it cannot be the less agreeable
>
> to the purity of genuine Christianity, nor the less consistent with the
>
> wisest policy, to afford unhappy women a temporary voluntary

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[32] Rogers: *The Cloak of Charity: Studies in Eighteenth Century Philanthropy*, p. 37; Compston: *The Magdalen Hospital: The Story of a Great Charity*, pp. 21-24; Bristow: *Vice and Vigilance, Purity Movements in Britain since 1700,* pp. 54-55, 64; Donna T. Andrew: *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century*, Princeton University Press, 1989, pp. 54-57, 121-122

[33] Jonas Hanway: *Reflections, Essays and Meditations on Life and Religion, with a collection of proverbs in alphabetical order, and twenty-eight letters written occasionally on several subjects*, 2 volumes, John Rivington, London, 1761, 2:5, pp. 8-9, cited in Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500,* p. 130

[34] Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500*, p. 131

retreat, where piety may be supported by labor, and where the united force of both will qualify them effectually for both worlds.[35]

The Magdalen Hospital was to be a redemptive institution.[36] However, the fact that it was freely entered did not make it any less of a 'sacred prison'. Women who entered the Magdalen were not permitted to leave without special permission until three years had elapsed. During this time, they underwent reformation, regulation and control, through a process of partitioning and rigid control of time, hard work and the obligatory religious instruction. In summer the day's work started at 6 am and finished at 10 pm, while, in winter, it was 7 am till 9 pm. Punishments such as solitary confinement and restriction of food and wages were enforced. The inmates were subject to constant surveillance with restrictions on food, work, clothes, and daily routine. At the centre of the regime established by the Magdalen Hospital was the laundry, guaranteeing the financial stability of the institution while also symbolising its reformatory purpose.[37]

[35] Jonas Hanway: *Reflections, Essays and Meditations on Life and Religion, with a collection of proverbs in alphabetical order, and twenty-eight letters written occasionally on several subjects*, 2 volumes, John Rivington, London, 1761, 2:5, pp. 13-14, cited in Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500,* p. 131

[36] Dodd: *Magdalen Hospital*, 1759; Bristow: *Vice and Vigilance, Purity Movements in Britain since 1700,* p. 64

[37] Bristow: *Vice and Vigilance, Purity Movements in Britain since 1700,* p. 66

Figure 2.2 The Magdalen Hospital with Penitent Prostitute
Frontispiece to Jonas Hanway's *Reflections* 1761

The Magdalen Hospital provided a prototype for not only the more than 300 similar Protestant institutions that were established in Britain over the next 100 years but also for the many colonial institutions that followed.[38] The model of the Protestant rescue homes flourished in Britain, North America, some parts of Europe and the colonies, taken up with enthusiasm by Evangelicals across a range of denominations.[39] Through their revivals Evangelicals converted many to the cause of chastity and virtue, channelling public opinion against the sexual and erotic, emphasising instead respectability and the acquisition and display of 'good' manners.[40] Female refuges were central to the Evangelical campaign to re-form public morality. However one aspect of the Magdalen regime that was not adopted in later institutions was the daily ration of two and a half-pints of beer, as Protestant matrons advocated temperance as one of a range of virtues that they believed women should carry into the world.[41]

The establishment of female refuges in Victoria, Australia, needs to be understood as a replication of this British pattern. The first female refuge to operate in the Colony of Victoria was the Carlton Refuge, which opened in 1856 in Madeline Street, Melbourne, near the site of the Women's Hospital.[42] Established by a committee headed by Anglican Bishop Perry, it took its aims and objects directly from London's Magdalen Hospital. However its function did not long reflect its stated objects.

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[38] Compston: *The Magdalen Hospital: The Story of a Great Charity*, and Rogers: *The Cloak of Charity: Studies in Eighteenth Century Philanthropy*, p. 50-51; Swain with Howe: *Single Mothers and Their Children,* pp. 73-74

[39] Swain with Howe: *Single Mothers and Their Children,* pp. 73-74; Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue*, 1990; Morton: *And Sin No More: Social Policy and Unwed Mothers in Cleveland: 1855-1990*, 1993; Joan Jacobs Brumberg: '"Ruined" Girls: Changing Community Responses to Illegitimacy in Upstate New York, 1890-1920' in *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 18, No. 2, Winter 1984, pp. 247-272

[40] Bristow: *Vice and Vigilance, Purity Movements in Britain since 1700,* pp. 1-7, 65-69; Roslyn Otzen: Charity and Evangelisation: The Melbourne City Mission 1854-1914, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1986, pp. 13-17, 24

[41] Valverde: *The Age of Light, Soap and Water, Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*, pp. 17-18, 23, 58; Bristow: *Vice and Vigilance, Purity Movements in Britain since 1700,* p. 65

Created to house and reform prostitutes, by 1867 it had opened its doors to single mothers and their infants discharged from the Women's Hospital and it was these women who became its primary clientele.[43]

By this time there were several other Protestant female refuges in the colony, all claiming to cater for '… unfortunate and destitute females who may be found desirous of abandoning their vicious, degrading and ruinous way of life'.[44] The committees of these refuges, usually women, insisted that female refuges were the agency through which wayward individuals could be restored as useful and honorable members of society.[45] They emphasised reform and penitence and held common perceptions of what constituted 'evil ways'. However a closer examination discloses an increasing specialisation amongst such institutions. For many the archetypal 'fallen' woman became the working class, single pregnant female, who could be bound to remain in the institution for the twelve months considered necessary for a full reformation. [46]

In addition to these Protestant institutions Victoria also had one descendent of the older Catholic tradition, the Magdalen Asylum at the Good Shepherd Convent at Abbotsford.[47] Like Perry, the Catholic Bishop Goold had been concerned about the condition of women on the goldfields where, he argued, ' … there are many strayed

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[42] The Madeline Street Refuge took its name from the street in which it was established. It was later known as the Carlton Refuge. Madeline Street is now known as Swanston Street. For more information about this institution see Swain with Howe: *Single Mothers and Their Children*, pp. 73-78
[43] Swain with Howe: *Single Mothers and Their Children*, p. 74
[44] Swain with Howe: *Single Mothers and Their Children*, pp. 73-75; VPRS 1189, Unit 931: Female Reformatory Home, Melbourne, Rules, 1856; Godden: 'Sectarianism and Purity Within the Woman's sphere: Sydney Refuges During the Late Nineteenth Century', in *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 14, 1987, pp. 291-306.
[45] *Ballarat Star*, 3 September 1884; 11 August 1886; 31 August 1889. The annual reports, the rules and regulations of all these agencies are similar, showing a common trend.
[46] Swain with Howe: *Single Mothers and Their Children*, pp. 73-74.
[47] Jean Guthrie: *'Caring for the Fallen Ones': An Examination of the role of 'fallen women' in Melbourne Society and the Conduct of Female Refuges 1870-1890*, Fourth Year Thesis, University of Melbourne, Dept. History, 1981, p. 16;

sheep to be cared for …'[48] Four nuns from the convent of the Bon Pasteur d'Angers in France founded the convent on 22 July 1863 replicating in Melbourne the regime first established at Notre-Dame de Charite du Refuge in Caen in 1641, which in turn had been modelled on the earlier Italian institutions.[49]

The Magdalen Asylum at Abbotsford was the largest such institution in Victoria.[50] The less centralised Protestants created smaller refuges designed to meet local needs. The Protestant refuge at Kildare, Geelong, was established in 1865. It emphasized the reform of women residing there with a compulsory period of stay (usually twelve months irrespective of pregnancy) and was managed by a ladies' committee.[51] The Ballarat Female Refuge was established in the latter part of 1867. Its genesis is evident in a letter that Martha Clendinning wrote to the Victorian Government on 23 July 1867 requesting a grant for a female refuge, indicating that it would be modelled on the Carlton, or 'Madeline Street' Refuge.[52]

From the thirteenth century the founders of female refuges drew on earlier precedents, adapting and changing them. Jean Eudes who founded the order of Notre Dame de Charite du Refuge in Caen in 1641 drew from Italian precedents, while Hanway and Dingley in 1758 modelled the Magdalen Hospital on these Catholic institutions. Philanthropists in colonial Victoria then utilised the Magdalen model for the Carlton Refuge in 1856, and as Martha Clendinning's letter illustrates,

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[48] Guthrie: *'Caring for the Fallen Ones': An Examination of the role of 'fallen women' in Melbourne Society and the Conduct of Female Refuges 1870*-1890, p. 16. This section is attributable to the Annals, unpublished record of incidents in the life of the Abbotsford Convent. The original letter is at the Mother House, France.
[49] Cohen: *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500*, p. 129; Finnegan: *Do Penance or Perish*, pp. 20-49
[50] The name of this asylum reflects the adherence to the faith and the use of Saint Mary Magdalen's nomenclature thus reinforcing Catholic attitudes and ideals in colonial Victoria. Nearly all other Protestant refuges were named after localities.
[51] Swain: *A Refuge at Kildare, The History of the Geelong Female Refuge and Bethany Babies' Home*
[52] VPRS 1207, Unit 550, Item 3152, Inward Registered Correspondence

the Carlton Refuge was the model for the Ballarat Female Refuge. At a local level, however, the Refuge was positioned within a network of other voluntary philanthropic institutions and it is to an examination of this network that the thesis will now turn.

CHAPTER THREE

CHARITY

BALLARAT CHARITIES

1851-1870

There are numerous links in the golden chain of philanthropy, all of which, though distinct in themselves, must necessarily be conjoined one with each other before they can encircle the entire form of suffering humanity. It is true there are noble institutions in this town, of which all Ballarat may be proud, but a Mission of this kind is required as a link to be used by Christians to rescue those who are fast sinking into that condition which necessitates the maintenance of such institutions as Hospitals, Orphanages, Benevolent Asylums and various others of a more expensive nature.[1]

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[1] Ballarat United Town Mission: Annual Report, 1871, Ballarat Mechanics' Institute Library

CHAPTER THREE

CHARITY

BALLARAT CHARITIES   1851-1870

Speaking in 1905, Ballarat's leading philanthropist James Oddie, praised the city that he had helped to found, declaring it 'worthy of the goldfield on which it stood, and a worthy monument to the men who planned and laid the foundations'.[2] Oddie's career was typical of many in the link that it drew between charity and power.[3] Over the preceding 50 years Ballarat's emerging urban elite had established a network of charities in response to the existing poverty in the town but in so doing they were also legitimising their claims to authority and leadership.[4] Indeed, charity was as important in affirming the status of the philanthropic as it was in relieving the needs of, or 'controlling', the poor. By tracing the ways in which individuals sought, acquired and maintained power through their involvement with Ballarat charities we can gain an insight into the dynamics of power that underpinned the complexity of the rapid urban and capitalist development in the town.

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[2] *The Courier*, 19 December, 1905

[3] Martin Gorsky: Book Review, Patterns of Philanthropy: In *The English Historical Review*, v. 115, 2000. p. 1339; Alan Kidd: *State, Society and the Poor in Nineteenth-Century England*, McMillan, 2000, p. 201; Alan Kidd: Patterns of Philanthropy: Charity and Society in Nineteenth-Century Bristol In *Economic History Review*, v. 54, 2001; Alan Kidd: 'Philanthropy and the "Social History Paradigm"' in *Social History*, v. 21, 1996, p. 180-192; Peter Shapely: 'Charity, Status and Leadership: Charitable Image and the Manchester Man' in *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 32, 1998, pp. 157-177

[4] Shurlee Swain: Besmirching our Reputation: Sectarianism and Charity in Geelong, in *Victorian Historical Journal*, Vol. 63, no. 1, Issue 239, June 1992, pp. 51-60; Peter Shapely: 'Charity, Status and
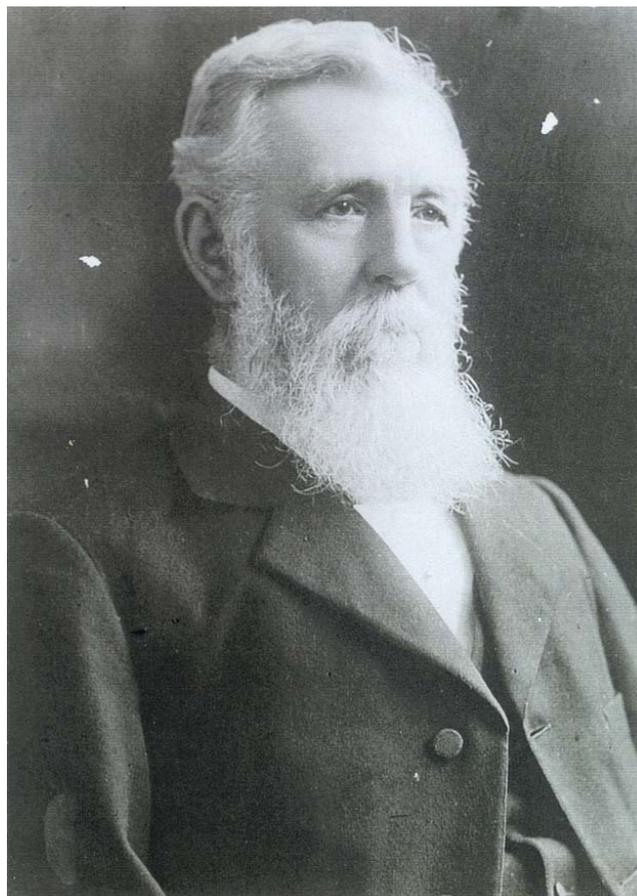
Figure 3.1 James Oddie
Source: University of Ballarat Historical Collection

Established in 1851, Ballarat was amongst the richest goldfields in the world and yet there was evidence of poverty amidst the plenty.[5] In 1858 the first annual report of the Ballarat Benevolent and Visiting Society claimed that 'few persons … living in the secluded walks of life could have imagined the existence of so much want and suffering upon the metropolitan gold field of Victoria' as the committee of management had encountered.[6] Contemporary observers related this paradox to the disruption and disorderliness of gold rush society. Bishop Perry warned that the

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Parliamentary Candidates in Manchester: A Consideration of Electoral and Charity Fields and the Social Basis of Power, 1832 – 1910' in *International Review of Social History*, April 1999, pp. 1-21

[5] Robert Brough Smyth: *Mining and Mineral Statistics*, Intercolonial Exhibition, Pamphlet, Melbourne 1866, p. 10; Margaret Kiddle: *Men of Yesterday: A Social History of the Western District of Victoria, 1834-1890*, Melbourne University Press, 1961, p. 194; The Ballarat Visiting and Benevolent Association, pamphlet, 1856, Ballarat Health Services; Sir Henry Barkly: *Dispatches from Victoria*, 1 September 1858; Census of Victoria 1857, Paper no. 24a, p. 24

[6] Ballarat Benevolent and Visiting Association: First Annual Report, Rules and Financial Statement for

'prodigious profits which many … make … tends to demoralise those who are engaged in it, to exercise a pernicious influence upon others, and to derange the whole system of Society'.[7] He gloomily observed that 'amidst bereavement, suffering, affliction and despair the Devil was abroad in Victoria, walking to and fro upon the earth, sowing the gold'.[8] Perry objected to the gold rushes because the effects of gold threatened to make the poor rich in a process unrelated to diligence, moral worth or industriousness, weakening domesticity and threatening to overthrow the existing social order.[9]
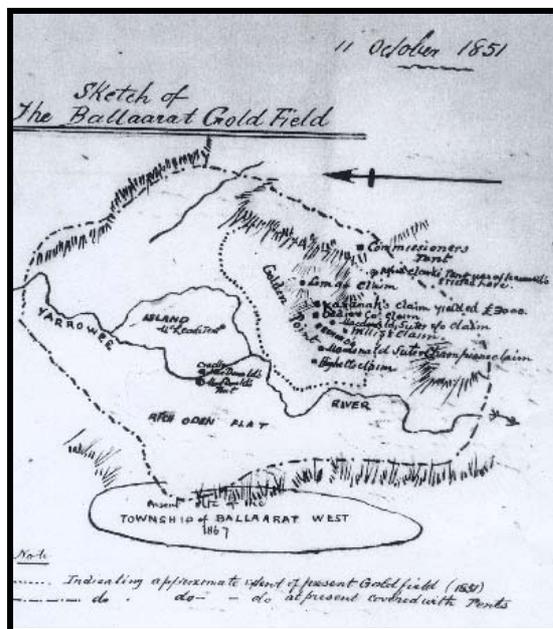
Figure 3.2 Map of Golden Point, 1851 showing Oddie's Claim
Source: University of Ballarat Historical Collection

What disturbed such observers was not the diversity of fortunes which was everywhere apparent, but rather that the distribution of this fortune bore no

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the year 1858, Township Printing Office, 1860, pp. 5-6

[7] 'The Ballarat Gold Fields', *Church of England Messenger*, 2 November, 1851 cited in David Goodman: *Gold Seeking Victoria and California in the 1850's*, Allen & Unwin, 1994, pp. 321-324

[8] 'The Ballarat Gold Fields', *Church of England Messenger*, 2 November, 1851, cited in David Goodman: *Gold Seeking Victoria and California in the 1850's*, p 325. Goodman asserts that this was closer to the private views rather than the public views of the Anglican hierarchy.

[9] Roslyn Otzen: The Doorstep Evangelist: William Hall in Darkest Prahran in *The Outcasts of Melbourne*, Graeme Davison, David Dunstan and Chris McConville (Editors), Allen & Unwin, 1985, pp. 113-114; Penny Russell: *A Wish of Distinction' - Colonial Gentility and Femininity*, Melbourne University Press, 1994, pp. 27-29

relationship to just deserts.[10] Where Evangelical Christianity taught that immorality, idleness, thriftlessness and intemperance brought poverty and misery; under the influence of gold it was often the feckless that were the most successful.[11] This newfound wealth brought disruption and disorder with the result that, as Otzen has argued, 'neither the charitable nor the evangelical were unreservedly pleased.[12] To Matilda Dixie, one of the Refuge founders, the abounding wealth was central to the problem the new institution needed to address. Because it was too often spent on vice the good fortune of the few was a cause of the downfall of many goldfields' women.[13]

The rejection of the Poor Law system in the Colony of Victoria was built on the assumption that voluntary charity would best cater for the needs of the poor.[14] Many immigrants brought to the colony a belief that philanthropy was both a moral duty and an essential tool in the maintenance of social order. Hence in Ballarat, as in Melbourne, those who sought elite status took upon themselves the responsibility of establishing a range of charitable institutions to cater for the recognised causes of need.[15]   The similarities in the pattern of the establishment of charities in the two cities would cast doubt on the suggestion that obvious need was the sole motivating factor. Although the philanthropic sought to alleviate distress they also derived power

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[10] Goodman: *Gold Seeking Victoria and California in the 1850's*, pp. 58-59; Geoffrey Serle: *The Golden Age: A History of the Colony of Victoria 1851-1861*, Dai Nippon Printing Company (International) Ltd., 3rd Edition, 1968, pp. 30-31

[11] Rev. M. Whitton before the Royal Commission on Charitable Institutions, *Victorian Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. iv, 1892-93, p. 1279

[12] Roslyn Ozten: Charity and Evangelisation: the Melbourne City Mission: 1854-1914, PhD, Department of History, University of Melbourne, 1986, p.1

[13] VPRS 1207 Unit 552 Item 3567, Treasurer's Correspondence, Inward Registered Correspondence, Letter written by Matilda Dixie, Honorary Secretary dated 23 May 1868. Shurlee Swain: 'The Poor People of Melbourne' in *The Outcasts of Melbourne: Essays in Social History*, edited by Graeme Davison, David Dunstan and Chris McConville, Allen & Unwin, 1985, p. 105

[14] Brian Dickey: *Rations, Residence, Resources: A History of Social Welfare in South Australia since 1836*, Wakefield Press, 1986, p. xiv; Richard Kennedy: *Charity Warfare: The Charity Organisation Society in Colonial Melbourne*: Hyland House, 1985, pp. 12-13, 26-27

[15] William Bramwell Withers: *History of Ballarat and Some Ballarat* Reminiscences, pp. 159-161; Weston Bate: *Lucky City,* pp. 41, 174, 176; Anthea Hislop: *Sovereign Remedies: A History of Ballarat*

from membership of a charity, in particular, an affirmation of status and prestige in the new city.

Melbourne Charities Melbourne – Founded 1835		Ballarat Charities Ballarat – Founded 1851	
Institution	Established	Institution	Established
Melbourne Hospital	1846	Miners' Hospital	1855
Benevolent Asylum	1850	Benevolent Asylum	1859
Orphan Asylum	1851	Orphan Asylum	1865
Carlton Refuge	1858	Ballarat Female Refuge	1867

Table 3.1   Major Charitable Institutions:
Melbourne and Ballarat: A Comparison

Sources: Swain: *The Victorian Charity Network in the 1890s*, 1976; A Guide to Charity and the Philanthropic Work of Victoria, Charity Organisation Society, 1912; R. A. Cage: Poverty Abounding: Charity Aplenty; Hale & Iremonger, 1992; Withers: *History of Ballarat and Some Ballarat Reminiscences*, 1999

The rapid development of charity in Ballarat was made possible by existing networks and bonds amongst the influential men of the town's two municipalities. Table 3.2 illustrates the high degree of common membership amongst the major charities.[16] Appendix 2 extends this analysis further in order to trace the underlying factors that linked the major philanthropists to each other and to the broader community. All Ballarat's charitable committees were dominated by goldfields' pioneers whose early

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Base Hospital, 1850s to 1980s, Allen & Unwin Australia Pty. Ltd., 1989; Nathan Spielvogel: *Spielvogel Papers*, Volume 1, Part 3, pp. 77-79, 117-121, 149-151

[16] The sources from which this table was compiled were listings of Ballarat and Ballarat East Councillors and Members of Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council (1856-1970), and committee members of Ballarat Hospital (1856-1870), Ballarat Visiting and Benevolent Society (1857-1859), Ballarat Benevolent Asylum (1859-1870), Ballarat Orphan Asylum (1865-1870) and Ballarat Female Refuge (1867+)

NAME	Hosp	Benev't Asylum	Orphan Asylum	Female Refuge	Council/ Parliamt	Religion
Mr Andrew George Anderson		Y	Y			CE
Mr Henry R Caselli	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	CE
Dr George Clendinning	Y			Y	Y	CE
Rev Robert T. Cummins		Y	Y			CE
Mr Michael J Cummins	Y	Y			Y	RC*
Mr Henry Cuthbert	Y		Y		Y	CE
Mr Alexander Dimant		Y			Y	Jewish
Mr Arthur Drury	Y	Y				CE
Mr Gilbert Duncan		Y	Y		Y	CE
Mr Charles Dyte			Y		Y	Jewish
Mr J Eddy		Y	Y			CE
Mr W. H. Foster	Y	Y				CE
Mr Richard Birkett Gibbs	Y		Y			CE
Mr Jabez J. Ham	Y	Y				Methodist
Mr John James		Y	Y		Y	Methodist
Mr R Kent		Y	Y			Methodist
Mr Thomas Learmonth		Y			Y	CE
Mr Robert Lewis	Y	Y	Y		Y	CE
Mr Adam Loftus Lynn	Y	Y			Y	CE
Mr Townsend McDermott		Y		Y	Y	CE
Mr D Morris		Y	Y			CE
Mr James Oddie	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Methodist
Mr J O'Meara	Y	Y				RC
Dr Walter L. Richardson	Y	Y				CE
Mr William B. Robinson	Y	Y			Y	CE
Mr William Scott		Y	Y		Y	CE
Mr William Collard Smith	Y	Y			Y	CE
Mr Emmanuel Steinfeld		Y	Y		Y	Jewish
Rev J M Strongman	Y	Y				CE
Mr John Thomas Walker		Y	Y		Y	CE

* M. Cummins was married in CE Church.

Table 3.2 Names occurring twice or more between 1851 and 1870
Ballarat Charitable Institutions Committee Memberships & Members of Government
Source: List taken from Union query of databases compiled for this thesis. See footnote 18

shared experiences laid a foundation of cooperation and care for one's mates creating powerful alliances. They were not, however, the traditional 'diggers' but professional men financially successful because of their investment in mining company shares and real estate. The financial holdings of Ballarat's philanthropists were extensive. Gold mining shareholders included George Clendinning, Joseph and Matilda Dixie, Richard Birkett Gibbs, David Ham, William Henderson, Benjamin Hepburn, Thomas Hillas, Robert Lewis, Townsend McDermott, William Scott, William Collard Smith, James Stewart, and Susan Turner. Joseph and Matilda Dixie owned shares in the Suburban Mining Company and New North Clunes Company (1860), the Band of Hope (1861) and United Hand-in-Hand & Band of Hope (1866). Robert Birkett Gibbs owned shares in the Scottish and Cornish and the Band of Hope as well as nineteen other mining companies. Michael Elliott owned shares in the Rose, Thistle and Shamrock (1862), Chryseis (1863), Staffordshire Reef GMC (1863-64) and the Scottish and Cornish (1864).[17]

This influential group also owned many properties in Ballarat with Matilda Dixie being the most prominent female landowner in Ballarat.[18] The men and women who knew each other through these economic networks had great power, the wealth generated from land and mining shares and business companies giving them the financial resources and contacts, the time, means and motivation to form the core of the charitable institutions' committees.

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[17] Robert Ashley: Shareholders and List of Legal Managers, Unpublished database. Sources: Government Gazettes and Parliamentary Papers. A full listing of shareholders for Victorian gold mining companies, date range up until 1866, is available, describing place of operation, division, reference, number of shares, amount of share, paid up price per share, legal manager, and address as Gazetted.
[18] Dorothy Wickham and Roy Huggins: *Ballarat General Rate Assessments 1856-64*, Self-published microfiche, 1998; Dorothy Wickham: Ballarat and Ballarat East Rates, Unpublished database. Sources: Ballarat General Rate Ledgers, Ballarat East General Rate Ledgers. A full listing describing name of ratepayer, owner, number and street of property, type of property, if rented and by whom, is available on database for Ballarat 1856-64 and for Ballarat East 1859-60.
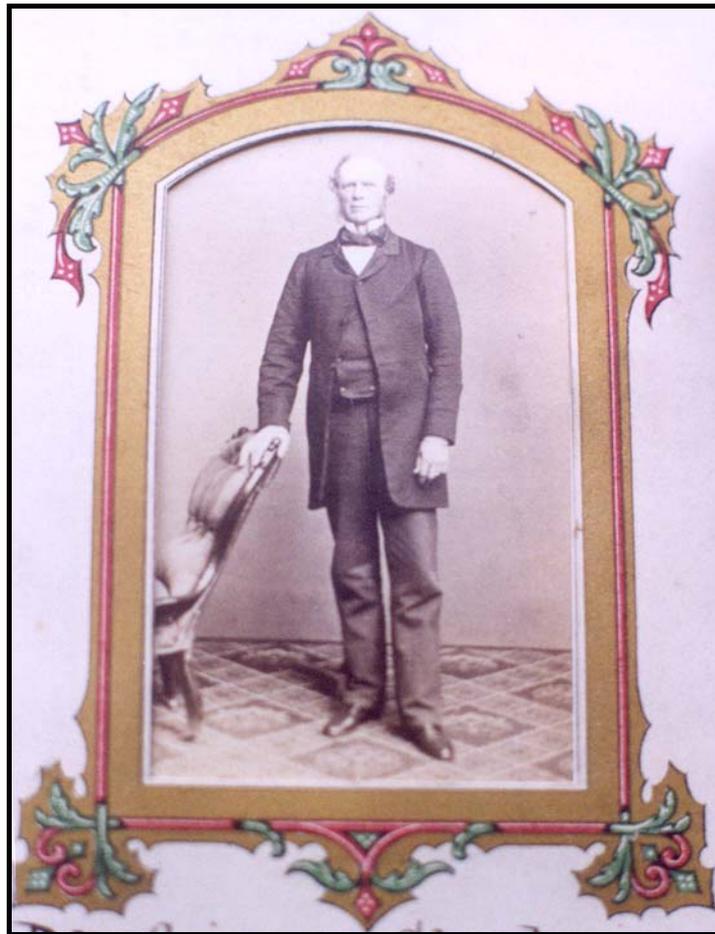
Figure 3.3 Dr George Clendinning
Source: Photo Album: Central Highlands Regional Library Corporation

As citizens of some standing, many had been involved in the establishment of the municipalities of Ballarat and Ballarat East, 75% of the men shown in Table 3.2 being members of local councils, with some using such positions, later, as a springboard to parliamentary office.[19] During the period of Ballarat's early urban development however, few took this step. In between 1851 and 1870, a total of 29 politicians were elected to either the Legislative Council or Assembly from Ballarat, but only four of these sat on the committee of a charity. Clearly philanthropy was the preserve of

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[19] Procedure and Projects Officer: *Meet the Parliament: The Legislative Council's Historic Sitting, Town Hall, City of Ballarat, 16 August 2001*, Department of the Legislative Council, 2001, pp. 12-14. Among the men in parliament were Peter Lalor, Robert Malachi Sergeant, J. R. Bailey, J. Cathie and J. B. Humffray. William Collard Smith (Benevolent Asylum), Charles Dyte (Orphanage, Ballarat East Council), Thomas Learmonth (Benevolent Asylum), and John James (Benevolent Asylum). However, Henry Cuthbert (Hospital, Orphanage), J. N. Dunn ((Benevolent Asylum), and Emmanuel Steinfield (Benevolent Asylum, Orphanage) were members of Ballarat charities to be elected to parliament in later years.

those who exercised power at the local level.[20] Wealth gave these men the time and means to participate in the business of establishing and managing charities, while the contacts they made through conducting their businesses ensured that they never sat amongst strangers. Their rising status gave them the motivation and invested in them the moral authority to establish charitable institutions.

Figure 3.4 View of Golden Point [Ballarat] 1858
Source: Newsletter of Australasia, February 1858,
National Library Australia, Pictorial Collection

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[20] See Appendix 2 and Table 3.2

There is little that is distinctively colonial about such a pattern. Studies of emerging British cities like Manchester and Bristol show a similar correlation between membership of charitable committees and public office. As historians such as Gorsky and Shapely have demonstrated, upwardly mobile men used membership of a charity as an avenue through which to reinforce their status and moral worth.[21] While their motivation clearly had elements of both humanitarianism and benevolence these men were using philanthropy to justify class differences and so promote class barriers and distinctions.[22] In such a process the responsibility of the recipient was to express gratitude to the giver, affirming through their adherence the values and attitudes which charity espoused, the rightness of his claim to social superiority. Nor was such adherence necessarily false as, in times of social mobility, often the donor and recipient shared common moral understandings.[23]

Not all of the wealthy, upwardly mobile residents of Ballarat, however, were engaged in philanthropy. The members of the various charity committees were overwhelmingly Protestant. Protestants comprised approximately 81.07% of the population in Ballarat in 1854 and 82.20% in 1857 but contributed 86.21% of members of Ballarat charitable committees.[24] Although the percentage of Protestants in Ballarat's philanthropic committees was similar to that in the general community, the analysis of Protestant denominations within Ballarat's philanthropic committees showed that they were mainly Methodists and Anglicans.

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[21] Martin Gorsky: 'Book Review, Patterns of Philanthropy' p. 1339; Kidd: *State, Society and the Poor in Nineteenth-Century England*, p. 201; Kidd: Patterns of Philanthropy: Charity and Society in Nineteenth-Century Bristol, 2001; Kidd: Philanthropy and the 'Social History Paradigm', p. 180-192; Shapely: 'Charity, Status and Leadership: Charitable Image and the Manchester Man, p. 157-177
[22] Frank Prochaska: Voluntary Impulse and Philanthropy In F. M. L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950, 111, Social Agencies and Institutions*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 357-93
[23] Shapely: *Charity and Power in Victorian Manchester*, pp. 3, 34
[24] See Appendices 3 and 4; and Appendix 1, Maps 1.2 and Map 1.4

Religion	Charity Membership	General Community
CE	72.41%	38.33%
Jewish	10.35%	00.78%
Methodist	13.79%	12.4%
RC	3.45%	14.62%

Table 3.3 Comparison of religious denominations:
Charity Membership with General Community
Source: The counties of Grant, Grenville and Talbot, comprising Ballarat goldfields, Buninyong, Township of Ballarat, Ballarat & Wardy Yallock [*sic*] Diggings, and Creswick's and part of the Ballaarat [*sic*] Diggings have been examined to arrive at this figure.[25]

Anglicans dominated Ballarat's charitable committees. The church had grown rapidly during the 1850s but was particularly successful amongst the colony's elite.[26] Across the colony, Swain has argued, Anglicans were 'over-represented amongst those who administered the charitable organisations of the colony and under-represented amongst those who had the need to call upon their services'.[27] In Ballarat the congregations of the evangelical parishes of St. Peter's and St. Paul's replicated this pattern.[28] Until 1986 Anglicans comprised the highest proportion of the Australian population.[29]

The over-representation of Methodists is more significant. Methodism had grown rapidly in the colony because it was able to meet the needs of the highly mobile gold rush population.[30] For many of its adherents it provided a route to social mobility

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[25] See Appendices 3, 4, and Table 3.2
[26] See Appendix 5; For a comparison with distribution of religions in Geelong see Swain: 'Besmirching our Reputation: Sectarianism and Charity in Geelong', pp. 52-53
[27] Shurlee Swain: Philanthropy and Welfare in the Diocese of Melbourne in *Melbourne Anglicans: The Diocese of Melbourne 1847 - 1997*, edited by Brian Porter, Melbourne, The Joint Board of Christian Education Anglican Diocese of Melbourne, 1997, p. 122
[28] See Appendices 3, 4 and Table 3.6; Archives St. Peter's Anglican Church; Archives St. Paul's Anglican Church
[29] Tricia Blomberg: *The Anglicans in Australia*, Australian Government Printing Service, Canberra, 1996, p. 45
[30] Don Wright and Eric Clancy: *The Methodists: A History of Methodism in NSW*, Allen & Unwin Pty.

through its emphasis on thrift, abstinence and self-help. For such men, Weston Bate argues, 'it was a badge of success to be on the hospital, benevolent home or orphanage committees'.[31] Despite their denominational differences, Anglicans and Methodists shared an adherence to Evangelical Christianity and its moral crusade aimed at transforming and converting individuals by promoting temperance, maintaining the Sabbath, and upholding moral standards.[32] Having experienced personal salvation, they recognised a responsibility to help others to achieve a similar goal.

Figure 3.5 Ballarat in 1857 showing the Wesleyan parsonage and church
Source: *Australasian Sketcher*, 8 May 1880, p.88

Catholics represented 15.97% of the general population of the Township and Ballarat Goldfields in 1854 and 14.62% of the general population in 1857, but only 3.45% of the committee members.[33] The majority of Ballarat's Catholics were Irish, a product of the mass migration that followed the famine.[34] They were to be found clustering in the

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Ltd., 1993, p. xii
[31] Bate: *Lucky City,* p. 261
[32] Roger C. Thompson: *Religion in Australia: A History*, Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 16-17; Withers: *History of Ballarat and Some Ballarat Reminscences*, p. 40
[33] See Appendices 3 and 4
[34] Jillian Margaret Blee: Giving the Laity a Voice through Fiction: Irish Catholic Ballarat in 1875 as

poorest areas of Ballarat East, Eureka, and Bakery Hill.[35] The efforts of the few members of this impoverished community who *did* become wealthy were focused on building the church, leaving little time for involvement in the town's major charities.[36] Even if they had the time it is doubtful that they would have been acceptable to the other committee members.[37] They were not members of the business and political networks from which such committees recruited and, as Catholics, were a traditional focus of hostility amongst Evangelical Protestants.[38]

By contrast the Jews who made up only 0.78% of the population of Ballarat, were represented in significant numbers (10.35% of the charity membership group) on the committees.[39] The Jewish community had a strong tradition of philanthropy and was quick to set up both the Ballarat Jewish Philanthropic Society and the Ballarat Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society in the town.[40] In order to be acknowledged as worthwhile, honorable, and valuable citizens in their new homeland they sought and accepted positions on the major community charitable committees as well.[41] Their multiple relationships with members of the dominant Protestant Evangelical elite indicates an acceptance which the Catholics were denied.[42]

Hence it was *not* a shared religious or ethnic affiliation that defined that subsection of Ballarat's elite that dominated its principal charities. The major organisation in the

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portrayed in The Liberator's Birthday, Ph. D., University of Ballarat, 2002, pp. 3, 21-41

[35] For the specific numbers in each locality see Appendix 4. See Appendix 1, Maps 1.3 and 1.4 for some localities.

[36] Bate: *Lucky City*, p. 39; Blee: Giving the Laity a Voice through Fiction: Irish Catholic Ballarat in 1875 as portrayed in The Liberator's Birthday, p. 3

[37] Swain: 'Besmirching our Reputation: Sectarianism and Charity in Geelong', pp. 51, 54

[38] Blee: Giving the Laity a Voice through Fiction: Irish Catholic Ballarat in 1875 as portrayed in The Liberator's Birthday, pp. 4, 6, 9

[39] See Appendices 3 and 4 and Table 3.2; Lionel Sharpe: *Paper prepared for the Jewish Genealogical Society* (Vic.), March 2002. The figures in this paper comply with the census figures and appendices 3 and 4.

[40] Newman Rosenthal: *Formula for Survival: The Saga of the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation*, The Hawthorn Press, 1979, pp. 17, 34-41

[41] See Table 3.2

town that brought together both Jews and Protestants, but which was generally not open to Catholics, was Freemasonry.[43] As Appendix 2 illustrates, 61.36% of the committee members were definitely Freemasons, 4.5% were not, leaving 34.09% whose status is unclear. During this era Freemasonry was widespread throughout England and continental Europe, and was clearly employed by the emerging middle classes as a means of networking and support.[44] At meetings ideas and concepts were exchanged and discussed, with members being urged to practise compassion and benevolence.[45]

Freemasonry was present in Ballarat from its earliest years. A French Lodge, 'Rameau d'Or d'Eleusis' was meeting at the Ballinguiy hotel at Black Hill Flat around 1853.[46] This, however, was not recognised by Freemasons in England, who celebrated instead the foundation of the Victoria Lodge of Ballarat on 28 September 1855.[47] Another branch, the Yarrowee Freemasonic Lodge of Ballarat East, met for the first time on 22 April 1857. Present at the first meeting were Richard O'Cock, a solicitor whose tent was opposite George and Martha Clendinning's on the Ballarat goldfields in 1853, Alexander Dimant, James Stewart an early Ballarat doctor, J. Daly, Bernard Smith, T. Cope, R. Walsh a solicitor, Walter L. Richardson (a doctor associated with Henry Cuthbert, the solicitor), Robert Holmes (who was Martha

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[42] See Table 3.2 and Appendix 2

[43] See Table 3.2 and Appendix 2; Roger Porteous: Sebastopol Freemasonic Records, CD-ROM, Unpublished; Robert Bell: Freemasons Index Cards, Private Collection; Dorothy Wickham: Ballarat Freemasons, Unpublished database; A. A. W. Steane: *Freemasonic Records: Ballarat and District 1854 – 1957*, Waller & Chester Printers, 1957. Although Catholics were not excluded from the Freemasons, they usually were not members because of an earlier Papal Bull which did not permit them to join.

[44] Kent Henderson: *Masonic World Guide: A Guide to Grand Lodges of the World for the Travelling Freemason*, Lewis Masonic, 1984, pp. 16, 342-346

[45] Henderson: *Masonic World Guide: A Guide to Grand Lodges of the World for the Travelling Freemason*, pp. 6-14 See Henderson for more information on the ritual and visiting of the Freemasonic Lodge.

[46] The Anglicised name of this lodge is 'Branch of Gold of Eleusis'.

[47] Steane: *Freemasonic Records: Ballarat and District 1854 - 1957*, p. 11; Robert Bell: Freemasonry in Early Ballarat – Parts 1 & 2, in *The Ballarat Historian*, Vol. 4, No. 10, July 1991, p. 8.

Clendinning's brother), R. Fenton and W. Robinson.[48] Members of the Yarrowee Lodge moved quickly into philanthropy, establishing a Board of Benevolence and a Board of General Purposes with contributions paid into the funds from initiation fees, joining fees and from each member's annual subscription.[49]

The influence of Freemasonry in Ballarat extended beyond the individual lodges. Freemasons dominated all of the early charitable committees. The laying of the foundation stone, traditionally the job of the Freemason, offered Freemasons the opportunity to display, through pomp and ceremony, their authority and power in the town. The first such display came with the foundation of the hospital in 1855. Earlier attempts to arouse interest amongst the miners had failed so it was the businessmen of Ballarat that took the lead. Gold Commissioner Robert Rede had applied for a building grant and the colonial government promised the sum of £1000 but this was conditional on an equivalent amount being raised by public subscription.[50] However it was not until July 1855, when a new secretary, Mr Jabez J. Ham, a prominent Freemason, was appointed, that a serious fund-raising campaign was undertaken.[51] Within a month £1000 had been raised and the plans for the new hospital were commissioned. The miners, Ballarat hospital historian, Anthea Hyslop observes, then began to display a 'decided disposition to support benevolent projects … and pledged energetic support, showering the platform with

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[48] Richard O'Cock was also a member of the Geelong Freemason's Lodge of Unity and Prudence around 1848.

[49] Steane: *Freemasonic Records: Ballarat and District 1854 – 1957*; Unknown: Yarrowee Lodge, No. 10, V. C., Ballarat, Centenary Celebrations: 1857-1957, p. 3. Those who sat on the Board of Benevolence 'had the power to discharge £5 to 'worthy and deserving cases'. Any amounts above this sum had to be referred to the Lodge for consideration.

[50] Hyslop: *Sovereign Remedies: A History of Ballarat Base Hospital 1850s to 1980s*, Allen & Unwin, Australia, 1989, p. 14 cited in Fn. 25. See also PROV, VPRS 1011, Unit 2. Letter received by Resident Commissioner, Ballarat from the Chief Commissioner of the Goldfields re hospital

[51] Jabez Ham was brother to David Ham, bookseller, Member of Parliament, Methodist and prominent Mason. Mrs Kingsbury, the daughter of David Ham was prominent in philanthropic committees in Queensland. See Shauna Laurene Hicks: Caring Women: Female Philanthropy in Colonial Queensland, MA Thesis (Australian Studies), Griffith University, 1996, pp. 62-64

small gold nuggets'.[52] Given that the Foot Police had been granted the building 'formerly used as a hospital' at the Camp in Lydiard Street North, the committee was able to argue that there was an urgent necessity for a new hospital to cater for the sick in Ballarat.[53] On 25 December 1855 the foundation stone was laid with Masonic honors at the site on the corner of Sturt and Drummond Streets.[54] Prominent at the ceremony were the hospital's elected trustees, Messrs Elliott, Oddie, Ranken, Dixie and Foster, and doctors Hillas, Clendinning and Stewart all of whom were Freemasons.
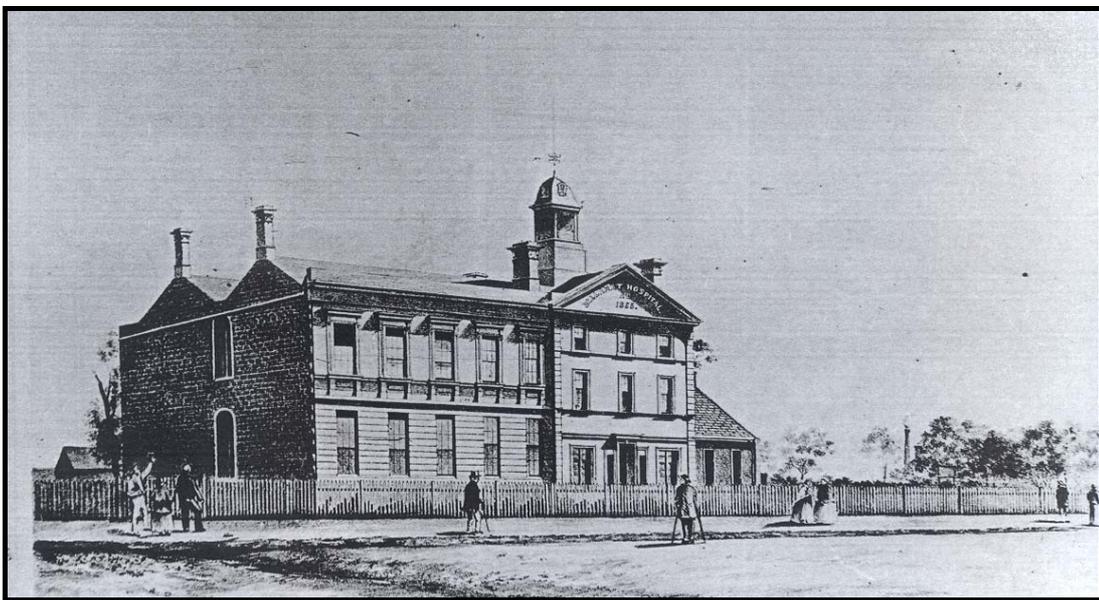
Figure 3.6 Ballarat Miners' Hospital, 1859
Source: Anthea Hislop: *Sovereign Remedies: A History of Ballarat Base Hospital, 1850s to 1980s*, Allen & Unwin Australia Pty. Ltd., 1989, Front Cover.
Ballarat Base Hospital: Artist François Cogné

The Ballarat Benevolent and Visiting Society was established in 1857. The first voluntary charity to offer out-door relief to the destitute,[55] it was also the precursor to the Ballarat Benevolent Asylum. The need for outdoor relief had been brought to public attention by the case of Mrs George Wright whose husband, a newly arrived immigrant, unemployed and poverty-stricken, committed suicide on 26 November

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[52] Hyslop: *Sovereign Remedies: A History of Ballarat Base Hospital 1850s to 1980s*, p. 17
[53] VPRS 1011, Unit 2, PROV, Ballarat Archives Centre, Letter from Chief Commissioner of Goldfields, Robert Rede to Arthur Kirk, Senior Sub-Inspector, 10 February 1855
[54] Hyslop: *Sovereign Remedies: A History of Ballarat Base Hospital 1850s to 1980s*, p. 17
[55] R. A. Cage: *Poverty Abounding Charity Aplenty: The Charity Network in colonial Victoria*, Southwood

1857. She was left with two small children and because there was no form of organized charity in Ballarat the most attractive option open to her was a public appeal. Mr Michael James Cummins, a prominent Freemason, took in the Wright family, while in Council he proposed a scheme to pay unemployed men to break stone for the roads, the Council approving £200 for this purpose.[56]

Although the Cornish community was credited with raising the initial funds for the Wright family, in the establishment, on 30 November 1857, of the Ballarat Benevolent and Visiting Society, Freemasons again played a major role.[57] Mr James Oddie presided over a twenty-eight-member committee which included fellow Freemasons, Mr A. A. Tarte, as Hon. Secretary and Mr A. S. Park, as Hon. Treasurer. Robert Lewis, a member of the Masonic fraternity, (later to become President) audited the accounts with J. M. Strongman for the half-year ending 31 December 1858. The new society set out to relieve the sick and aged poor in their own homes, and was prepared to assist 'other deserving Applicants upon the Report of the Visitors appointed to inquire into the merits of each case'.[58]

The Ballarat Benevolent Asylum evolved from the Ballarat Visiting and Benevolent Society.[59] Community support for the Benevolent Asylum was evident with Ballarat and Ballarat East Councils each donating £200, supplementing the grant of £2000 for building, and £500 for maintenance made by the Legislative Assembly with £1000 to be raised by subscription. The Ladies' Fancy Bazaar held during Easter

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Press Pty. Ltd., 1992, pp. 59-60

[56] Colin J. Cummins and H. Geoffrey Cummins: A Chronology of Some of the Events in the Life of Michael James Cummins, Unpublished Paper, 2002

[57] Doreen Bauer: *Institutions Without Walls, A Brief History of Geriatric Services 1856-1985*, Waller & Chester, 1985, Section 4, pp. 1-2

[58] Ballarat Visiting and Benevolent Association [*sic*], Rules and Regulations; Ballarat Benevolent and Visiting Association: First Annual Report, Rules and Financial Statement for the year 1858, Printed by Charles Boyd, 1859; Bauer: *Institutions Without Walls, A Brief History of Geriatric Services 1856-1985*, p. 2

week in the Council Chambers provided £572. The proprietors of the Theatre Royal and the Chinese Theatre, Hon. George Coppin and Mr Bridges, who was a Freemason, also made donations.[60] The government granted five acres of swampy Crown Land for the building.[61] The history of the Yarrowee Lodge reported that

> On 16th March, 1859, Rt. Wor. Bro. Francis Thomas Gell, the
> Prov. Grand Master, visited the Yarrowee Lodge, and requested
> the Master, officers and brethren of all Lodges to attend at St.
> Paul's Hall the next morning at 11 a.m., when he, with Rt. Wor.
> Prov. S. G. W. (Bro. Lowry), the Rt. Wor. Prov. Grand Secretary
> (Bro. Levick), and the Rt. Wor. Prov. Grand Chaplain (Rev. C.
> P. M. Bardin) would form the first Grand Lodge in Ballarat, to
> which all Freemasons would be invited. The Prov. Grand
> Master, Grand Officers and all brethren formed a procession,
> and, clothed in full regalia, carrying banners and working tools,
> marched from St. Paul's to the intended site, and with due ritual
> and ceremony, well and truly laid the foundation stone at the
> Ballarat Benevolent Asylum (now the Queen Elizabeth
> Benevolent Home). Their labours being ended, they returned
> and closed the Grand Lodge in due form.[62]

The Asylum admitted its first patient, James Miller, a 65-year old Scottish miner, on 21 February 1861.[63] The funds of the institution were provided by grants from

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[59] The First Annual Report refers to this Society as the Ballarat Visiting and Benevolent Association
[60] Ballarat Benevolent and Visiting Association: First Annual Report, Rules and Financial Statement for the year 1858, Printed by Charles Boyd, 1859, pp. 5-6; Benevolent Asylum, Ballarat: Second Annual Report, Rules and Financial Statement for the year 1858, Printed by Charles Boyd, 1859, pp. 3-4; Sebastopol Masonic Lodge; Attendance Book, Visitors and Attendees of Meetings
[61] Bauer: *Institutions Without Walls, A Brief History of Geriatric Services 1856-1985*, pp. 11-12; Cage: *Poverty Abounding Charity Aplenty*, pp. 59-60; Ballarat Benevolent Asylum: Second Annual Report
[62] Unknown: Yarrowee Lodge, No. 10, V. C., Ballarat, Centenary Celebrations: 1857-1957, p. 3. There is a difference in dates given between this account and that of the second Annual Report of the Benevolent Asylum.
[63] Admission Register, Ballarat Benevolent Asylum, 1861

government, church collections and voluntary contributions. Every donor of £10 or more could become an honorary member for life; every donor of £5 became an honorary member for three years; every contributor of £2 an honorary member for one year and every contributor of sixpence or more for three months could become a member.[64] Although mining was often the cause of many of the injuries that forced people to seek the shelter of the asylum only four gold mining companies: The Great Extended, Koh-i-noor, British, Allied Armies and Independent Companies had responded to the early appeal.[65] Donations came primarily from ministers and church congregations, members of Manchester Unity, the Independent Order of Oddfellows, the Ancient Order of Foresters, the Caledonian Society, and prominent individuals several of whom were again Freemasons. Only when the asylum was established was there increased support from the mining companies adding their contributions to the funds raised through lectures and entertainments, and continued support from councils.[66]

The initial roles of the Benevolent Asylum were broad ranging. As the committee stated in 1870 the 'Asylum is not merely one institution, but several institutions combined, representing in Ballarat indeed, what in Melbourne is represented by three distinct charities, viz.-the Melbourne Benevolent Asylum, the Melbourne Ladies' Benevolent Society, and the Melbourne Lying-in Hospital, and is in addition, a Chronic Hospital'.[67] The committee made a conscious decision to encompass 'various modes of relief into one institution, worked by one staff of officers, and with

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[64] Ballarat Benevolent and Visiting Association: First Annual Report, Rules and Financial Statement for the year 1858, Township Printing Office, 1860, p. 10
[65] Ballarat Benevolent Asylum: Third Annual Report, Rules and Financial Statement for the year 1860, The 'Star' Office, 1861, p. 10
[66] Ballarat Benevolent Asylum: Fifth Annual Report, Rules and Financial Statement for the year 1862, p. 12
[67] Ballarat Benevolent Asylum: Twelfth Annual Report, Rules and Financial Statement for the year 1870, p. 12

only one set of expenses'.[68] However, over time, its functions narrowed as new and more specialist organisations were founded.
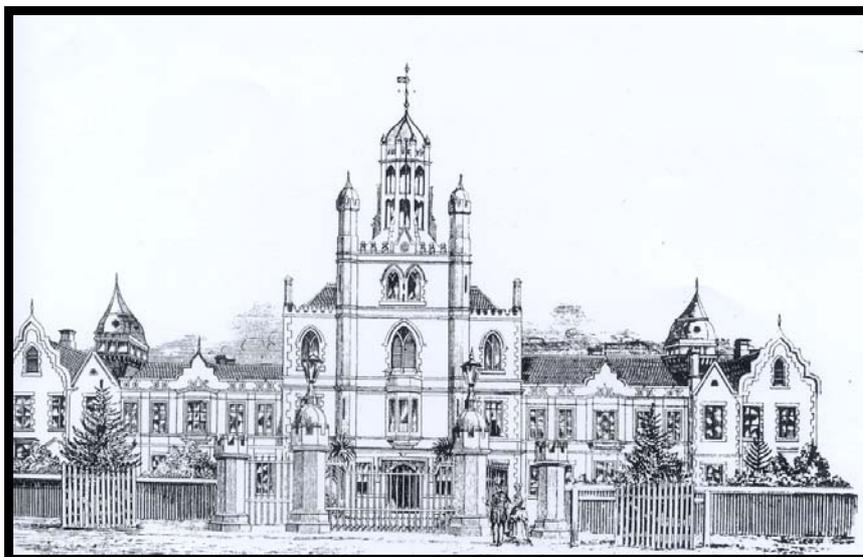
Figure 3.7 Ballarat Benevolent Asylum, 1875
Source: National Library Pictorial Collection, Plate no. 25615

In 1861 the Benevolent Asylum committee established a Common School, which by 1863 was catering for over sixty children.[69] The teacher was Matilda Dixie, widow of Freemason Joseph Dixie. Fellow Freemason, and Benevolent Asylum president, James Oddie had recommended her for the job. By the mid-1860s, the committee was arguing that it was undesirable for orphans, delinquents, the aged, female cases and the chronically ill to be housed together at the Asylum. Suddenly two more institutions, an orphanage and industrial school, were deemed to be desperately necessary in Ballarat. In 1868 the committee was able to close the school as most of the children had been removed from the Benevolent Asylum and sent to the new state industrial school, one of which was located in the town. Mr Henry Cuthbert, a prominent Freemason, prepared indentures for some of the older children who were

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[68] Ballarat Benevolent Asylum: Twelfth Annual Report, Rules and Financial Statement for the year 1870, p. 12
[69] PROV, VPRS 904, Unit 1, Inspector's Report, 1863. This volume lists names of pupils and gives a report on the school.

to be sent out as apprentices or domestics.[70] Others, considered too 'superior' for State care, were transferred to Ballarat's newest charity, the Orphan Asylum.

The Ballarat Orphan Asylum, which opened in 1865, was an initiative of a group of Ballarat publicans and Freemasons, led by Mr W. Redfern, and members of local Friendly Societies. [71] The first committee comprised W. R. Watson, E. Steinfeld, R. B. Gibbs, W. Scott, R. Kent, James Gougon, Charles Dyte, A. Anderson, C. D. Cuthbert, Gilbert Duncan, D. R. Morris, all of whom were Freemasons, along with W. Dunn, J. Craddock, R. Jones, R. U. Nicholls, W. L. Mullen, William Webster, H. H. Peake, G. Lovitt, William Jones, Thomas Potter, E. J. Rosenblum, and W. P. Martin. It set out to provide 'deserted and orphan children … not only with a home in which they could be properly cared and provided for, and attended to, but also where they would be educated and taught such habits of industry, order and forethought as would fit them to become useful members of society'.[72]
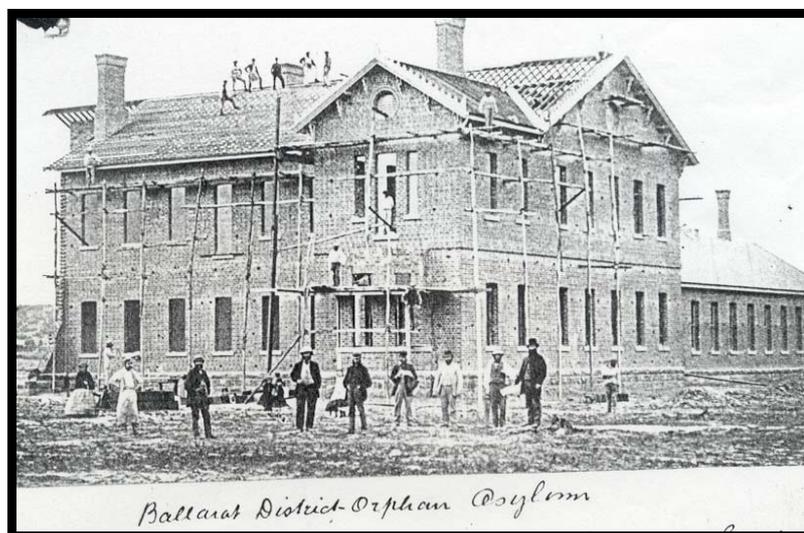
**Figure 3.8 Ballarat District Orphan Asylum, April 1866**
Source: PROV, VPRS 3991/P Unit 210 File 66/4603

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[70] Ballarat Benevolent Asylum: Eleventh Annual Report, Rules and Financial Statement for the year 1868, p. 11

[71] Withers: *History of Ballarat and Some Ballarat Reminiscences*, p. 161

[72] Ballarat District Orphan Asylum, Annual Report, 1865, Rules of the Ballarat District Orphan Asylum, 1865

William Webster, the secretary of the committee for the proposed Asylum wrote to the government in 1866 asking for financial assistance.[73] He indicated that the committee had already expended £2835.14.5 on the building, the whole of which had been obtained without government assistance. The building was almost ready for occupation and the committee was seeking the usual grant for the building and its maintenance.[74] The Orphan Asylum opened on 8 July 1866.[75] Designed by a prominent Freemason, Henry Caselli, it was situated in Victoria Street, Ballarat East. The first President, another Freemason, Mr Robert W. Watson, went to great lengths to assure the public that the institution accepted only 'respectable' children who were to be trained in the ways of industry and order.[76]

Freed of the children, the Benevolent Asylum continued to provide in-door and out-door relief. The committee claimed in 1869 that because of its comprehensive character it could be termed a Benevolent Asylum, a Chronic Hospital, and a Lying-in Hospital.[77] A lazarette was built in Ballarat East around 1869 accommodating the Chinese lepers previously paid for by the Benevolent Asylum.[78] Maternity cases were so numerous that a special lying-in wing was opened in the same year. This was the first Lying-In Hospital outside Melbourne and had both accouchement and convalescent wards. Poor but respectable married women or deserted wives were accepted, however, the committee claimed, 'young women who have been led

[73] PROV, VPRS 3991/P, Unit 210, Item 66/4603
[74] PROV, VPRS 3991/P, Unit 210, Item 66/4603
[75] Withers: *History of Ballarat and Some Ballarat Reminiscences*, p. 161
[76] Ballarat District Orphan Asylum, Annual Reports, 1865, 1867, 1876; E. Morris (complier): A Century of child Care – the Story of Ballarat Orphanage, 1865-1965; Lynne A. Cook: The Ballarat District Orphan Asylum 1865-1882, Research Methodology Project, Ballarat Institute of Advanced Education, n.d., stamped 21 December 1998 (library stamp), p.2
[77] Ballarat Benevolent Asylum: Eleventh Annual Report, Rules and Financial Statement for the year 1868, p. 14
[78] Twenty-five Chinese contributed to the asylum in 1865, with more than double that number by 1867, through the endeavours of the Rev. W. Young accompanied by Peng Nam, catechist, and the Collector for the asylum. Although in 1869 these contributions for the year amounted to £48.16.3 the asylum had paid £323.16.4 in support of those with leprosy. Clothing, bedding and firewood had been supplied and their huts, previously 'unfit for human beings to inhabit', were made 'comfortable'. Ballarat Benevolent

astray' were only admitted with 'great caution'.[79] They assured their supporters that although they had 'endeavoured to check the admission of this class of inmates as far as possible, … it [had] been found impracticable to refuse admission to many persons who, if not admitted, would have been left in a state revolting to every feeling of humanity.'[80] The lying-in wards at the Benevolent Asylum remained in use until 1924. However for 'young women who have been led astray' the town had developed another institution, the last in its chain of charities: the Ballarat Female Refuge.

The need for a female refuge had initially been raised in the Police Court hearings, on 27 April 1867, (over a case of drunkenness) and in July women interested in the establishment of a female refuge in Ballarat were invited to meet in the lecture room at the Mechanics' Institute.[81] A small number of ladies assembled for the preliminary discussion, a subscription list was opened and contributions were immediately sought.[82] The ladies followed the pattern already established by their male predecessors. A government grant was requested and with the £150 obtained they purchased a house in Grant Street, Ballarat East. This cost £160 with a further £33 being 'expended upon necessary fencing' but at this time, it was noted, 'no furniture, fittings of any kind' had been received.[83] An advertisement was placed in the Ballarat Star requesting the services of a matron for £60 per annum. Six candidates applied

Asylum: Eleventh Annual Report, Rules and Financial Statement for the year 1869, p. 8

[79] Ballarat Benevolent Asylum: Eleventh Annual Report, Rules and Financial Statement for the year 1868, p. 16-17

[80] Ballarat Benevolent Asylum: Eleventh Annual Report, Rules and Financial Statement for the year 1869, p. 10-11; Hyslop: *Sovereign Remedies: A history of Ballarat Base Hospital 1850s to 1980s*, p. 52

[81] *Ballarat Star* 27 April, 1867; 30 April 1867; 30 July 1867

[82] VPRS 1207, Unit 552, Item 3567, Treasurer's Correspondence, Inward Registered Correspondence, Subscription Lists, Ballarat Female Refuge, 1867. Asher: Women on the Ballarat Goldfields – 1850s and Early 1860s, pp. 9-10; *Ballarat Star*, 30 July 1867. The ladies appointed to the first committee were Mesdames Adeney, Binks, Clendinning, Clissold, Cummins, Daniel, Dixie, Doane, W. Elliot, Fry, Henderson, Hepburn, Hillas, Hotchin, Lakeland, Lang, McDermott, Oddie, Potter, Salmon, Swift, Sutton, Taylor, Turner, and Willie.

[83] *Ballarat Star*, 4 Sep 1867

and Mrs White from the Ballarat Benevolent Asylum was duly appointed and the committee declared the work ready to begin.[84]

As the wives and sisters of Freemasons the ladies looked to the town's Masonic elite for support. Messers Salmon, Oddie and Sim were appointed trustees.[85] The land and house acquired for the Refuge on 10 September 1867, Allotment 22 of Section 98, Ballarat East, was previously owned by William Young who would have been known to the Refuge trustees.[86] When this property was sold on 14 January 1886 it passed to James Russell, another Freemason.[87] James Oddie purchased the new site allotment 19 of section 17 in Dyte's Parade, on 13 May 1884. By 1909 the Ballarat Female Refuge had expanded to include allotments 15, 16 and 17 in the newly renamed Scott's Parade, all of which had been originally purchased by Freemasons: James Oddie (13/5/1884), Charles Dyte (12/7/1867) and W. B. Rodier (12/9/1864).[88] The foundation stone of the new purpose-built female refuge was laid in 1884 with full Masonic ceremony. Mesdames W. Clark, Jones, Ferguson, Swift, and Binks represented the 'ladies'' committee at the laying of the stone and Mrs Stewart, the Biblewoman was also present. The symbolic tools of the Freemasons were presented at the ceremony by prominent Freemasons, Mr Figgis, Councillor Roff, Councillor Ellsworth, Mr R. Young and Councillor Ferguson. The building had been designed by the architect of the orphanage, Henry Caselli, and the Refuge

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[84] *Ballarat Star*, 9 Sep 1867
[85] *Ballarat Star*, 4 Sep 1867; Ballarat Star, 9 August 1867
[86] Reverend William Young had previously been associated with the Benevolent Asylum and providing the lazarette for Chinese lepers. One building at the Grant Street Female Refuge allotment had previously been used at the Benevolent Asylum.
[87] There is possibly a connection between Reverend William Young, owner of the Grant Street premises, which was bought for the original Female Refuge, and Mr R. Young, a Freemason, active at the Masonic service in 1884.
[88] W. B. Rodier was a Knight Templar of the St George Lodge along with E. T. Bradshaw, J. W. B. Gardyne, T. Coggins, E. Everingham, C. E. Clarke, R. Gibbings, T. A. Freeman, C. D. Cuthbert, W. C. Smith, R. Ward, and T. Bridgettt. Charles Dyte was a member of the Victoria Lodge in 1856, established by Henry Harris, also a Jew and Freemason. James Oddie was also a Freemason.

could also call upon the honorary services of solicitor, Henry Cuthbert, and doctors Hillas, Clendinning and Stewart all of whom were Freemasons.

However, despite its strong Masonic connections, the Refuge was different from Ballarat's other charitable organizations for it had a female committee. Where elite men were expected to engage in public philanthropy, for women aspiring to elite status, such a prominent engagement with the public world was a far more contested practice. The way in which the ladies of Ballarat used the Refuge to establish their right to engage in the public sphere will form the subject matter of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

HOPE

The heart that can rise with emotion,

The eye that can fill with a tear,

Still brightens with love and devotion,

Till God in the fountain is clear.[1]

[1] Mrs Hannah Fisher: Charity In *Mrs Hannah Fisher's Original Poems*, Frank W. Pinkerton, Ballarat, 1889, p 56

CHAPTER FOUR

HOPE

BALLARAT FEMALE REFUGE

The Ballarat Female Refuge was established by a committee of Protestant women, who, like the men who dominated the town's other philanthropic organisations derived status from their involvement in charity.[2] As many historians have pointed out such involvement legitimised women's authority in the public sphere, consolidating their right to assume positions of leadership and to impose their moral standards and values on other women in the community.[3] Thus they exercised female moral authority, although this authority was often contested.[4]

The first meeting to establish a female refuge was held at the Ballarat Mechanics' Institute on 23 July 1867.[5] The *Ballarat Star* noted 'with pleasure that an effort is about to be made to establish in Ballarat a female refuge for the reception of any of the unfortunates who may be willing to accept its protection'.[6] It heartily applauded the efforts of the ladies arguing that a female refuge was 'urgently needed'.[7] The institution was 'a refuge to those fallen ones who may desire to forsake their evil

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[2] *Ballarat Star*, 9 August, 1867, 4 September 1867; PROV, VPRS 1207 Unit 552 Item 3567
[3] Gerda Lerner: *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1993, p. 14; Marilyn Lake: *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism*, Allen & Unwin, 1999, p. 3; Saunders, Kay & Evans Raymond: Visibility Problems: Concepts of Gender In Australian Historical Discourse In *Australian Historical Studies*, No 106, April 1996, pp. 142-153. Judith R. Walkowitz: *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State*, The Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1982, (First printed 1980), p. 131. Judith Walkowitz acknowledges a feminist role in rescue work, which allowed female moral reformers to 'carve out a special place for themselves in public life' but she argues that this did not necessarily mean a commitment to feminism or challenge social restrictions and inequalities imposed upon women.
[4] Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue*, pp. xvii; Russell: *'A Wish of Distinction'*, pp. 193-194
[5] *Ballarat Star* 27 April, 1867; 30 April 1867, 30 July 1867; 24 July 1867
[6] *Ballarat Star* 24 July 1867
[7] *Ballarat Star* 24 July 1867

ways' and at the same time it helped 'to rescue the town from at least some measure of the shame which now attaches to it.'[8] The fifty ladies in attendance resolved to canvass the town for subscriptions and to invite the clergymen of the various denominations to meet the committee of ladies at an early day.[9] Within the week, the ladies, meeting with a committee of gentlemen, clerical and lay, had set the formal process needed to establish the Refuge.

The involvement of women in charity matched a pattern already well established in other parts of the colony where men dominated the high profile charities, delegating to women subsidiary responsibilities in areas coded female, that is, charities that dealt with women and children, a category which included female refuges.[10] It was socially unacceptable for a woman to be a member of a controlling authority associated with a charitable institution that exerted control over males, such as the hospital or the benevolent asylum.[11] Even within the bourgeois home, Penny Russell has argued, male servants occasionally showed overt 'contempt for female authority…, causing affront and disgust'.[12] However, it was acceptable and morally expedient for women to be associated with a charity entirely concerned with women and it was through the female refuge that women gained moral authority and empowerment. [13]

The female refuge dealt with the highly stigmatised areas of illegitimacy and female sexuality.[14] Respectable married women were understood to be well qualified for this

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8 *Ballarat Star* 9 August 1867
9 *Ballarat Star* 30 July 1867
10 Russell illustrates power and limitations of the female committee. See Russell: *'A Wish of Distinction'*, pp. 170, 190-195
11 Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue*, pp. xvi-xvii
12 Russell: *A Wish of Distinction*, p. 197
13 Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue*, pp. 3-7
14 Swain: The Victorian Charity Network in the 1890s, p. 175; Lyn Finch: 'Seduction and Punishment' In *Hecate*: Special Double Issue, vol. 16, No. ½, 1990, p. 11; Russell: *'A Wish of Distinction'*, p. 167

work because their essential domesticity and motherhood made them naturally suitable for that role.[15] Through marriage their sexuality was clearly contained and controlled. Like similar institutions elsewhere the Refuge was one charity in which the public philanthropic role of women was not only accepted but essential.[16]

The subgroup of Ballarat's middle class women represented on the Refuge committee in some ways closely matches the subgroup of men who had established the other major charities in the town.[17] They were married, middle class, mature, wealthy and early pioneers of the goldfields.[18] In the early days of the Ballarat goldfields many of these women had tasted a temporary freedom from social restraints.[19] The opportunity to become actively engaged in a charity committee, offered an alternative to the constraints of the more respectable domestic life in which they were now embroiled.[20]

Martha Clendinning's journey to Ballarat, recalled in her journal, demonstrates her tenacious spirit, individuality and independence.[21] She was known as the 'woman who walked to the diggings'. From 1853 until 1857 she lived an itinerant existence, moving from Brown Hill to Golden Point, to Mount Pleasant, in order to follow the customers for her tent store. With her husband, George, and daughter Margaret,

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[15] For comment on the evolution of the 'professional' female social worker see Regina G. Kunzel: *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890-1945*, Yale University Press, 1993, pp. 1-5

[16] Lerna: *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness*, p. 14; Swain: The Victorian Charity Network in the 1890s, pp. 279-81

[17] See Appendices 2 and 6

[18] See Appendix 6

[19] Martha Clendinning: 'Recollections of a Ballarat Lady's Life at the Diggings Fifty Years Ago' in *Clendinning-Rede Papers, 1853-1930*, c1890, SLV, MS 10102

[20] Shurlee Swain: "Saving the Nation: Women and Child Rescue Work in Australia, 1880-1925." In *Citizenship, Women and Social Justice: International Historic Perspectives.* Edited by Joy Damousi & Katherine Ellinghaus. 302-314. Parkville, Victoria, Department of History, University of Melbourne and Australian Network for Research in Women's History, 1999

[21] Martha Clendinning: 'Recollections of a Ballarat Lady's Life at the Diggings Fifty Years Ago' In *Journal; Clendinning-Rede Papers, 1853-1930*, c1890, SLV, MS 10102

Martha finally settled in a small cottage in Ballarat East 'fit for a doctor and his wife'.[22] Fellow committee member, Caroline Burge, married the Methodist, Reverend George Daniel, shortly before departing for the missions on 17 November 1846.[23] For ten years they remained in Tonga and Vavau, but the failure of Caroline's health, led them to leave Tonga for the Victorian goldfields.[24]

Matilda Dixie, the eldest of three daughters, had migrated to Australia with her extended family in 1854. They went to the Bendigo gold fields for a few weeks before settling in Ballarat. Matilda, 14 years old, taught at the Warrenheip Gully National School in 1855 and from there undertook a five-month teacher-training course in Melbourne, receiving the highest accolades in the inspectorial report.[25] She returned to teach at the Red Hill School in Ballarat where she won the acclaim of James Oddie.[26] She also attracted the attention of Joseph Dixie, honorary treasurer on the founding committee of the hospital, a member of the Chamber of Commerce and a trustee of the hospital and cemetery. Although Dixie was twice Matilda's age, he married her in 1859. Three months after the birth of their son in July 1860, Joseph Dixie died leaving Matilda with no income. With the assistance of James Oddie she was appointed a teacher at the Ballarat Benevolent Asylum School.[27]

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[22] Louise Asher: 'The Impact of Gold, Martha Clendinning: A Woman's Life on the Goldfields' In Marilyn Lake & Farley Kelly (editors): *Double Time: Women in Victoria – 150 Years*, Penguin, 1985, pp. 52-60; Margaret Anderson: 'Sarah Davenport and Martha Clendinning: Two Women on the Ballarat Goldfield' In *Gold and Civilisation*, The Beagle Press, Sydney, Art Exhibitions Australia Limited, 2001, pp. 36-39

[23] C. Stancliffe, Private collection, Minutes, Victoria and Tasmania Conference, 1899, Family History Papers

[24] C. Stancliffe, Private collection

[25] Susanne L. White: *Mainly About Girls: A History of Queen's, Ballarat, 1876-1972*, Ashwood House, 1990, pp. 12-13, 17, 21

[26] White: *Mainly About Girls*, p. 13

[27] Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages: *Pioneer Index: Victoria 1837-1888*, CD-ROM, Department of Justice, November 1998; Herbert T. Breach: *They Came to Ballarat to Teach: The Story of Secondary Education 1860-1890*, n.d., Self published, pp. 25-31, 56-65, 107-115

**Figure 4.1 Mrs Matilda Goldstraw
formerly Dixie nee Broadbent), December 1878**
Source: Susanne L. White: *Mainly About Girls: A History of Queen's, Ballarat,
1876-1972*, Ashwood House, 1990, p. 22

Matilda Lang and her children arrived in Ballarat in 1856 one year after her
husband.[28] Almost immediately, she opened a 'finishing school', teaching French,
music and embroidery.[29] She was an entrepreneurial woman, designing and
marketing 'Mrs Lang's Patent Domestic Washing Table', which was patented in many
countries.[30] Many of these women held financial resources in their own names.[31]

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[28] Lang emigrated from Liverpool on 13 June 1854 on the *Great Britain* arriving in Melbourne on 18
August 1854 and in Ballarat on 4 May 1855.
[29] For more information on the Lang family see *Ballarat Star*, 1 November 1861; 18 March 1861: 1
November 1860, 7 July 1860; 27 June 1868; 12 November 1861; 26 November 1859; 5 July 1859; 15
April 1859; E. E. Pescott: 'Victorian Horticultural Pioneers' in *Victorian Historical Magazine*, Vol 18,
Feb 1940; Barney Hutton: 'Thomas Lang, Nurseryman, Part 1', in *The Australian Garden Journal*, Vol
4, No 4, April 1985, pp. 94-96; Barney Hutton: 'Thomas Lang, Nurseryman, Part 2', in The Australian
Garden Journal, Vol 4, No 5, June 1985, pp. 131-133.
[30] *The Town and Country Journal*, 7 December 1872, p. 133
[31] PROV, VPRS 7259 Units 1-6, Ballarat Rate Assessment Ledgers; Wickham and Huggins: *Index to*

Mary Oddie, Matilda Lang and Matilda Dixie owned land and mining shares.[32] They

were married or widowed, and able to participate in rescue work without fear of

contamination. Wealthy, and with few family responsibilities they had both the time

and the skills to contribute to the new enterprise.[33]

Like Ballarat's male pioneers, they had travelled widely and had proved resourceful

in triumphing over the hardships of goldfields life.[34] They also derived prestige and

empowerment from their positions in the public role of committee member.

Traditionally the occupations of clergy, doctors and lawyers have held high status

and an analysis of the founding committee of the Ballarat Female Refuge indicates a

predominance of such occupations amongst the husbands of the members.[35] Eight

women on the first committee were the wives of Protestant clergy while sixteen were

the wives of successful professionals and businessmen.[36]

Rate Assessment Records 1856-1864
[32] Wickham and Huggins: *Index to Rate Assessment Records 1856-1864*; Robert Ashley: Shareholders and List of Legal Managers, Unpublished database
[33] See Appendices 6 and 7
[34] S. Encel, N. MacKenzie and M. Tebbutt: *Women and Society an Australian Study*, Malaby Press, 1975, p. 26 These authors suggest that the goldrushes were a key factor in 'able and pertinacious women' breaking new ground, in 'education and the professions, in charitable work and public life' which had previously been in the male domain.
[35] Harold Perkin: *The Third Revolution: Professional Elites in the Modern World*, Routledge, 1996, p.7; Harold Perkin expounds on this theory, examining the corporate giants of the second millennium, commenting that 'some professions … have always been more equal than others …' He argues that those in power are there through social constructs.
[36] See Appendices 2 and 6
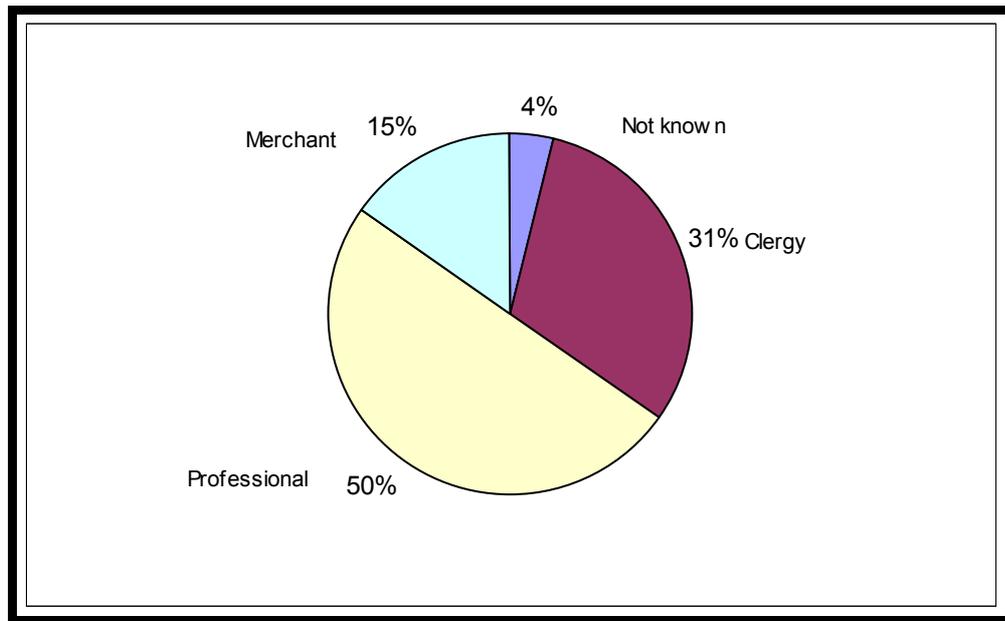
Figure 4.2 Founding Committee Members Husband's Occupations

The commonality of professional occupation of their husbands, their social class, early pioneering experience and religious persuasion, ensured that the new committee was made up of Ballarat women already well known to each other.[37] They worshipped together at the Church of England congregations of St. Peter's, St. Paul's and Christ Church, and the Methodist congregations of Neil Street and Lydiard Street.[38] The Oddies, Doanes, Langs and Hams were prominent Wesleyans, interested in Sunday schools and the evangelical mission.[39] The McDermotts, Frys, Charlotte Hepburn, the Cuthberts, Clendinnings, Dixies, Austins, Gibbs, Learmonths, and Lakelands were prominent Anglicans in Ballarat all having contact through church functions and activities.[40] Where male committee members were bound

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[37] See Appendices 2 and 6. For more information on interaction between Evangelicalism, women and the social purity movement see Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West 1874-1939*, p. 197; Valverde: *The Age of Light, Soap and Water, Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925,* p. 26

[38] Archives, St. Peter's Church of England, Sturt Street, Ballarat, Baptismal Register, Minute Books, Vestry Accounts, Correspondence; Archives, Uniting Church, Lydiard Street, Ballarat, Baptismal Register, Minute Books

[39] Archives, Uniting Church, Lydiard Street, Ballarat, Baptismal Register, Minute Books

[40] Archives, St. Peter's Church of England, Sturt Street, Ballarat, Baptismal Register, Minute Books, Vestry Accounts, Correspondence

together by business and masonic links, what united the women of the Refuge committee was this strong commitment to Evangelical Christianity.

This is not surprising given that Methodist evangelist, Matthew Burnett, was a major catalyst in arousing the women's interest in rescue work.[41] Burnett, was a Rechabite, a Son of Temperance, a Good Templar, a prominent leader in the Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Movement, and a Royal Arch Mason.[42] He held revival meetings across Victoria in the 1860s and his preaching was always enthusiastically received. Burnett sought to capitalise on such enthusiasm, urging his followers to channel their newfound commitment to the faith towards the reformation and conversion of those who were perceived to be in need of morally 'uplifting and saving'.[43] He taught that 'intemperance, gambling and other vices formed the chief barriers towards the social, moral, and religious elevation of the masses of the people'.[44] In meetings held exclusively for women he presented lectures with titles like 'The Claims of Abstinence on the Female Portion of the Community' and 'Matron's care, the Mother's Refuge and Maiden's Safeguard'.[45] In Melbourne such preaching led one group of women to establish the South Yarra Home for Friendless and Fallen Women.[46] In Ballarat he repeated this message calling on the women who attended his meetings to take an interest in their 'fallen sisters'. Many of the twenty-six women

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[41] *Ballarat Star*: 10 April 1867, 19 April 1867, 24 April 1867, 30 April 1867, 24 June 1867, 5 August 1867, 7 August 1867, 12 August 1867, 17 August 1867, 3 September 1867, 4 September 1867, 7 September 1867, 9 September 1867, 11 September, 23 September 1867, 2 October 1867, 7 November 1867; Howe and Swain: *The Challenge of the City: The Centenary History of Wesley Central Mission 1893-1993*, pp. 46-47, 90-91

[42] Henry Glenny, "Australian Silverpen": *From Drapery Establishment to Temperance Platform and Pulpit: Reminiscences of The Life and Labors of Matthew Burnett*, Yorkshire Evangelist and Social Reformer, Hutchinson, Melbourne, 1899, Preface, 113-114; *Good Cheer*, September 15, 1879, Vol. 1, No. 4

[43] Kiddle: *Men of Yesterday*, p. 447. Kiddle refers to Burnett as Matthew Barnett.

[44] Glenny: *From Drapery Establishment to Temperance Platform and Pulpit*, Preface; *Ballarat Star*: 10 April 1867, 19 April 1867, 24 April 1867, 30 April 1867, 24 June 1867, 5 August 1867, 7 August 1867, 12 August 1867, 17 August 1867, 3 September 1867, 4 September 1867, 7 September 1867, 9 September 1867, 11 September, 23 September 1867, 2 October 1867, 7 November 1867

[45] *Ballarat Star*, 7 August 1867, 17 August 1867, 4 September 1867, 23 September 1867

[46] Renate Howe and Shurlee Swain: *The Challenge of the City: the Centenary History of Wesley

who founded the Ballarat Female Refuge had been present at these meetings and Burnett attended one of their early committee meetings to offer his encouragement and advice to the new venture.[47]
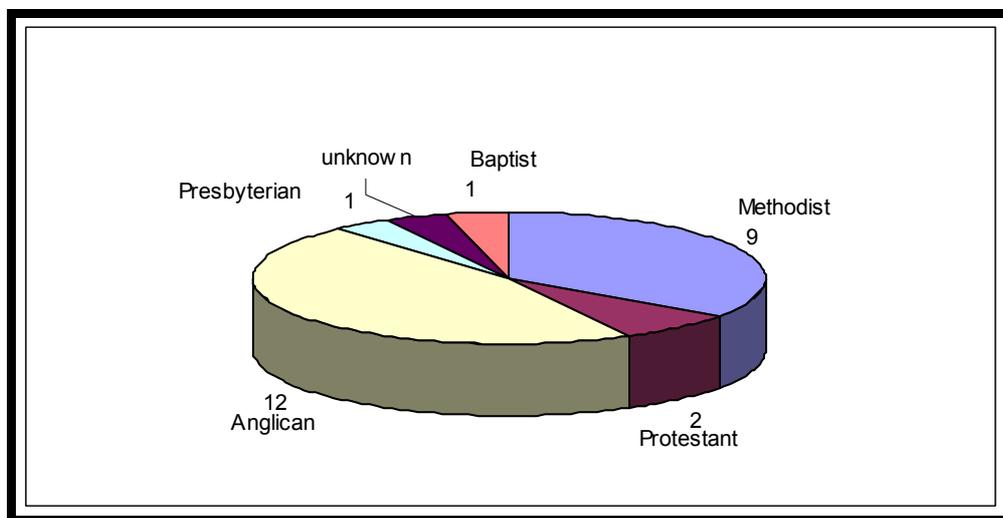
Figure 4.3 Founding Committee: Religion of Members
Sources: St Peter's, St Paul's, and Christ Church, Anglican Parish Archives, Lydiard St Uniting Church Archives, Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Private collections

This shared religious commitment was important because the Refuge had little of the popular appeal of the hospital, benevolent asylum or the orphanage. As Penny Russell has argued, charity work 'created ambiguity and uneasiness in the genteel performance'.[48] It was easier for a lady to maintain her distance from poverty, distress and the 'immorality' of poor women if she gave money without encountering them personally.[49] The threat of contamination was a very real consideration to these upwardly mobile 'ladies' of Ballarat who faced the dilemma of working with women they perceived as 'fallen' and yet remaining 'untainted'. To remain 'respectable' these committee members needed to be above moral reproach, so that the taint of their physical contact with the 'fallen' women of the Refuge could not contaminate

Central Mission, South Melbourne: Hyland House, 1993, pp. 46-47, 90-91

[47] For the meetings of Matthew Burnett see *Ballarat Star*: 10 April 1867, 19 April 1867, 24 April 1867, 30 April 1867, 24 June 1867, 5 August 1867, 7 August 1867, 12 August 1867, 17 August 1867, 3 September 1867, 4 September 1867, 7 September 1867, 9 September 1867, 11 September 1867, 18 September 1867, 23 September 1867, 2 October 1867, 7 November 1867. Glenny: *From Drapery Establishment to Temperance Platform and Pulpit*, Preface, pp. 113 – 114; *Good Cheer*, September 15, 1879, Vol. 1, No. 4

them. It was this threat that restricted committee membership to married women, who could model through their respectability the acceptable face of the sexually active woman.

The subscription lists of the Ballarat Female Refuge indicate that many Ballarat 'ladies' were prepared to subscribe to the new institution even though they were not willing to risk the taint that direct involvement could entail.[50] Subscriptions were a public avenue that affirmed both the 'good Christian work' of the institution and the status of the giver.[51] The surviving subscription lists illustrate this process in Ballarat. Women on the committee networked in their own social circles, to collect for the Refuge but they were not always successful. Henry Cuthbert and Townsend McDermott enjoyed similar status as lawyers, but Mildred McDermott did not collect from the Cuthberts. Perhaps she was aware that Cuthbert considered her 'vulgar' and hence was not prepared to risk rejection.[52] Instead Emma Cuthbert's £2 subscription was collected by Charlotte Hepburn with Wilhelmina Fry both wives of the 'gentry'.[53]

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[48] Russell: *'A Wish of Distinction'*, p. 169

[49] Russell: *'A Wish of Distinction'*, p. 188

[50] PROV, VPRS 1207, Unit 552, Item 3567, Treasurer's Correspondence, Inward Registered Correspondence. This correspondence shows the subscription lists with over 700 names. The women who subscribed but were not active on the committee included Mrs Henry Cuthbert, Mrs Ochiltree, Mrs Baily and Mrs Wright.

[51] Anne Borsay: 'Persons of Honour and Reputation: The Voluntary Hospital in an Age of Corruption', in *Medical History*, Vol xxv, 1991, pp. 281-294; Kathleen Wilson: 'Urban Culture and Political Activism in Hanoverian England: An Example of Voluntary Hospitals', in Eckhart Hellmuth (ed.) *The Transformation of political culture: England and Germany in the late eighteenth century*, Oxford, 1990, pp. 172-3, 180-181; Gorsky: *Patterns of Philanthropy,* p.60. Gorsky argues that donors favoured those hospitals without the 'taint of corruption'.

[52] Meg Probyn: *Marriage Lines: The Richardson Family Letters 1854-1877, Melbourne*: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2000, Letter 150, written by Henry Cuthbert from fn. 274 no. 4, p. 273. See also PROV, VPRS 1207, Unit 552, Item 3567, 8 pages of subscriptions for the Ballarat Female Refuge. A closer analysis of the subscription lists for the Ballarat Female Refuge would suggest hierarchies and nuances within the 786 names and amounts tendered, such as the fact that the Hepburns and Frys were socially on a higher status than others, and were more acceptable as collectors from the Cuthberts.

[53] Charlotte Hepburn was related to the Richardsons. The Frys were associated through business with James Austin, the Somerset flour miller and entrepreneur in the Colony of Victoria.

Subscriptions were vital to the maintenance of the Refuge. According to the *Star* by September 1867, 'the subscriptions list already exceeded £100'[54] but the Refuge did not run cheaply. The premises had cost £220.2.6, furniture £67.17.7, stationery and postages £6.19.4, advertising £12.17.0, salaries and wages £31.13.8, firewood £12.13.0, provisions £45.6.3, clothing £2.18.10, sundry charges £1.10.0, insurance £1.12.6. By March 1868 subscriptions and donations were £410.5.6, proceeds from the 'work done by inmates' £32.13.7 leaving a balance of cash on hand of £38.8.5.[55]

While the subscribers provided part of the funding, the committee members had to do the work that kept such a marginal institution solvent. The reward for such work came in the affirmation it provided to the women involved. The helpers were clearly socially 'superior' to the women *in* the Refuge who were the objects of their charity. However the operations of the committee provided little challenge to existing gender relations. Although women instigated the Female Refuge the men's committee was in control of finances and legalities such as the purchase of land and buildings. Powerful men like James Oddie, could, if they wished, legally disregard women's influences and suggestions.[56] However, as Davidoff and Ryan have argued, by drawing public attention to the immorality apparent in the new cities, women 'caused a major commotion right in the centre of the local social system'. Through such rescue work, women had a 'direct effect on the opinions of men and … found leverage that extended beyond their households, outside the women's networks and across the social and economic divisions within the city'.[57] Matilda Dixie urged the

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[54] *Ballarat Star*, 9 Aug 1867
[55] PROV, VPRS 1207 Unit 552 Item 3567; Treasurer's Correspondence, Inward Registered Correspondence, Melbourne Archives Centre, Statement of receipts dated 31 March 1868.
[56] Pascoe argues that it is these relationships with men in which the meaning of the search for female moral authority emerges. See Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue*, p.xvii
[57] Leonore Davidoff: 'Class and Gender in Victorian England', in *Sex and Class in Women's History*, Judith L. Newton, Mary P. Ryan and Judith Walkowitz (eds.), Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983, pp. 17-23; Mary P. Ryan: 'The Power of Women's Networks', in *Sex and Class in Women's History*, Judith L. Newton, Mary P. Ryan and Judith Walkowitz (eds.), Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983, pp. 167, 175,

government to 'spare some trifle out of the large resources derivable from [Ballarat], to raise up a protest against that vice which every Christian; every moral Government is bound to contend with'.[58] She argued that because vice (as she perceived it) existed in Ballarat, the government was obligated to provide financial assistance for the Female Refuge.

The committee of the Female Refuge is one of the strands through which the emergence of female moral authority is discernable on the Victorian goldfields.[59] The first annual report of the committee claimed that the Refuge had already had an impact in a city. The local press was more equivocal in its response:[60]

> Such an amount of practical good wrought amongst our fallen
>
> sisters – how much less fallen they would be if regarded more
>
> as sisters – must be very gratifying to all practical Christians and
>
> lovers of rectitude of life. We do not think another town in the
>
> colony can show a smaller proportion of open prostitution than
>
> Ballarat, but still there is ample room for the work of reclaiming
>
> contemplated by the refuge, and so we claim for it increased
>
> support.[61]

By drawing attention to the absence of sisterhood the *Ballarat Star* was showing an awareness of the tendency of the women involved in the foundation of the Refuge to use coded language in order to emphasise their own claims to respectability and the

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[58] PROV, VPRS 1207, Unit 552, Item 3567, Treasurer's Correspondence, Inward Registered Correspondence, Melbourne Archives Centre, Letter dated 23 May 1868 from Matilda Dixie.
[59] Melanie Senior: 'Thank you Your Worship, that will do 'Til I get More!' An analysis of the relationship between women and the way in which the legal system operated throughout the Magistrates' Courts on the Goldfields of Ballarat and Surrounds between 1851 and 1870, being an important strand in the Emergence of a Feminist Consciousness in Australia', Unpublished Thesis, B.A. Hons., School of Behavioural & Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Ballarat, 2 November 2001. Senior examines the emergence of feminism through the legal system on the goldfields. This was another system in which women of all classes were vocal.
[60] *Ballarat Star*, 5 September, 1867

differences in class. Symbolic meanings embedded in the structure and functioning of the institution of the female refuge, created the mutually understood field within which the women belonging to the committee and those inside the refuge knowingly manoeuvred. Beneath the veneer of benevolence operated a system of power and coercion to which the thesis will now turn.

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[61] *Ballarat Star*, 4 February, 1869

CHAPTER FIVE

SYSTEMS OF POWER

We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth.[1]

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[1] Michel Foucault: *Discipline and Punish*, p. 194

CHAPTER FIVE

SYSTEMS OF POWER

Power at the Ballarat Female Refuge operated and was reinforced through symbolic meaning systems reflected in both the physical and aesthetic elements of the institution. The locations selected for the sites of the institution, combined with its structure and architecture, the work undertaken and the language used, were all sites for the exercise of authority and power.[2]

The placement of the refuges is significant.[3] The escarpment and Yarrowee River defined the areas of Ballarat and Ballarat East and the plateau in the west overlooked the lower ground of the east.[4] A physical as well as a moral high ground was thus in operation between the City of Ballarat and the Township of Ballarat East, which were separate municipalities from their inception until 1921.[5] From the early mining days they developed into oppositional societies, with contrasting ways, stemming from their different class and ethnic structures. The melting pot of the East, as Bate termed it, was a multicultural society. Prostitutes and brothels congregated around Main Road, Ballarat East, a major arterial route into the city.[6] The west, by contrast was the site for the Government Camp, established in Lydiard Street, the

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[2] For the locations of the charitable institutions see Appendix 1, Map 1.3; Kerr: *Out of Sight, Out of Mind, Australia's places of confinement, 1788-1988*, p. 20

[3] Dr. W. R. (Roy) Lang: *Visions and Realities: A History of Geelong Infirmary and Benevolent Asylum*, Neptune Press Pty. Ltd., 1980, p. 9. Lang argues that a hospital is 'one of those threads of destiny which come with the establishment of identity in a town' which suggests that the position of the hospital is usually prestigious.

[4] See Appendix 1, Map 1.3, Townships of Ballarat and Ballarat East

[5] See Appendix 1, Definitions: Ballarat and Ballarat East

[6] See Appendix 1, Map 1.3 for location of Main Road; Louise Asher: Women on the Ballarat Goldfields - 1850s and Early 1860s, p. 47; Van Hamond: "Prisoners Of Poverty?" Prostitution On The Ballaarat And Surrounding Goldfields 1855 – 1870, pp. 1, 2, Figures 1.1 and 1.3

Mining Exchange, banks and other businesses.[7] Urquhart, the government surveyor, had, in 1853, laid out the streets of Ballarat (West) in a grid pattern and this orderliness was reflected in both the buildings and society.[8] In Ballarat East the streets evolved haphazardly, reflecting the patterns of the mining industry. By the 1860s the geographic division was reflected in a class division. Many aspiring middle class families had migrated to Ballarat West leaving the poorer families in the East.[9] Ballarat Female Refuge occupied two different sites during its existence. Significantly, however, both were located in Ballarat East.[10]

The geographical location of the two Refuge buildings both reflected and reinforced class distinctions already operating between the two 'Ballarats'. By locating the female refuges in Ballarat East the committee reinforced this notion of the East as morally suspect while elevating their own locale, Ballarat West, free from contamination. There were other practical benefits associated with the Ballarat East location. The refuges were closer to their proposed clientele and easily accessible to the imagined penitent woman.

From 22 September 1867 until 19 January 1885 the Refuge was in Grant Street on the slope near the Chinese camp and close to the brothels of Esmond, Durham and Arcade Streets.[11] This was the slum area of Ballarat described as the sewer of the city.[12] The weatherboard cottage in Grant Street contained five 'apartments' plus outbuildings. Two of the apartments were fourteen feet long and twelve feet wide containing four beds each, while another smaller room contained only two beds. One

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[7] PROV, VPRS 7259, Units 1-6, Rate Assessment Registers, Ballarat; See Appendix 1, Map 1.3 for location of Lydiard Street
[8] See Appendix 1 Map 1.3
[9] Bate: *Lucky City*, pp. 174, 176
[10] See also appendix 1, Map 1.3
[11] Nathan Spielvogel: *The Spielvogel Papers*, Volume 1, pp. 43-47, 89-91

room was used as a sitting room and bedroom by the matron while another was used as a dining room and bedroom for the sub-matron.[13] The Refuge was supposed to accommodate 10 inmates at any one time, but often there were 12 or more women in residence. The large outbuilding had been removed to Grant Street from the Benevolent Asylum where it had been in use for many years prior to 1867.[14] By 1880 this complex was described as old and tumbledown, with two wards, of a total space of 4480 cubic feet. Neal, the Inspector of Public Charities described it as 'anything but a credit to the district' adding that the subscriptions were 'very small for such a liberal city as Ballarat'.[15]

The committee responded to such criticisms by constructing a new purpose-built, red brick, double-storied Female Refuge.[16] This building was erected on land donated by James Oddie at 183 Scott Parade and funded by a £500 grant from the government.[17] The move to the new building, occurred around 19 January 1885.[18] Matron Comber, the *Ballarat Star* reported, was 'eminently suited' to care for the eight women in residence at the home. The arched front door opened onto a handsome hall with a wide staircase.[19] Opening off the hall there was a boardroom and a dining room, each apartment being twenty feet by fourteen feet. The ground floor also contained the Matron's room, a kitchen, washhouse, drying room and laundry. The upper storey contained fifteen bedrooms and a bathroom.[20]

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[12] Bate: *Lucky City*, p. 176; *Courier*, 14 July 1987
[13] *Ballarat Star*, 21 July 1870
[14] PROV, VPRS 1207, Unit 1206, Item 448, Treasurer's Correspondence, Report of the Committee of the Ballarat Female Refuge, for the year ending 30 June 1882
[15] PROV, VPRS 1207, Unit 1154, File 6010, Treasurer's Correspondence, Melbourne Archives Centre. Inspector's Report, Ballarat Refuge [*sic*], Visited 13 June 1882.
[16] *Ballarat Star*, 2 July 1870; 7 September 1881; 9 August 1884
[17] PROV, VPRS 1207/P, Unit 1206 Item 448, Treasurer's Correspondence, PROV, Melbourne Archives Centre, contains many letters and a list of subscribers for 1882, attached to the annual report from the committee to the government, in order to procure this grant.
[18] *Ballarat Star*, 26 January 1885
[19] See page iv, Photograph of front door, Ballarat Female Refuge, Scott's Parade
[20] *Ballarat Star*, 9 August 1884

Figure 5.1 Proposed Plan of Ballarat Female Refuge by architects Caselli and Figgis
Source: PROV, VPRS 1207, Unit 1240, Item 9844, Plan dated 23 April 1883

Figure 5.2 Ballarat Female Refuge, Scott Parade
Photograph: Trina Jones

Figure 5.3 Bedrooms at rear of Ballarat Female Refuge
Photograph: Trina Jones
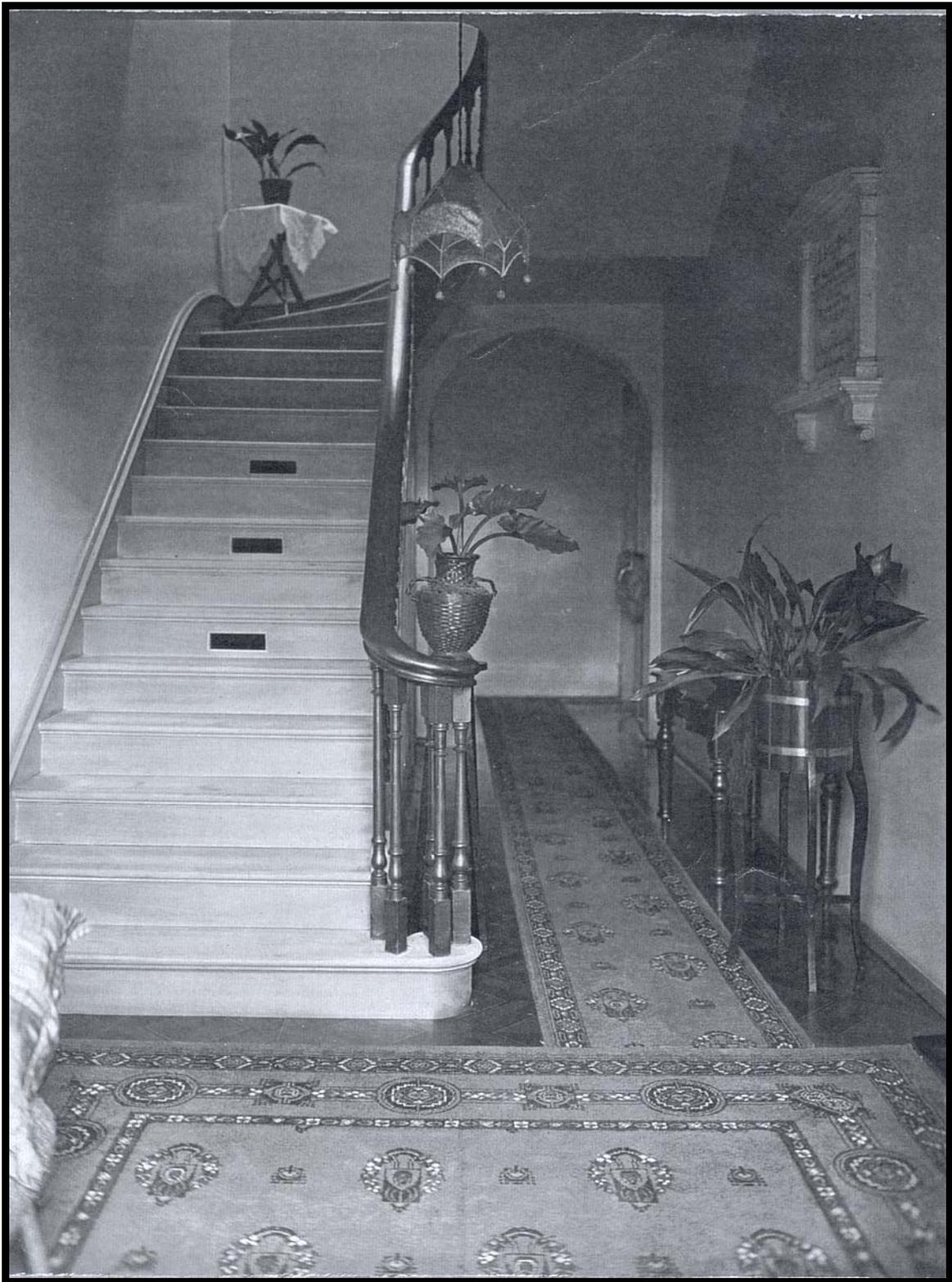
Figure 5.4 Staircase Ballarat Female Refuge, Scott Parade
Source: BTCM 105, Central Highlands Regional Library Corporation, Ballarat

By 1892 the building in Scott Parade had undergone a thorough repair. The iron fence had been raised and put in order and the drainage overhauled, a new bathroom was added, the bedrooms and passage were coloured throughout, the sitting room papered and the garden planted. In 1897, the year in which the Ballarat Town and City Mission established the Canadian Rescue and Children's Home, a maternity ward was erected, removing the need for the residents to go to the lying-in ward at the Benevolent Asylum for their deliveries

Figure 5.5 Plan of Ballarat Female Refuge Complex, Scott Parade
Plan showing the Ballarat Female Refuge Complex. Building B1 is the 1884 Female Refuge, B3, north of the original building is the laundry, part of which was added later, and B3 the Alexandra Babies Home added in 1909. Source: Heritage Register Victoria, H1893, Former Female Refuge Complex, 183 Scott Parade, Ballarat East, File no. HER 000066, Registered 9 November 2000

There are many features of Ballarat's female refuges, especially the purpose-built refuge in Scott Parade that illustrate the authority of the institution. Key amongst these were the fence, the façade, the architectural style, the internal plan and the laundry.

Both sites of the Female Refuge were enclosed with high fences. The importance of the fence surrounding the Grant Street premises is indicated by its cost, £33, almost

one quarter the sum expended on the building. In describing the Refuge as 'unobtrusive' the *Ballarat Star* noted 'a passerby would only remark on the unusually high and closely built fence surrounding about an acre of ground. Not even a signboard being visible to indicate the nature of what is within.[21] The second complex in Scott Parade was 'enclosed by a substantial fence of galvanized iron 8 or 9 feet in height' about which the architect had received special instructions from the three trustees.[22]

The fence served two purposes: sanctuary and segregation.[23] Such enclosure is not restricted to female refuges, but can be observed also in other restrictive asylums such as convents, prisons, and mental institutions.[24] The fence protected the residents from society giving them a place where they could reform without interference from disruptive elements while excluding and protecting society from their supposedly 'immoral' influence or threat of taint. The fences surrounding asylums and refuges signify to those <u>outside</u> that there is something <u>inside</u> to be hidden, while from the inside, these walls signify restriction and protection.[25]

The fence symbolised enclosure, control and finality. Once the individual 'problematic' body, in the case of the female refuge, the sexually active female, presented for admission to the institution, the 'body' was physically 'handed over', with the fence marking a closure of one way of life and the opening of another, that

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[21] *Ballarat Star*, 21 July 1870

[22] *Ballarat Star*, 5 September 1883; Ballarat *Star*, 9 August 1884

[23] Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue*, p. 79 states that 'Female purity was ensured by drawing strict boundaries between rescue homes and their surrounding urban communities. Closed doors seemed like mere common sense to home mission women who believed that their charges were the innocent victims of predatory men; missionaries maintained that structured isolation protected home residents'.

[24] Kerr: *Parramatta Correctional Centre: Its Past Development and Future Care*. Sydney, pp. 61-62, 77-78. Kerr discusses the 'character of spaces in the walled complex'.

[25] See for example O'Neill: *The Visible State: A Study of Government Buildings in Victoria to 1900*, p.

is, the transition from society to institution.[26] The female who was admitted to the Refuge consciously submitted to the authority invested in those in charge when she passed through the gate.[27]

The public appearance of the Refuge building was also important. The new red brick building, commissioned from the architectural firm of Caselli and Figgis, was described as of 'a very substantial nature'.[28] It comprised an H type plan with the front portions planned to cater for the matron and board members, with the kitchen downstairs, while the sleeping quarters for the women at the Refuge were upstairs. The laundry and bathroom were at the rear of the plan. The building was solid but not ostentatious. The front of the new Refuge and the more 'public' spaces of the large boardroom and dining room reflected the image of a grand and important building. The rest of the rooms, the private spaces of the Refuge, were deliberately plain, designed to reflect the inmates' status as women in the process of reformation.

The bedrooms were cell-like cubicles, eight feet by six feet, segregating the women into individual spaces. Such spatialization suggests a deliberate use of isolation as a form of social control.[29]

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iii; F. W. Cheshire: *Architecture in Australia: A History*, Melbourne 1968, p. xi
[26] Goffman: *Asylums*, pp. 136-137, 148
[27] Michel Foucault: 'Truth and Power' in *Power/Knowledge*, p. 50; Burns: *Erving Goffman*, London, New York: Routledge, 1992, p. 148
[28] *Ballarat Star*, 19 August 1885
[29] Michel Foucault: 'Questions on Geography' in *Power/Knowledge*, p. 77
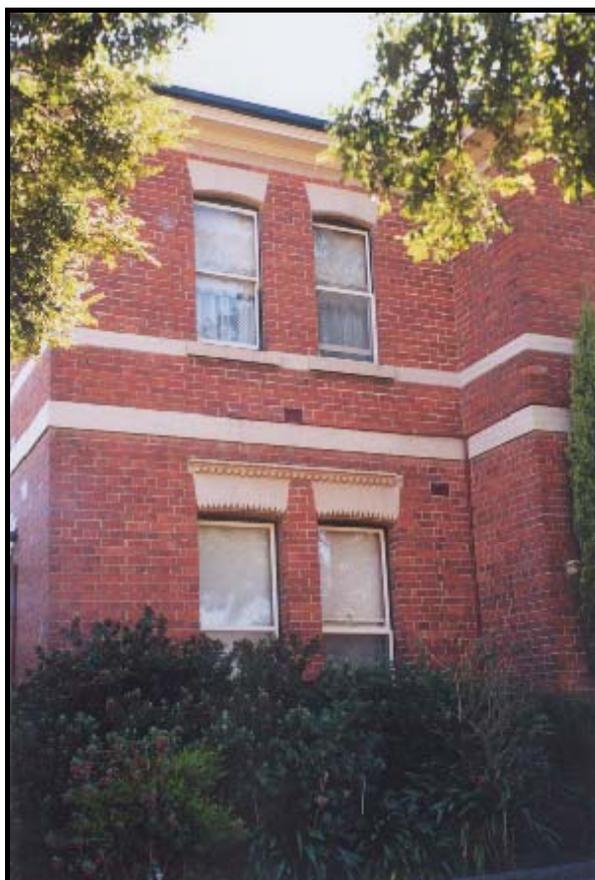
**Figure 5.6 View of residents' bedrooms, second storey,
and matron's room, ground floor, 2000**
Photograph: Trina Jones

However it was the laundry that was the most important element of the Refuge, spatially, symbolically and economically.[30] The preference for laundry work, a feature of all female refuges, sprang from both the belief in the redemptive power of labour as well as the need, in such unappealing charities, for a reliable income source.[31] This link between the symbolic and the economic held great discursive power. It was through laundry work that women did penance and cleansed themselves of their moral sins but in so doing, supporters argued, they also fitted themselves for productive employment on release. Chesterton argues that 'Clear starching, it would seem, cleanses all sin, and an expert ironer can cheerfully put her record behind her'.[32] This elision of the symbolic and the practical has been noted by many feminist

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[30] O'Neill: *The Visible* State, p. iii; Cheshire: *Architecture in Australia: A History*, p. xi
[31] Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue*, pp. 166-167
[32] A. E. Chesterton, *In Darkest London*, London, 1926, p. 79

historians. Walkowitz, for example, argues, that this symbolism stemmed from the association of filth with the social underworld and the fear of contagion associated with the 'Great Unwashed'.[33] Extending this analysis, Anne McClintock has suggested that 'dirt expresses a relation to social value and social disorder. Dirt is that which transgresses social boundary'.[34] 'Soap', the means by which women cleanse their domestic spaces, thus becomes the means of extending their influence into a 'dirty' world, rendering the morally polluted white, and therefore pure. The laundry was a form of training associated with order and cleanliness, and it was an ideal avenue for keeping the residents of the Refuge busy.[35] The paradox of the laundry being as 'white as snow', although the women working there were considered 'impure' or 'tainted' carried further symbolic value with the laundry functioning simultaneously as a site of punishment and of cleansing through the 'washing away [of] sins'.[36]

At a very practical level the laundries supposedly acted as a training ground that would provide middle class women with good, malleable female servants.[37] Both laundry and needlework were approved female occupations, 'appropriate skills for women ideally destined to be servants or working-class wives or mothers'.[38] The Ballarat Female Refuge Committee repeatedly made this claim to supporters arguing that inmates were trained 'in habits of industry', and then found 'suitable employment

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[33] J. Walkowitz: *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1980. pp. 4, pp. 69, 201-10, 253-256

[34] Anne McClintock: *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest,* Routledge, New York, 1995, pp. 152-3

[35] Howe and Swain: *The Challenge of the City*, pp. 46-47; Swain with Howe: S*ingle Mothers and Their Children*, p. 73; Foucault: *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 269-70; Nicole Hahn Rafter: 'Chastizing the Unchaste: Social Control Functions of a Women's Reformatory, 1894-1931' in Stanley Cohen and Andrew Scull (editors), *Social Control and the State: Historical and Comparative Essays*, Oxford, 1983, pp. 288-311; Lynette Finch: 'Sexuality and Regulation' in *Hecate*, Special Issue, vol. 17, No. 1, 1991, pp. 43-50; Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue*, pp. 82-83

[36] Swain with Howe: S*ingle Mothers and Their Children*, p. 74

[37] *Ballarat Star*, 5 August 1892, 4 August 1893, 3 August 1899

[38] Godden: 'Sectarianism and Purity Within the Woman's sphere: Sydney Refuges During the Late Nineteenth Century' p. 301; Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue*, pp. 166-167

by which they [could] support themselves and their infants'.[39] By providing a supply of well trained, moral, obedient, and reformed Christian servants as well as an efficient and reliable laundry service, the Female Refuge hoped to be seen as doing a good service for the community. From its earliest days at Grant Street the Refuge 'outbuildings contained a wash-house, ironing and mangling room'. Laundry and needlework were both solicited from the public in order to supplement the Refuge's finances.[40] The laundry at the new premises, was larger and more economically viable despite competition from the Chinese Laundry in Main Road, Ballarat East and the laundry established by the Ballarat Town and City Mission nearby.

Conditions in all such refuge laundries were extreme: dangerous, uncomfortably hot and humid in summer, and exceptionally cold in winter.[41] They were, as Bristow observed, 'sanctimonious sweatshops'.[42] The women at Melbourne's Elizabeth Fry Retreat

> fed wood into the fires under the coppers … and toiled at the
>
> scrubbing boards. They wielded the pot stick through the steam
>
> from the boiling suds, turned washing and heaved it out into the
>
> rinsing troughs. Those on the mangles bent their backs to the
>
> task after which came the rinsing, blueing, starching, then the
>
> loading into the baskets … to hang the heavy wet materials on
>
> the lines. Later came … the menders, the dampers and the

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[39] *Ballarat Star*, 7 August 1896
[40] *Ballarat Courier*, 21 July 1870
[41] VPP, Papers Presented to Parliament, Session 1890 (2), pp. 899-913, Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories, Work-rooms, and Shops, for the Year ended 31st December, 1893, Parliamentary Papers, Session 1894 (2), pp. 917-928; Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories, Work-rooms, and Shops, for the Year ended 31st December, 1889
[42] Bristow: *Vice and Vigilance, Purity Movements in Britain since 1700,* p. 66

ironers, whose flat irons continually needed to be returned to the stoves for reheating. Even in the summer afternoons, when the laundry rooms must have been as hot as the hell they were hoping to avoid, there was no relaxation of discipline.[43]

At the Ballarat Female Refuge, the Inspector of Charities observed, 'The room for mangling and drying clothing was intensely and almost unbearably hot, although the day was a cool one; to work in it <u>must</u> be injurious to health'.[44] Although by the 1920s the women were no longer working the long hours of the earlier years accidents were still not uncommon.[45] In 1920 Matron Dunstan recorded: 'One of the girls had her fingers caught in the mangle on 23 of August and has attended the Hospital every day since'.[46] Three years later, 'Millie whose time is up on 4th of April had her fingers caught in the mangle. They are not coming on too well. The Dr. said he is doubtful if she will have the use of her fingers again.'[47]

[43] Betty Malone: *Bonds of Care: Elizabeth Fry Retreat and its Founders*, Prahran Historical Series, No. 12, Prahran Historical and Arts Society, 1991, pp. 60-61

[44] PROV, VPRS 1207, Unit 1278, File 10500, Treasurer's Correspondence, Melbourne Archives Centre, Inspector of Charities Report 1885, dated 24 December 1885, Chief Secretary's Office, Melbourne

[45] BTCM 3: Ballarat Town and City Mission, Scrap Book, Central Highlands Municipal Library Services

[46] BTCM 17: S. Dunstan: Matron's Notes, Report for August to September, 1920, p. 32, Central Highlands Library Services

[47] BTCM 17: S. Dunstan: Matron's Notes, Report for February to March, 1923, p. 49, Central Highlands Library Services
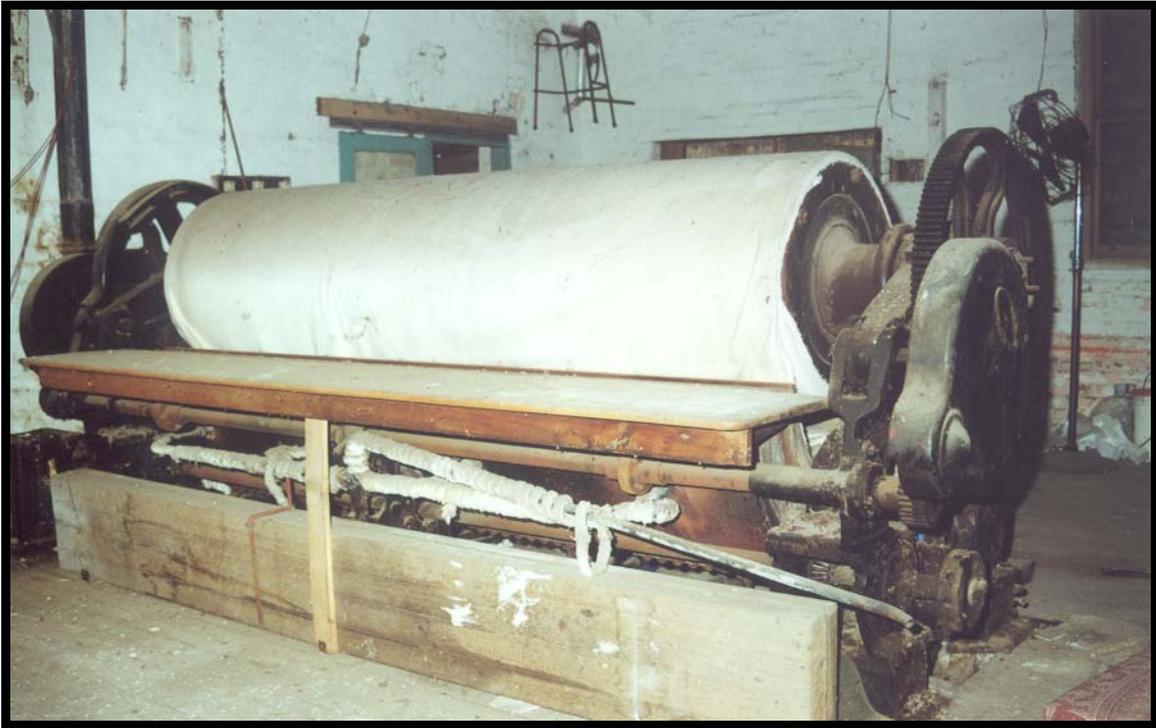
Figure 5.7 Ballarat Female Refuge Laundry Mangle
Photograph: Trina Jones

In 1924, the Ballarat Town and City Mission, which had taken over the running of the home, reported that a large Challenge Mangle and Challenge Washing Machine were installed, 'thus bringing the establishment up to date in every respect, and enabling [them] to perform [their] work with a high standard of efficiency.[48] Yet, despite its increasing efficiency the laundry still struggled economically.[49] The financial impact of the laundry on Ballarat Female Refuge is shown in Table 5.3. The income from the 'inmates' work doubled between 1867 and 1883, consistently providing, from its inception, almost half of the institution's total income.[50] However, in the 1920s, when the laundry 'carefully cleansed' all the laundry of the major institutions in Ballarat it was described as 'just holding its own' with an average

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[48] BTCM 3: Ballarat Town and City Mission, Scrap Book, Central Highlands Municipal Library Services
[49] Swain with Howe: S*ingle Mothers and Their Children*, p. 74, Godden: 'Sectarianism and Purity Within the Woman's sphere: Sydney Refuges During the Late Nineteenth Century', pp. 299-301
[50] PROV, VPRS 1207, Unit 1240, Item 9844, Ballarat Female Refuge, Returns Account with letter from E. Clarke, Hon. Sec. Dated 23 December 1884, Forwarding the enclosed accounts; Unit 1318, Item 914, Accounts, 1 July 1885, Accounts, 30 June 1886, Signed by James Oddie, Treasurer, and Letter from Edith Glen, Hon. Sec., Ballarat Female Home, forwarding the enclosed documents re the Appropriation for Charities; Unit 1425, Item 10562, Statement of Receipts and Expenditure dated 30

revenue of £21.0.0 per week.[51] Only by obtaining Red Cross work and raising the prices to the hotels did the Matron have sufficient work to 'keep the machinery going full time'.[52]

Year	Subscriptions	Salaries	Gov. Grant	Clients' Work
1868	£410.5.6 to 31/3/1868	£60.00 matron	No grant given (grants closed before application)	£80.00
1877	£48.15.0		£120.00	£87.10.6
1882	£38.13.0	£40.00 matron £20.00 sub-matron	£100.00	£87.8.5
1883	£91.10.0		£250.00	£141.14.11

**Table 5.1 Comparison of Clients' Work, Subscriptions, Salaries & Government Grant
Ballarat Female Refuge Grant Street Premises**
Source: See footnote 50

The transformation in scale from the domestic to the commercial is indicative of the elevation of the economic over the reformative in Refuge operation. The steam laundry attached to the Ballarat Female Refuge became one of the largest in Ballarat and is still in existence.[53] Steam laundries however, hardly equipped the residents of the Refuge with skills to be used in work in private homes.[54] Neither was the work 'womanly'. It was hard manual labour. However, charitable institutions' steam laundries had been removed from the jurisdiction of the Chief Inspector of Factories, by an amendment to the Factories Act in 1889. Inspector Levey was not pleased with this situation, stating that, 'They are full of dangerous machinery; the work almost

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June 1888, Treasurer's Correspondence
[51] BTCM 3: Ballarat Town and City Mission Scrap Book, Central Highlands Regional Library Corporation
[52] BTCM 17: S. Dunstan: Matron's Notes, Report for September to October, 1921, p. 34, Central Highlands Library Services. Although they preached temperance, the committee was not averse to doing the Hotels laundry.
[53] The steam laundry at the Refuge became known as the Alexandra Steam Laundry, called after the Alexandra Babies' Home.

entirely done by women; its nature very trying; the hours worked, excessive'.[55] In addition, it could be argued that refuge laundries contributed to the female degradation which brought the women into their care. As they seldom made payments to their worker such laundries were able to undercut smaller commercial laundries and individual laundresses, depriving many working class women of their means of sustenance. Hence the very work for which they claimed to be training women on discharge was increasingly less likely to be available, placing the publicly advertised principles of the Refuge at odds with its internal practices.

Figure 5.8 Advertisement showing a domestic mangle
Source: *The Illustrated Sydney News*, 8 April, 1882, Vol. xix, No. 4

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[54] Finnegan: *Do Penance or Perish*, pp. 191, 197, 200-203, 228-229
[55] Papers Presented to Parliament, Session 1890 (2), Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories, Workrooms, and Shops, for the Year Ended 31st December, 1889, Robert S. Brain, Government Printer, Melbourne, pp. 899-913. Finnegan indicates that in Ireland conditions in the laundries attached to the Magdalen Asylums were 'primitive practices' for an unsafe and unprotected workforce but they improved following the Factory Bill debate. See Finnegan: *Do Penance or Perish*, pp. 228-229

The symbolic meanings of the work of the Refuge were encoded not only in such physical aspects and practices as the laundry but also in its language and imagery, paralleling what Barthes 1964 essay, 'The Rhetoric of the Image', calls the linguistic and the coded iconic messages. Marianna Valverde argues that the social purity movement relied on 'powerful symbols woven together in bizarrely complex allegories'.[56] The linguistic message of the *female refuge* is that which the *words themselves* portray, that this institution is for *women* and the suggestion that if offers *shelter* or *refuge*. Valverde argues that the success and organisation of the social purity movement can be explained by analysing the discourse of the time. The symbols, she notes, becoming so familiar that they were invisible to the contemporary observer.[57]

Matthew Burnett's lecture on 'The Triumphs of Gospel Temperance in the Remarkable Conversion of the Late Dr. Edward Mitchell of Ballarat, Victoria' abounds with such symbolic language. He urged his followers to

> render the home life so beautiful, so attractive, that when your
> boys and girls shall leave the hallowed associations of home that
> they may, when they perhaps to the goldfields, or to the city,
> mixing up perhaps with hundreds and thousands of strangers –
> when they think of home it shall be to them the dearest spot on
> earth, a type of earth of the home above.[58]

Here he alludes to heaven as 'home', a title also given to the Female Refuge, which was sometimes referred to as the 'Female Home'. The language was often excessive. 'Australian Silverpen', writing from Ballarat East in 1899 described Matthew Burnett as the great 'Christian Evangelist' whose 'beautiful life shone out as

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[56] Valverde: *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*, p. 34
[57] Valverde: *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*, p. 34

a 'beacon light' to guide and help the sinful, to lift up the degraded and vicious, and to lead all to that 'Home beyond the blue', where there is no need of the sun to give light'.[59] Valverde suggests that this type of rhetoric symbolised light as truth and was 'a recurring element in both Christian and Western culture'.[60] She argues that 'It is an intrusive sort of lighting designed to help an observer see others but not him/herself' and was aimed at 'cleansing and healing' the 'running sore' of prostitution.[61] The 'light of purity' thus was portrayed as healing the moral woes of society.

The coded iconic message is evident in the many photographs and reports, the images of the Refuge that were published and publicly announced. The public record consistently employs the language of 'success', praising the institution's achievements in extravagant terms even though, from 1869 to 1883, the minutes indicate a slow decline in its popularity.[62] However, the Refuge needed public support to survive so optimism was essential.[63] In 1881 the annual report remained positive even though there were only two women in residence at the beginning of the year. Fifteen women were received during 1881 bringing the total to seventeen, but of these, four left of their own accord, one went to a maternity hospital, one went home to her mother, three were provided with respectable situations, and eight remained in the Refuge. The report however, attributed this low level of patronage to 'special difficulties' noting that:

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[58] Matthew Burnett: Lecture on Temperance, Bourke, 1887, p. 8
[59] Glenny: *From Drapery Establishment to Temperance Platform and Pulpit*, Preface. Henry Glenny used the nom de plume of 'Australian Silverpen' when writing his many articles for the Ballarat Courier. He was a contemporary of Thomas Bury who used the nom de plum of Tom Touchstone. Both these journalists wrote many moralistic articles about the state of the society in Ballarat.
[60] Valverde: *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*, p. 34
[61] Valverde: *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*, p. 34
[62] *Ballarat Star*, 9 August 1867; 4 September 1867; 4 February 1869; 2 February 1870; 2 July 1870; 7 September 1881; 9 August 1884; See also PROV, VPRS 1207/P, Unit 1978, Item 4868, Letter from Inspector of Charities re Ballarat Female Home, dated 2 April 1906; PROV, VPRS 2500, Ballarat Council Correspondence, Units 18, 21
[63] *Ballarat Star*, 2 February 1869

> … only too many of those who seek its shelter are callous and indifferent, having parted with their self-respect and become so hardened in vice as almost to have lost the sense of shame; the very lawlessness of their former life rendering the quiet retirement of the Refuge more trying for them.[64]

In 1882, the committee's views were again publicly reflected in the local newspaper. The committee was 'fraught with disappointment' but, but it assured supporters, the members were sustained by faith.

> No work coming within the range of Christian effort is more difficult than this; none more … demanding, … and none, therefore, having a stronger claim upon all who profess to be followers of Him, who came to save that which was lost, and who, Himself, lifted the woman who was a sinner from her degradation, bidding her "Go and sin no more".[65]

The imagery of the female refuge was a strong motivation for Protestant middle class women. The stereotypical image of the female 'victims' published in most annual reports and literature of the Female Refuge, and constantly depicted in newspaper reports and contemporary literature, reinforced Victorian social morality and the differences in gender and class.[66] 'Mr Burnett', the 'Australian Silverpen' wrote, 'had a wonderful influence with women who were looked upon as outside the pale of civilized society … Many a hundred poor Magdalens Mr Burnett saved from a life of misery'.[67]

The impact of such messages, as Barthes has argued, was dependent on the ability

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[64] *Ballarat Star*, 7 September 1881
[65] PROV, VPRS 1207/P Unit 1206 Item 448, Treasurer's Correspondence, Melbourne Archives Centre, Ballarat Female Refuge Booklet
[66] Peggy Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue*, p. 76

of its hearers to decipher its coded meaning.[68] Such messages Valverde notes, were encoded within

> pre-existing power relations … and relied on these for its assimilation by the audience. But while relying on common mythologies and discursive horizons to give their speeches meaning for the hearers, speakers at purity gatherings were also agents shaping and re-shaping social relations by means of organized systems of images and symbols. The discourse of social purity on the one hand relied for its meaning on the structural relations of class, gender and race/ethnicity … but on the other hand actively contributed to shaping those relations in specific ways.[69]

This reciprocity is evident in 'Silverpen's' account of Burnett's success. His 'persuasive powers', which saw 'these erring daughters of Eve, frequently on the spur of the moment, abandon their evil ways', were built upon a shared understanding of the causes of their distress. The women, he reports, would 'tell [Burnett] all the sorrows of their heart and life [pleading] If we do not have strong drink, Mr Burnett, we could not live the terrible life we do'.[70]

Throughout the history of the Ballarat Female Refuge language was used not only to dominate and control, but also to disguise. It is never safe to assume that what the institution claimed to be doing can be accepted as evidence of the experience of the women who were subject to the Refuge regime. It is necessary now to go 'Beyond the Wall' of the Female Refuge to discover the relationships and dynamics operating

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[67] Glenny: *From Drapery Establishment to Temperance Platform and Pulpit*, p. 70
[68] Roland Barthes: *Mythologies*, Annette Lavers (trans.), Vintage, 1996; See also Stephen Heath: *Image-Music-Text*, *Roland Barthes*, Essays Selected and Translated by Stephen Heath, Fontana/Collins, 1996, pp. 32-68 for a fuller explanation of the three 'messages'.
[69] Valverde: *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*, p. 42
[70] Glenny: *From Drapery Establishment to Temperance Platform and Pulpit*, p. 70

between the workers, committee members, and the residents: to turn the pages of the doctor's registers, and admission registers, in an attempt to explore the experiences and interactions of those whom the walls contained.

KNOWLEDGE
&
POWER

The superimposition of the power relations and knowledge relations assumes in the examination all its visible brilliance … its rituals, its methods, its characters and their roles, its play of questions and answers, its systems of marking and classification … for in this slender technique are to be found a whole domain of knowledge, a whole type of power.[1]

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[1] Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish*, p. 185

RESIDENTS, STAFF & OTHERS

BALLARAT FEMALE REFUGE

KNOWLEDGE, POWER, & RELATIONS

The establishment of a female refuge in Ballarat, Weston Bate claims, was evidence that 'prostitution was tackled with deeds rather than words'. 'In less than 2 years' he continues, '47 women were given a home, but the old habits of a wild free life were said to be too strong for the majority – "tempted, deceived and ruined once themselves now in their turn tempting, deceiving and ruining others, they are the terrible avengers of their sex"'.[2] However, Bate is simply reproducing the report of the second annual meeting of the Ballarat Female Refuge published in the *Ballarat Star*.[3] Apart from the reports generated by the committee itself there is no evidence of who actually entered the Refuge in its early years.[4] Given the multiple meanings attached to the notion of the fallen woman in nineteenth century society it would be naïve to assume that prostitutes constituted the Refuge's major clientele. For the period for which admission registers do exist there is little to suggest that any such women entered the institution. This finding is confirmed by a survey of the case lists of the Ballarat and Ballarat East Petty Sessions, which shows that only two of the women admitted to the institution had passed through the court.[5] Like the refuges at Carlton

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[2] Bate: *Lucky City*, p. 176
[3] *Ballarat Star* 2 February 1870
[4] *Ballarat Star*, 9 August 1867; 5 September 1867; 4 February 1869; 2 February 1870
[5] PROV, VPRS 290, Unit 28, Unit 29, Unit 30, Unit 31, Unit 32, Ballarat East Petty Sessions Register. The only names that appeared on both the Petty Sessions Registers and the Admission Registers for the female refuge were those of Janet Geddes and Catherine Hamilton who are discussed here.

and Geelong the Ballarat Female Refuge dealt with women who were pregnant, single, working class and young.[6]

Of the 417 women admitted to the Ballarat Female Refuge between 1891 and 1921 at least 91.80% were pregnant. [7] The status of a further 7.8% is unclear leaving only 0.32% who were not in that condition. Most of these women were quickly despatched. Agnes Carolane, who was thought to be 7-8 months pregnant when she was examined on 3 March 1893 was quickly sent back to her friends when it was found that she was 'not and has never been pregnant'.[8] The doctor, who examined Agnes Elston on her admission in 1899, commented that she was 'very anaemic' but 'not, I fancy, pregnant'.[9] When this diagnosis was confirmed five days later, Agnes was discharged, as was Annie Bulman, who had been admitted in 1894.[10]

There were, however, some exceptions. How 60-year-old Janet Geddes came to be a resident of the Refuge is largely unexplained. However a clue can be found in the correspondence records. Geddes had had a long association with the Refuge, having been employed at Grant Street as a servant in 1874. A previous pregnancy had seen her an inmate of Ballarat Hospital in 1862.[11] In 1887 the Inspector of Charities queried Geddes' eligibility to still be counted amongst the inmates. The Refuge Secretary, Edith Glenn, acknowledged his criticism and noted that in future Geddes

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[6] Swain with Howe: *Single Mothers and Their Children*, p. 73-75
[7] BTCM 1,1892 – 1921, Admission Book Female Refuge Home, Scott's Parade, Ballarat East shows surname, given name, occupation, birthplace, age, religion, and marital status of women being admitted to the Home. This register indicates that there were inmates in the Home before 1892. For the proportion of ex-nuptial births in comparison to general population and to births at the Ballarat Female Refuge see Appendix 9.
[8] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 30 May 1893
[9] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, 14 June 1899
[10] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, 3 July 1894
[11] Admission Register Ballarat Hospital, 1862

would be counted as staff.[12] Given the importance of the laundry to the financial stability of such institutions it was not uncommon for a small number of older women to be retained because they were reliable workers and it would seem from this response, and the fact that she was described as a 'laundress' in 1889, that Janet fell into this category.[13] However, if this was the case, her period of sanctuary was short-lived. The doctor treated her for neuralgia, flatulent colic, and dyspepsia on many occasions from 1888 until 1890.[14] When, suffering from bronchitis, she was hospitalised in 1890, it appears her usefulness in the laundry had expired. On her discharge from hospital Geddes lived independently but far from successfully in the community. On 23 July 1890 Geddes was charged with being drunk and disorderly and described in the court as an habitual drunkard.[15] In May 1891 she was back before the Ballarat East Court of Petty Sessions charged with thieving two fowls to the value of 3/-, the property of Too Chee, and sentenced for one month's imprisonment.[16] In September 1891 Geddes pleaded guilty to a charge of being drunk and disorderly in Bridge Street, and was fined 5/-.[17] She was in Collingwood in 1896 getting assistance for a short time from the Melbourne Ladies Benevolent Society[18] and died eight years later, at the age of 71, having been a resident of the Ballarat Benevolent Asylum. Geddes was buried in an unmarked grave at the Ballaarat Old Cemetery on 25 February 1902.[19]

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[12] PROV, VPRS 1207, Unit 1340, Item 8919, Treasurer's Correspondence, PROV, Report from the Inspector, Industrial and Reformatory Schools and Public Charities, 19 September 1887 and letter from Edith Glenn, Hon. Sec. in reply to the Inspector of Charities re 60 year old woman in the Refuge.

[13] Genealogical Society Victoria: Ballarat Base Hospital Admission Register 1856-1913, Victorian Hospital Series No. 2, Fiche 2, Entries for Janet Geddes 6 May 1862, 29 October 1862, 5 May 1874, 6 June 1877, 19 September 1889

[14] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, 26 September 1888; 20 March 1889; 15 January 1890; 20 February 1890

[15] PROV, VPRS 290, Unit 28, Ballarat East Petty Sessions, 23 July 1890

[16] PROV, VPRS 290, Unit 30, 16 May 1891

[17] PROV, VPRS 290, Unit 31, 15 September 1891

[18] I would like to thank Dr Shurlee Swain for this information.

[19] Ballaarat Old Cemetery Register, Genealogical Society Victoria, Microfiche 2, Burial Registration Janet Geddes; Victorian BDMs, Death Registration #270, Janet Geddes, 21 February 1902, aged 71 years at Ballarat East, Benevolent Asylum, Father: George Cunningham

Catherine Hamilton was attended at the Refuge on 27 June 1888, the doctor declaring that she was 'not pregnant' yet she stayed for some years.[20] She was charged in the Ballarat East Petty Sessions for vagrancy, so perhaps the committee hoped that such a stay would allow her to reform.[21] Eighteen-year-old, Ethel Wilson, admitted 7 February 1907, was tersely declared 'Not Pregnant' yet remained at the Refuge for over twelve months being discharged on 8 February 1908.[22] Perhaps she, like 15-year-old Lottie Rose, admitted in June 1915, was sent for the 'training for domestic purposes and laundry work', which the Refuge was believed to be able to provide to young girls 'at risk'.[23]
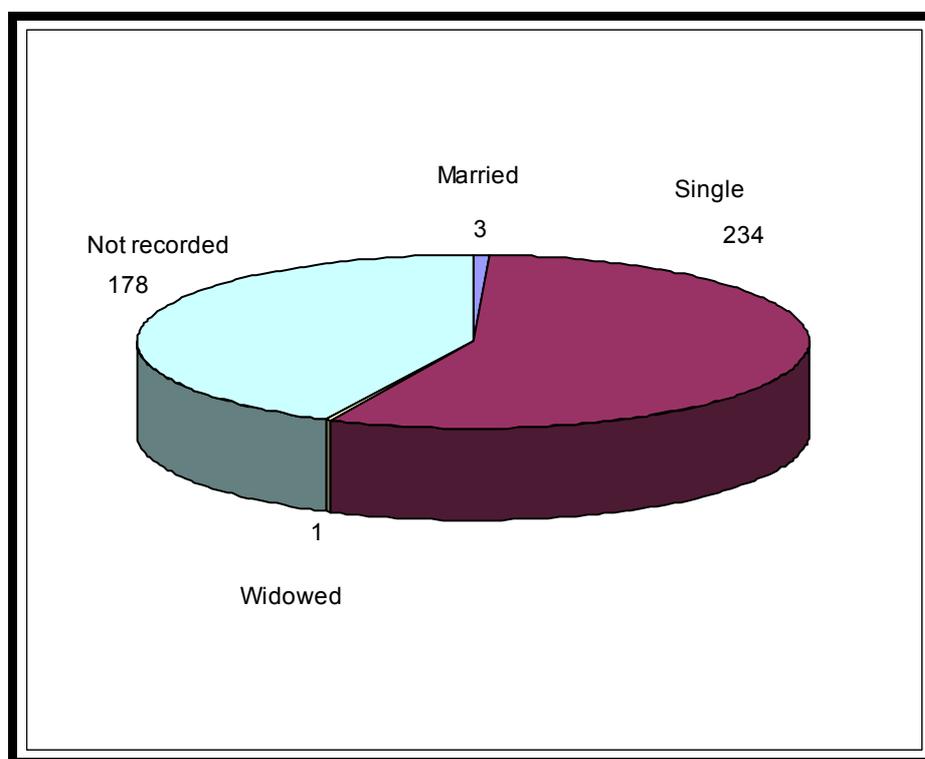
Figure 6.1 Marital Status of Residents: Ballarat Female Refuge 1892-1921

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[20] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, 27 June 1888

[21] For more information on Catherine Hamilton see *Ballarat Star*, 19 June 1891; BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 14 September 1891; VPRS 290, Unit 31, Ballarat East Petty Session Registers, 16 September 1891, 30 September 1891

[22] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, 19 June 1899. On her release Ethel went to the Mack family of Berrybank. Anna Mack being the daughter of John Austin, was part of a well-connected and, socially upper class Victorian family. 'Merrybank' should read 'Berrybank' in the Register transcripts and certainly was not 'merry' as the notes from Jane Mack indicate.

[23] BTCM 1, Admission Book Female Refuge Home, 3 June 1915; BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, 3 July 1894; 19 June 1899; 30 May 1893

Pregnancy rendered women vulnerable if they lacked the economic support and the respectability that a husband was assumed to provide. Of the 56.25% women whose marital status is recorded in the admission registers 98.32% were in this position.[24] However only a small proportion of the single women who became pregnant in or around Ballarat sought to enter the Refuge. The average admission rate to the Ballarat Female Refuge of 14.39 persons per annum represents an average of 17.15% of births outside marriage registered in Ballarat.[25]

The rate of ex-nuptial births as a proportion of all live births rose steadily in Victoria from a base of 13.7 per 1,000 in 1855, to a peak of 60.3 per 1,000 in 1913.[26] In Ballarat, the 1913 peak was slightly higher at 80.8 per 1,000, a figure, perhaps, reflective of the facilities available for such women in the town.[27] Admissions to the Refuge fluctuated in line with changes in the birth rate in the wider community prior to World War I, but from 1915-16, when the Ballarat birth rate almost halved due to the exodus of men to the front, the number of admissions rose before following the general decline in the last two years of the war.[28] This suggests that single women who ordinarily would not have engaged in pre-marital intercourse did so before their boyfriends or fiancés departed for the war, and that the resulting conceptions led to a rise in the number of admissions to the Refuge.[29]

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[24] BTCM 1,1892 – 1921, Admission Book Female Refuge Home

[25] BTCM 1,1892 – 1921, Admission Book Female Refuge Home; See also Appendix 9

[26] Swain with Howe: *Single Mothers and Their Children: Disposal, Punishment and Survival in Australia*, p. 4

[27] See Appendix 9

[28] The period 1915-1917 (inclusive) when isolated, demonstrated that the intake to the Ballarat Female Refuge during these years was slightly higher than between 1891-1915 or between 1916-1921.

[29] For more information on the interwar period of 1916-1939, the decline in ex-nuptial birth rate and the value of infant life and the change in attitudes after the first World War see Swain with Howe: *Single Mothers and Their Children*, pp. 10, 113. For a comprehensive coverage of statistical information on birth rates in Australia see Pat Quiggan: *No Rising Generation: Women & Fertility in Late Nineteenth Century Australia*: Department of Demography Research School of Social Sciences Australian National University, 1988. For more information on pre-marital pregnancies see K. G. Basavarajappa:
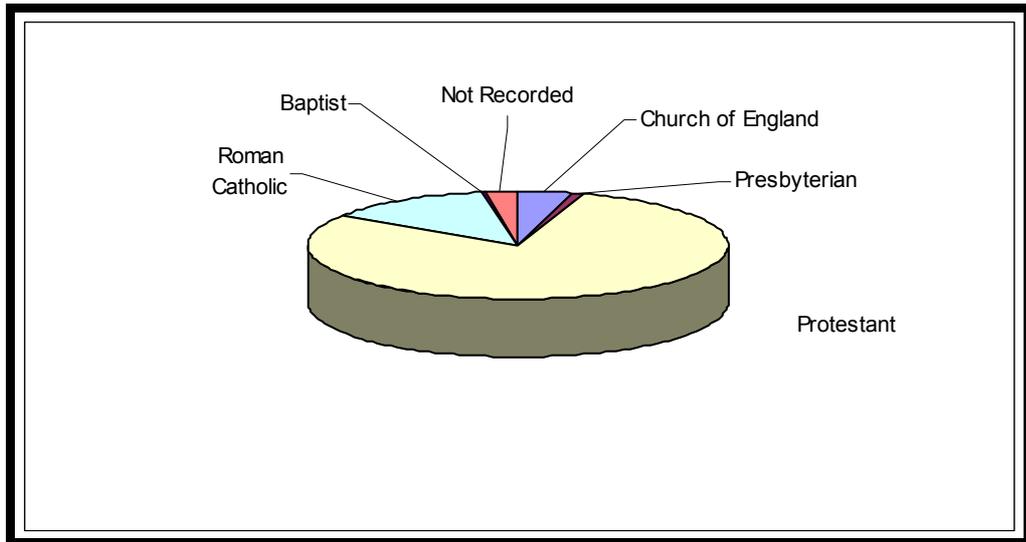
Figure 6.2 Religion of Residents admitted to Ballarat Female Refuge 1890-1921

The decision of single mothers to come to the Refuge was not determined by religious affiliation. Despite the overtly Protestant nature of the institution the religious denominations of the women at the Refuge reflected those in the general Ballarat population.[30] Of 410 entries in which the religion of the 'inmate' was recorded, 86.45% were Protestant, 13.55% Roman Catholic.[31]
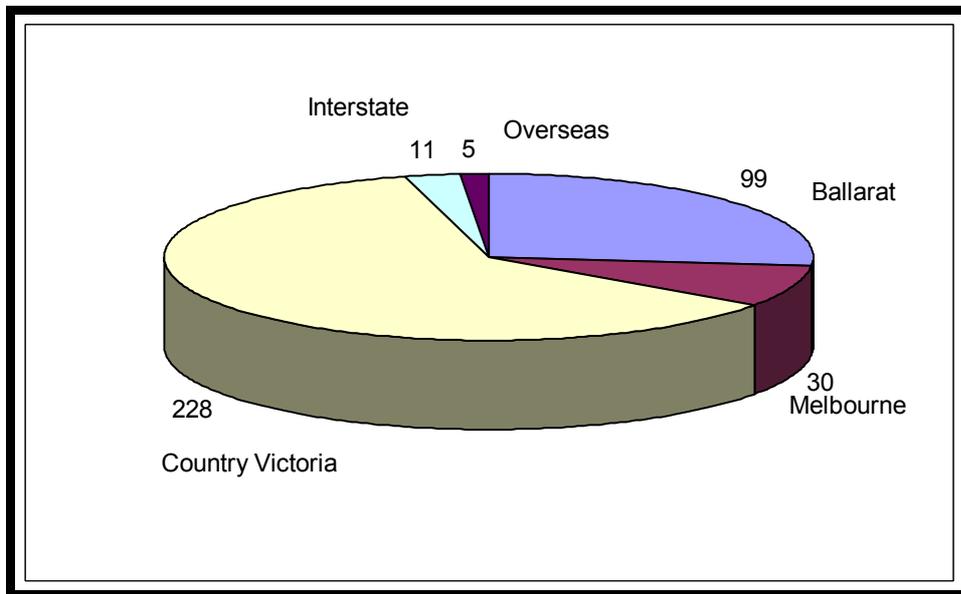
Figure 6.3 Place of Birth of Residents at Ballarat Female Refuge 1891-1921

Pre-Marital Pregnancies and Ex-Nuptial Births in Australia, 1911-66, in *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1968, pp. 126-45

[30] BTCM 1,1892 – 1921, Admission Book Female Refuge Home

[31] Protestants comprised 4.19% Church of England, 0.99% Presbyterian, 0.25% Baptist, and 81.02% merely 'Protestant'

Place of birth was more significant. Although 23.74% of the women were born in Ballarat, a further 54.68% came originally from rural Victoria.[32] While place of birth is not an accurate indication of where the women were living prior to admission, this preponderance suggests that ex-nuptial pregnancy had a greater potential to shame in small rural communities where secrecy was harder to maintain. A significant number of women born in rural districts were working in Ballarat as servants prior to their admission.
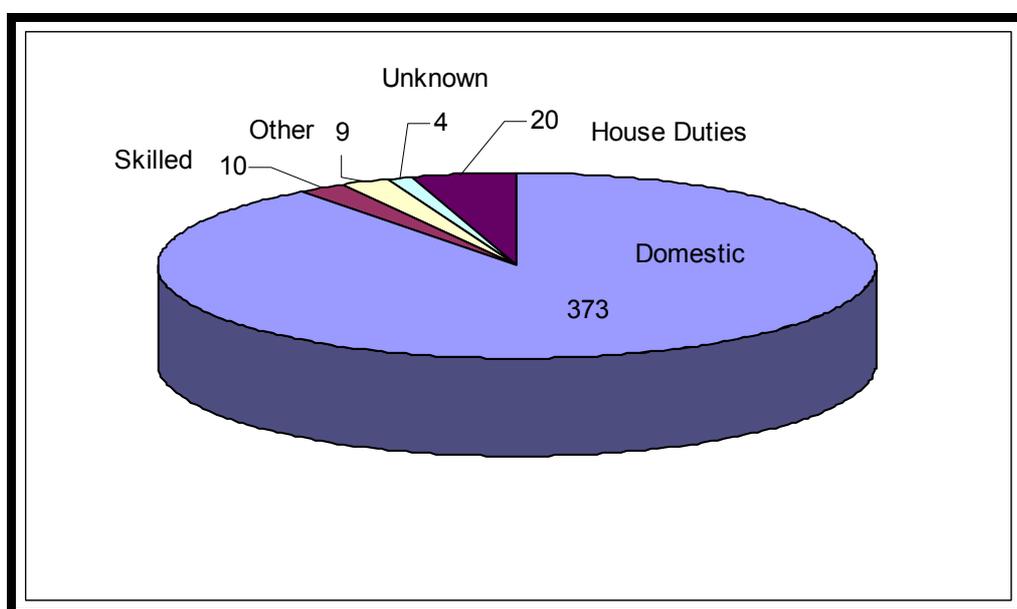
Figure 6.4 Occupations of Women in the Ballarat Female Refuge 1892-1921

Occupation, to the degree to which it reflected social class, was also a factor in determining which women entered the Refuge. Almost 90% of women admitted to Ballarat Female Refuge were domestics, the occupation most commonly associated with single motherhood, while a further 2.40% described themselves as skilled workers.[33] It is significant that only 4.80% listed 'house duties' as their occupation indicating that they

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[32] BTCM 1, 1892 – 1921, Admission Book Female Refuge Home. The towns of Creswick, Hamilton and Stawell were the most prominent birthplaces. Women from Ararat, Maryborough, Beaufort and Buninyong were the next highest country intakes with one inmate being born at Brookside, a girls' Reformatory at Cape Clear near Ballarat.
[33] *Single Mothers and Their Children*, pp. 25-27

had been supported by their families and not compelled to seek paid work prior to their pregnancy. From these figures we can conclude that the Refuge dealt with an overwhelmingly working class clientele.

The most striking difference between women who entered the Refuge and single mothers in the general population was their youth. In the population as a whole 24.2% of single mothers were over 26 years of age.[34] At the Ballarat Female Refuge only 9.11% fell into this category while more than 50% of women were less than 21 with a particular concentration between the ages of 18 and 19 years. [35]
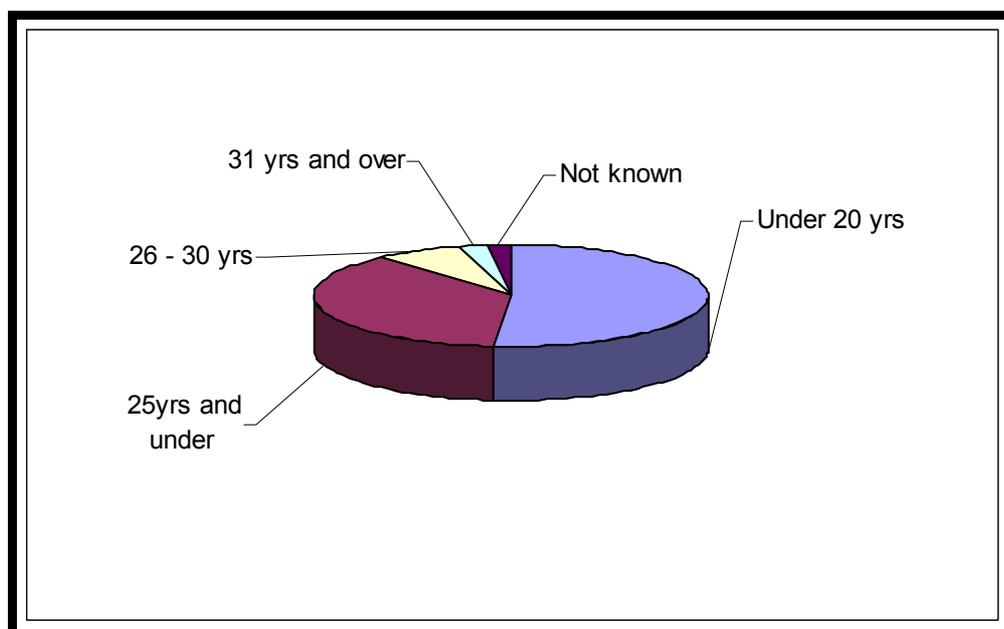
Figure 6.5 Ages of Residents: Ballarat Female Refuge 1890-1921

Rescue workers traditionally justified their emphasis on admitting young women by arguing that they were easier to reform. Older women were thought to be incorrigible,

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[34] See Swain with Howe: *Single Mothers and Their Children: Disposal, Punishment and Survival in Australia*, p. 24 for a comparison of Victorian figures on maternal ages between 1850-1975.
[35] For a more detailed analysis of the ages of inmates at Ballarat Female Refuge see Appendix 8

so set in their ways that they posed a danger to younger inmates.[36] This view was echoed in an early report of the Refuge:

> most of the present inmates are young, five of them being under sixteen years of age. While a fact like this saddens the heart as being possible in a new country like Victoria, it at the same time gives greater hope that they may yet be reclaimed and restored to the paths of honor and purity.[37]

Older women, the *Ballarat Courier* reported, frequently sought admission 'with the deliberate intention of unsettling the minds of those already there, and of tempting them back to their old life of sin'.[38] This was a view with which the Inspector of Charities agreed. In 1889 he reported that

> one of the inmates had been there thrice and one twice previously. The latter [was] 46 years of age and it is questionable whether considerable risk is not run of doing harm to other inmates, some of whom are very young, by readmitting so frequently.[39]

He was forced to reiterate this criticism in the following year:

> One of the inmates a woman of 35 years of age has been no less than 5 times admitted, none of the others were in the Home before, their ages being 15 years and up to 22 years. The readmission so frequently of this woman is not prudent, in my opinion. If the force of evil habits remain so strong as to lead to

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[36] *Ballarat Star*, 4 August 1893; BTCM 93, 1 Folio, 9 Documents, Rules and Regulations, 21 October, 1934, Ballarat Town and City Mission Female Rescue Home.
[37] *Ballarat Star*, 7 September 1881
[38] *The Courier*, 4 July 1877
[39] PROV, VPRS 1207/P, Unit 1441, File 3761. Letter to Ballarat Female Refuge from Inspector Evans, Government Offices, Spring Street, dated 11 November 1889

> relapses, it seems to me that the woman herself derives no benefit
>
> and the other and younger girls may suffer harm.[40]

The committee responded by adopting a policy of refusing admission to women who had 'fallen twice', and in 1893 decided to exclude applicants over the age of forty as well.[41] From this point on the Ballarat Female Refuge clearly differentiated itself from the generalist institutions of the past focusing instead on young single working class women who needed shelter during their pregnancy and support in the early months of caring for their child.[42]

Statistics however disclose little about such women as individuals. 'The motivations of residents', as Pascoe succinctly states, 'were crucial to the survival of rescue home operations. They were neither powerless victims nor entirely free agents.'[43] How did the women who entered the Refuge exercise such agency? Catherine Perinoni, 21, was admitted to the Ballarat Female Refuge on 25 June 1895. There she gave birth to her son, Clarence, and was 'restored to friends' on 17 September 1896. However it is clear that she distorted the truth in order to fit the Refuge profile. While her admission records state that she was single and pregnant, she was already married. Her husband was still alive and Clarence was not her first child. One of ten children whose father was charged many times with neglecting to send his children to school, Catherine married Angelo Michael Pedrotti in 1888, and their son, Angelo was born in Yandoit in 1889.[44] She was only fourteen years old at the time of

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[40] PROV, VPRS 1207/P, Unit 1441, File 3761. Letter to 'Female Home for Fallen Women Ballarat' from W. J. Brett, dated 18 December 1890

[41] *Ballarat Star*, 4 August 1893; *Ballarat Star*, 3 August 1894

[42] See Table 6.3

[43] Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue*, p. 110

[44] Catherine was born at Springdallah near Ballarat. Her father Aquilino Perinoni and mother, Sarah Ann Bowen had ten children, including Catherine. Six were born at Springdallah between 1872 and 1884, two at Piggoreet between 1887 and 1888.

her marriage, and fifteen years old when she was confined of her first child.[45] She leased land in Main Road, Ballarat East in 1892, and had a second child, Henry Joseph Perinoni later in the same year.[46] A fourth child, Walter Stanley Perinoni, was born in Ballarat in 1899. Despite her marriage Catherine registered Henry, Clarence and Walter under her maiden name, Perinoni, and the father in each case, is recorded as 'unknown'. However in the following decade Catherine (Perinoni) and Angelo Pedrotti had three more children, all born in nearby Smeaton and registered under the surname Pedrotti. Catherine Pedrotti (nee Perinoni) died at Allendale on 23 March 1942 at the age of 76 years. She is buried at Eganstown Catholic cemetery with her husband Angelo.

This case record raises more questions than it answers. What is clear however is that, during the period 1891-9 Catherine was not living with her husband but was still sexually active. Such a lifestyle was unlikely to satisfy the requirements of the women who ran the Refuge. Yet, when Catherine needed the shelter that they had to offer, she was able to reconstruct her 'story' erasing its less savoury elements in order to gain admission. Given that she remained in the Refuge for the full term we can only assume that her behaviour during this period did nothing to upset the 'story' with which she had gained admission.

Within the Refuge Catherine would have been subject to the surveillance and control that rescue workers believed were paramount in the quest to reform and control the 'waywardness' of these young sexually active single women. In 1885 the *Ballarat Star* commended the Refuge. 'The internal management of the Home is first-class,

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[45] Angelo Michael Pedrotti, the husband of Catherine, was the son of Cesare Pedrotti and Margaret Byrnes. The Ballarat Hospital Records indicate that Catherine was a patient three times. Each time she was admitted, her details indicate that she was a servant, single and catholic.
[46] Victorian Birth Certificate

and the discipline maintained is strict, but not severe.'[47] This discipline was exercised through rules and regulations, spatialisation, repetitive labour, religious instruction, case monitoring and the maintenance of rigid hierarchies of power.

The Rules and Regulations of the Ballarat Female Refuge followed along the same lines as those of the Carlton Refuge, and, as at Carlton, were subject to little adaptation, despite the changing nature of the clientele.[48] The Matron was instructed to make sure that 'Sundays are kept as sacred as possible, and that no unnecessary work is done on that day'. On other days, unless they had permission from the Matron to absent themselves, the women arose for prayers at 6.30 am. All beds had to be made, rooms tidied and inspected by 8 am. Opportunities for social interaction were restricted. Talking was strictly regulated – 'No Bad Language or Light Talk is allowed' - and inmates were not allowed to visit each other's rooms. Recreation was under the direction of the staff 'and in the room or rooms appointed by the one in charge. Only games approved by the Matron shall be played. Dancing and Card Playing are Strictly Forbidden.'[49] The strictest principles of economy were to be applied. The laundry, brooms, brushes, supplies and baths were regulated. Medicines were given out after prayers each night. 'Breakages of all kinds, also accidents to the furniture or walls, are to be reported to the Matron; All Lights are to be put out when not in use'. The rules also acted to place as great a distance as possible between the inmates and the outside world. Although visitors were admitted twice weekly, inmates were not permitted to make telephone calls and, on release, they were forbidden to return 'except for the purpose of interviewing the Matron'.[50]

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[47] *Ballarat Star*, 19 August, 1885
[48] Exceptions were noted, such as additions to the Rules to encompass new innovations such as the telephone, which added new restrictions for the residents at the Refuge.
[49] BTCM 93, 1 Folio, 9 Documents, Rules and Regulations, 21 October, 1934, Ballarat Town and City Mission Female Rescue Home
[50] BTCM 93, 1 Folio, 9 Documents, Rules and Regulations, 21 October, 1934

As the Rules and Regulations illustrate, the matron ruled over the Female Refuge as her private domain. Charged with implementing the rules formed by the Committees she controlled the daily running of the institution. Thus the matron was able to decide which women remained at the Refuge, and which area they were allotted to work, that is, whether they were to work in the laundry, crèche, the house, or the kitchen. She also selected her personal attendants and helpers who were often able to gain special privileges as a result.[51]

Within this structure the relationship of the matron to the residents was constructed as one between a mother and her children.[52] Drawing on this imagery the Inspector of Charities, H. C. Malcolm in 1915 reported that the Ballarat Female Refuge was:

> very well conducted and … beautifully kept. Each girl has a room
>
> to herself, and takes her baby at night. The inmates look upon the
>
> Matron as a Mother, and she acts towards them as if they
>
> belonged to her. They all seem very happy and are well cared for.
>
> The Home is a credit to the Matron, Committee and all who help to
>
> make it what it is.[53]

Such maternalism, Pascoe has argued was, 'a form of female moral authority that softened the sharp edges of control in the homes'.[54] Like a mother the matron was confident that <u>she</u> knew what was best for the women in her care. This understanding of the relationship also allowed for the development of emotional ties between the matron and the residents. Belle Molloy remained at the Ballarat Refuge

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[51] Elwyn Kinnane: Oral history, 1991, Ballarat
[52] See Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue*, pp. 100-111 for a comparison of relationships between Matrons and residents at Salt Lake City Home, the San Francisco Chinese Mission Home, and the Colorado Cottage Home.
[53] PROV, VPRS 1207/P, Unit 2323, Item 9099. Letter from H. C. Malcolm, Inspector of Charities re Ballarat Female Home, dated 16 July 1915

for many years; a personal assistant to the Matron, while her son, Eric was raised at Bungaree with the family of the Matron's daughter, Nellie Hamilton. Mary Lucas who had a child at the Refuge, later worked there as a domestic with her sister, Florence, and moved with the Matron to the new hospital, Warrawee, in Victoria Street. They were accepted into the household and family without reservation and Florence Lucas later married the Matron's grandson.[55]

Figure 6.6 Matron Ellis (standing) with her daughter Eleanor, grandson Alexander who married Florence Lucas, and Mrs Wright, Sarah Jane Ellis' mother
Source: Author's private collection

Not all residents were as accepting of this female moral authority. Clients at the Refuge often resented being made to conform to rules and regulations. Pascoe's study of the Salt Lake City Home vividly demonstrates the alienation that could did arise.[56] At the Ballarat Refuge the instances of resistance were numerous and diverse. Nineteen-year old Rosetta McKenna, the servant daughter of an Irish

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[54] Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue*, p. 103
[55] Elwyn Kinnane: Oral history, 1991, Ballarat
[56] Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue*, pp. 100-102

immigrant, was admitted on 24 April 1896 and confined in 1896. On 13 November 1896 she escaped, her baby in her arms.[57] The Canadian Rescue Home must have appeared more attractive to Jessie Pierson and J. Hellenside who reportedly went there after escaping from the Refuge on 16 January 1898.[58] It may have appeared a more attractive option to them, being a more lenient institution. Alice Price, arrested on a charge of vagrancy, came to the Refuge on 7 January 1892. Eight months later she was expelled for bad conduct. Clearly she had not adapted to institutional life.[59]

Rhoda Schutt's behaviour was harder to read. Admitted to the Refuge on 6 September 1897, she gave birth to a daughter one month later.[60] Disturbed by the birth Rhoda 'threatened to do herself an injury' and 'for some days [had] been keeping the whole house disturbed by singing, dancing, and at night refusing her food'. The doctor ordered the 'baby to be taken from her at night: a draught given and the key to be turned in her door at night'. When she began to refuse medication Rhoda was handed over to the police and committed to the insane asylum at Wendouree.[61] One month later her daughter Mary was arrested at the Refuge and committed to the Department of Neglected Children. Hazel Fisher whose baby was born on 1 February 1917 was found 'injurious to the other inmates' on 16 February 1917, taken to court and committed to the care of the Salvation Army Refuge in Geelong.[62]

For those who remained within the Refuge, control was maintained through a complex process of spacialisation. Pregnant single women existed inside the

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[57] BTCM 1, Admission Register, Ballarat Female Refuge
[58] BTCM 1, Admission Register, Ballarat Female Refuge
[59] BTCM 1, Admission Register, Ballarat Female Refuge
[60] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register; BTCM 1, Admission Register, Ballarat Female Refuge
[61] PROV, VPRS 290, Unit 32

enclosure of the Female Refuge, a physical space that simultaneously provided both protection and exclusion from society. On admission each young woman made the transition into this protected world. Each woman was given a room, her own space, but she was restricted in the time she was allowed to be in this space. Having left her room early in the morning she was not allowed to return until night. For the rest of the time the women were located in the common space, their behaviour constantly monitored by staff and other inmates. Even the ablution block, located near the laundry, had only one bath for many years allowing neither privacy nor time for personal grooming.

Time as well as space was subject to rigid control. A strict schedule was set for bedtime, meals, work and prayer. Religious services were held twice a week but for the rest of the time the women were occupied in repetitive and mundane work such as washing, sewing and ironing, cleaning the premises, caring for the babies, cooking and gardening. They were kept exceedingly busy, often repeating the same chore day after day. Brass doorsteps were polished until faces could be seen in them, brass doorknobs cleaned, and kitchen floors scrubbed. Orderliness and cleanliness were 'next to Godliness' and control by constant and consistent work was thought to produce the desired results: a good, obedient, servant.

As Goffman has demonstrated, repetitious work was a characteristic of all institutions. 'Some kinds of work may provide training, but much of it is in connection with essential, lowly services … tasks which derive from the working needs of the establishment'.[63] In female refuges the laundry archetypically fulfilled this role.[64] The

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[62] BTCM 1, Admission Register; PROV, VPRS 290, Unit 70 p. 104, Ballarat East Petty Session Register

[63] Burns: *Erving Goffman*, p. 151

work was repetitive, constant and potentially dangerous. Hence the silence and rigid disciplinary control, considered so essential to inducing reform, was given practical justification.[65] The Committee had great faith that, alongside work, religious instruction offered the best pathway to reform. Martin Hosking, an active Methodist, was appointed Town and City Missioner in 1871. He visited the Refuge twice weekly until his death in 1893 accompanied by the bible woman, Mrs Catherine Stewart.[66] At their Sunday afternoon and on Thursday evening services they urged women to repent, reform and accept the tenets of Evangelical Christianity.[67]

The behaviour of the inmates was constantly monitored as part of the process of control. 'Visitors' appointed by the committee, collected the information on applicants for admission, and visited them during their time in the Refuge. Their initial account was crucial in determining whether a woman 'deserved' to be admitted into the Refuge. The act of writing up an individual case was part of a process of categorisation, identifying those aspects of the woman's behaviour which deviated from the culturally constructed middle class 'norm', and hence were in need of reformation. Once in the Refuge the women's behaviour was constantly monitored for indications of repentance and reform. For some women this surveillance was clearly disturbing. Olive Rowan, for example, had a number of 'feverish attacks' after being visited by the 'Ladies' within days of her confinement.[68] In consequence the doctor ordered that apart from the Matron and Sub-Matron only he was to visit any of the women till the tenth day after they had given birth.[69] All of these practices were

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[64] Godden: 'Sectarianism and Purity Within the Woman's sphere: Sydney Refuges During the Late Nineteenth Century', pp. 300-301 14

[65] Pascoe: *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West 1874-1939*, p. 81

[66] Peter Mansfield: Ballarat Town and City Mission In *Ballarat Historian*, Volume 1, pp. 2-22

[67] *Ballarat Star*, 4 August 1893

[68] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 3 October 1903

[69] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge

constructed within and maintained by the rigid hierarchies of power that were central to the organization and functioning of the Ballarat Female Refuge. These hierarchies served both to implement the moral regulation and affirm the status of those in positions of authority.

These hierarchies extended beyond the individual institution, locating all of the colonies' female rescue homes within a complex network, with committees working together to ensure that clients were sent to the most appropriate institution.[70] For example, the Salvation Army Home in Melbourne was open to the more 'resistant' cases accepting women who had refused to conform at Ballarat. The committee having decided that Hazel Fisher's presence was injurious to the other women at the Refuge, the doctor attended the Ballarat East Police Court and 'through the courtesy of inspector Nicholson got Hazel Fisher committed to the Salvation Army for 12 months'.[71] Five girls from the Canadian Rescue and Children's Home were sent to other institutions from 1909 to 1910.[72] Honora McCarthy and Mary Jane Rowe, accused of frequenting Chinese leper's huts in Ballarat, were charged in Ballarat East Court with being in a disorderly house (brothel), and sent to Abbotsford Reformatory in Melbourne for three years rather than the Ballarat Female Refuge, which was much closer and in the same region as their court committal.[73] The specialization of institutions was therefore instrumental in the implementation of moral regulation and authority because it was through this type of social and moral classification that power was exercised.

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[70] There was also a Reformatory for women who were arrested and charged by the courts attached to the Abbotsford convent.
[71] BTCM 98: Doctor's register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 1 February 1917; 16 February 1917
[72] *The Ballarat Town Mission Visitor*, Ballarat, August 1, 1910
[73] They were charged with being neglected children. There was concern that they went to the Chinese lepers' huts but there was no evidence that they went there for immoral purposes. The testimony, however, was given against a man named Wilson, the keeper of a disreputable house, which Rowe

Like many similar institutions the Ballarat Female Refuge was managed heriarchically with specializations evident within the roles and occupations of its workers.

Power

Committees
Male
Female
Visitors

Staff

Clergy
Doctors
Lawyers

Biblewomen

Matron
Sub-matron

Residents
Middle-class women
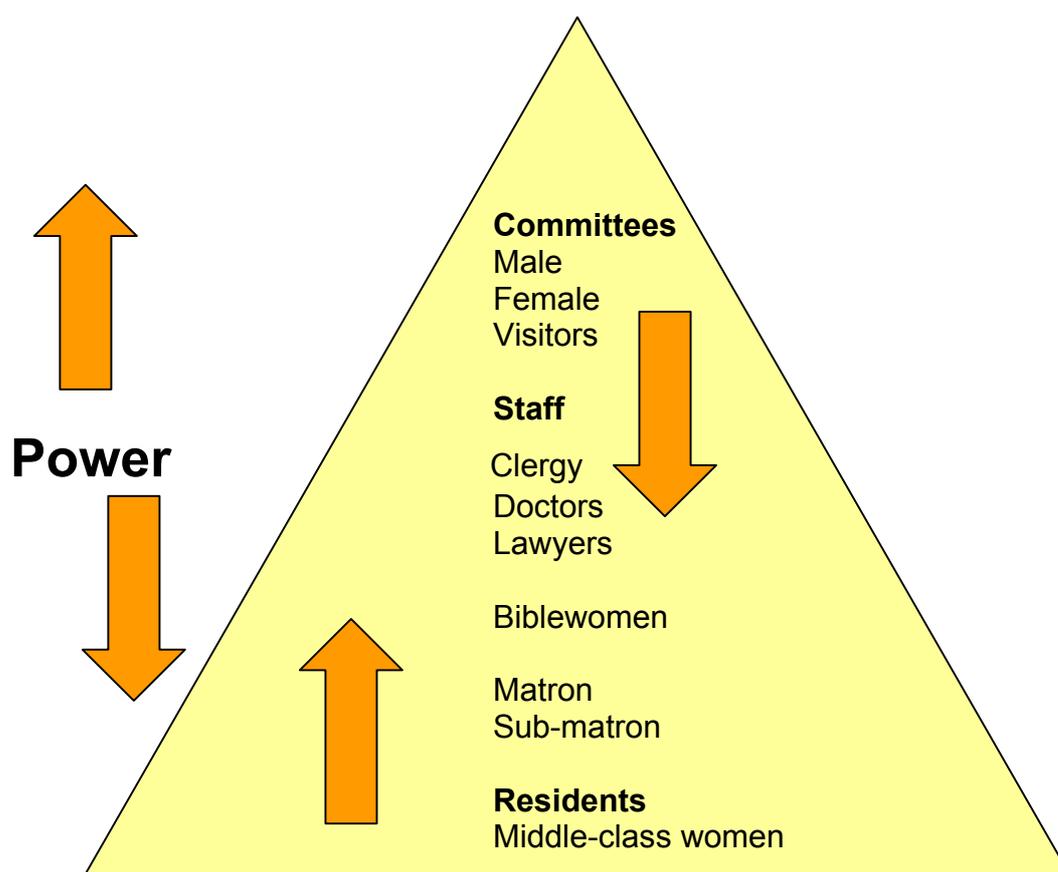
Figure 6.7 Hierarchy of Female Refuge

The male committee was given the highest status, then the female committee, followed by doctors and other professionals, bible women, visitors, the matron and her staff. The residents of the Refuge were the lowest on the scale, with the least power and status, although, as has been seen, they were not completely powerless. Differences in class, marital status, age, and work, between clients of the Refuge and

and McCarthy had frequented, and in which they were arrested, and was so conclusive that they were sent to the Abbotsford Reformatory for three years.

the staff and committee in control, contributed towards the implementation of moral authority.

The question of morality threw into sharp contrast those who worked in the Refuge and those who were 'inmates'. The social and moral divide between those controlling the Ballarat Female Refuge and its clients was especially significant and maintained and consolidated class and social distinctions. Ladies' and Gentlemen's Committee members attended formal functions, occasionally visited the Refuge, and followed up women who had been discharged. The Ladies' Committee attended to subscription lists, wrote to the government about operating and building grants and were generally responsible for producing annual reports and official returns. Women traditionally also ran the fund raising bazaars and other charity functions. A 'Visitor' was also appointed from the Ladies' Committee.

The Gentlemen's Committee endorsed the work of the Ladies' Committee and managed such legalities, as the buying of property. Patriarchal power operated through these committees. Although the Ladies' Committee had a great deal of autonomy, the Gentlemen's Committee had the final say and made many of the most crucial decisions. Lawyers such as Henry Cuthbert wielded considerable power in their honorary professional status. These men attended to such legal procedures as indentures for clients, land purchases, bequests and trust accounts. In this capacity they interacted with local council, members of parliament, and their own professional colleagues.[74] Doctors attended the Refuge, mostly on an honorary basis. Given their professional expertise they were able to exercise authority over the matrons, workers, and the clients and, on some occasions the committee members as well.

The notes in the Doctors' Registers provide evidence of the relationship between doctor and patient and give some insight into the doctor's feelings about the duties he was required to perform within the institution, demonstrating, at times, compassion, exasperation, practicality and resignation.

Figure 6.8 Entry in Doctor's Register
BTCM 98 Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge,
Ballarat Regional Library Corporation

The doctors occupied a clear position of authority in relation to the Matron and her staff. Although the doctor relied on the professional judgment of the Matron in many situations his language demonstrates his position of superiority.[75] The matron is

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[74] See Appendix 1; Diane Campbell: A Cut Above the Rest: Anglo-Irish Lawyers in Early Ballarat, 4th Year Honours, University of Ballarat, 2000

[75] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 14 September 1891; 11 June 1895; 27 September 1898; 18 May 1911; 29 August 1906; 9 February 1916

variously 'told', 'ordered', 'asked' and 'advised' to perform her duties there.[76] But there is also concern when she becomes ill with bronchitis or when she 'has an attack of weakness'.[77] During 1892 to 1893 an exasperated but authoritative tone was noted in the doctor's register. Many cases of ophthalmia neonatum had been detected in babies transferred from the Lying-in Hospital at the Benevolent Asylum. Baby Cleverley was not thriving and Baby Dent was also 'evidently going to waste away'.[78] Baby Garbutt had lost the sight of one eye.[79] Baby Dent, Dr. Morrison reported, 'was the fourth case that had come from the Lying-in Hospital in this condition and ought to be reported to the authorities'.[80] The annoyance of the doctor is evident, firstly because of the spread of this disease from another institution, and also because of the implications of the presence of a venereal disease for an institution like the Refuge.

The doctor's attitudes to the women and babies in the Refuge were complex and somewhat contradictory. Both compassion and stigmatization are evident. The doctor's comments in 1910 illustrate the paradox succinctly. On the one hand the doctor is concerned about the insufficiency of the 'dietary of the children' and on the other he refers to three deaths among the children stating that two 'had to die as from their birth they were unhealthy tainted children'.[81] Baby Dent was not referred to by name. The doctor stated that 'It has thriven little since I last saw it.'[82] Baby Clarke

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[76] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 14 June 1899; 4 November 1901; 3 October 1903; 30 March 1905; 7 February 1904; 15 February 1910; 17 October 1911; 9 October 1913; 11 July 1914; 11 October 1914; 17 January 1915; 7 August 1915; 5 December 1918; 12 February 1920; 19 July 1920; 1 December 1920; 28 December 1920
[77] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 29 July 1905 attack of weakness; 19 June 1919; 20 June 1919; 24 June 1919; 25 June 1920; 28 June 1920; 4 February 1919
[78] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 4 July 1893
[79] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 12 October 1893
[80] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 27 September 1893
[81] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 15 February 1910
[82] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 4 December 1893

was (cryptically) 'still in dying condition'.[83] Baby Walker was 'rather puny but appears otherwise well'.[84] When Jane Stone was complaining of backache in 1897 the doctor commenting tersely that 'This is due to her condition'.[85] Another doctor 'Made post mortem examination of body of female child, Robson, found dead in cradle. Cause of death, suffocation.'[86] By contrast the case of Maggie Brown was of great anxiety to both Dr. Morrison and Dr. Champion (who was called in to assist in the case). She was confined of a child on 20 January 1898 but had a retained placenta and considerable haemorrhage and was ill for over one month. The doctor visited her until she was convalescent and his notes from this period indicate that the he was concerned and sympathetic. It was with relief that in February he was able to record that 'Maggie [could be allowed] to go downstairs tomorrow'.[87]

The doctors were even more likely to show compassion towards the babies at the Refuge. In 1892 the doctor suggested that it would be a good thing for delicate babies if the Committee could procure a goat.[88] Baby Williams at only 2 weeks of age was very small, suffering from marasmus and needed a 'good deal of care'.[89] The nursery, the doctor thought, should be sunny and have plenty of windows to let in light.[90] One doctor, in going through the day nursery, was struck with the bad condition of the walls and roof. He recommended that it be calciumined.[91] Another doctor complained about 'the room the babies are left in being scrubbed and the babies kept there whilst it is dying [*sic*] – this itself must be most fatal to children of

[83] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 12 March 1889
[84] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 21 September 1896
[85] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 6 June 1897
[86] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 8 December 1891
[87] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 19 February 1898; See also Lucy Porritt's case BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 29 November 1898; 13 December 1898; 20 December 1898
[88] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 24 October 1892. Goat's milk was more beneficial and easier to digest than cow's milk.
[89] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 13 February 1896
[90] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 24 October 1892

such tender age'.[92] He recommended a fire to be lit and raw beef juice for the baby and also suggested that 'if the room should require scrubbing, [to] let the babies be removed to a dry room until the scrubbed room is perfectly dry and aired.[93]

Figure 6.9 Babies' Nursery Ballarat Female Refuge
Source: BTCM 105, Central Highlands Regional Library Corporation, Ballarat

Others who visited the Refuge in a 'professional' capacity were the Missioner and Bible woman. Whereas the doctor attended to the body, these people attended to the soul and in this capacity had considerable moral influence among the committee, staff and clients. Mrs Catherine Stewart was a member of the Ballarat Female Refuge Ladies' committee, a biblewoman and enthusiastic Methodist. With Martin Hosking, the Missioner to the Ballarat Female Refuge she visited the Refuge twice weekly for twenty-six years. Their role was to provide religious instruction for the inmates. Stewart and Hosking had often been instrumental in bringing women to the

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[91] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 5 February 1913
[92] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 14 February 1888
[93] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 14 February 1888. Rooms were scrubbed with phenol which had a very potent and powerful odour.

Refuge, having met them through their work at the court or their visiting in the homes of the working class poor. They wielded considerable power knowing the circumstances of the poor, hearing and collecting information about them and deciding who was eligible for assistance in time of need.

Figure 6.10 Catherine Stewart, Biblewoman
Source: *The Spectator*, 8 September 1905, p. 1475

Figure 6.11 Missioner Martin Hosking
Source: *The Courier*, 18 April 1987

Where doctors and lawyers, missioners and biblewomen were confident in relation to both their professional and social status, Matrons occupied a more equivocal position. Unlike the committee members from whom they took their orders they were compelled to earn a wage. They could however, accumulate savings, buy property and become financially secure through their own labour. They also had the opportunity of interacting and mixing with their social superiors and thus rising up the social ladder. Matron Sarah Ellis was an impressive, large motherly woman who was always neatly dressed in black, sometimes with a black feather boa and black jet beads. Her nurses' uniform comprised of fine lilac striped frock, very large stiffly starched white apron, and large white veil worn with black shoes and stockings. Her daughter described her as mixing confidently with doctors and town officials, and 'the

Committee of Ballarat Orphanage and many welfare workers' and of having (and creating) a powerful influence.[94]

Matrons: Ballarat Female Refuge

Name	Dates employed
Mrs White	1867
Mrs Sarah Bowden	1881 – 1883
Miss Smith	1881 (Assistant)
Mrs Dickson	1883
Mrs Comber	1884-1885
Mrs Munroe	1885 – 1887
Mrs Kruse	1885 (Sub-Matron)
Mrs English	1887
Miss Smith	1887 (Sub-Matron)
Miss Lane	Left in 1892 for England
Mrs Daymond	1892
Mrs Manson	1895
Mrs Sarah Ellis	1906 – 31 May 1921
Mrs Dunstan	1 June 1921 – 1930+

Table 6.1 Matrons: Ballarat Female Refuge
Source: BTCM Archives, Ballarat Regional Library Corporation; Private Collections;
Ballarat Female Refuge Annual General Meeting Reports

The successive Matrons at the Ballarat Female Refuge wielded power and authority over both staff and inmates.[95] Most were widows forced to provide for their families but they brought to the position experience in other fields such as sewing, midwifery, midwifery, or teaching as well as their status as 'mothers'.

The story of one of the Refuge Matrons provides some insight into the life experience which such women brought to the role. Sarah Jane Ellis was appointed Matron of the

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[94] Elwyn Kinnane: *My Grandmother: Sarah Jane Ellis*, unpublished notes. In the photograph the nurses' uniform does not resemble a lilac striped material.

Home in 1906 and remained in the position until June 1921 when the institution was merged with the Ballarat Town and City Mission. She had conducted Bible classes every Thursday evening as a visitor at the Grant Street Refuge in 1869.[96] A member of the Bible Christian Church in Skipton Street she met and married William Ellis, and together they became lay preachers and Missioners at Hopetoun. After her husband's death Sarah Jane returned to Ballarat with her three small children and made a living by bringing home shirts from 'white-working' factories to sew. Her decision to take up midwifery preceded her appointment to the Refuge. By the early 1910s, as a result of her work at the Refuge she became relatively financially secure, owning many houses in Scott Parade, and the adjoining streets. In 1921 she conducted a private hospital, in Victoria Street, called Warrawee, which was in later years sold to the Ballarat Orphanage. She lived the rest of her life in Hopetoun Street within view of Warrawee.

If Ellis' motivation in seeking employment at the Refuge was to improve her family's material status, she clearly succeeded in achieving her goal. It is more difficult, however, to evaluate the degree to which the Refuge was successful in achieving its goals. An analysis of the way in which success was measured reveals the delicate balance between residents, staff and officials within the institution. If the goal was to reform all who entered the Refuge the instances of resistance - the women who slipped through the palings in the back fence to visit the Chinese market gardeners in the area behind the institution for a little 'recreation' and those who resisted the confines and boredom of Refuge life – are indicative of an institution falling short of such ideals.

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[95] See Table 6.1
[96] *Ballarat Star*, 2 February 1869

Figure 6.12 Sarah Jane Ellis, Matron of Ballarat Female Refuge
Source: Author's private collection

To measure the 'success' of the Ballarat Female Refuge the evidence presented through the admission books, doctor's books and individual biographies of women is invaluable. By examining the experiences of 295 women about whom comments were written, over 93% of women would have been viewed by the Committee as 'successful' with only 6.78% listed as having been 'expelled' or 'escaped'.

The 'inmates' were encouraged to write after leaving the home so that they were 'kept in sight'.[97] One woman wrote 'Dear Friend, - I can thank both you and Mrs. – for my happiness. My mother sends her thanks and best wishes to you both. Give my respects to Mrs Kruse and all the women, and tell them all that I am happy'. Another said, 'Dear Matron, - I will pray for you to the hour of my death, and I have no doubt you won't forget poor Lucy in your prayers'. A third wrote:

> I can never forget you for your kindness to me in my trouble, when I had no other friend in the world. I am very thankful to the ladies for the kind protection and care while in the home. I got a very comfortable situation and am still at it, and my child is getting on very well. It is my only trouble that I don't have it with me.

While M. said,

> I do truly say from my heart that I wish I was able to repay your kindness, as I do not know what I would have done in my misery if it had not been for you and all the rest of the kind ladies. I feel I have turned over a new leaf, and for the rest of my life hope to do better.

M. informed the matron that she expected to be married to a respectable young farmer. The committee had 'since heard of her marriage, as well as that of three other of our former inmates'.[98] Not only did the clients attest to the success of the system but there were also letters from employers writing to compliment the Refuge on its work. A lady with whom one of the women had gone to live wrote that she was 'glad to tell … that Kate is keeping very steady and keeps her place very well'.[99]

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[97] *Ballarat Star*, 5 August, 1892
[98] *Ballarat Star*, 7 August 1896
[99] *Ballarat Star*, 11 August 1886

Figure 6.13 Matron Bowden
Source: Private Collection

There were narratives of success used to illustrate the worthiness of the social purity cause and thus to demonstrate the value of the institution. They made good propaganda material, and were used in annual reports, advertisements and newspaper articles contributing to the public perception of an institution 'doing good' in the community. Success letters were also important in helping to obtain money for the institution from both Government and local subscribers. The value of such letters as evidence that money was being spent on reform and good works, and that these works were successful, meant that they were coveted and publicly displayed. However, the <u>same</u> 'success' story, from the <u>same</u> client, is repeated many times in the annual reports of the Ballarat Female Refuge. There is no evidence to suggest that these 'success' letters existed, how many letters were written, or who wrote them. There were, no doubt, <u>some</u> letters congratulating the staff and Committee and it is also obvious that practical assistance <u>was</u> given to many women in a time of

crisis. However, rhetoric and reality were often worlds apart. Marriage was the most acceptable and 'normal' condition to those in authority at the Female Refuge, so that the Refuge committee viewed as 'successful' the twenty women who left to be married. However they may have married earlier had they not been residents of the Refuge! The intervention and availability of the Ballarat Female Refuge may have, in a few cases, undermined the very action that this institution wished to promote: marriage and children, (strictly in that order). A comparison of the Victorian Birth, Death and Marriage Indexes and the Ballarat Female Refuge Admission Register indicates that 46/332 or 13.86% of women at the Refuge went on to have more illegitimate children, an outcome that the committee and management would not have classified as 'successful'.[100]

Women were 'expelled' for a variety of reasons from insolent behavior to post-natal problems such as depression or psychosis. The cause of bad conduct or the reason for not wanting to nurse a child was rarely sought, and never recorded, but the doctor's registers do provide some evidence or possible causation. Agnes Young was 'expelled with her child' on 16 January 1893. She had been confined four months earlier but was reported to be 'able to nurse, [yet] seems disinclined to attempt to do anything for child'. It was the doctor's recommendation that 'if she does not amend her ways [she] ought to be dismissed'.[101]

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[100] Eighty five births cannot be verified on the Victorian Birth Indexes therefore it cannot be determined whether another child has been born and therefore whether any of these women had multiple illegitimate births.

[101] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 16 January 1893

Expulsions and Escapes Ballarat Female Refuge

NAME	ACTION	DATE
Alice Price	Expelled for bad conduct	22 September 1892
Kate McIntyre	Expelled	28 June 1893
Agnes Young	Expelled with her child	16 Jan 1893
Agnes Spence	Escaped	28 June 1894
Lucinda Silcock	Escaped	18 November 1894.
Eliza Camely	Expelled	27 August 1894
Annie Voyes	Escaped	4 May 1895
Edith Ford	Escaped	13 November 1896
Rosetta McKenna	Escaped with her baby	13 November 1896
Grace Elgar	Escaped	25 September 1896
Jessie Pierson	Escaped to the Canadian Home	16 January 1898
J Hellenside	Escaped to the Canadian Home	16 January 1898
Mary Coulter	Expelled. Her child died.	26 April 1898
Rosetta Jones	Expelled with her child	26 February 1900
Annie Mitchell	Escaped with child	20 October 1901
Ada Collins	Expelled with her child	22 October 1901

Table 6.2 Expulsions and Escapes from Ballarat Female Refuge
Source: BTCM 1 Admission Register, Ballarat Female Refuge,
Ballarat Regional Library Corporation

Agnes Spence's life has left a greater mark upon the public record, which situates her stay in the Refuge as a brief interlude in a troubled career. Sergeant Charles arrested Agnes Spence, a woman of sixteen years, housekeeper and niece of William Guthrie Spence, for 'Larceny from a dwelling' on 11 March 1890.[102] She was sentenced to three months imprisonment, the sentence being suspended on recognizance of good behaviour for twelve months.[103] The Hillmans of Eyre Street, Ballarat, then employed her. Agnes stole money from her new employers. Arrested on 23 June 1890 Agnes gave two aliases.[104] She was again arrested in St Kilda charged with petty larceny on 21 December 1890, while she was residing at the Coffee Palace, and sentenced to three months in Ballarat Gaol.[105] 'Licensed out' to her father from the Brookside Reformatory', she absconded but returned to him on 23 January 1892.[106] She was admitted to the Ballarat Female Refuge on 26 April 1894 and 'escaped' on 28 June 1894.[107] There is no mention of Agnes being pregnant or being confined of a child. Although her fate over the next decade is unknown she seems to have been able to avoid further contact with the police. In 1904 Agnes

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[102] PROV, VPRS 5796, Unit 6, p. 133; Victorian Birth Registration: Agnes Spence born 1873, Creswick, Registration number 23317, to James Maxwell Spence and Agnes Charlotte Probyn. Agnes Spence (nee Probyn) died in 1884 at Allendale aged 31 years. Agnes was only eleven years old at the time of her mother's death, and was the eldest of a family of six children.

[103] PROV, VPRS 5796, Unit 6, Watch House Charge Books, p. 133

[104] PROV, VPRS 554, Unit 11, Item 541, Convictions, Orders and Briefs – Writs, from the Court of Petty Sessions, Ballarat. Hillman and his wife lived at 144 Eyre Street Ballarat where Agnes was working as a servant. John Thompson, senior Constable stationed at St Kilda West Station, swore under oath that Agnes Spence had given the name of Jessie Hillman. Mary Ann Hillman said that she recognized 'the accused [Agnes] as a person … engaged last June as Agnes Sorensen'.

[105] PROV, VPRS 554, Unit 11, Item 541. Unfortunately the Gaol Register for Ballarat for this period is closed due to mould.

[106] Victorian Government Gazette, January 1892, pp. 12, 28, 65 Agnes was 18 years of age, about 4'11" high, of stoutish build with round full features and wearing 'a light-coloured dress, new broad white hat with white veil', and carrying 'an umbrella and a bundle of clothing'. She again absconded from her licensed service with James Spence on the 25 January 1892 being described as '19 years of age, about 5' high, medium build, fair complexion and hair, and rather good-looking'.

[107] Admission Register, Ballarat Female Refuge. Annie Dent, born in 1873 at Port Elliot, was admitted to the Ballarat Female Refuge on 19 April 1893, and left the refuge for a situation on 9 June 1894. Agnes Spence was admitted on 26 April 1894 and left (escaped) the refuge on 28 June 1894. It is highly likely that Annie Dent was a relative of Thomas Dent, who married Agnes Spence. It has been proven that Agnes Spence and Annie Dent were in the Ballarat Female Refuge at the same time.

Spence married Thomas William Dent. Together they acquired property in Tasmania, where Agnes died in the 1940s.[108]

Figure 6.14 Agnes Spence
Source: PROV, VPRS 8222, Register of Female Prisoners, fiche no. 59, prisoner no. 6106

The Committee did not accept any blame for outcomes which were less than successful, choosing instead 'to lament over some sad cases of failure and disappointment'.[109] It was not the discipline or the regime that these women were subjected to that was at fault, they argued, but rather that 'these poor creatures have never known the safeguard of a good home, nor the blessing of parents who have taught them what is right, and so they fall an easy prey to the temptations which beset them'.[110] Whatever the later historian may conclude they read such behaviour as a result of individual weakness not resistance or empowerment.

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[108] Will and probate, Agnes Dent (nee Spence), Private Collection
[109] Ballarat Star, 3 August 1894
[110] Ballarat Star, 3 August 1894

The majority of women at the Ballarat Female Refuge neither escaped nor were expelled but rather were 'restored to friends'. Of the 417 admitted during the period 1890 to 1921, 141 presumably returned to the community from which they came. Along with the 105 women who went to a 'situation' and the 20 more who 'left to be married', these were the 'successes' of the Refuge.

Figure 6.15   The Return of the Penitent
From a Picture by Mr A. Fischer in the "Illustrated Sydney News"
Prize Art Exhibition
Source: Illustrated Sydney News, 10 June 1882

Myra Kathleen Arnold and Gertrude Berrigan were two such women. Two years after giving birth to Ella Maud Sophia Arnold in the Female Refuge on 21 May 1911 Myra Arnold married Matthew Gross and moved to Carlton where they brought up a family of four. Myra died at Fitzroy in 1974 aged 82.[111] Gertrude Berrigan was born on 30 November 1894 at Mount Bolton, a small country district situated north west of Ballarat. At fourteen she went to work as a servant first in Ballarat but later in

Melbourne. At 22 years of age, Gertrude was admitted to the Ballarat Female Refuge one month before the birth of her daughter, Thelma, on 22 October 1915. Thelma was a sickly babe, nearly dying of marasmus at six months of age. Although she was still alive when Gertrude left the Refuge on 21 November 1916 in February of the following year the doctor observed that the child had 'cut 3 teeth and is wasting. I don't think she will recover.' [112] His prediction was proved correct and Thelma died on 2 March 1917. Gertrude however had returned to service, where she remained until 1928. She returned home to Yendon to nurse her mother who had carcinoma discovering at the same time that she was pregnant to a married man. She had another child in 1928 and remained at home looking after her father and brothers in response to her dying mother's wishes. Her second child Valma Jean, married and had children, one of whom remembers Gertrude, her grandmother, as 'a kindly, compassionate person, who would always listen'.[113]

Figure 6.16 Getrude Berrigan, 1914
Source: Private Collection

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[111] Digger – Great War Index. Victoria 1914-1920; Digger – Death Index. Victoria 1921-1985
[112] BTCM 98, Doctor's Register, Ballarat Female Refuge, 27 February 1916
[113] Betty Slater: Oral History, 16 February 2001

a. Parents of Gertrude Berrigan

b. Berrigan Family Group

c. Getrude Annie 1 year

d. Gertrude 75 yrs with siblings

Figure 6. 17   The Life of Gertrude Berrigan
Source: Private Collection

The systems of social control operating within the community drove some women to seek the Refuge as a desirable alternative to that which was ordinarily available to them. These same systems drove other women (and men) into professions associated with the institution, while yet others sought to join the Committees, which established, nurtured and ran the institution. The Refuge committee, professionals, staff, and clients provided the space within which moral authority was exercised and female sexuality was contained. The individual stories of women who resided within the confines of Ballarat Female Refuge bear witness to their ultimate emergence 'Beyond the Wall'.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

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CONCLUSION

This thesis has demonstrated that there was a significant relationship between power and charity in the operation of the Ballarat Female Refuge. The classification of the 'poor' and 'immoral' was important to the emerging gold rush 'elite' who dominated the charity committees in the town. By emphasizing this distinction they were able to use social and moral authority to exert their moral values and thus exercise moral authority. Association with voluntary charities thus legitimized authority and leadership, consolidated class differences, and elevated the status of those on committees within the community. The social 'elite', as shown in Chapters Three and Four, thus created, acquired and maintained their status by association with voluntary philanthropic institutions.

Moral authority was exercised throughout the Ballarat Female Refuge. The majority of women who resided at the Refuge were single, young, pregnant and working class whereas, as Chapter Four shows, the committee women were married, older and middle class. The relationships between the residents, the committee, the staff and professionals at the Refuge were complex. This thesis has explored the diverse interactions between the inmates and those in positions of power, but noted also that there were elements of reciprocality in these relationships. Moral authority was exercised at the Ballarat Female Refuge by surveillance, constant supervision, moral teachings, strict organization of space and time, rules and regulations, stigmatization, and coercion through many systems and forms of control.

Moral influence and authority were evident on and before admission into the Refuge. Those classified as 'fallen' were problematic even before any data was formally recorded. These acts of documentation and methods of individualizing, categorizing and executing 'normalizing judgements' mark the formalisation of and the 'handing over' of the client to the Female Refuge. By the end of their stay the same women would be reclassified as 'successful' or 'unsuccessful' cases. All data collected contributed to the process by which each individual was categorized and judged.

The exercise of power at the Female Refuge was reinforced through symbolic meaning systems and operated on a multiplicity of levels. The geographical positioning of the Refuges, architectural features, appearances, internal arrangements, bureaucratic organization and the work undertaken by the inmates, contributed towards moral authority and how power was exercised. However, although the regime was disciplinary, female refuges provided practical support, while providing scope for rehabilitation into society. Refuges were not simply institutions for control and correction; they also rehabilitated and returned to society many women who would otherwise have been in poorer circumstances.

This study of Ballarat Female Refuge has suggested areas which would benefit from further research. The fraternity of Freemasons would provide a fascinating study, which opens the prospects for broader comparative studies of such societies as the Ancient Order of Foresters, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, or the Hibernian Society. At a local level also there are opportunities for an extension

of the investigations of the role of charity in elite formations in goldrush settlements.

By looking 'Beyond the Wall', this thesis has been able to explore the ways in which moral authority operated both within the Ballarat Female Refuge, and in the wider society of which it was a part. As E. H. Carr wrote, our interpretation of history 'reflects our own position in time, and forms part of our answer to the broader question [of] what view we take of the society in which we live'.[1] Trying to find fragments of the lives of women at the Female Refuge and put these together in some coherent form, to understand the agency and reciprocality within the relationships forged in the institution, to research these fragments and situate them within the context of the broader community has been challenging. As Jean and John Comaroff demonstrated: 'Improperly contextualized, the stories of ordinary people past stand in danger of remaining just that: stories. To become something more, these partial "hidden histories" have to be situated in the wider worlds of power and meaning that gave them life.'[2]

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[1] E. H. Carr: *What is History?* Chapter 1
[2] John and Jean Comaroff: *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*, Westview Press, 1992, p. 17

Appendices

Appendix 1

Definitions of Boundaries: Ballarat Areas

Background

The Colony of Victoria separated from New South Wales in July 1851 shortly before the gold rushes began. Gold was officially discovered in Ballarat around July and August 1851. Buninyong originally was the centre of government for the district until the Ballarat goldfields were discovered, and thereafter it took the new Colony of Victoria some time for the official gazetting of municipalities and the organising of infrastructure such as courts, roads boards, and education, not to mention the government itself. Not only was paper work still being sorted out *between* the colonies of New South Wales and Victoria, but also there was a mass of paperwork to organise for the *new* Colony of Victoria. There was no Supreme Court in Victoria until 1852. Registration of Births, Deaths and Marriages was not compulsory until 1853. The legislation was enacted for the establishment of Municipal Institutes, in Victoria, in 1854. Local Councils were then empowered to make byelaws. This enabled them to regulate their own proceedings, which included the striking and levying of rates.

The municipality of Ballarat was officially gazetted in 1856, Ballarat East in 1857, and Sebastopol in 1864. These three areas comprised the concentration of population on the 'Ballarat' goldfields. Ballarat and Ballarat East were two separate municipalities, until the amalgamation of the two councils in 1921. Sebastopol was also a separate municipality. Before amalgamation the separate municipalities had their own councils, courts, rates and byelaws. Map 1.3, Appendix 1 demonstrates the municipalities of Ballarat and Ballarat East.

In the 1854 census records the area around Ballarat, as shown in Appendix 3, is referred to as the 'Ballarat Goldfields' encompassing the counties of Grant, Grenville, and Talbot, as shown in Map 1.2, Appendix 1. In the 1857 census, specific localities of Ballarat and District are enumerated from which tables have been compiled from.

Ballarat

Municipal District 1855-1863, Borough 1863-1870, City 1870-ct

A petition was gazetted early in September 1855 from 'two hundred and ninety-two householders, resident in the township of Ballaarat [*sic*]' requesting that the township might be proclaimed a Municipal District by the name of 'The Municipality of Ballaarat [*sic*]'.

The Municipal District of Ballarat was proclaimed on 18 December 1855. It commenced 'at the north-east angle of allotment 1 of section A, Parish of Ballaarat [*sic*], thence by a line bearing east one mile twenty-two chains and eight links to a marked post; thence by a line bearing south to the River Yarrowee; thence by the River Yarrowee to the southern boundary of the Township of Ballaarat [*sic*]; thence by the said southern boundary and a line bearing west one mile and ten chains to a marked post; thence by a line bearing north one mile four chains and forty links to the western boundary of the Police Paddock; thence by the western and northern boundary lines of the said Police Paddock to the north-west angle of allotment 2 of section C, in the Parish of Ballaarat [*sic*] aforesaid; and thence by a line bearing east, being the south side of a Government road, to the commencing point aforesaid.'

A meeting was held on Monday 14 January 1856, at 12 o'clock noon at 'the Saloon

of the Golden Fleece, Lydiard Street,' to elect members to the Municipal Council. The following members were elected to the position of councillors: Messers James Oddie, Robert Muir, Dr. James Stewart, Messers William Tulloch, A.B. Ranken, J.S.Carver, and Patrick Bolger. The bye-laws of the Municipal Council of Ballaarat[*sic*] were gazetted on Monday 30 June 1856. The first rates for Ballaarat[*sic*] were struck in 1856.

Ballaarat East

Municipal District 1857-1863, Borough 1863-1870, Town 1872-1921

One hundred and eighty three landholders and householders of Ballaarat East petitioned the government to proclaim Ballaarat East [*sic*] as a municipal district according to the Government Gazette on 21 January 1857. On the 28 April 1857 the Municipal District of Ballarat East [*sic*] was proclaimed.

The municipal district commenced at the north-eastern angle of the municipal district of Ballaarat; thence by a line bearing east, and by the River Yarrowee eastward two miles and forty chains; thence by a line bearing south two miles and forty chains; thence by a line bearing west three miles and ten chains, more or less, to the River Yarrowee aforesaid; and thence northwards by that river and by the eastern boundary of the municipal district of Ballaarat to the commencing point.

Sebastopol

The hill above the alluvial flats, of the area known as 'Magpie', was referred to in 1855 by the miners as 'Sebastopol Hill'. The tent township of the 'Hill' was officially proclaimed Sebastopol Borough on 24 October 1864. The first council meeting was held on 4 January 1865. Thomas Dickinson, Mayor from 1868-71, was one of the first

councillors elected and the first of a distinguished line of Mayors of the Borough who were also members of the Masonic Lodge at Sebastopol.

Buninyong

Buninyong Road District was created on 9 July 1858 and the Shire of Buninyong was proclaimed on 16 February 1864.

Sources:
Victorian Government Gazette: Vol. 2, 1855, p.3275 (Ballaarat)
Victorian Government Gazette: Vol. 1, 1857, p.734 (Ballaarat East)
Victorian Government Gazette: Vol. 2, 1858, p.1307 (Buninyong Road District)
Victorian Government Gazette: Vol. 1, 1864, p.367 (Shire of Buninyong)
Victorian Government Gazette: No. 112, Tuesday Nov 1, 1864, p. 2438 (Sebastopol)
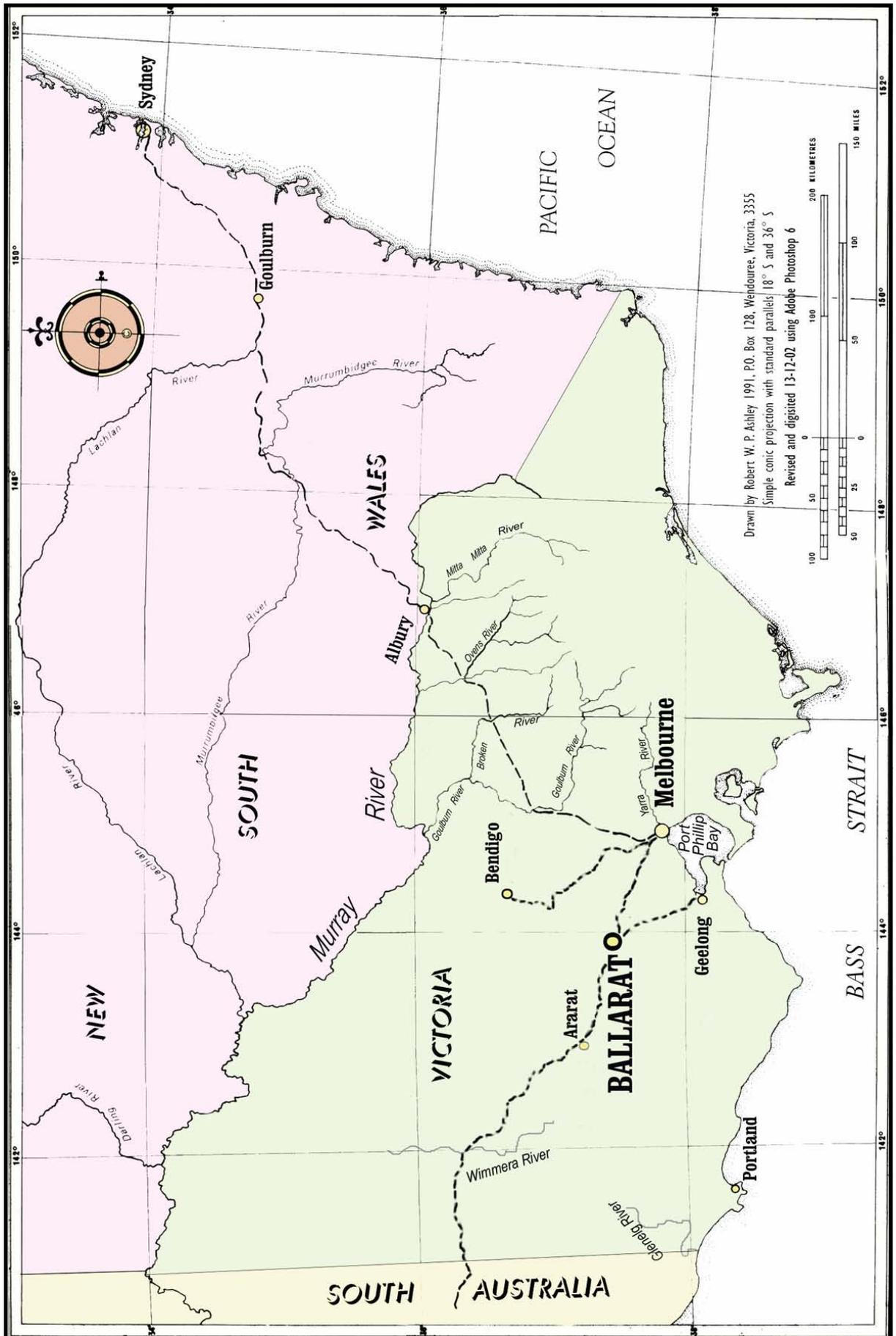
Map 1.1 Victoria showing location of Ballarat

Map

VICTORIA

BASS STRAIT

SOUTHERN OCEAN
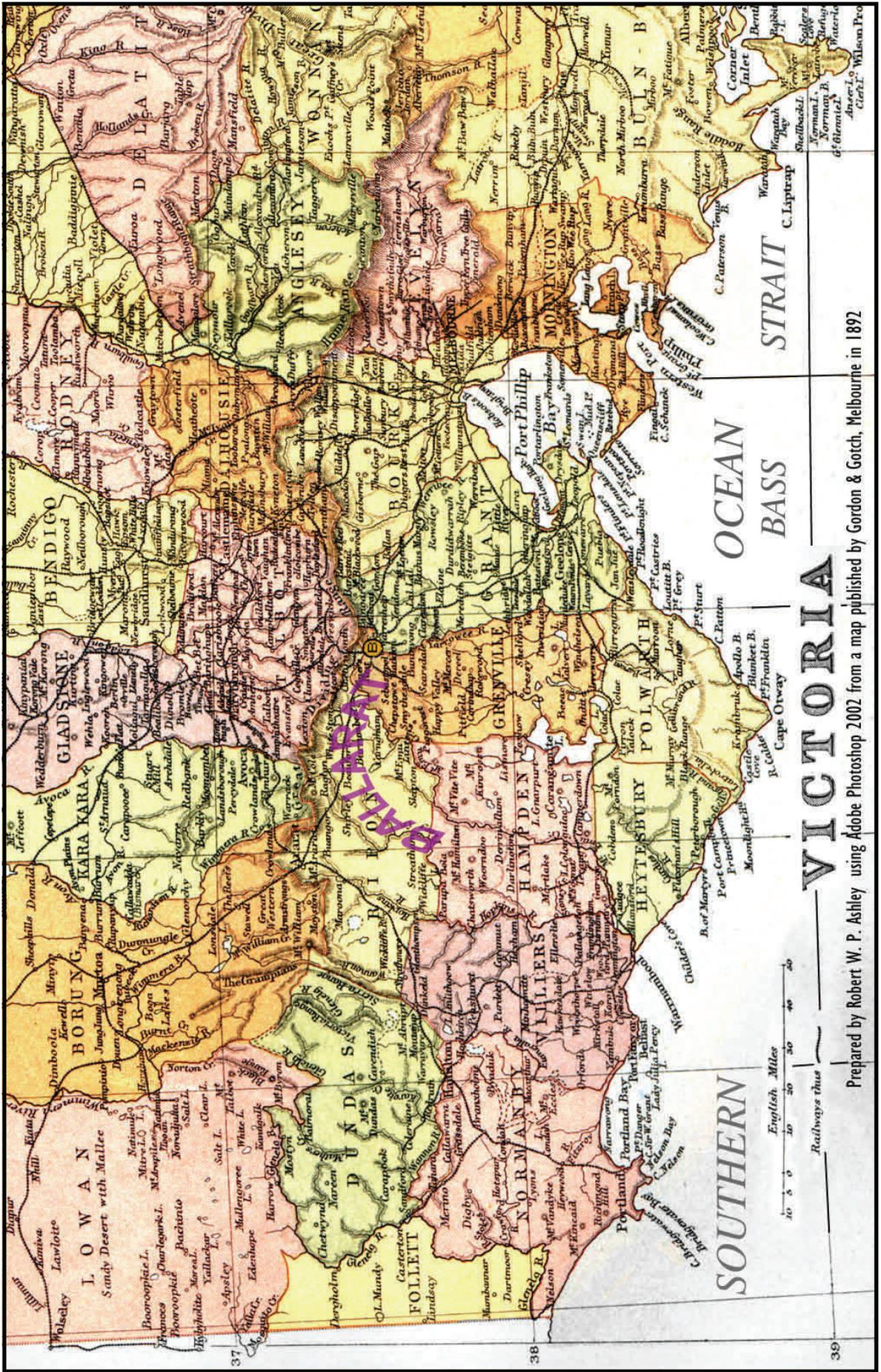
Prepared by Robert W. P. Ashley using Adobe Photoshop 2002 from a map published by Gordon & Gotch, Melbourne in 1892

English Miles

Railways thus
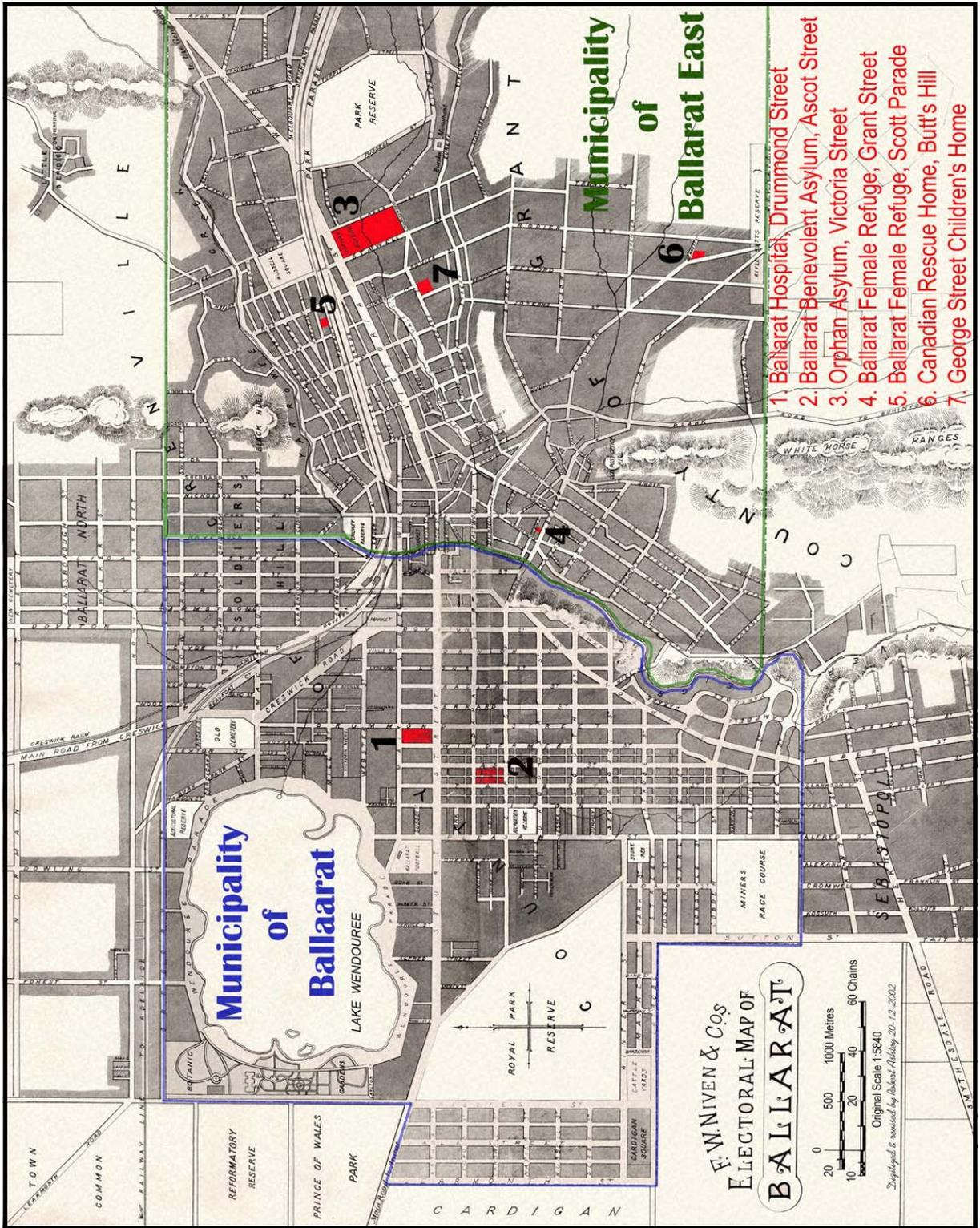
Map 1.3 Ballarat and Ballarat East
Municipalities and Locations of Charitable Institutions
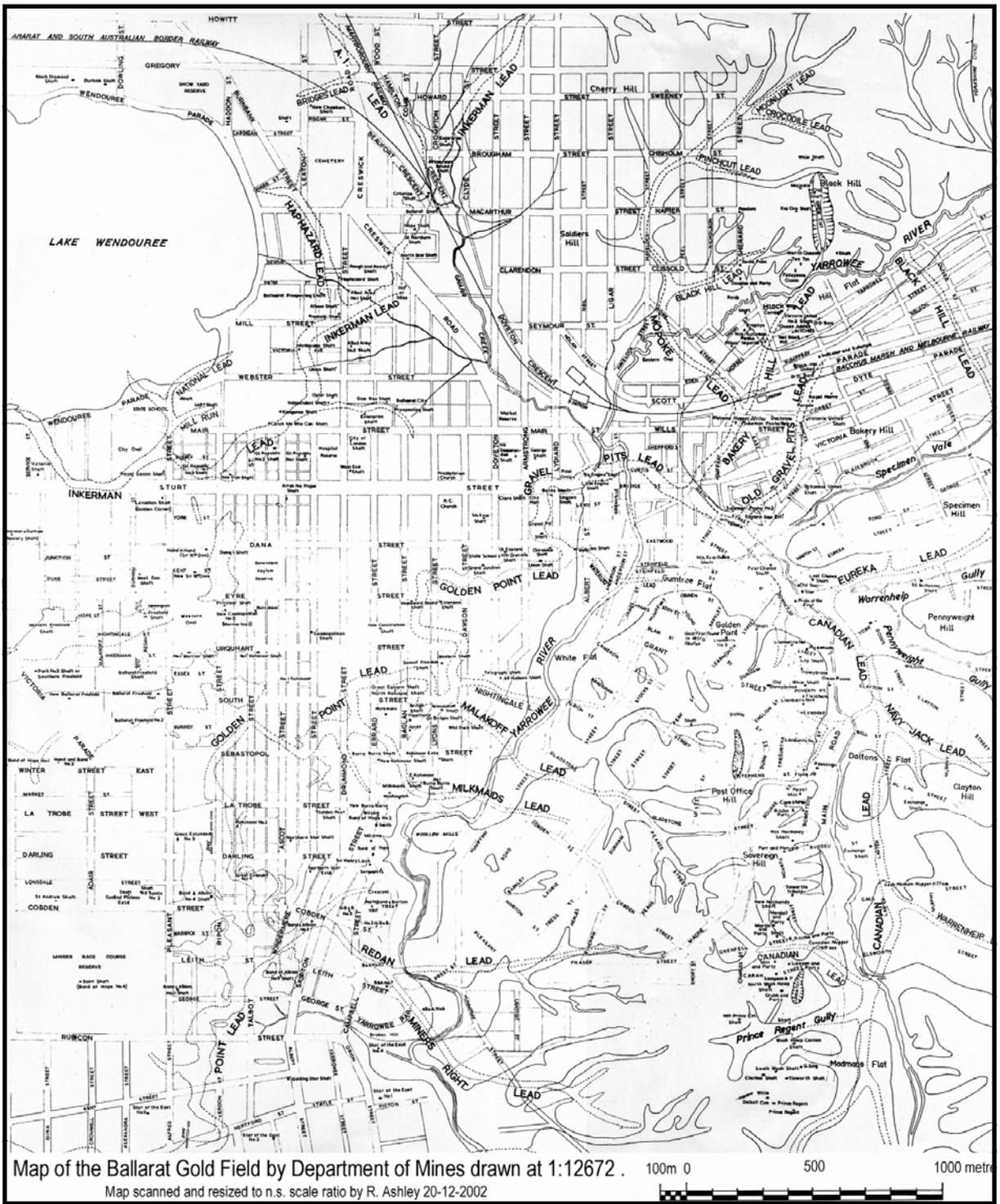
Map 1.4 Ballarat Gold Field
Alluvial Leads in the Municipal Districts of Ballarat & Ballarat East

Appendix 2: Sample of Pioneers Associated with Charitable Institutions in Ballarat

Name	Place of Birth, Arrival, Residence,	Religion, Freemason, Personal Details	Occupation	Committees and Interests
Andrew George ANDERSON	Residence: Victoria Street, Ballarat East	Church of England Freemason	Boot Importer, Bridge St	Benevolent Asylum; Orphan Asylum; Vice president Ballarat Hospital 1856; Horticultural Society; Magistrate in Court of Petty Sessions; Justice of the Peace; Member Legislative Assembly - 1875
Thomas BATH	Born Penair, Cornwall 1820. Arrived Geelong 1849; Hiscock's Gully 1851; Fryer's Creek 1852, then Bendigo. Ballarat 1853, then to 'Ceres' at Learmonth with William Vaughan. Owned Saxon Paddock - donated it to city (now City Oval)	Lydiard St Methodist Church. Married Johanna Vaughan, Geelong, 1851, Bath's niece married Dr Hudson 25 February 1865 Freemason	Butcher in Geelong 1849-51 Miner Publican. Acquired the first Ballarat publican's licence. Erected 'The Ballarat' Hotel in 1853, later known as 'Bath's', then 'Craig's. Situated on the corner of Lydiard & Sturt Streets. Farmed at 'Ceres', Learmonth	Territorial Magistrate 1850s – 1859; J.P. 1859; The Hunt Club; Ballarat East Library; Pastoral Society; Old Colonist Club; Art Gallery; School of Mines (left bequest); supporter of Orphan Asylum and all public institutions; Trustee of Learmonth Public Cemetery – 13 October 1858; President of the Farmer's Club 1875.
James Baker CAMPBELL		Methodist. Attended John Davey's Ballarat class of boys 1857; Secretary Wesley Methodist Junior school 1866; Superintendent Wesley Church Lydiard Street 1879-85	Miner Politician	Mechanics Institute. Left £50 legacy on death. Supplied teachers and students with a copy of 'Pilgrim's Progress'. President Mutual Improvement Association. Devoted life to 'Christ's service' after visit of Rev. William Taylor. In 1888 the Hon. James Campbell gave £25 for library funds to the Mission. Ballarat School of Mines subscriber.

Name	Place of Birth, Arrival, Residence,	Religion, Freemason, Personal Details	Occupation	Committees and Interests
Henry CASELLI	Born Falmouth, Cornwall Arrived Corio Bay 1853 on *Gazelle*, arrived Ballarat 1854 Bought Allot 20 Webster St, Ballarat, in 1865. Built two storey house of 10 rooms.	Church of England - Christ Church Freemason	Architect with Caselli & Figgis, Sturt St. Samuel Figgis was Secretary & Manager of Works Gas Co. in 1865, Trustee of Ballarat Cemetery	City Council 1858; Ballarat Mining Board; Ballarat Hospital; Ballarat Orphan Asylum,. On first Council of the Ballarat School of Mines; President City Rowing Club 1877-1884; Shares in City of Melbourne Bank; Chairman Band & Albion Consol; Lal Lal Iron; Mt Rowan Gold Mining Co.; Tweed Woollen Co., School of Mines subscriber.
Henry CUTHBERT	Born 1829 County Roscommon, Ireland Emigrated 1854 on the *Bloomer* Arrived Melbourne 1854 Ballarat 1855. Lived at 'Beaufort House' in Sturt Street, Ballarat	Church of England – St Peter's Chancellor – Ballarat Church of England Diocese. Freemason - Victoria Lodge and Yarrowee Lodge. Married Miss Kirby 1864. 2 surviving children	Barrister, Solicitor Golden Fleece Hotel, Lydiard St. North Solicitor for Ballarat Water Supply; Benevolent Asylum; Hospital: Orphanage; Ballarat Female Refuge.	Hospital 1855; Orphan Asylum; Ballarat East Council 1857+; Ballarat West Council,; Legislative Council 1874; Ballarat East Library; Gas Co.; Ballarat School of Mines; Ballarat College; Ballarat Times – joint proprietor; Ballarat Trustees; Executors and Agency Co.; Ballarat Turf Club; Ballarat Central Bowling Club; Ballarat Liedertafel; Permewan Wright & Co.
Alexander DIMANT	Born Holland Miner's Right at Ballarat, 1855	Jewish Freemason Married Kate Samuel 30 Sept. 1857 at Hebrew Synagogue	Ballarat Rate Collector 1862	Ballarat Visiting Benevolent Society-1857; Ballarat Council 1856-60.

Name	Place of Birth, Arrival, Residence,	Religion, Freemason, Personal Details	Occupation	Committees and Interests
Joseph Attwood DOANE	Born Novia Scotia Arrived Australia 1852 First dug for gold at Gravel Pits, Ballarat East. Lived at Seymour St, Ballarat -1865	Lydiard St Methodist Church, attended 1st circuit officers' meeting. Designed Barkly St 1860. Building committee Neil St Methodist Church, 1st Superintendent Lydiard St Wesleyan Church Wife Catherine died 2 July 1855 aged 34	Architect, singer, conductor. Rooms at Mechanics' Institute Chambers 1865	Ballarat Female Refuge; Benevolent Asylum President 3 times; Ballarat Council 1865-70 & 73-75; Mayor Ballarat 1865; Hospital 1865; Ballarat & Ballarat East Water Commission; officer 1865.
Arthur DRURY		Church of England Freemason Drury married the daughter of solicitor Adam Loftus Lynn		Hospital; Benevolent Asylum.
Gilbert DUNCAN	Born Scotland Arrived December 1852 Dug for gold at Red Hill 1855 Residence: Armstrong St Ballarat	Freemason - North Star Lodge (Irish Constitution) 1865 S.W.	Publican Edinburgh Castle Hotel, Armstrong St, Ballarat	Caledonian Society; Councillor Ballarat 1865; President District Licenced Victuallers' Association 1865; Ballaarat & Ballaarat East Water Supply.
Charles DYTE	Main Road, Ballarat East	Jewish Freemason	Auctioneer, Estate Agent	Orphan Asylum; Council; owned land that was used for Ballarat Female Refuge in Dyte's Parade
J. EDDY		Church Of England Freemason	Publican, owned Criterion Hotel in Bridge St, Ballarat 24 December 1866	Benevolent Asylum; Orphan Asylum
William Henry FOSTER	Camp Street, Ballarat	Church of England Freemason	Police Magistrate, Camp St Chinese Protector	Hospital; Benevolent Asylum

Name	Place of Birth, Arrival, Residence,	Religion, Freemason, Personal Details	Occupation	Committees and Interests
Richard Birkett GIBBS	Freehold 1855 electoral roll Ballarat District. R. B. Gibbs Victoria Street.	Church of England Freemason	Storekeeper/publican R. B. & S. Gibbs Merchants, Sturt Street First Assistant Mining Registrar.	Hospital 1856; Ballarat Orphan Asylum (2nd president); On Ballarat East Council 1857; Ballarat Acclimatisation Society 1865; Gas Co. 1865; Ballarat School of Mines subscriber
David HAM	Born Cornwall Arrived Melbourne 1849 then Indented Heads, Buninyong Golden Point 1851, (see Oddie) Kept a small store on Melbourne Rd, near the site that became the Ballarat Orphanage.	Methodist Church – Lydiard St Town & City Mission- 1871 committee, auditor 1871-74 Freemason Brother of Jabez J. Ham	Digger Storekeeper & bookseller Sharebroker, Mining & Commission Agent, Brooke St, Smythesdale, 1865	Justice of the Peace 1874 Member Legislative Assembly 1886
Jabez J. HAM	Born Cornwall	Methodist Freemason Brother of David Ham	Bookseller, Main Road	Hospital; Benevolent Asylum
John JAMES		Methodist Freemason		Benevolent Asylum; Orphan Asylum; Council
Richard KENT	Victoria Street	Methodist Freemason	School master of Common School, Barkly Street	Benevolent Asylum; Orphan Asylum
Thomas LEARMONTH		Church of England Not a Freemason		Benevolent Asylum; Council
Robert LEWIS	Born South Wales. Arrived Australia 1853. First dug for gold at Castlemaine. Residence: Sturt St, Ballarat, 1880s Died 30 Aug 1884	Church of England - Christ Church Freemason	Cordial manufacturer - Rowlands & Lewis, Sturt Street 1865	Ballarat Visiting Benevolent Society-1857; committee & president 6 times; Ballarat Council 1858-85; Chairman 1862-63; Ballarat Hospital 1855; Officer of hospital; Ballarat Acclimatisation Society 1865; Gas Co. 1865; Eight Hours Movement; MLA; School of Mines; Ballaarat & Ballaarat East Water Supply (Chairman); Horticultural Society; Hon. Treasurer Benevolent Asylum 1875.

Name	Place of Birth, Arrival, Residence,	Religion, Freemason, Personal Details	Occupation	Committees and Interests
Adam Loftus LYNN	Born Wexford, Ireland. Arrived Sydney 1850 Emigrated per *The Bargui*, aged 55 years Tent opposite Clendinnings in 1853 described in Martha's Clendinning's diary. Residence: Drummond St. Buried Ballarat Old Cemetery	Church of England Freemason 2 brothers married 2 sisters. Married Marianne Beers Ferres. 11 children. His main interests 'are his profession and his Anglican religion'. His daughter married Drury.	Miner 1853 Solicitor, Lydiard Street, Ballarat, 1865 Solicitor for City Council	Diary of voyage to Australia gives an insight into personality and reasons for immigration. Officer of Ballarat Hospital 1855; Solicitor for District Licensed Victuallers' Association 1865; wrote letters about theological matters; Secretary, Treasurer and Trustee Ballarat Cemetery.
Townsend McDERMOTT	Born Ireland Residence: Drummond St	St Peter's Church of England Freemason Married Mildred	Solicitor, barrister Lydiard Street 1865	Legislative Assembly – 1874; Stood for 1877 but lost; Ballarat School of Mines; Victoria Club, Melbourne. Wife on Ballarat Female Refuge Committee.
D. MORRIS		Church of England		Benevolent Asylum; Orphan Asylum
James ODDIE	Born England Arrived Geelong 1849. Emigrated per *Larpent* In Ballarat 1851, first dug for gold at Golden Point. Close assoc with Bath & Ham 1851 Residence: Dana St, Ballarat	Lydiard St Methodist Church, attended 1st circuit officers' meeting, Sunday School teacher, Neil St trustee, Circuit Steward. Ballarat Town & City Mission Freemason	Miner 1851 Storekeeper-1853 Auctioneer and Valuator Dana Street 1865	Ballarat Female Refuge, Trustee; Hosp. Trustee – 1856; Council-Chairman 1856-58; Committee BTCM-1871; Art Gallery; Benev & Visiting Soc 1857; Benev Asylum 1858; Observatory; National Schools Committee. Responsible for Lalor statue in Sturt St. School of Mines; Trustee Ballarat Cemetery
J. O'MEARA		Catholic	Publican	Hospital; Benevolent Asylum
Walter Lindsay RICHARDSON	Born Dublin Practised medicine at 'Peblow', 4 Webster St	Church of England. Freemason - Loyal Ballaarat Lodge 1865, Loyal Victoria Lodge 1865.	Doctor Richardson's, daughter, Henry Handel Richardson, wrote '*The Fortunes of Richard Mahoney*'.	Ballarat Hospital; Horticultural Society; Gas Co.; Yorick Club; Hon. Medical Officer at Ballarat Hospital 1865

Name	Place of Birth, Arrival, Residence,	Religion, Freemason, Personal Details	Occupation	Committees and Interests
William Bramwell ROBINSON		Church of England Freemason	Publican: Duchess of Kent, Main Road, Ballarat East	Hospital; Benevolent Asylum; Council
William SCOTT	Born Castle Derg, County Tyrone, Ireland 1828 Emigrated in 1843 to Canada, then overland to America. In Victoria 1853	St Paul's Church of England – Interred Roman Catholic plot, Ballarat Cemetery Wife Johanna (Catholic) Freemason - 1853 associated with Masonic temple Sandhurst. In Ballarat he initiated 9 Masonic Lodges. P.P.G.M. and treasurer of St John's Lodge (Irish Constitution) 1865 Prominent Oddfellow	Bootmaker, manufacturer and importer 93 Bridge Street, Ballarat	Hon. Treasurer Ballarat Orphan Asylum 1865; President Ballarat Orphan Asylum 1869; President Benevolent Asylum; Ballarat East Council (Chairman 1859); Treasurer Ballarat (East) Fire Brigade 1865; Named streets in Ballarat East; Planted street trees in Ballarat East; Introduced by-law for fencing water reserve; Water Commission; J.P. 1859 onwards (not Gazetted until 1871); Public Companies; Commercial Insurance Co.; President Ballarat Public Library 1875 (Treasurer 20 years)
William Collard SMITH	Emigrated 1852 *Birmingham* Ballarat 1855	St George's Arch Chapter (Scotch Constitution) 1865, Freemason	Auctioneer, Politician	First magistrate Ballarat East 1855; Ballarat Visiting Benevolent Society 1857; Hospital 1856; Treasurer 1865; Ballarat Council; 1857-92 (Mayor 1865); Mechanics' Institute 1875; MLA; Ballaarat & Ballaarat East Water Supply; In 1879 was instrumental in erecting monument to soldiers who died at Eureka.
Emmanuel STEINFELD		Jewish Freemason	Furniture Maker, Main St, Ballarat East	Benevolent Asylum; Orphan Asylum; Ballarat East Council

Name	Place of Birth, Arrival, Residence,	Religion, Freemason, Personal Details	Occupation	Committees and Interests
James STEWART	Arrived Ballarat c1852 Attended Peter Lalor after Eureka Riots -1854	Church of England Freemason	Doctor, Sturt St, 1865 Government Vaccinator & Surgeon in Charge of Her Majesty's Troops.	Ballarat Council 1856-62 (Chairman-1858-59); Hospital Hon. Medical Officer 1856-69; Mechanics' Institute Trustee 1859; Director Gas Co; Ballarat Art Gallery -1890; Ballaarat & Ballaarat East Water Supply; left charitable bequests to numerous institutions.
J. M. STRONGMAN		Church of England		Hospital; Benevolent Asylum
John Thomas WALKER		Church of England		Benevolent Asylum; Orphan Asylum; Council

Sources: Louise Asher: Women on the Ballarat Goldfields, 1977; Robert Ashley: Mine Managers and Shareholders, Unpublished Database; Ballarat & District Genealogical Society Records (BDGS): Research Index of Names, Biographical Index of Surnames, Index of Names of persons in Ballarat Temperance Society; Births, Death and Marriage Registrations and Certificates, Ballarat East Petty Session Registers Index (Work in Progress); Ballarat Benevolent Asylum, Admission Registers, Annual General Reports; Ballarat Visiting & Benevolent Society, Annual General Reports; Ballaarat Cemeteries Trust: Tombstone transcriptions and Minute Books, Burial Registers Ballaarat Old Cemetery, Burial registers Ballaarat New Cemetery; Ballarat City Archives, Photographs, Lists of Mayors; Ballarat Historical Society: *Ballarat Pioneers*, 1974 (facsimile), originally produced by James Oddie in 1884; Ballarat Hospital, Admission Registers, 1856 – 1900, Annual General Reports; *Ballarat Methodist* February 1936; Ballarat Orphan Asylum, Annual General Reports, 1865-1870; Ballarat Town and City Mission Records (BTCM); *Ballarat Town and Mission Visitor* 1902-1921; Diane Campbell: A Cut Above the Rest: Anglo-Irish Lawyers in Early Ballarat, 2000, Appendices; Committee, *A Glimpse of Our Heritage The Anglican Church of Australia Diocese of Ballarat*: Colac Herald Printer, 2001; Paul de Serville: *Pounds and Pedigrees: The Upper Class in Victoria 1850-80*, Oxford University Press, 1991; Bronwyn Fensham, "Right Handsome Girls"; Women On The Ballarat Diggings In The 1850s, 1994; Clare Gervasoni, Wayne Phillipson & Dorothy Wickham: *Ballarat and District Pioneers and Old Residents Directory 1837-1855*, 1998; Henry Glenny: *From Drapery Establishment to Temperance Platform and Pulpit*, c1899; Hatches, Matches and Dispatches CD-ROM; Helen Harris: Prostitutes on the Victorian Goldfields, 1860-1870. A Database and Analysis, 1993; Ivor L. Harvey, *Ballarat Fire Brigade: History & Events, 125 Years of Voluntary Community Service*, Printed by R. Fletcher & Sons, 1981; Lewis, E. T. *Royal South Street Society: The First One Hundred Years: 1879-1979*. 2 Commemorative Publication ed. Ballarat: Printed by J. A. Hoskin & son Pty. Ltd., 1979; Missioner T. E. Long: *Ballarat Town and City Mission: Its Growth and Influence, 1870-1920*, pamphlet; M. M. McCallum: *Ballarat and District "Citizens and Sports" at Home and Abroad*: Printed by Tulloch & King, Pty. Ltd., 1916; Newspapers; James Oddie: *Reminiscences*. Ballarat, n.d.; Roger Porteous: "Index to Freemasons in Sebastopol Lodge", Attendance Book, Sebastopol Masonic Lodge; Private Collections; Ray Proudly: *Gas in Ballarat: An Illustrated History*, Melbourne: Gas and Fuel Corporation of Victoria, 1985; Newman Rosenthal: *Formula for Survival The Saga of the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation*. Melbourne: The

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Appendix 3: Religious Denominations, Ballarat Localities, 1854

Incorporating the County Grant (Beyond the Settled Districts); Ballaarat Goldfields; County Grenville (Township of Ballaarat, Ballaarat and Wardy Yallock [sic]); County Talbot (Creswick's Creek and part of the Ballaarat Diggings)

	CE	Prot	Pres	Meth	Indep.	Bapt	Luth	Unit'n	Soc Friend	Other	Cath	LDS	Jews	Free Thinkers	Not Spec	Pagan
Ballarat Goldfields	2332	300	1099	472	129	76	88	31	5	54	627	6	32	12	57	166
Buninyong	359	63	284	32	26	11	3			3	157				2	1
Township of Ballarat	506	105	247	114	19	15	13	3	1	20	191		7	8	15	39
Ballarat & Wardy Yallock Diggings	2487	254	1209	425	164	105	124	27	5	56	1376	8	21	11	62	141
Creswick's Creek and part of the Ballaarat Diggings	1262	226	506	503	82	77	74	6	3	20	464	6	7	4	58	122
TOTAL	**6946**	**948**	**3345**	**1546**	**420**	**284**	**302**	**67**	**14**	**153**	**2815**	**20**	**67**	**35**	**194**	**469**

CE	Church of England	Luth	Lutheran
Prot	Protestant and Free Church	Soc Friends	Society of Friends
Pres	Scottish Presbyterians, comprising Church of Scotland, Free Church of Scotland, United Presbyterian Church, Other Scottish Presbyterians, Presbyterians not otherwise defined	Other	Other persuasions (Protestant)
		Cath	Catholic Churches, comprising Roman Catholic, Catholics (not otherwise defined), Greek Church
Meth	Wesleyan Methodists, comprising Wesleyans (not otherwise defined), Primitive Methodists, Other Wesleyans Methodists	LDS	Latter Day Saints or Mormons
Indep	Independents or Congregationalists	Not Spec	Not specified
Pagan	Mohammedans, Pagans, and persons professing no religion		

- Note that Chinese were included in this survey, but excluded 1857 county tables.

Source: Victorian Parliamentary Papers 1854
Census of Victoria 1854: Population Tables II. Religion of the People, pp. 26-28, 33
Refer to Appendix 1, Map 2

Appendix 4: Religious Denominations of persons by locations.
Counties of Grant (North Sector) and Grenville (North Sector), Ballarat localities, 1857
'(exclusive of Chinese, roving Aborigines, and Migratory Population)'

	CE	Prot	Pres	Meth	Indep	Bapti	Luth	Unit.'n	Soc Friend	Other	Cath	Israelite	LDS	Jews	Free Think	Not Spec	Pagan
Ballarat Municipality	2166	120	740	773	154	78	109	34	3	32	676	0	3	12	22	48	1
Bakery Hill	1079	233	325	457	93	45	44	23	4	31	378	32	1	35	21	19	0
Black Hill Flat & Diggings	885	159	285	171	26	36	43	3	0	1	307	2	2	2	5	43	0
Black Lead, Durham Lead & Hard Hill	1116	286	421	293	58	52	62	20	3	10	354	0	1	6	11	35	1
Buninyong	601	126	406	109	35	34	29	6	0	10	225	1	0	16	4	17	0
Corduroy	20	0	23	0	4	6	0	0	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dowling Forest	192	8	116	33	2	1	3	0	0	0	77	0	0	0	1	32	0
Eureka & Eureka Lead	461	18	196	166	29	16	49	8	0	7	525	0	0	0	12	30	0
Golden Point	416	166	355	196	42	20	15	03	0	3	102	0	1	0	6	20	0
Green Hills	149	25	64	19	7	0	5	5	0	1	47	1	0	0	3	30	0
Italian Gully	135	0	87	6	7	2	1	2	3	0	61	0	0	0	0	6	14
Kerrit Bareet and Lal Lal	120	3	73	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	41	0	0	0	0	6	0
Magpie	687	66	375	226	61	28	47	4	1	19	483	0	0	1	21	24	0
Main Rd, Ballarat East	921	265	303	185	39	27	109	17	0	12	291	7	0	60	31	43	0
Mount Buninyong	104	4	46	2	3	0	3	0	1	2	28	0	0	1	1	4	0
Mount Pleasant	276	119	140	313	24	13	12	2	0	6	84	0	0	1	1	11	0

	CE	Prot	Pres	Meth	Indep	Bapti	Luth	Unit'n	Soc Friend	Other	Cath	Israelite	LDS	Jews	Free Think	Not Spec	Pagan
Pennyweight Flat	333	5	184	44	11	10	24	2	0	2	97	0	0	2	14	15	0
Poverty Point	280	82	57	86	33	16	12	2	0	3	57	1	0	39	2	15	0
Prince Regent Gully	232	35	165	109	19	12	24	1	1	1	73	0	0	8	3	23	0
Red Hill	136	58	47	24	4	5	27	1	4	3	46	1	1	7	3	7	0
Sebastopol Diggings	730	153	503	380	60	24	56	2	2	12	209	0		3	7	8	0
Specimen Hill	809	243	295	252	68	38	51	3	0	23	307	16	8	53	14	38	1
Warreneep	220	46	149	41	11	21	12	0	0	2	135	0	1	0	0	16	0
Winter's Flat	76		25	43	10	4	0	0	0		16	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	**12144**	**2220**	**5380**	**3931**	**801**	**490**	**437**	**139**	**22**	**180**	**4632**	**55**	**18**	**246**	**482**	**331**	**17**

Source: Victorian Parliamentary Papers 1858-9
Census of Victoria 1857: Religions of the People by places – Parishes, Towns, Villages, &c. Table XVI, p. 162

Appendix 5   **Table showing the increase of the principal Religious Bodies in Victoria, 1851 and 1854**

Religious Denomination	Numbers of Members of each denomination 1851	Numbers of Members of each denomination 1854	Absolute Increase of Each Denomination	Proportion of Increase per cent
Church of England	37433	108002	70569	188.52
Presbyterian	11608	42317	30709	264.55
Wesleyan Methodists	4988	15284	10296	206.42
Other Protestants	4313	18234	13921	322.77
Roman Catholics	18014	45111	27097	150.42
Jews	364	1547	1183	325.00
Mohammedans and Pagans	201	3000	2808	1397.01
Other Persuasions	424	368		
No Religion		805		
Not Specified		2121		

Appendix 5 Comparison in growth of Protestants and Catholics, counties of Grenville, Grant and Talbot

<u>1854</u>	Persons	Protestants	Catholics
TOTAL Includes county Grant, Grenville and Talbot Includes Chinese and Aborigines	17625 persons	14025 (79.57%)	2815 (15.97%)
Township	1303 persons	1043 (80.05%)	191 (14.66%)
Ballarat goldfields	5486	4586 (83.60%)	627 (11.43%)

<u>1857</u>

	Persons	Protestants	Catholics
TOTAL Includes county Grant (North) only excluding Chinese and Aborigines	20491 persons	16634 (81.18%)	3096 (15.11%)
Eureka	1263	749 (59.30%)	473 (37.45%)

TOTAL Includes County Grenville (North) excluding Chinese and Aborigines	11193 persons	PROTESTANTS 9410 (84.07%)	CATHOLICS 1536 (13.72%)
Ballarat Municipality		4209 (84.67%)	676 (13.60%)
Eureka Lead		201 (79.13%)	52 (20.47%)

TOTAL
Grant (North) and Grenville (North)

Grenville(North)	11193	9410	1536
Grant(North)	20491	16634	3096
<u>TOTAL</u>	31684	PROTESTANTS 26044 (82.20%)	CATHOLICS 4632 (14.62%)

Appendix 6 Founding Committee: Ballarat Female Refuge

Occupation, Address, Religion, Committee Membership of husbands

Mesdames	*Address*	*Husband & Children*	*Religion*	Occupation *Husband*	*Remarks*
Sarah Adeney neé Pitman	Victoria St	Rev. Henry William Howells Adeney 6 children 1865-73 1died	Church Of England - St Peter's	Clergy Incumbent St. Peter's for 24 yrs	Sarah was heavily involved with church activities.
Binks		Rev. W. L.	Methodist - Neil St 1860; Pleasant St 1867	Clergy Superintendent Ballarat Circuit-1865	
Martha Clendinning neé Holmes	Humffray St- 1865	Dr. George	Church of England - St Paul's	Doctor Coroner-1865	Born Ireland Storekeeper 1853 Wrote first letter re female refuge.
Ada Byron Georgina Clissold neé Sievwright	Camp, Lydiard St	Stephen Thomas (1825-1898) Died Cheltenham, England. Son of Rev. Stephen Clissold, Wrentham, Suffolk	Church of England	Police Magistrate and Barrister; Civil Servant. Guardian to consent to marriages of minors -1865 with Charles Wale Sherard, Res Warden & Chinese Protector, Ballarat-1865 Melbourne Club	Married 1860 Left colony by 1869
Margaret Cummins neé Rennie	Victoria St	Rev. Robert Turner	Church of England - St Paul's 1858	Clergy	2nd wife of Robert Turner Cummins

Mesdames	Address	Husband & Children	Religion	Occupation Husband	Remarks
Caroline Daniel neé Burge	Barkly St	Rev. George	Methodist - Barkly St -1866	Clergy	Caroline suffered ill health, following her husband in his missionary work.
Matilda Dixie neé Broadbent	Webster St Owned land in Ballarat	1. Joseph Dixie - one child 2. Francis Goldstraw - two children	Church of England	Gold Broker; Chamber of Commerce; Hospital Trustee & Treasurer; Cemetery Trustee.	Hon. Secretary Ballarat Female Refuge; Teacher Benevolent School, 1863; Hamilton teacher 1869-75, Foundress Queen's College, Ballarat,1876
Jessie Doane neé Lockie m. 1857	Seymour St-1865	Joseph Attwood	Methodist - Lydiard St and Neil St; Trustee: 1st circuit officers' meeting. Designed Barkly St Methodist Church -1860, Neil St Methodist Church Building committee	Architect, Mechanics' Institute Chambers; Singer; conductor. Benevolent Asylum President 3 times, Ballarat Council 1865-70 & 73-75, Mayor 1865	Jessie Doane was an active member of the Methodist Church attending many meetings.
Elliott		William Buried Maryborough, 1902	Methodist	Inventor of1st steam merry-go-round and Australia's 1st gramophone. Life governor of 9 hospitals. Vice-President of the Horticultural Society 1865, Ballarat Acclimatisation Society 1865	Unable to ascertain whether William or Michael Elliot is Mrs Elliot's husband. See next entry for Michael.

Mesdames	Address	Husband & Children	Religion	Occupation Husband	Remarks
Elliott		Michael	Methodist	Bank Manager	Michael Elliott was also involved with committees.
Wilhelmina Fry neé Hay	Wendouree 1871	Wilhelmina 1st married Mungo Park Smith. 2nd Marriage to James Fry in 1864.	Church of England - St Peter's - Donated window and spire. Member of St Paul's 1871	Flour Miller Merchant Accountant for James Austin Council 1870-73	
Isabella Henderson neé Thomson	Sturt St	Rev. William	Presbyterian -St Andrew's	Clergy Benevolent comm. 1865	
Charlotte Hepburn neé Bassano	Drummond St- 1865	Benjamin, Stepbrother to Capt Hepburn Benjamin reportedly was a womaniser and drinker. Buried Smeaton House	Church of England - St Peter's and St Paul's	Farmer Auctioneer/Estate Agent, Lydiard St Ballarat Council -1864-66 Unsuccessful candidate 1862. Ballarat Acclimatisation Society 1865, Ballarat Agricultural and Pastoral Society President	Charlotte, probably due to her husband's traits, wrote on Benjamin's tombstone *'Everyone shall give an account of himself unto God'*.
Mary Hillas	Sturt St -1865 Sebastopol-	Dr. Thomas Buried Wagga Wagga	Protestant	Doctor Resident Surgeon Hospital 1856; Hon. Surgical Officer Hospital 1865	

Mesdames	Address	Husband & Children	Religion	Occupation Husband	Remarks
Elizabeth Hotchin neé King	Sturt St 1865	W. H.	Protestant	Stationer	
Mary Lakeland neé Catton	Victoria St 1865	William d. 1898 aged 72y	Church of England, St Paul's	Grocer Gentleman Trustee, Orphan Asylum Trustee, Ballarat Female Refuge	
Matilde Lang neé Gilchrist	Businesses: Bridge St 1865 Warrenheip Nursery	Thomas	Methodist - Little Bendigo	Horticulturalist, Importer Seedsman & Florist, flautist. Horticultural Society (President 1865), Mechanics Inst. – President for 2 years, committee 1865	Opened a 'finishing school' teaching French, music and embroidery. Patented 'Mrs Lang's domestic washing table'
Mildred McDermott neé Glover	Drummond St 1865	Townsend 1818-1907 Business, Lydiard St 1865	Church of England - St Peter's	Barrister	Born Dublin Travelled to NZ, then back to Australia. Described as 'vulgar' by the solicitor Henry Cuthbertson

Mesdames	Address	Husband & Children	Religion	Occupation Husband	Remarks
Mary Oddie neé McCormack Husband took around petition to form municipality 1855	Dana St	James 1. Rachel 2. Mary McCormack	Lydiard St Methodist Church; 1st circuit officers' meeting; Neil St Methodist Church Trustee; Circuit Steward Ballarat Town and City Mission	Digger 1851 Storekeeper 1853 Auctioneer & Valuator Hospital Trustee – 1856; Council - Chairman 1856-58; Committee Ballarat Town and City Mission – 1871; Art Gallery, Benevolent & Visiting Society 1857; Benevolent Asylum 1858; Observatory August 1857 published *The Corn Stalk*	Owned mining shares Ballarat and district.
Sarah Annie Potter neé Matthews	Lydiard St	Rev John	Church of England - Christ Church - 1857	Clergy Benevolent & Visiting Society 1857, Benevolent Asylum 1858, Vice - President 1865, chaired the 25th & 26th Matthew Burnett meetings	
Marianne Salmon neé Harris	National Bank, Lydiard St	John Salmon	Church of England	Banker	Hon. Treasurer Ballarat Female Refuge
Ann Sim	Humffray St Haymarket	Robert	Church of England	Sawmills Produce Merchant	
Lucy Sutton neé James	Lyons St 1865	Rev. William	Baptist, Dawson St	Clergy-1856	

Mesdames	Address	Husband & Children	Religion	Occupation Husband	Remarks
Narcissa Taylor neé Partridge	Lydiard St	Rev. Theophilus	Methodist, Lydiard St	Clergy	
Susan Turner neé Tavender 1867-1881	Armstrong St	Thomas	Unknown		Mrs Turner's Registry Office 1865 (for servants) Susan Turner Owned 4 properties and shares.
Willie		Samuel Willey Related to J. W. Gray (Mayor), Wesleyan	Lydiard St Methodist		On first Refuge committee 1867, Secretary 1881. Mrs Willy [*sic*], Miss Thompson and Mr Spensley met Reverend Theophilus Taylor.

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Appendix 7: Number and Names of Children of Founding Members

Name & Place of Birth	Maiden surname	CHILDREN
Sarah Adeney	Pitman	John Henry b 1862 (Ashby); Alice b1865 (Ballarat); Allen b 1866 (Ballarat); Clarence b 1869 (Ballarat); Theodore b 1870 (Ballarat); Arthur b 1873 (Ballarat); 1 died
Binks		No children reg
Martha Clendinning Born Ireland	Holmes	1 child, Margaret, who married Robert Rede
Ada Byron Georgina Clissold	Sievwright	No children reg. Between 1837-1888 (Victoria)
Margaret Cummins 2nd wife – Born Ireland	Rennie	Selina Clara b 1858 (Gisborne), died 18 months 1859 (Gisborne); 1st wife John Stevenson died aged 30 years at Kangaroo Flat in 1885.
Caroline Daniel	Burge	8 children
Matilda Dixie	Broadbent	1 child Arthur Willoughby b1860 d 1901. Matilda Dixie widowed and remarried.
Jessie Doane	Lockie	No children reg. 1837-1888 (Victoria)
Elliott		Cannot determine which family
Wilhelmina Fry	Hay on birth certificates	Agnes 1865, George 1867, Wilhelmina 1872
Isabella Henderson	Thomson	Janet 1854 (Williamstown); Charles 1856 (Williamstown); Margaret Elizabeth 1857 (Williamstown); William 1858 (Ballarat); Caroline 1861 (Ballarat); Isabella 1862 (Ballarat); Mary d 1865 5 months (Ballarat); Ethel 1866 (Ballarat)
Charlotte Hepburn	Bassano	No children reg. 1837-1888 (Victoria) Charlotte mMarried 1854, Benjamin buried at Smeaton Hill, Charlotte in Ballarat
Mary Hillas		No children reg. 1837-1888 (Victoria)
Elizabeth Hotchin	King	Theodore 1865 (Ballarat); Samuel 1867 (Ballarat); Gertrude 1870 (Ballarat)
Mary Lakeland Born Cumb	Catton	No children reg. 1837-1888 (Victoria)
Matilda Lang	Gilchrist	Mary 1856 (Ballarat)
Mildred McDermott Ireland	Glover	James b Cork, Ireland 1853 26 months, Townsend b 1853 (Collingwood)
Mary Oddie	McCormick	No children reg. 1837-1888 (Victoria) 1 child and first wife, Rachel died 1849 (Geelong)
Sarah Annie Potter	Matthews	Henry Robert b 1856 (Ballarat); Frances b 1857 (Ballarat) died aged 3 weeks; Herbert b 1858 (Ballarat); d aged 2 months, Arthur b 1860 (Ballarat); d 1862 18 months; Ellen b 1862 d 6 weeks
Ailcey Salmon	Harris	Fanny b 1857 (Ballarat); d 1862 aged 4 years; Isabella b 1859 (Ballarat W); Esther b 1861 (Ballarat); Theresa b 1863 (Ballarat)
Agnes? Swift		No children reg Ballarat
Lucy Sutton	James	Walter b 1859 (Ballarat); Charlotte b 1860 (Ballarat); Alfred b 1863 (Ballarat) d 1864 16m
Narcissa Taylor	Partridge	Mary b 1856 (Ballarat); Theophilus b 1859 (Ballarat) d 1day; Annie b NSW d 1858 9 months
Susanna Turner Susan Turner 1853 Ball??	Tavender?	Charles b 1857 (Ballarat); Rose Anne b 1859 (Ballarat) * Probably correct family.
Willie, Secretary 1881, on first committee 1867		No children reg. 1837-1888 (Victoria)

Sources: Minute Books, Parish Registers: St Peter's, St Paul's, and Christ Church, Anglican Parish Archives, Lydiard St Uniting Church Archives; Birth and Marriage Registers; Hatches, Matches and Dispatches, CD-ROM

Appendix 8: Age of Ballarat Female Refuge Residents, 1890-1921

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Residents residents</u>	<u>% of total</u>
14	4	.96
15	4	.96
16	15	3.60
17	35	8.41
18	57	13.70
19	58	13.94
20	41	9.86
21	32	7.69
22	49	11.78
23	31	7.45
24	27	6.49
25	16	3.85
26	12	2.88
27	3	.72
28	7	1.68
29	2	.48
30	6	1.44
31	2	.48
32	2	.48
33	0	00
34	2	.48
35	0	00
36	3	.72
Unknown	8	1.92

Source: BTCM 1: Admission Register Ballarat Female Refuge

Appendix 9: A comparison of Births Registered in the Ballarat Region 1889-1920

Ballarat and Ballarat East   **Female Refuge**

Year	General Pop.	Ex-Nup Births	Ex-nup/Gen	Admissions	BFR/Ex-nup	BFR/Gen Pop
1889	1368	80	5.85%	Not Known	Incomplete	Incomplete
1890	1405	58	4.13%	Not Known	Incomplete	Incomplete
1891	1479	92	6.22%	02+	Incomplete	Incomplete
1892	1569	121	7.71%	22	18.80%	1.40%
1893	1256	91	7.25%	18	19.78%	1.43%
1894	1530	117	7.65%	17	14.53%	1.11%
1895	1446	115	7.95%	15	13.04%	1.04%
1896	1344	98	7.29%	12	12.24%	0.89%
1897	1290	87	6.74%	14	16.09%	1.08%
1898	1219	80	6.56%	05	6.25%	0.41%
1899	1337	116	8.68%	19	16.38%	1.42%
1900	1405	79	5.62%	07	8.86%	0.49%
1901	1355	110	8.12%	17	15.45%	1.25%
1902	1309	106	8.10%	13	12.26%	0.99%
1903	1245	86	6.91%	09	10.47%	0.72%
1904	1211	102	8.42%	15	14.71%	1.24%
1905	1207	76	6.30%	09	11.84%	0.75%
1906	1254	72	5.74%	14	19.44%	1.12%
1907	1085	56	5.16%	14	23.21%	1.29%
1908	1180	84	7.12%	22	26.10%	1.86%
1909	1105	90	8.14%	21	23.33%	1.90%
1910	1114	90	8.08%	11	12.22%	0.99%
1911	1110	87	7.84%	15	17.24%	1.35%
1912	1119	80	7.15%	14	17.50%	1.25%
1913	1151	93	8.08%	14	15.05%	1.22%
1914	1115	83	7.44%	15	18.07%	1.35%
1915	1039	78	7.50%	21	26.92%	2,02%
1916	519	40	7.70%	16	40.00%	3.08%
1917	951	70	7.36%	10	14.29%	1.05%
1918	870	61	7.01%	10	16.39%	1.15%
1919	904	68	7.52%	14	20.59%	1.55%
1920	966	43	4.45%	07	16.28%	0.73%

Compiled by author from BTCM 1: Admission Register Ballarat Female Refuge; Victorian Birth, Death and Marriage Indexes 1889-1920; Source: CD-ROMs, Federation Index Victoria 1889-1901, Edwardian Index Victoria 1902-1913, Great War Index Victoria 1914-1920

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