

DRUGS AND WOMEN IN PRISON

WOMEN WHO WANT DRUGS, GET NO DRUGS

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Wendy Bacon and Denise Beale Report

"You deserve to die you little junkie!"

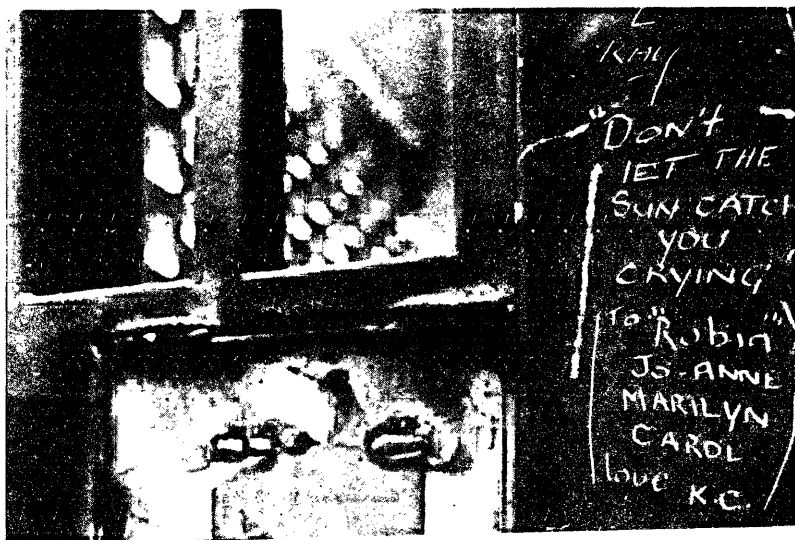
These are the words a Mulawa screw used to a woman going through withdrawals, alone in a cell at one of N.S.W.'s prisons for women. This woman was already feeling desperately ill and consequently felt even more isolated and frightened. Sadly, however, three other women - Rowena Newell, Sue Bourke and Carol Rutley - have indeed died, as a result of the so-called medical "treatment" given to drug offenders in the Mulawa jail.

Rowena Newell: Late in 1975 Rowena Newell choked on her own vomit while locked in a cell inside the hospital. Her death struck a note of fear in the many women who had gone through withdrawals inside the prison or who knew they might do so in the future.

Carol Rutley: Early in 1977 Carol Rutley was found hanging in a punishment cell. Carol was one of the most outspoken women in the prison. She detested imprisonment and refused to ever become the docile, obedient child that women prisoners are encouraged to be. As a consequence of her attitude, she spent many months of her sentence in the maximum security block, isolated from most other prisoners and often cut off from any recreational facilities. For many months of 1976, she was ill in the prison hospital - ill and depressed from a disease which was never diagnosed.

In October 1976, she was refused parole. As usual, no one ever gave her a reason. On the day she died in January 1977, her parole had been deferred but only for 2 days: ironically her parole was granted 2 days after her death. Whether she was told that, or whether she believed she had again been refused, we shall never know. But it was all part of the sequence of events on the day of her death. Late in the afternoon, after a visit, she was found with some seconal tablets. Instead of being taken to the hospital, she was placed in a punishment cell - a black walled

cell with no windows or furniture. For several hours Carol was heard abusing the screws; threatening them with going to the press on her release. Other women said later that her voice sounded unlike her own; groggy and hysterical. Several prisoners wrote statements the day after her death and two of them were told if they gave evidence at the inquest into Carol's death, they would be less likely to get out of jail. Three prisoners who nevertheless appeared at the inquest said that some time before Carol was found dead, they had heard one of the screws remark that Carol had tied a noose. And yet despite the fact that she was clearly contemplating suicide, the cell door was not opened. In fact, Carol was left alone - until some men arrived at about 9.00 p.m. to take her to the hospital. And by that time, she was dead.



A prisoner's thoughts on the walls of a cell at Mulawa women's prison

The jury at the inquest found that Carol had died by suicide. Disappointingly, they did not take up the suggestion made by the late Helen Golding - the Women Behind Bars lawyer who appeared for Carol's relatives - that they could add a rider about the unsatisfactory treatment she had received.

Sue Bourke: Sue a close friend of Carol's, had been released from prison just a couple of days before Carol's death. And now she was very angry and extremely depressed about Carol's death. A charge was laid against

Sue in relation to the seconal which had been found on Carol. On the day of the visit, she had been outside the jail. Flemington Police told Women Behind Bars that if they did charge Sue, a very small bail would be set and that there was no chance of her going back to Mulawa.

On the day before her death, Sue received a message to ring Flemington police. On ringing, she was told to go to the police station but that it would not be necessary to bring a member of Women Behind Bars with her. What then happened was that she was in fact arrested and could not afford the \$100 bail.

Sue had been suffering from a badly swollen foot which had begun to turn gangrenous. This was caused by needles injected into the veins of her feet. Despite her obvious poor health, and even though other women on occasions have been forced to stay in prison hospital with very minor complaints, Sue "passed" the medical check and was sent to the dormitory. Here Sue stayed up late talking. At some stages saying that she wanted to join Carol and at other times that she wanted to live to give evidence at Carol's inquest. She went to bed at 3.00 a.m. and was found dead by other women in the dormitory at 6.45 in the morning.

She died from an overdose of barbiturates. Like many others who have suffered from heroin addiction, she had replaced heroin with barbiturates. (This was known to prison authorities). Barbiturates are known as a drug to which there is extremely variable responses; chronic users are as susceptible to fatal overdoses as are first timers. We will never know whether Sue died by suicide or accidentally. Nor will we know what part the fever from the gangrenous foot played in her death. A nurse who was on duty at the time told Women Behind Bars that a medical decision that Sue should stay in the hospital had been overridden by officers in charge. We do know that she would never have died if she had been allowed, as she asked, to ring Women Behind Bars who would have bailed her out immediately. We do know she would almost certainly not have died if she had been kept in the hospital ward. We also know that over a span of 10 years Sue had spent many periods in prison - periods which further damaged her self image, increased her sense of futility, and reduced her chances of survival.

Rowena Newell, Carol Rutley and Sue Bourke are the ones who have died. Every day similar risks are taken inside Mulawa Prison.

A woman, Ms C., who served several months of a two-year sentence on a possession of one deal of marijuana, and who at the time she went to prison had a heroin habit, described her first few days in the prison:

"I was placed in a cell in the hospital. The door was locked all the time. For 8 days I spoke to no-one except nurses and screws. Except for what the nurses gave me (about 3 a day) I had no cigarettes. For 4 days I was really sick - they gave me 3 hemineurin and two red pills at night. After four days I didn't feel so sick, but I felt like I was going mad in the cell. By then, all I wanted was to talk to someone. I even started bashing my head on the cell wall. I asked the male nurse if I could go out with the other women in the hospital and watch T.V. They just said no.

The only time they would open the cell door was when there were visitors looking over the jail. The visitors asked me how I felt. I said, "Bloody awful", and they were hurried away.

When I saw the psychiatrist for the court report, he asked me how long I had been using and the only other thing he kept talking about was whether I had a satisfactory sex life; what did I think of men and what did I think of women?"

(After 8 days in total solitary confinement, C, a remand prisoner, was allowed to go to the dormitory.)

"By that time I was in pain from an infection caused by an I.U.D. But they wouldn't believe me because I was a junkie - they think you are just trying to get drugs. Finally I managed to see a doctor because I was going to be transferred to Cessnock and before you go there you have a medical check. (There are even less adequate facilities for women at Cessnock prison.) Otherwise I might not have got to see a doctor - for junkies it is very hard to see a doctor - although for other women it is easy. The doctor

wouldn't examine me even though I was bleeding all the time, and I was in pain. But he did send me to the gynaecologist at Lidcombe. I had to have a curette. It was quite serious and I had a very infected uterus. I was meant to stay in hospital for two days - but the screws came and got me the first day and by the next day I was back at work folding sheets at Parramatta Linen Service. The screws at the Linen Service said that I wasn't fit but the ones in the jail said that I had to go."

Another woman wrote that when she was going through withdrawals, she was given "red tablets". At first she thought her headaches were due to the withdrawals - after several days she realised the pain must be a side effect of the pills. She asked to be taken off the medication but was refused. When she finally got to see a doctor, he did take her off the pills and sent her to Lidcombe Hospital for a brain scan.

The Royal Commission into Prisons found the medical treatment of prisoners in Mulawa to be inadequate and incompetent. Nurses inside the hospital continue to administer drugs to women before they have seen a doctor. They even refuse to tell the women what drugs they are being given.

Yet another woman went into jail in connection with a dealing charge. She had never had a heroin habit. While she was in there she was forced to take methadone. When she asked for this "treatment" to be stopped she was told it could not be done without a "court order". She would leave jail with a methadone habit.

Women who are known to use drugs often can't even get an aspirin. However for the rest of the women it's very different. Drugs are used in Mulawa as a form of control, in the same way as "the big stick" is used in men's prisons. A majority of the women line up every day for their doses of valium, seconal and largactil.

The immediate response to a woman who becomes emotionally upset or aggressive is to lock her in a cell and dose her with largactil. The women, especially those with long sentences to serve, often spend the first few months so doped that afterwards they have no memory of that time.

eighteenth century when those in authority, despairing at the vast overflow of the prison population into the disease-ridden and rotten ships' hulks moored along the Thames, finally agreed with the Colonial Office that the time had come to settle New South Wales?

For the period 1663 to 1802, a researcher, J.M. Beattie,² analysed the indictments of the courts in Surrey and Sussex in an attempt to uncover the patterns of offences charged against women. He also took account of trials, examinations and depositions of prisoners and witnesses, as well as press reports, so as to characterise the types and numbers of crimes committed by women. Beattie found that "men decisively outnumbered women in all crimes, predominating by more than 3 to 1 in the largest categories of property offences and personal violence."³ Let us look, then, at the figures for specific offence categories.

(a) Property Crimes

Beattie found that women were charged with 24% of property offences. The patterns for males and females differed. Women kept well out of those property crimes in which force was used or threatened. Only 2.4% of the women indicted committed robbery. Women were rarely charged with highway robbery for the obvious reason that they generally lacked the essential skills - ability to ride a horse and use a gun - to succeed at this crime. Understandably when women did engage in robberies they did so as the accomplices of male robbers, acting as look-outs or as decoys.⁴ More women (10.6% of those charged with property offences), quite often domestic servants and laundry women, were prepared to engage in burglary and housebreaking. But few of these women were "true" burglars who broke into houses at night, but were more of the snatch-and-grab variety.

Pilfering by domestic servants in the eighteenth century was more typically committed by women as were shop-lifting and picking pockets. Shop-lifting by women is sometimes thought to be a problem that developed alongside consumerism, advertising and enticing display counters, but it was a common offence in the eighteenth century. One member of a Commons committee looking into crime in 1819 conjectured that shop-lifters were "not persons who are regular traders in thieving, but are persons in better

circumstances, particularly the women", while another said many shop-lifters were "in the habitual practice of it".⁵

Women's property crime can be explained in terms of their place in society. From the behaviour expected of women and presumably therefore from their training, they were not encouraged to show any spirit of adventure, assertiveness or entrepreneurial initiative. Indeed, if any of these qualities had developed in a woman, they would have done so despite her training and conditioning. With women's lives closely supervised from childhood, restricted and permitted very little freedom of action, is it surprising that women's crime tended to be less direct, less open and risking less of a confrontation with the victim, compared with men's more daring adventures?

(b) Interpersonal Conflicts and Violent Crimes

When interpersonal conflicts are investigated, in the eighteenth century women account for 18.5% of those indicted for crimes against the person.⁶ For assaults and wounding, 19.1% of those charged were women. Of those indicted for murder and manslaughter 13% were women in the eighteenth century. In the eighteenth century all of the 34 accused were women.⁷

The small female involvement in assaults and murders can be simply explained as a reflection of the narrow range of women's lives - victims were rarely strangers and were often closely related to the accused woman - as well as the fact which cannot easily be discounted in any explanation of differing patterns of physical violence between the sexes, that biological differences may play as much a part as the cultural ones. There is little evidence of male involvement in the infanticide indictments. As a further revelation of the lives of women in the period under examination, most of those who appeared before the Surrey courts and the Old Bailey accused of infanticide were domestic servants. Not only were such women generally very young, they were in close contact with male employers and servants. Pregnancy meant character annihilation and instant dismissal. Is it any wonder that most of those charged had managed to conceal their condition until the birth? The legal presumption was that if the mother concealed the birth of the child she must have killed it; it was up to her to rebut the presumption by evidence of one witness, usually a mid-wife. Apart

from the fact that many of these babies must have been still births due to the fact that they were born unaided and in appalling conditions, what is amazing is that there weren't more cases detected.⁸

(c) Women and Political Crimes

Despite the fact that women's lives were hedged in by restraints on all sides and that they were dominated by men, there is some evidence that women came into conflict with authority over more general and public issues than have been discussed above. On occasions women have in large numbers been able to shake off the conditioning which normally makes them much less given to violence than men, and not only joined in, but frequently led what turned out to be, with the hindsight of history, key revolutionary events.

From the seventeenth century there is substantial evidence of women defying authority to take part in food riots. Indeed women were often the instigators and leaders of these riots. For example in 1693, a large number of women went to Northampton market, "with knives in their girdles to force corn at their own rates".⁹ The food riots appear more spontaneous than well prepared, and on a fairly small scale.

In looking for explanations as to why women became food rioters, it is true that they were more involved than men in day-to-day marketing and more sensitive to price fluctuations, and so it may be that women's roles as initiators of action was a reflection of their concern for something that was vital for the survival of their families, that is, the supply and price of food. A more radical interpretation is that propounded by Thompson: "These women appear to have belonged to some pre-history of their sex before its Fall, or to have been unaware that they should have waited for some 200 years for their Liberation."¹⁰ As near to starvation as they might have been there are cases of men and women attacking granaries, not to steal the food, but to punish the proprietors, by such means as the scattering of corn and flour, or the damaging of machinery. To the shocked and angry authorities this type of behaviour was symptomatic of a frenzied people whose brains had been inflamed by hunger.¹¹ But the people,

especially the women, who worked in the granaries and mills, knew when produce was being hoarded in a time of shortages.

A third explanation of women's active participation in food riots is presented by Coser.¹² Women are normally much less violent than men. Coser believes this is so because in normal stable situations, women have locked within themselves the acceptance of a lower status (beside men) and so have correspondingly lower rates of violence. Coser also argues that women have less motivation for aggression in low status, more sheltered positions. When the old codes and rules are under challenge, however, the status order is also under challenge, and the occasion is provided for those of low status to aspire to, and achieve, equality.¹³ That is to say, denied either legal or illegal channels of self-expression, a woman may resort to violence if she feels either part of a general revolutionary movement, or if she has no other medium with which to maintain her dignity.

Such a situation was provided in late eighteenth century revolutionary France. The primary and most constant motive impelling the revolutionary crowds from October 1789 through the early 1790's was the provision of cheap and plentiful food. The description most often given of rioters by eyewitnesses was of roughly dressed men and women: local tradesmen, craftsmen and wage earners, stall holders, fish wives, 'des femmes à chapeau', housewives, water carriers, the unemployed.¹⁴ But it was the women of the markets who not only initiated the whole movement for bread in September and October of 1789 but who also played the predominant part in the march to Versailles. One male eyewitness described a band of 3,000 to 4,000 women who compelled him to join them on the march. At Versailles the marchers crowded on to benches to hear the meeting of the Assembly where they startled the male deputies not only by their numbers but with the swords and hunting knives many wore, slung from their skirts. The next day the women returned to Paris as escorts for the royal family.¹⁵ Having returned the royal family to Paris, crowds of women invaded the corn market and, after having shown samples to the king, dumped 150 barrels of rotten flour into the river. Later in the month, a baker was hanged from a lamp post and women caused a riot by insisting on searching a house for hidden grain and flour.

Although energetic measures were taken to solve the food crisis, the majority in the Assembly, once having driven out the 'moderates' had no further use for the revolutionary energies of the ordinary people. They introduced new measures to curb social disorder (the death penalty for 'rebellion', press censorship and martial law), but when food prices again soared in 1792-1793, women reappeared in large numbers on the streets.

Although it has been argued that the most constant motive of popular insurrection during the Revolution was the compelling need of the ordinary people for the provision of cheap bread, it cannot be overlooked that these people were not satisfied to agitate merely for more bread and better quality flour; they marched to Versailles to fetch the royal family to Paris as well as to demonstrate their need for bread. Moreover, even if we accept that it was this continuous surge for a regular and cheap food supply by the ordinary people that kept French society in ferment over the years of the Revolution, and that such independent activity often went beyond and ran against the interests of their bourgeois allies, who provided the political leadership of the French Revolution, it cannot be denied that had the ordinary people not been able to absorb these 'bourgeois' ideas, the influence of such ideas on the outcome of the Revolution would have been far less than actually occurred.

As far as the participation of women in acts of violence, per se, is concerned, Rudé describes it as "spectacular". For example, during the Réveillon riots, a leading part was attributed to one Marie-Jean Trumeau, a market woman, who incited the rioters to loot and burn with cries of "'Allons, vive le Tiers Etat!" and "A la Réveillon!" For this involvement she was sentenced to death, but was later reprieved. And in the march to Versailles another woman, described as an "illiterate sick-nurse and porter's wife"¹⁶ emerged as leading spokeswoman. Women such as these became well known because of their dramatic involvement but they do not represent the only occasions of female activity in the riots and marches. In fact, apart from large military operations, women played an integral part in the entire historical process of the French Revolution.

Thus the events of the French Revolution provide

ample evidence to support Coser's theory that a revolutionary situation, by overturning the status order and permitting the non-entities and subordinates to aspire to equal participation, also provides the occasion not simply "for women to act like men"¹⁷ as Coser suggests, but throws into clear relief the impetus and potential women have for positive action if they are permitted to escape their stereotypical roles. And in revolutionary situations it is violence which equalises and provides the participants with the means of winning equality.

Crime in Urban and Rural Communities

Further support for the argument that where old norms are breaking down, women may not feel as constrained to follow the old patterns of behaviour, is provided by a comparison of the criminal indictments for women in urban and rural England of the eighteenth century.¹⁸ Arguing that within the smaller and tighter rural communities where one's behaviour could be kept more easily under surveillance, and where life was especially restrictive for women, Beattie anticipated that women would commit less crime in the country. In the city, on the other hand where women had more contact with a wider society, and where neither the family nor the community could control its members, where there were greater demands for women's labour - they were not limited to work they could do in and around the house as in rural areas - as domestic servants, shop assistants, seamstresses, and market gardeners, and at the same time an uncertainty of livelihood, Beattie predicted women would become more greatly involved in crime.

Beattie's predictions were borne out in the following way. Both men and women committed more crimes in urban than in rural areas. Looking at female crime more closely, 83% of crimes against the person committed by women occurred in urban areas investigated whereas only 17% occurred in the rural areas tested. For men the urban-rural distribution was 68% to 32%. 82% of the crimes against property committed by women occurred in urban areas as compared with 66% of men's. Clearly the urban-rural difference was much greater for women than for men, and urban women were more likely to be charged with criminal activity than women living in rural areas.

Although population differences between the urban and rural areas go some way to explaining these percentages, far more significant in any such explanation must be the contrasting life styles of women living in either the relative freedom of the city, or in the tighter rural community. Just as important is the relation between the level of property crime and prevailing economic conditions. When there was work, most of the trades or crafts in which women were employed were overstocked and lowly paid. Much of the work was seasonal as well. Thus for a single woman or a widow with children, who was not, as it was generally assumed by employers, merely supplementing her husband's income, city life could be particularly hard. It is not surprising that the level of property crimes tended to fluctuate according to economic conditions. Thus Beattie argues that most theft was the work of men and women who "chose" to steal or not depending on their economic position and their ability to support themselves and that fluctuations in such crimes were tied to the availability of work and the price of consumer goods.¹⁹

War and Crime

Taking the investigation a little further, Beattie²⁰ compared the number of prosecutions of males for property crimes in London for periods of war and peace during the eighteenth century. Typically after a war, with the discharge of soldiers, there would be a surplus of male labour and he found that during these years crime levels rose impressively. Conversely, during war years, crime levels for males dropped, for the probable reason that the army assimilated many of the unemployed. There is no such clear cut result for female crime but it would seem that, depending on the price of necessities and the availability of work, women's arrest rate would fluctuate. But it was always the single women and widows who accounted for more arrests than married women, especially during periods of real economic hardship.²¹ Historically the trend seems to be that the rate and diversity of female criminality increases at times when the economy is on a war footing; in such times, women play a greater role in the economy.

Property Crimes and Opportunity

In further support of the argument that when women's circumstances and opportunities were altered, together

on the basis of his finding that at least 20% had been prostitutes. Despite the fact that most of the women listed "domestic servant" as their form of employment²⁹ it was widely believed by colonists, gaolers and other officials that women prisoners were all prostitutes.

The women were not, however, transported for prostitution, per se, but almost overwhelmingly for one type of stealing or another.³⁰ 83% of the offences for which the women were transported were property crimes, while offences against the person accounted for only 1% of the total. Typically, these latter offences were assaults and involved a man at least fairly well known to the woman charged. The offences for which the London women were transported, usually for periods of seven years,³¹ seem extraordinarily petty today - stealing a watch, or salt-holders, or a pair of sheets, or 4 lbs of roast beef, or a basket and some beans - although Robson was able to conclude that of such women he was left with the impression of an "indifferent class of women, living in the squalid parts of London such as St Giles, where, in 1817, a constable apprehended more than 40 women of ill-fame within 20 minutes."³² Robson concedes that there must have been some unreported cases of London women who committed offences through immediate want and in pitiful circumstances.

Offences for which the women were transported were similarly petty in other urban centres to those committed in London.³³ One form of stealing that was slightly more unusual, was stealing an animal. Most of the women transported for stealing an animal were tried in Ireland in the 1830's and 1840's, and this must have related more to the Irish famine of the 1840's than to the amorality of the women concerned, as Robson would argue. Incidentally, of the women transported to Eastern Australia between 1787 and 1852, 47% were Irish-born.

On sighting the "Lady Juliana" of the Second Fleet sailing up Sydney Harbour in 1790, Lt Ralph Clark was heard to exclaim: "No no - surely not! My God - not more of those damned whores! Never have I known worse women!"³⁴ Was this apprehension justified? In terms of the offences committed by women prisoners once they arrived, the raw statistics show that, on average, the women committed

between 3 and 4 each. Although the documentary sources are poor for New South Wales on this question, those for Van Diemen's Land are more than adequate, where approximately the same number of women were sent. Less than 4% of women committing punishable offences were tried by the Supreme Court. When one investigates the type of 'offence' for which the vast majority were punished, however, one finds that these were, by and large, breaches of social control mechanisms which were those applicable to a prison regime as opposed to substantive capitalist crimes, viz. crimes against property or against the person. The more usual offences were absence without leave, drunkenness, and such misconduct as being found in a disorderly house, either drunk and/or in bed with a man; contracting marriage without permission; repeated insolence; concealing a policeman in her bedroom; conveying bread from one prisoner to another in exchange for a petticoat; concealing herself to avoid going to chapel; using diabolical and threatening language; being found in the street in men's clothes. Robson uses the fact that those women charged with sexual misdemeanours committed on average 16 offences each, together with the fact that 11% of the women had illegitimate children, to support his firm belief that transportation was not allowed by the women to interfere with their accustomed way of life of which the bottle and the brother were an integral part.³⁶ Implied in Robson's comments is the idea that women who commit crimes are really prostitutes. In so doing he rejects the evidence of his own statistics which clearly establish that women committed more property crimes than anything else.³⁷ To Robson, a woman convict was not only a criminal, she was an immoral creature as well.

Anne Summers argues³⁸ that the women convicts had very little choice in their enforced whoredom. From 1788 to the 1840's, almost all women in Australia were categorised as whores, and this stereotype stemmed from the fact that most of the early women settlers had been transported as convicts. The women convicts had been transported to "service the sexual needs of the males of the Colony", these women were then condemned for their behaviour and the taint had to be carried by virtually all women settlers for many years to come.

From the historical evidence examined in this period the following conclusions can be made. First, women commit

crimes which fall within their social roles. Second, there is a link between the economic situation and crime. Third, given the economic and social opportunity women appear to be as capable as men of committing all crimes. For example, note the increase of criminal activity of women living in an urban environment, and also the increase of female crime during wartime. Fourth, given the right political situation, women will use violence and force or any other means to achieve economic and possibly social goals thus destroying the myth that they cannot and will not resort to violence. Fifth, the real nature and extent of female criminality will only become apparent when women are given the same social and economic choices as men.

FOOTNOTES

1. Frederick Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (New York: International Publishers 1973) pp. 113-114.
2. From J.M. Beattie, "The Pattern of Crime in England, 1660-1800" (1974) 62 Past and Present pp. 80-116.
3. Ibid.
4. Beattie, "Criminality of Women" op. cit., pp. 90-91.
5. Report from the Select Committee on the Criminal Laws. Parliamentary Papers (1819), 8 : 27 quoted id., p. 94.
6. Beattie, "Criminality of Women" op. cit., p. 85.
7. Carol Z. Wiener, "Sex Roles and Crime in Late Elizabethan Hertfordshire" (1975) 8 The Journal of Social History p. 57.
8. Beattie, "Criminality of Women", op. cit., pp. 84-85.
9. E.P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century" (1971) 50 Past and Present p. 115.
10. Id., p. 116.
11. Id., p. 114.
12. Lewis A. Coser, "Some Social Functions of Violence" (1966) The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science pp. 8-19.
13. Id., p. 12.
14. George Rude¹, The Crowd in the French Revolution (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1961) p. 180.
15. Id., pp. 73-77.
16. Id., p. 230.

17. Coser, op. cit., p. 12.
18. Beattie, "The Criminality of Women" op. cit., pp. 96-109. Beattie used the counties of Surrey and Sussex as his sample areas.
19. Id., p. 103 and Graph I, pp. 104-105.
20. Id., Graph 1A, p. 104.
21. Id., Graph 2, p. 106.
22. Beattie, "The Criminality of Women", op. cit., p. 108.
23. Id., pp. 90-100.
24. L.L. Robson, The Convict Settlers of Australia: An Enquiry into the Origin and Character of the Convicts Transported to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, 1787 - 1952 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press 1965) p. 74.
25. Id., pp. 162-167 for explanation of sampling technique.
26. Id., p. 186, Table 4(t).
27. Id., p. 187, Table 4(p).
And See John Cobley, The Convict, 1787-1792: A Study of a One-in-Twenty Sample (Sydney: Wentworth Press 1965) p. 4.
28. Robson, op. cit., pp. 77-78, 80.
29. Id., p. 84.
30. Cobley, op. cit., p. 4.
Robson, op. cit., pp. 78-84, 187 (Table 4(o)).
31. Cobley, op. cit., p. 4.
32. Robson, op. cit., p. 80.
33. Id., pp. 81-82.
34. Quoted by Summers, op. cit., p. 267.
35. Robson, op. cit., p. 130.
36. Id., p. 138.
37. Despite their convict heritage Australian women, as the nineteenth century progressed, did not commit more crimes than their English counterparts per head of population. Australian society tried to become a replica of British society, with the same old norms of conduct encouraged.
38. Summers, op. cit., pp. 267-273.