

Clive Lord Memorial Lecture  
**TERESA HAMILTON IN TASMANIA: FIRST-WAVE FEMINISM IN ACTION**

by Alison Alexander

(with one plate)

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Teresa Hamilton arrived in Tasmania in March 1887, when her husband, Sir Robert Hamilton, became Governor. She undertook the social activities expected of the governor's wife with panache but, being a forceful lady, she was imbued with new ideas of the activities suitable for women, such as were becoming popular in Britain. She arranged, sometimes even delivering herself, lectures on health, diet, sanitation, first aid, nursing and hygiene, open to women of all classes. She formed the Nursing Band which later became the District Nursing Association and involved herself in a women's refuge home, education for girls, sanitary reform and temperance activity. Other interests were women's sport, art and the still-existing Hamilton Literary Society. In two areas she encouraged women to influence public opinion and try to change laws. Teresa Hamilton left Tasmania with its structure much as it had been before her arrival, but with women of all classes shown how to play a more active role in that structure.

**Key Words:** Teresa Hamilton, governors' wives, feminism, health, sanitation, nursing, hygiene, literary society, Tasmania.

Sir Robert Hamilton was governor of Tasmania from 1887 to 1892. His entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* describes his various activities, none of which appears to have exceeded the call of duty, and comments that his greatest contribution in Tasmania was to the colony's cultural life. In fact he did little for the colony's cultural life; the contribution came mainly from his wife Teresa. The *Dictionary* entry, however, only mentions her as founding a literary society, in reality one of her lesser activities.<sup>1</sup> This paper aims to give a more accurate assessment of her achievements.

The position of 19th-century Tasmanian governor's wife consisted very much of what the incumbent wanted to make of it. A governor's wife could remain in the background, running her family and holding occasional social gatherings, but there was room for considerable activity if she desired it, as several did.

In the first 20 years of settlement, the colony was a small, rough place, where notions of respectable behaviour had little force, and people were remarkably free to do what they wished. Governors had wives and mistresses, and these women undertook such activities as running a farm or a shop, selling meat to the government, having love affairs and even being the cause of a duel. Several had dubious backgrounds, which in England would have meant social ostracism, but in Tasmania were little noticed.<sup>2</sup>

With the arrival of the Arthurs in 1824, this atmosphere began to change. Arthur tried to improve society's morals, and his wife was a suitable spouse for such a man: devoted to her large family, a model of respectable behaviour, and an apparently uncomplaining hostess for Arthur at weekly dinners and many other entertainments, such as balls. She also acted as her husband's secretary, copying out letters for him, and did some charitable work.<sup>3</sup>

The next governor's wife, Jane Franklin, tried to broaden women's interests. This was somewhat resented by various colonists. She also assisted her husband in government, which was strongly resented, for a woman was seen to have no place in politics. Jane Franklin's activities show the limits of the role of governor's wife.<sup>4</sup>

With Caroline Denison came another perfect example of the Victorian woman. Like Eliza Arthur, she cared for her

large family; supported her unpopular husband, though always a step in the rear; ornamented social occasions and held many balls and dinners; and was no threat to male domination. She did a considerable amount of charitable work and established the Van Diemen's Land Asylum to rescue prostitutes, but this lasted only five years. She was also active on several committees, such as that of the Dorcas Society, which assisted poor married women in childbirth. Bishop Nixon commented that it would be long before the colony would have Caroline Denison's equal as "head of our female society — exhibiting, as she does, a bright pattern of all that is good and gentle, ladylike, and amiable".<sup>5</sup>

"Head of our female society" could indicate merely a social role, but it did imply room for more activity, if the woman wished it. For the next 30 years, governors' wives more or less followed Caroline Denison's example. Augusta Young was a lavish hostess in Government House. She was known for her "active benevolence" and attended meetings of the Dorcas Society. Though not assertive, she did once give a "very nice little speech".<sup>6</sup> She was followed by Mrs Gore-Brown, also a charitable woman. Quiet, unostentatious and devoted, she assisted the Dorcas Society, the Benevolent Society and the Ragged School. She established the Female Refuge for prostitutes; this became the Girls' Industrial School, which assisted poor girls by training them as domestic servants. The School was run by a committee of 20 hard-working Protestant ladies, who included Mrs Gore-Browne. She was also reported to have done "much to refine society" in Hobart.<sup>7</sup>

The next governors' ladies, Mrs Du Cane and Mrs Weld, also assisted the Dorcas Society and the Girls' Industrial School, though Louisa Meredith wrote that Mrs Du Cane's sole eminence lay in "a taste for bull-dogs and loud talking".<sup>8</sup> Lady Lefroy, too, supported these charities, and established the Female Refuge at Risdon in 1881. This aimed to rescue prostitutes but had a shorter life than even Caroline Denison's establishment, ceasing to exist in 1882.<sup>9</sup> Rescuing prostitutes was a popular cure-all for the woes of society at this time; the women would be saved from a life of sin and, without their services, there would not be the opportunity for men to indulge in vice. In Tasmania, such charities were not particularly successful, however, partly from a

lack of support by the respectable population and partly from a lack of desire by prostitutes to be saved.

The next governor, Strahan, was a widower, so there was no chatelaine at Government House.<sup>10</sup> In 1887, Tasmanians prepared to welcome another governor's wife, Teresa Hamilton.

By mid-century, the Victorian ideal of womanhood had taken a strong hold in Britain: that women's place was in the home, running the domestic side of life and bringing up children. If women wanted to do more, they could undertake social or charitable activity, but that was all. They had no place in business, in politics, in higher education and intellectual activity, in the general world outside the home, which was men's domain. It was thought that their natures suited them for this role, that they were not strong enough for the hurly-burly of the outside world. They should not have outside employment: of course, some needed to support themselves, and many working-class women were forced into paid employment but, ideally, they would be supported by a male — father, husband, son or even uncle — and would not need to soil their hands by paid work. One of a man's aims in life was seen as earning enough to keep his womenfolk in ladylike idleness.

From the 1840s, there were stirrings of rebellion by women against this domestic role. Small groups began to work for women's suffrage, and some individuals like Florence Nightingale, who wanted to do more with their lives than sit at home, carved out careers for themselves, though with great difficulty and against strong male opposition. From the 1870s, schools were founded which gave girls a full secondary education. The rights of women began to be a topic of conversation and, even in Tasmania, this term was known, for the Tasmanian *Punch* published a joke about it. Moreover, in 1875, one modern girls' school was founded, the Hobart Ladies' College.

For years in Britain, there were only small gains by women, but then, in the mid 1880s, there was a flowering of activity, for reasons still debated. What this meant was that there was suddenly far more activity outside the home by women. This came as women formed groups and undertook activities in areas like charity, sport, church and intellectual pursuits; as more secondary schools for girls were established; as women demanded tertiary education; as professions opened to women, and women's general career opportunities expanded dramatically; and as women demanded the vote.

There were some signs of the British activity being duplicated in Tasmania, mainly in the establishment of schools which provided secondary education for girls, particularly the Methodist Ladies' College, Launceston (1886), The Friends' School, Hobart (1887), and the Presbyterian Ladies' College in Hobart (1888) — all founded by religious groups. Nevertheless, by the time of Teresa Hamilton's arrival in 1887, there had been little major change in women's position generally; there were few societies which admitted women, they seldom appeared in newspapers, and most confined their interests to domestic activity. There was certainly no woman who advocated any idea of women's rights.

Teresa Hamilton was, unusually for a 19th-century governor's wife in Australia, of Australian background herself. She was born in 1852, and her father, Major Henry Reynolds of the 58th Regiment, died when she was seven. Her mother was born Ann Cox, distantly related to the Tasmanian Cox family of Clarendon and the sister of Lady

Youl of Simmons Plains. Despite these Australian relations, Teresa Reynolds had no convict connections. Her Cox grandfather and later the Reynolds family lived at "Hobartville", Richmond, New South Wales; from her later career, one can presume that Teresa received a good education, and in 1877, aged 25, she married Robert Hamilton.<sup>11</sup>

By this time Hamilton was 40. He was the son of a Scottish clergyman and had joined the public service, becoming accountant to the Board of Trade and secretary to the Admiralty. He had been married before, but his first wife died in childbirth, after presenting him with five sons and a daughter. The daughter, Anne, later wrote her autobiography<sup>12</sup> and, amazingly, never once mentioned her stepmother, merely noting that her father remarried 18 months after the death of his first wife. The children, who had learnt at home with governesses, were then sent to boarding school. Teresa Hamilton bore her husband two further children, a son and a daughter. Well-educated and forceful, she was imbued with new ideas of the activities suitable for women.<sup>13</sup>

Several years after their marriage, Hamilton was made secretary to the Irish administration, a position left vacant by the assassination of two previous officials in a Dublin park. The move to Dublin cannot have been easy for a family with young children. Despite the assassination, Hamilton became tainted by sympathy for Irish home rule, so he was removed from this position and instead, at the age of 50, was made Governor of Tasmania (his wife was then 35). The Hobart *Mercury* did not think the new position a demotion, but said that Sir Robert should be glad to change "an onerous, troublesome and thankless post" for "the dignified and honourable position of Governor of this fair dependency of Her Majesty's Crown".<sup>14</sup>

Sir Robert's term of office was not distinguished by any special activity, and he would persist in calling the premier the Prime Minister, but he promoted public works and the investment of British capital in the colony, though to what extent is unknown. He was president of the Royal Society (an activity which, according to his daughter, he enjoyed)<sup>15</sup>, supported the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, organised celebrations for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1887, and opened a number of museums and art galleries, as he was paid to do. A more unusual activity for a governor was opening a congress of trade unions. Hamilton seems a quiet, pleasant figure — he was seldom mentioned, for good or ill, in the Walker letters (see below) — and was described as "an able and industrious public servant".<sup>16</sup> He much enjoyed pottering in the gardens of Government House, clipping the hedges and lying in a hammock.<sup>17</sup>

Inside information about the Hamiltons comes from three sources. In 1966, Agnes Morris wrote a small book, *Lady Hamilton's Tasmania*, which gives a glowing account of the period. Agnes Morris' granddaughter commented that her grandmother only liked to see good in people; that, in fact, you only see the good, if you keep your eyes shut.<sup>18</sup> So Morris depicted Lady Hamilton as able, charming and inspiring, for example writing that when she married Hamilton, the children of the first wife had a better life in her "kind, capable hands".<sup>19</sup>

In 1889, showing the growing visibility of women in the community, the *Tasmanian Mail* introduced a weekly women's column, written by "Alix". Alix often recorded

Lady Hamilton's activities and approved of them on the whole, so this is another positive view.

A more critical opinion comes in the letters of Sarah and James Walker to their sister Mary, who was studying art in London. Well-educated, intelligent, interested in intellectual matters as well as social events, and both busy with employment — James as a lawyer and Sarah as a teacher — they appreciated Teresa Hamilton's achievements but could also see her defects, and felt free to point them out in their private letters. Proud of their Tasmanian heritage, they were not inclined to kowtow to British imports, however elevated their position. James Walker illustrated this when he described the Mault family as "terrible conservatives and worshippers of the aristocracy ... which I am not".<sup>20</sup>

There are several descriptions of Teresa Hamilton's appearance. At a reception, she was described as looking "very handsome in a pale tan armure frock, with tints of white moire softening it in a marvellous way, and a tiny fawn bonnet, while her face is so good, so true, one cannot help instinctively admiring the nobility of character speaking through it".<sup>21</sup>

James Walker was less flattering when he described her portrait, by well-known artist Tennyson Cole. Cole's subjects included Edward VII, but Walker was not impressed with his portrait of Teresa Hamilton. The drapery was well painted, he said, "but he made her face florid & fat & reddened the complexion, while as to her hair, which is Teresa's chief beauty, he had taken all the light & colour out of it & made it a sort of dirty brown". Cole was similarly unsuccessful with Sir Robert, whose portrait looked "uglier than the reality".<sup>22</sup> (This is the one comment about Sir Robert in the Walker letters.)

The Hamilton entourage arrived in Hobart in March 1887, sailing up the Derwent on a perfect day. They were "accorded a hearty and enthusiastic welcome" by "people of all degrees and all classes", over a thousand assembling to cheer them as they landed. "The winning grace of Lady Hamilton's manner at once instilled her as a popular Governor's lady".<sup>23</sup> It was decided to conduct the official swearing-in that day, so there was a great bustle as the streets were cleaned. "All the sweeping and flushing, however, could not remove an olfactory demonstration of the fact that our system of drainage is one of those things that it is perhaps possible to improve upon," an ominous portent. Crowds gathered in the streets, flags were hung and arches erected, and at three o'clock the vice-regal carriage appeared. Teresa Hamilton had "gracefully adorned" her bonnet with a bunch of Tasmanian mountain berries, a tactful touch, and the Mayoress presented her with a magnificent bunch of these same berries. A procession formed and marched through the Hobart streets, church bells rang, people cheered, bands played, and the whole enterprise went off most successfully. The only slight disorder was the action of a "gentleman who had imbibed sufficient refreshment to make him argumentative", but a constable easily quelled him.

The swearing-in took place in the Supreme Court. It was the first time that ladies had been admitted, and a number sat on the dais. Addresses of loyalty were also read from various sections of society, then, amid more cheers, the vice-regal party drove back to Government House. It was a propitious start to their regime.<sup>24</sup>

When Teresa Hamilton left Tasmania, Alix commented that she had had a difficult task, for before her arrival there had been no governor's wife, or they had been so taken up



PLATE 1

*"Portrait of Lady Hamilton" by Philip Tennyson Cole, 1809. Collection: Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery.*

with the cares of large families that they had not spent much time on the public good. During the time of widower Strahan, "kind and good-natured man," general matters at Government House had become very disorganised, and Teresa Hamilton had to set things right.<sup>25</sup>

It appears that she did this without undue difficulty, for she was an excellent organiser and undertook the social activities of the governor's wife with panache, holding At Homes, balls, receptions, dinners, evenings, dances and afternoon teas.<sup>26</sup> Possibly, however, there were difficulties at first. Sarah Walker quite frequently attended entertainments at Government House, and in 1890 wrote that "we had to go out to Government House yesterday afternoon ... There were a good many people there. Lady H. is a much better hostess than she used to be, I think ... She is very amiable to me lately".<sup>27</sup> There were also such entertainments as a grand Charity Ball, organised by a committee of prominent women, including Teresa Hamilton. At this, she wore a handsome dress of grey silk, trimmed with grey velvet.<sup>28</sup>

Then there were the many official functions which the Governor and Lady Hamilton attended, such as a Review on the Queen's Birthday, and many ordinary social events which the vice-regal party graced: the races, polo matches, the theatre.<sup>29</sup> One of Teresa Hamilton's earliest activities was "a very pleasant one indeed": she telegraphed to Queen Victoria a congratulatory address, signed by 23 000 Tasmanian women, on the occasion of her jubilee.<sup>30</sup> She then held a dazzling Jubilee Ball at Government House.<sup>31</sup>

Another activity expected of vice-regal couples was travelling round the colony, and Sir Robert and Lady Hamilton did this enthusiastically. Within a fortnight of

their arrival, they went to Launceston and the northwest coast and, during the following years, they often travelled, with Teresa Hamilton particularly interested in visiting her relations, her first cousins the Youls and her more distant cousins, the Coxes.<sup>32</sup>

There was far more to the new governor's wife than these expected social activities, however. Shortly after Teresa Hamilton arrived in the colony, in September 1887, she delivered an address to the women of the colony, on the topic "Sanitation and Public Health".<sup>33</sup> "To speak in public for the sake of speaking is not my habit", she said, but she would not be doing her duty as the wife of the Governor if she did not help him improve the colony's health. Their son had had typhoid, and nursing him inspired her to act. She urged women to co-operate with her and learn to nurse intelligently and help stop typhoid spreading. "The situation cries for reform." People must appeal to the City Council to act, and to builders of houses. Mothers should burn all impurities, ventilate rooms, and clean stagnant gutters in front of houses. Apparently there was no further action after this lecture was given, and Alix put this down to Tasmanian apathy.

Teresa Hamilton had more success in later years.<sup>34</sup> The St John's Ambulance Brigade was established in Hobart in 1887, and from 1889, at the instigation of Teresa Hamilton, held lectures on first aid and nursing. Beatrice Butler was one Hobart woman who attended at least the first lecture in a series of eight on first aid. Lady Hamilton had three doctors to give the talks, she wrote in her diary.<sup>35</sup> The unmarried women in the audience were to sit an examination at the end of the course, but married women did not have to do so, as they were supposed not to have so much free time. Seventy women attended, of "all classes", and Lady Hamilton gave an introductory speech, "rather an ordeal I should think", telling the audience that they were "not to make a joke of it" and they must attend two-thirds of the lectures or they would not be allowed to attend the next course, which was on nursing. The eight lectures cost three shillings.<sup>36</sup> Again, what eventuated is not clear.

In 1891, on the same pattern, Teresa Hamilton organised a series of lectures on First Aid, given by Dr Giblin. The idea was highly praised, as the information would teach women how to nurse their families and, possibly, help to earn a livelihood. The maximum number in the audience was 30, which was soon filled, and at the end of the course an examination was given, which all candidates passed. The lectures began in June and were so popular that two classes were held. In August, a second course of lectures was given on Nursing; there were five lectures and 24 in the audience. Nineteen sat for the examination, which was part oral and part written, and again all passed. There was also a course of lectures on surgical and typhoid nursing to those who had passed the first course. Similar lectures were given in Launceston and Campbell Town.<sup>37</sup>

On other occasions, Teresa Hamilton lectured herself, to various audiences but usually on topics concerning health and diet. In 1891, she gave a series to the Young Women's Christian Association on Health, Hygiene, Food and Clothing. She explained to her audiences the difference between nitrogenous and carbonaceous food, and urged a balanced diet of fruit and vegetables, meat, grains, cheese and milk puddings and the avoidance of unwholesome food. She condemned alcohol, and spoke about digestion and "banting" (slimming).<sup>38</sup> She also spoke to poor women

in Wapping, using simple language to explain about treating wounds and illnesses, and bandaging. She gave at least three lectures to the women of St David's parish and, in 1892, to the women of Glenorchy on ambulance work.<sup>39</sup> She moved to a different topic when she spoke to the pupils of the Ladies' College for an hour on the Education of Girls.<sup>40</sup>

In 1892, Teresa Hamilton moved beyond mere lecturing and formed the Nursing Band, whose members visited the poor and attended to illness. They had to have a St John's Ambulance certificate or similar qualification. Teresa Hamilton gave a series of lectures for the Band and for anyone else interested, talking about ambulance and nursing work generally. The Band had eight or nine members and, by December 1893, they had attended 80 cases and paid over 700 visits. In the later 1890s, the Band became the District Nursing Association.<sup>41</sup> In the same year as she formed the Nursing Band, Teresa Hamilton was connected with the establishment of a convalescent home for "all overworked women needing a rest". Fees were low, and a committee raised funds to maintain the home.<sup>42</sup>

Teresa Hamilton's interests extended beyond nursing. She would not have been a charitable governor's wife if she had not tried to rescue prostitutes and, in 1889, she founded the undenominational Anchorage Refuge Home. It was run by a volunteer committee and a paid matron, and aimed to "help the poor fallen ones lead a good and useful life",<sup>43</sup> by caring for pregnant women and their subsequent babies for a year. The aim was to instil mother-love into the women, as the great incentive to acquire and retain their social position. The women were then found situations as domestic servants, preferably where they could keep their children with them. The committee tried to impress the fathers with their responsibility and assisted each fallen woman once only. Teresa Hamilton not only founded the home but was much concerned with its management, and once, when the secretary was absent for two months, undertook these duties herself.<sup>44</sup> This was another institution which lasted after Teresa Hamilton's departure, as it ran successfully until 1911.

Teresa Hamilton continued a traditional activity by becoming patroness of the Dorcas Society, but she did not appear excited by this work. She attended only one committee meeting, and paid one further visit in 1892.<sup>45</sup> The Society ran successfully without her help and, clearly, she liked running activities rather than being one of a committee of an organisation which already had leaders.

She did, however, assist with one established venture, the Hobart Ladies' College, which her daughter Mary attended.<sup>46</sup> The Walker family had a great deal to do with this establishment, for Sarah taught there and James was the secretary of the governing Board. In 1889, he described how competently Teresa Hamilton distributed the prizes at the end of the year.<sup>47</sup>

"She did the business very well, & made a very neat speech afterwards. Sensible, well expressed, & without any hesitation, & she knew — what so many men don't — when to leave off. It compared very well with Sir Lambert's [Chief Justice, member of College council]. He was very funny. He spoke of the misfortunes of the College & the changes we had had of one Principal after another. 'In fact', he said, 'the great drawback to the College in the past, has been the instability of its Principals'. He did not think that it sounded like 'Principles'! I heard a little laughing, &

told him afterwards that it was too bad to give us away in that fashion. He also praised Col. Cruikshank as an examiner & said his great merit was that 'he would condemn the right as well as correct the wrong'. He then corrected himself and said, 'At least, praise the wrong, & correct —' and he had to try again before he got it straight."

The next year, Teresa Hamilton was made a member of the Council, after asking Walker three times for the position.<sup>48</sup> The College also gained a new principal, Miss Piper and, after meeting her, James Walker commented, "I hope she will have decision enough to manage the Council, especially since Lady Hamilton is on it".<sup>49</sup> In 1890, the College held a Musical Evening, and, wrote Sarah Walker, "of course Her Excellency was there. After Lady H. had come Miss P. came to the back with the girls and wanted to stay there but I told her she must go & sit with her so at last very reluctantly she went".<sup>50</sup>

Every so often, James Walker recorded an action of Teresa Hamilton's on the committee. At her first meeting she was "very placable", but this did not last.<sup>51</sup> At her suggestion a sub-committee, including herself, was formed to discuss with the principal improving the methods of teaching. This seems a sensible suggestion, given that College numbers were declining, but Walker seemed to scorn it.<sup>52</sup> At the end of the year, Teresa Hamilton again chaired the College prizegiving. According to Walker, she "bossed the whole show, gave away the prizes, and made a speech. She is very great on education, the teaching of languages and art etc etc."<sup>53</sup> Several other Council members remarked to him that Teresa Hamilton "criticised from a professional point of view",<sup>54</sup> with which they were not happy. Again, criticising from a professional point of view seems well suited to the governing body of a school, and it is not clear why Teresa Hamilton's activities were not approved by the other, male, Council members, unless it was because a woman was speaking out.

There is little more information from the Walkers about Teresa Hamilton and the College, for James ceased to be secretary and, in 1892, Sarah began her own girls' school. She began with a housewarming but did not ask Teresa Hamilton, because Mrs Montgomery, the Bishop's wife, was bound to be there, and the two women did not agree.<sup>55</sup>

A different activity for Teresa Hamilton was that she was said to be interested in encouraging women's sport. There is not a great deal of evidence for this, but she and the Governor and "nearly all the fashionable world" attended a Ladies' Cricket Match in 1890, and the next year she twice invited the pupils of two girls' schools to Government House to watch a cricket match between teams from the schools, then to partake of afternoon tea.<sup>56</sup>

There is more evidence for Teresa Hamilton's interest in cultural activities. She was reported to have encouraged the Gaiety Players, an amateur group from the upper classes, and certainly attended their performances.<sup>57</sup> She was interested in art and, in 1891, formed the Hobart Sketching Club, whose members, at one stage, went to New Norfolk to sketch.<sup>58</sup> Teresa Hamilton was the first president of the Launceston Art Society and was actively interested in the establishment of Art Galleries in Hobart and Launceston. In 1891, she asked James Backhouse Walker to draw up fresh rules for the Art Association. "Her Ex. is too exacting to make working with her pleasant," wrote Walker. "The only thing is that she doesn't spare trouble herself — in fact it is she who keeps the thing going."<sup>59</sup> She also encouraged

at least one individual artist. At one stage, William Pigenit, just returned from a trip inland, gave a talk about the beauties of the highland scenery. Teresa Hamilton was in the audience, and it was at her suggestion that the monochrome paintings illustrating the lecture were purchased by the Government, by a special vote of £100.<sup>60</sup>

The association for which Teresa Hamilton is best known, probably because it bears her name, is the still-existing Hamilton Literary Society. In July 1889, she invited a number of ladies to Government House to form a literary group, which she named, rather condescendingly, the Nil Desperandum Society. She later commented that it was formed for "mutual pleasure and intellectual profit".<sup>61</sup> Learning to think and judge is a form of education we all need, she wrote, and to get out of our grooves is profitable.<sup>62</sup> She chose the subjects and the speakers, and each member was given a topic, on which she presented a paper at one of the fortnightly meetings at Government House. Other members then discussed the paper. There was a great variety of topics, from "Manners Maketh Man" to Trade Unions, and Sarah Walker commented that friends of hers thought the society "will be very good", though the members were a "funny mixture". She was asked to join and wrote unenthusiastically, "I suppose I had better".<sup>63</sup> Later she made several caustic comments about the Literary Society. She noted that one woman gave a paper on Browning, "(!!!). A little subject just to fill up I suppose".<sup>64</sup> When she herself attended, however, she became keenly interested in writing her paper on Trade Unions, and told her sister that she had begun to enjoy the Society.<sup>65</sup>

In August 1890, Teresa Hamilton entertained about a hundred women at Government House to celebrate the Society's first anniversary, but trouble soon arose. In the following summer, Hobart was packed with visitors, including six naval ships, and Teresa Hamilton gave the most glamorous ball the city had ever seen. Not surprisingly, the January meeting of the Nil Desperandum Society was sparsely attended, and in the next month a full-scale argument erupted.

"There is a grand quarrel between Lady H. and the Dobsons," wrote Sarah Walker.<sup>66</sup> Ethel Dobson, daughter of Sir Lambert Dobson, wrote the society's secretary a note, which Teresa Hamilton considered insulting, though the secretary, Miss Patty Mault, thought it was an ordinary note of apology. (Patty came from the family who "worshipped the aristocracy".) Teresa Hamilton demanded Ethel's resignation, Ethel said she did not think she had done anything wrong, and though Patty Mault begged her not to continue the quarrel, "Her Excellency was obstinate". Sarah Walker thought her "very foolish and undignified", and put the quarrel down to the "never friendly feeling" between the Hamiltons and the Dobsons, and the low attendance in January, which had annoyed Teresa Hamilton, who thought it was due to a rush after officers. Maud Montgomery tried to make peace, but "Lady H. does not love Mrs M. — she is too independent", so her attempts did no good. Meanwhile Ethel Dobson made matters worse with a second letter, written with help from her father. It was held to be in bad taste, "very Dobsony", but Sarah Walker thought that Teresa Hamilton's course was "altogether out of proportion to the offence".<sup>67</sup>

At the next, very tense, meeting the matter was discussed. Only two of the 17 members were on Teresa Hamilton's side, but she told the meeting that all who thought Ethel Dobson had been hardly treated should resign. Ten did so,

the younger ones going up “white & trembling like martyrs to the stake. You know they stand in great awe of Lady H. and she has been very kind to some of them”. Patty Mault asked Teresa Hamilton whether her own daughter would not have asked her father’s help in such a situation, and she replied, “Big as she is I would have her whipped”, and looked furious enough to have struck Miss Patty in the face, Maud Montgomery told Sarah. “It was rather dreadful was it not?” Sarah commented.<sup>68</sup> She added, “Her Excellency told them what they owed to her & the courtesy due to her from her position & Miss Patty said Lady Hamilton is it not from you we look for it before all others... Of course Lady H. will never forgive any of them.”<sup>69</sup>

Later, Sarah had a chance of finding out the inside story. She and her friend Poppy Clarke walked to Government House to say how do you do to Lady Hamilton, who insisted on them having coffee. She “dismissed the servants & drew up our chairs & was settling down to a long narrative when to our extreme annoyance in walked Mr & Mrs James”, who stayed until it was time to go home, so Sarah never did hear Teresa Hamilton’s explanation. “Both [Poppy] and I had been wanting to hear what she had to say.”<sup>70</sup>

There was a reconciliation, then another “bust up”, and Teresa Hamilton returned the subscriptions of those who had resigned, to their fury. A dance at Government House in April was poorly attended, and finally in May the hatchet was buried.<sup>71</sup> The Literary Society continued, and in 1892 was still meeting fortnightly at Government House and discussing such topics as the works of Rudyard Kipling (with animated debate for and against), and “There’s Nothing like Leather”.<sup>72</sup>

When Teresa Hamilton departed from Tasmania, she chose a committee to run the society, which, the next year, was renamed the Hamilton Literary Society in her honour. By the time of her death in 1932, it was a venerable body, the oldest existing such society in Australia. As well as the Society itself, Teresa Hamilton was reported as founding a reading society for the younger set, and a “Search Club” for women who spent most of their time in their homes and needed guidance as to how to spend their leisure, but these must have been small bodies as they were not mentioned at the time.<sup>73</sup>

Teresa Hamilton gave her support to other literary institutions. In 1892, the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science held a congress in Hobart. Many papers were given, and women flocked to hear them.<sup>74</sup> At one stage Sarah Walker arrived just as Teresa Hamilton was reading a paper by another author on decorative art in Australia. She read it very well, considered Sarah. An outcome of the conference was the idea of reading circles, under the auspices of the Australian Home Reading Union. A committee was appointed to run it: “Lady H. was put on it & by her influence Miss Chapman & we were all in terror lest either should be made officers in any way”, but in the end Sydney was made the headquarters with the New South Wales governor’s wife the president.<sup>75</sup>

Despite the Literary Society quarrel, these actions of Teresa Hamilton, though new to Tasmania, were generally acceptable. They encouraged women to move outside the old domestic role, meet in groups and act, but in areas always acceptable as part of women’s role: literature and art, nursing, caring for the poor and unfortunate, and teaching girls. But Teresa Hamilton went further than this.

In two areas, she encouraged women not only to act but to influence public opinion and try to change the laws. Women did this in Tasmania on only three occasions before 1914, and Teresa Hamilton was involved in two of them.

The first was temperance. Temperance societies had existed on and off in Tasmania since the 1830s, with women playing a very minor role. In 1873, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union was formed in the United States, and women’s temperance activity began in Tasmania in 1885, when an English advocate visited and began a Hobart branch. This faded, but was revived in 1886 by a further visitor. She formed a branch of the American WCTU, under which members signed the pledge and aimed to spread Gospel Temperance and Purity, to advocate equality of men and women, and to Do Everything, that is, further any cause which was seen as contributing to a purer society.

Interest waned; in 1899, a third visitor, Jessie Ackermann, revived it, but once again activity faded. Ackermann returned in 1892 and resuscitated or re-formed over 20 branches in Tasmania. In Hobart, she visited hotels to speak and pray, gave stirring addresses, and spoke at a torchlight procession and at drawing-room meetings, in an attempt to reach all classes of society.

In March 1892, the Union’s committee sent a deputation to ask Lady Hamilton to invite Miss Ackermann to speak at a drawing-room meeting at Government House.<sup>76</sup> As seen above, Teresa Hamilton had negative feelings about alcohol and was interested in many areas espoused by the Union, and she duly held a meeting, which was described as a success, despite bad weather.

This was a brave move for the governor’s wife; the Union consisted mainly of lower-middle-class women, far removed from her usual circle, and was promoting causes which were not generally held in high regard by elite circles: temperance, purity and women’s rights. The Walkers do not mention such activity in their letters, and Alix gave them little sympathy in her weekly column. Nevertheless, Teresa Hamilton sent the Union committee a message, saying she was sympathetic to their work and would help in any way possible.<sup>77</sup> She chose the area of their work with which she had shown most interest in the past and, in June 1892, gave a lecture on Hygiene to 70 women. She also spoke at a cottage meeting, giving a “very instructive address” to about 16 Mt Stuart “settlers’ wives” who came through muddy roads to hear her speak and were reported to be very pleased with the meeting.<sup>78</sup> In May, she held an afternoon tea at Government House to help spread the Union’s message, and many ladies attended. Though Alix described cricket matches, a dance and a literary society meeting at Government House in this period, she did not mention the Union meeting.<sup>79</sup>

After this, Teresa Hamilton’s contribution to the Union appears to have waned and, in any case, she left Tasmania within six months. Perhaps the increasingly radical activities of the “Women’s Righters” of the Union, or Sir Robert, advised prudence in becoming involved in this work. She was, however, one of the few upper-class women to have shown any interest in or support for the Union.

Teresa Hamilton’s second radical project was the Women’s Sanitary Association. In the second half of the 19th century civic reform, particularly the need for better sanitation systems, became a popular cause in towns all over the western world. Hobart was no exception, and several typhoid epidemics in the 1880s brought demands

for a better sanitary system. Unlike the Launceston City Council, the Hobart body was backward in its approach to city government. Rapid population growth from 1881 to 1891 highlighted defects in civic management, and the need for municipal reform was obvious to forward-thinking people — as noted earlier, the bad smell in Hobart streets was a problem when the Hamiltons were welcomed in 1887. Anxiety over Council inertia prompted the formation, in August 1891, of the all-male Sanitary and General Improvement Association of Hobart, which worked for underground drainage.

Women's involvement in the issue was prompted by a lack of achievement by this group. According to Mrs Hannaford, a later member, the prevalence of typhoid in 1889 and 1890 caused many to consider what could be done.<sup>80</sup> Emily Dobson, a woman of a similar stamp to Teresa Hamilton, conferred with the Ladies' Christian Association and afterwards Teresa Hamilton, who had shown herself interested in this area from 1887. The *Tasmanian Mail* said that the lack of permanent response to Teresa Hamilton's message was due to "the dreadful apathy of which as a community we are the victims to such a deplorable degree".<sup>81</sup>

In September 1891, it appeared that a Deep Drainage Bill, which the male association had been advocating, would not be passed by Parliament, and Teresa Hamilton convened a women's meeting. She was supported by eight of Hobart's leading women, including Emily Dobson and Maud Montgomery, and the audience filled the Town Hall to overflowing. Teresa Hamilton told them that it was their duty and privilege to act in this question of life and death, that women with any notion of responsibility must feel that it was as health conservers that their highest duty lay. Man's life and income depend on his health, his and those of "all those gentle clinging souls who depend on him and call him father, brother, supporter, friend".<sup>82</sup> Typhoid, she said, came from insufficient sanitary arrangements, and nothing was being done. "You, a band of warm-hearted, earnest women", she told her audience, had asked her, as "a wife and a mother in this city", to assist in petitioning Council and Parliament to act. Such an appeal, including flattery, emotion, notions of ideals, duty and a possible threat to income, was clearly the method Teresa Hamilton thought best suited to moving Tasmanian women.

Emily Dobson then spoke, more critically of men, and the meeting agreed to organise two petitions, to Parliament and the City Council, to pass the Deep Drainage Bill. As it was Thursday and the petitions had to be ready by the following Tuesday, immediate action was necessary. Hobart was divided into districts, and all volunteers were given an area to canvass for signatures. Great enthusiasm was shown, and Alix thought success likely in an endeavour led by "two such earnest, hardworking, good and clever women as the wives of our Governor and Bishop".<sup>83</sup> At the close of the meeting a vote of thanks was passed to Teresa Hamilton, whose interest in the advancement and prosperity of the city had always been manifest.<sup>84</sup>

A large number of women collected 5740 signatures for one petition and 5413 for the second. Such unprecedented action by women attracted a good deal of attention throughout Tasmania. On the Monday, a second meeting received the signatures, and Teresa Hamilton told the audience that, although there had been a great deal of excitement over the first meeting, the work must be continued. Three resolutions were to be put to them. The

first was introduced by Maud Montgomery, who told the women their duties as Christians regarding sanitation: they should keep their homes and streets in such a condition that they would not be ashamed if God himself walked through Hobart. She also urged women to report neglect of duty by nightmen, and to give their children a knowledge of sanitary science. The resolution was that, by voting themselves as ratepayers or by influencing their husbands, women would try to elect councillors who would act in the matter. The second resolution asked women to receive sanitary instruction and report unsatisfactory sanitary matters; the third that a Health Officer and Inspector of Nuisances be appointed. All resolutions were carried.<sup>85</sup> The petitions were duly presented, and Parliament passed the Deep Drainage Bill.<sup>86</sup>

A third women's meeting was less well attended, though all the active women were present. It decided to form a Women's Sanitary Association, with Teresa Hamilton as president and Emily Dobson as secretary.<sup>87</sup> Women who had taken part in the canvass reported astonishment at the intense eagerness by many poor women for improvement, and noted how clean most "little backyards"<sup>88</sup> were, so Teresa Hamilton organised cards to be printed, containing rules for household cleanliness and nursing, and members aimed to visit every house in Hobart, distributing cards and inquiring into sanitary conditions. Members were also told to read Ibsen's *Enemy of the People*.<sup>89</sup> This radical play, written in 1882, dealt with a society's attitude towards a clean water supply, so such advice was remarkably progressive.

By December 1891, the 80-member Association felt that much had been achieved. It looked as if the Council would implement reforms, and the visits by members had brought to light many nuisances and evils. "Women have done good work in stirring up public opinion",<sup>90</sup> and would not rest until all these nuisances were swept away, and the same attention paid to the state of the dwellings of the poor as those of the rich. Women had no power to carry out reforms, considered a member; they could only urge the need for it on the authorities by pointing out evils and "giving the authorities no peace till those complaints are addressed".<sup>91</sup> Issues brought up included butchers' care of meat and fishermen's of fish, and rubbish collections. At one meeting, Teresa Hamilton warned members to avoid a spirit of antagonism and concentrate on education about sanitation.<sup>92</sup> She assisted in this by providing a series of articles for the *Mail*, on "Sanitation and Public Health", Ventilation, Nursing, the importance of Health, and so on.<sup>93</sup>

In 1892, the enthusiasm of the Association seemed to wane somewhat, though work continued and, in July, the Association met the local Board of Health, whose members assured the ladies that they were doing all that they could.<sup>94</sup> There was criticism of the Association: a correspondent wrote in the *Mercury* that he or she was glad to see aldermen objecting to its "foolish statements and reports", and advised aldermen to take no notice of these. The Association was doing much damage by letting it go forth to the world that Tasmania was dirty.<sup>95</sup> The Editor commented that the Association had caused the authorities to move, "and that is a notable achievement".<sup>96</sup> Another correspondent was much amused at the indignation of aldermen who "think their dignity is imperilled by women suggesting reforms".<sup>97</sup> Teresa Hamilton had another series of articles printed in 1892; subjects included "The Want of Sanitation in the

Times of our Forefathers"; "The Ground beneath our Houses"; "The Personal health of Members of our Households"; "Sanitary Arrangements of Our Houses", and "Health and its relation to Temperance".<sup>98</sup>

The Association continued its work in the 1890s, but itself acknowledged that it achieved little, giving as reasons a lack of sympathy and co-operation among people generally, and women's fear of identifying themselves with a movement called "unfeminine", though it was not at all, as it was women's duty to help humanity. Members had been called ugly names and told they were trying to do men's work, but when men did nothing, women felt they had to act.<sup>99</sup>

What the Association had achieved was that women had been seen acting in public, competently running meetings, and trying to change public opinion and to influence Parliament and the City Council. Women criticised men's handling of sanitation, debated issues with men and stood up to them firmly, showing themselves independent of masculine guidance and authority. Such activity was a considerable achievement for Tasmanian women of the 1890s, and it was accepted at the time that this "noble stand" was led by Teresa Hamilton.<sup>100</sup> As Alix wrote:<sup>101</sup>

"The part that Lady Hamilton has taken is one that reflects honour, not only upon herself, but also upon His Excellency the Governor, whose term of office she is working to make so marked in its usefulness. That such an influence for the good of the people should proceed from Government House itself is so fitting and appropriate that people in general are apt to overlook it for that very reason. It can never be forgotten, however (and the truth will be more generally acknowledged in all probability when this kindly lady has left our shores) what time and pains Lady Hamilton has expended in her endeavours to make the women of Tasmania interested in matters relating to the health and comfort of themselves, their families, their dependents and their houses, as well as the research she has initiated into standard works on hygiene, so as to enable her to furnish her readers and listeners with the best information procurable on every branch of the subject she takes such an interest in."

In November 1892, it was announced that the Hamiltons were returning to England. Alix reported<sup>102</sup> that regret was "very sincere and general"; the Governor would be missed for his courtesy, considerateness and kindness, but his loss would be felt less than that of Lady Hamilton, "who had done so much for the good of Tasmania". Not only had her private acts of kindness been numerous, but:

"If a masterly inactivity in political matters is desirable in a Governor, a masterly activity in social affairs is equally desirable in a Governor's wife, and this Lady Hamilton has always displayed in her efforts for the intellectual, artistic and hygienic improvement of the people. Innumerable are the meetings of all kinds she had presided over, the concerts and other entertainments she has patronised, the speeches she has made, and the journeys she has undertaken for the forwarding of altruistic schemes."

The next week Alix returned to this topic.<sup>103</sup>

"Lady Hamilton has taken so active a part in all useful works that it is hard to realise what Tasmania will do without her. We want more women who will strive to

do what is right, happen what may, and who will go on towards a purposeful goal without being drawn to the right hand or to the left by useless regard for the many different opinions of a more or less variable society. There are many who have misjudged her at times, but who, appreciating her singleness of purpose and strength of character, have been glad to acknowledge to her that they were wrong, and to join with others in expressing the high respect, regard, and admiration they must always feel for her, both as a Governor's wife and as a woman."

Alix thought that Teresa Hamilton's activities had had an important effect on Tasmanian society. The tone seemed higher and more earnest, there was more interest taken in work for the good of the community, and more pains by the young in self improvement. Teresa Hamilton had encouraged women and girls to take more interest in those around them, and in art and literature. There was less provincialism and "cliquism", and Hobart compared well with larger cities in respect of culture and refinement.<sup>104</sup>

In the week before she left, Teresa Hamilton certainly undertook a variety of activities, as well as supervising the packing of a large household after a residence of six years. She attended a children's concert, held the third in a series of large dinner parties at Government House, watched a polo game, presented the prizes to the pupils of Miss Mackenzie's gymnasium and the pupils of the Ladies' College (where she hoped that another woman would be appointed to the governing Council in her place — but alas, after Teresa Hamilton's departure the College closed), attended a "very clever" lecture by Madame Henry, sent "a kindly letter of congratulations and a lovely bunch of carnations from Government House" to a bride, and took part in several farewell activities — nothing very novel, perhaps, but a considerable effort at such a busy time. She also personally supervised the decoration of the Government House reception rooms with maidenhair fern and scarlet cacti.<sup>105</sup>

This was done in preparation for a large reception at Government House, to which a thousand people came (including Lady Dobson, Miss E. Dobson, the Misses Walker, J.B. Walker, but not the Maults). Five hundred and fifty shook hands with the Hamiltons, "all anxious to say farewell to the most generally popular Governor and Governor's wife we have had for many years".<sup>106</sup> The vice-regal couple was presented with an address from the City Council, in which Lady Hamilton's "unostentatious charity, benevolence, and bright example" were praised, and later she was presented with addresses from the women of southern, then northern, Tasmania.

The southern women, organised by a committee which was headed by Lady Dobson and Mrs Montgomery, collected money to present Teresa Hamilton with a diamond ring, but she intimated that she could not accept so handsome a present. So she received a gold bangle, and the rest of the money went to the Benevolent Society. The presentation and the committee's words of gratitude for her "work amongst us" so affected Teresa Hamilton that she found some difficulty in replying; then she thanked the ladies, and said that her activities were done from a sense of duty first and pleasure afterwards, and that she had made so many friends that she would always look back on her Tasmanian years with delight.<sup>107</sup> This was only a year after the Literary Club quarrel, but either everyone was conscious of saying the right thing, or they had indeed come to admire Teresa Hamilton's qualities.

Just before she left, Teresa Hamilton was presented with five addresses in the Town Hall, from the Anchorage committee, the Women's Sanitary Association, the Convalescent Home, the Young Women's Christian Association, and one large one, illuminated with paintings of Tasmanian flowers and berries and bound in black morocco, from the women of southern Tasmania, with 1600 signatures. Teresa Hamilton said in reply that she had received much praise, but the work had mainly been done "by the women of the place". Her last function in Hobart was to attend a meeting of the Home Reading Union in the Royal Society room of the museum. Here she was given a standing ovation.<sup>108</sup>

How can Teresa Hamilton's contribution to Tasmania be summed up? Clearly she was a forceful woman, and this trait was encouraged by the authority which came with her position as Governor's wife, and perhaps from a feeling common to migrants from Britain, that they are bringing their superior knowledge to improve the colonials. She also felt that she was doing her duty, and this can encourage people to put forward their own point of view at the expense of others'. Her overbearing streak could get out of hand, as in the Literary Society quarrel. The Walkers' letters, however, show that for them at least this was but one fault among a number of positive aspects, and if Alix's column was true and not merely sycophantic, many others felt the same way.

Teresa Hamilton did a great deal to bring new ideas of women's role to Tasmania, but there were many aspects of first-wave feminism with which she had no obvious sympathy. She displayed no interest in women's suffrage, which was not an issue in Tasmania in her period, or in improving conditions for working women, or opening professions to women — though as her daughter later became a doctor, still unusual for women at this time, she was presumably sympathetic to this.<sup>109</sup> She showed no inclination to change the basic structure of society, and said nothing to challenge the traditional view that women's aim in life should be marriage, and the intelligent care of husband and children. Certainly her address to the first meeting of the Women's Sanitary Association, where she told women that it was as health conservers that their highest duty lay, and they and their children were "gentle clinging souls", does not show much militant feminism.

What Teresa Hamilton was interested in was promoting what she felt were suitable interests for women: their intellectual activity and education, and the welfare of their families. If this meant being active in public, so be it. Women were to be encouraged into joining societies to promote both culture for themselves, and acting to promote the good of society generally, as in sanitation and temperance. Teresa Hamilton was not afraid, as Alix wrote, "to do what is right",<sup>110</sup> neither was she afraid of criticism, and she would challenge anyone, men included, to gain her aims and improve society. Before Teresa Hamilton's arrival in Tasmania, women's public activity had been virtually nil, with hardly any women's societies. By the time of her departure, women had held public meetings, debated issues with men, tried to change public opinion, gone into the streets to canvass for signatures for petitions, challenged the City Council and Parliament, and, in short, had made their voices heard without masculine guidance. And the leading lady in the colony not only led this activity but had told women that it was their duty. As well, there were numerous women's societies, which were quite accepted.

At first, women's reaction to Teresa Hamilton was lukewarm but, as they became used to her, they were more receptive. She certainly awakened women's interests in the possibilities open to them.

Another facet of Teresa Hamilton's activities was that she tried to reach all classes, at a time when many governors' wives concerned themselves solely with the upper class. Teresa Hamilton presumably invited only these ladies to her entertainments (though there was that "funny mixture" at the Literary Society), but she included all women in her addresses, and was not afraid to consort with the lower-middle-class Women's Christian Temperance Union.

It is instructive to compare Teresa Hamilton with her predecessor Jane Franklin: both forceful women, both keen to improve society for society's good and both convinced that they knew how to do it. Teresa Hamilton, however, did not receive the criticism that Jane Franklin did, probably because she maintained always that she was only doing her duty as a woman, in woman's proper sphere of action. And she did not venture into that absolutely masculine realm, government.

Nevertheless, she did challenge men and encouraged other women to do so. There was little criticism of this, probably because, in the respectable 1890s (as opposed to the 1840s), few people in Tasmania dared to criticise, at least openly, the actions of the Governor's wife. Perhaps it is telling that in the address presented to the Hamiltons on their departure by the, all-male, Hobart City Council, Teresa Hamilton was praised for acceptable feminine actions only; her unostentatious charity, benevolence and bright example, from which one might have thought her merely another quiet, good governor's wife. It was the women who thanked Teresa Hamilton for her "work".

So Teresa Hamilton left Tasmania with its structure much as it had been in 1887, but with women shown how to play a much more active role within that structure. She is the foremost illustration of the fact that first-wave feminism was introduced to Tasmanian women from outside, by those whose husbands held leading positions, such as Teresa Hamilton herself, Maud Montgomery and a later bishop's wife, Josephine Mercer; or by visitors who came to promote a particular cause, such as Jessie Ackermann and temperance. The only really active Tasmanian-born woman was Emily Dobson. She had been a usual wife and mother until 1891, when she suddenly became active, as seen in the Women's Sanitary Association. In the following years she founded a number of societies and was the leading light of such feminism as existed. It was very much on the pattern started by Teresa Hamilton and could very well have been inspired by her.

The rest of Teresa Hamilton's story is soon told. She returned to England to sadness: first her mother died, then Sir Robert in 1895, and in 1908 her daughter Mary, who was only in her twenties. Fortunately her son survived and lived near her. Teresa Hamilton continued to write articles and read papers, including one on Tasmania, and kept in touch with her friends there. In the early 1930s, she was hostess, by proxy, at reunions of the Hamilton Literary Society, her sketching club and her ambulance class, sending a cheque to cover expenses. She died in Bath at the age of eighty. Her obituary in the *Sydney Morning Herald* praised her as a patron of the arts and described her promotion of literature and art,<sup>111</sup> as did her one line in her husband's entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Teresa Hamilton deserved more than this.

## REFERENCE MATERIAL

The following abbreviations are used for sources repeatedly cited in the text.

## Publications

ADB	<i>Australian Dictionary of Biography</i>
CN	<i>Church News</i>
<i>Cyc. Tasm.</i>	<i>Cyclopedia of Tasmania</i>
Merc.	<i>Mercury</i> [Hobart]
SMH	<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>
TM	<i>Tasmanian Mail</i>
WA	<i>Walch's Almanac</i>

## Correspondents

IW	Isa Walker
JBW	James Backhouse Walker
MW	Mary Walker
SW	Sarah Walker

## Archival Material

AOT	Archives Office of Tasmania
B	University of Tasmania Archives — B
CSD	Colonial Secretary's Department [Archives Office of Tasmania]
RS	University of Tasmania Archives — Royal Society
UTA	University of Tasmania Archives
W	University of Tasmania Archives — W
WCTU	Women's Christian Temperance Union minutes

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8. Quoted in Ellis: 202; Serle: 204–205.
9. *WA* 1882: 191; *Cyc. Tasm. 1*: 220.
10. *ADB* 6: 203.
11. *SMH* 13/08/1932; Morris: 17; *Merc.* 12/03/1887; Burke: 783.
12. Weigall.
13. Weigall: 5, 27; Morris: 51; Burke: 783.
14. *ADB* 4: 331–332; *Merc.* 12/03/1887; Morris: 15.
15. Weigall: 95.
16. *SMH* 13/08/1932.
17. Weigall: 86, 95.
18. M. Blackwood, South Hobart, pers. comm.
19. Morris: 51.
20. JBW/MW 21/06/1891, W9/L2/6.
21. Quoted in Morris: 17, 78.
22. JBW/MW 16/02/1890, W9/L2/5.
23. *Merc.* 12/03/1887.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *TM* 12/11/1892.
26. C. Alexander: 148, 149. W9/L2/6, 18/10/1891, Lady Hamilton gives an “evening” when the Australian Squadron is in port; a ball at Government House, JBW/MW 12/03/1890, W9/L2/5. See also *TM* 2/04/1892.
27. SW/MW 21/10/1890, W9/L4.
28. *TM* 7/05/1892.
29. *TM* 7/05, 2,9,28/04/1892; Weigall: 93.
30. *Cyc. Tasm. 1*: 27.
31. Robson, vol. 2: 126–127.
32. Morris: 17, 74.
33. *TM* 26/09/1891 report of 1887 address.
34. *TM* 23/05/1891.
35. Diary of Beatrice Butler 18/06/1889, B9/6 2(2).
36. *Ibid.*
37. *TM* 23,30/05, 20,27/06, 29/08, 12/09, 10,31/10, 7/11, 28/12/1891; 18/06/1892; 10/06/1893.
38. *TM* 14,21/11/1891.
39. *TM* 11/06, 22/08, 17/10/1891; 4/06, 15/10, 5/11/1892.
40. *TM* 16/08/1891.
41. *TM* 18/06, 24/09/1892; 30/12/1893; 1/07/1897; 16/09/1899.
42. *TM* 10/10/1891; 5/03, 17/09, 29/10/1892.
43. *Merc.* 16/09/1891.
44. *TM* 23/09/1899; *Merc.* 16/09/1891.
45. Minutes of Dorcas Society, March 1887, November 1892, UTA.
46. *TM* 26/11/1892.
47. JBW/MW 22/12/1889, W9/L2/A.
48. SW/MW 22/01/1890, W9/L.
49. JBW/MW 21/01/1890, W9/L2/5.
50. SW/MW 22/06/1890.
51. JBW/MW 27/01/1891, W9/L2/5.
52. JBW/MW 12/07/1890.
53. JBW/MW 21/12/1890, W9/L2/5.
54. *Ibid.*
55. SW/MW 27/03/1892, W9/L4/6.
56. JBW/MW 18/03/1890, W9/L2/5; *TM* 21,28/05/1892.
57. Bolger: 184; *TM* 7/05/1892.
58. *TM* 25/04/1891; 1/09/1894; 29/05/1897.
59. JBW/MW 15/11/1891, W9/L2/6; Morris: 15.
60. *SMH* 13/08/1932.
61. *TM* 1/09/1894.
62. *TM* 1/09/1894; 21/04/1900; 14/09/1908.
63. SW/MW 23/04/1890, W9/L4; see also IW/MW 27/09/1889, W9/11/6.
64. SW/MW undated 1890, W9/L4/4(9).
65. SW/MW 8/02/1891, W9/L4/4.
66. *Ibid.*
67. C. Alexander: 148; SW/MW 8/02/1891, W9/L4/4(21).
68. SW/MW 21/02/1891.
69. SW/MW undated [March 1891], W9/L4/4.
70. SW/MW 2/05/1891, W9/L4/5(9).
71. JBW/MW 22/02, 1,8,15/03, 5/04,10/05/1891, W9/L2/6.
72. *TM* 21/05, 23/04/1892.
73. *SMH* 13/08/1932; Morris: 18–19.

## NOTES

1. *ADB* 4: 331–332.
2. Alexander: chs 1–7.
3. Alexander: ch. 8.
4. Alexander: ch. 9.
5. Alexander: ch. 11, quotation p. 142; RS 1/1(34).
6. RS 1/1(34).
7. *Cyc. Tasm. 1*: 220; *WA* 1863: 122; 1865:122; CSD 4/37/455; Serle: 203.

74. JBW/MW undated 1890, W9/L2/5.
75. SW/MW 12/01/1892, W9/L4/6. The local Hobart secretary was Caroline Morton.
76. WCTU 31/03/1892.
77. WCTU 28/04/1892.
78. WCTU 30/06/1892.
79. *People's Friend* May 1892; *TM* 2,9,16,23/04, 7,21,28/05/1892.
80. *TM* 22/09/1900.
81. *TM* 19/09/1891.
82. *Merc.* 10/09/1891.
83. *TM* 12/09/1891.
84. *TM* 12/09/1891; *Merc.* 10/09/1891.
85. *TM* 19/09/1891; *Merc.* 16/09/1891.
86. *CN* December 1891: 563.
87. *WA* 1892: 290.
88. *TM* 3/10/1891.
89. *TM* 3,31/10/1891.
90. *CN* December 1891: 563.
91. *Ibid.*
92. *Merc.* 21/11/1891.
93. *TM* 19,26/09/1891.
94. *Merc.* 13/07/1892; *TM* 18/06, 3/09/1892.
95. *Merc.* 18/09/1892.
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Merc.* 20/09/1892.
98. *TM* 13/08/71892.
99. *TM* 22/09/1900.
100. *TM* 19/09/1891.
101. *Ibid.*
102. *TM* 12/11/1892.
103. *TM* 19/11/1892.
104. *TM* 19,26/11/1892.
105. *TM* 26/11, 3/12/1892.
106. *TM* 26/11/1892.
107. *Ibid.*
108. *TM* 3/12/1892.
109. *SMH* 13/08/1932.
110. *TM* 19/11/1892.
111. *SMH* 13/08/1932; *Morris*: 79; *TM* 3,31/08/1895; 28/11/1896; 21/07/1900; 4/05/1901; 10/01/1903; 12/09, 24/10/1908.