

Barbara Zimmerman (2011) "The role of the nineteenth century Governess: The Case of Mary Augusta in Tasmania 1880-1881"

The paper uncovers the letters of Mary Augusta Walker (1856-1952), who left her Quaker family home in Hobart, Tasmania to work as a governess for a wealthy Tasmanian family in the Midlands (1880-1881). The letters of Mary Augusta Walker, who later in life became a teacher and an artist, provide primary-source documentation from an Australian-born governess. Very little primary source material has survived from women that were sent from the British Isles to work as governesses in the colonies in the nineteenth century. Only one scheme that sent women to the colonies, the Female Middle Class Emigration Society (1862) requested that the governesses correspond and those letters are today the key primary sources. The letters of Mary Augusta Walker writing to her brother James B. Walker give us a story about governessing from a creative and educated woman and adds nuance to our understanding of the roles of women in colonial society.

Barbara Zimmerman

2012

The role of the nineteenth century Governess: The Case of Mary Augusta Walker in Tasmania 1880-1881

Introduction

This paper will examine the role of the governess in the nineteenth century to put into context the letters of Mary Augusta Walker during the year she worked as a governess in Tasmania in 1880-1881. Mary Walker wrote to her older brother James B. Walker while she was a governess to the four boys of the William Gatenby family. She lived at one of the Gatenby family's estates named Woodbourne (now Woodburn) in the Tasmanian Midlands. Both first-generation Walker and Gatenby families held leadership positions in nineteenth century Tasmania. Mary and James' father George Washington Walker (G.W.) (1800-1859) came to Van Diemen's Land from the U.K. with James Backhouse in 1832. The Walker and Backhouse missionary journey, to inquire about the treatment of aborigines and convicts, was sanctioned by the Society of Friends (Quakers) London Meeting.¹ G.W. Walker settled in Tasmania and married Sarah Benson Mather and they had ten children. James Walker was the eldest son and became the head of the household when his father G.W. died in 1859. George Andrew and Hannah Gatenby arrived in Hobart from Wales in 1823 and had seven children of which one was William, Mary Walker's employer. The Gatenby family acquired various land grants and built 'one of the most famous farming families in

¹ Walker Family Index, *Walker Family Papers includes names, subjects and places index*, University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Collections, Australia <http://www.library.utas.edu.au/finding-information/special-collections/walker-family-index>, accessed 6 October, 2011.

Tasmania.² By 1875, the Gatenby family was among the twelve largest landowners in Tasmania and the Gatenby family appears four times, second only after the Thomas Archer family, in the list of 100 largest estates due to the sons also obtaining large land holdings.³

Associate Professor Stefan Petrow kindly suggested the topic of writing about Mary Walker's 1880-1881 letters for this thesis. Margaret Glover wrote a paper about Mary Walker in 1998, using the letters Mary Walker wrote to the Walker family when studying art in England in 1889-1890.⁴

The letters of Mary Walker are available from the Walker family as part of the Walker Papers, and are held in the University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Collection. They are quoted with the permission of Mr B.B.R. Walker. The letters have been available online since 2008 and readers from 13 countries have accessed them. As evidenced by the online report, the majority of downloads (1332 out of 1561) have been from the United States.⁵

²M. Doherty, 'Diaries to feature at gathering of the clan', *The Examiner*, 13 June, 1998, at <http://www.examiner.com.au/news/local/news/general/diaries-to-feature-at-gathering-of-the-clan/1318906.aspx>, accessed 8 October 2011.

³H. Reynolds, "Men of Substance and Deservedly Good Repute": The Tasmanian Gentry 1856-1875', *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol.15, issue 3, (December, 1969), p. 63.

⁴M. Glover, 'A Colonial Abroad: Mary Augusta Walker in England, 1889-1890,' *Papers and Proceedings*, September, 2001.

⁵M. A. Walker, *Mary Augusta Walker's letters to her brother James Backhouse Walker, Tasmania, 1880-1881*, usage statistics for UTas ePrints Repository, http://eprints.utas.edu.au/es/index.php?action=show_detail_eprint;id=6263; accessed 6 October 2011.

There are nine letters in the University of Tasmania Library's collection from Mary Walker to her brother James B. Walker, 1880-1881.⁶ However, in reading and transcribing parts of the letters, I found one to be in a different handwriting and signed by an 'Isa' dated 7 January 1881. I did not include any part of the letter in this paper as I believe Isabella, Mary Walker's sister, wrote it. The nine letters used in this paper range from 18 September 1880 (although incorrectly dated online as 1881) to 12 October 1881. One other change and correction I have made is regarding the letter dated 29 November 1880. It should be 28 November 1880. While visiting the Special Collections room in the University of Tasmania Library, and reading the actual letters, I discovered one that is not online, dated 14 October 1880, and a quote from it is included in this paper. I wish to thank the staff of the Special and Rare Collections for assistance and also for making available the letter of Sarah Benson Walker to Mary Walker dated 11 March 1880 that is not online and that I have used in this paper.

⁶ M. A. Walker, *Letters from Mary Augusta Walker to her brother James Backhouse Walker, Tasmania, 1880-1881*. University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Australia. <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/6263/>, accessed 6 October 2011.

The search for primary source documents of the nineteenth century Australian governess

Governess/Nanny/Farm Job Listings

Pilbara Kimberly, WA

Required for livestock managers family on West Kimberly cattle station. Duties include tutoring 2 children (aged 4 & 6) in well supported School Of Air Program. & some cleaning. Food/accomm provided, separate to family.

9th October 2011

Far Western Division, NSW

Needed to supervise children via School Of The Air on a sheep and cattle property. Great lifestyle and experience. Learning provided on the job. Requirements: * Working with children and taking an active role in their daily lives * Be able to make learning a fun and exciting environment * Computer literacy...

19th September 2011⁷

Those of us who have worked as nannies in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries can well understand the phenomenon of the nineteenth century governess and the complicated position she held in a family setting. A nanny or governess is the proverbial outsider, an employee who is granted access to intimate knowledge of her employer's life by working in such close proximity as the family home. The nanny and governess positions have provided fabulous material for fiction writers. Nineteenth century writers Charlotte Bronte, William Makepeace Thackeray, Henry James, Rudyard Kipling and others have developed characters that continue to entertain the public today. Fictional

⁷ Primary Positions Australia, job search home page, governess/nanny positions, <http://www.primarypositions.com.au/jobs/governess-nanny>, accessed 10 October, 2011.

governesses are incorporated into historians' research about governesses.⁸ One wonders if historians use fiction because of the lack of primary source documents.

In reality, there are nannies and governesses who sincerely enjoy and take pride in their positions and hope to be remembered for being as bright and fun as the legendary fictional governess Mary Poppins. Mary Augusta Walker's letters to her brother, made possible by the papers of the Walker family, give the impression of creating such happy memories for her students.

For those of us interested in Australian and British history, researching nineteenth century governesses becomes as multifaceted and as remarkable as the fictional stories. There were hundreds of governesses working in Australia.⁹ In Tasmania in 1881, the year that Mary August Walker was working in the Midlands, 163 governesses were employed in Tasmania alone, more than the 157 government school teachers but fewer than the 260 private school teachers.¹⁰ Yet there are hardly any primary source documents that have come to light.

An online search through the 'private deposits' of the University of Tasmania Library uncovers few primary source documents that refer to governesses. The 'private deposits' consist of an index of documents (or

⁸ A. Renton, *Tyrant or Victim? A History of the British Governess*, (London, 1991) pp.74-5.

⁹ K. Matthew, 'The Search for Australia's Missing Governesses', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, v. 12, 2010, p. 227.

¹⁰ A. Alexander, 'The public role of Women in Tasmania, 1803-1914', PhD thesis, University of Tasmania, 1991, p. 20.

one entry in some cases) that the library holds from various Tasmanian families and institutions, many from the nineteenth century.¹¹ The entries do not have links to source material like the Walker Papers. Using the word governess to search the 147 entries (not including the Walker Family's) there is reference to a Hilda Shaw in the Religious Society of Friends' records only mentioning her as a governess in 1913. In the Leake Family papers, deposited under E. Leake (L.1), a Mrs J.F. Graham, from Hobart, wrote to John Leake of the 'Rosedale' estate in the Tasmanian Midlands, to appeal for employment for her daughters as governesses in 1841-1844. Charlotte Wells, a widow, also wrote to John Leake asking for employment for her daughters as governesses in 1833-35.¹² Governesses are portrayed in Tasmanian fiction-writer Roy Bridges' (1885-1952) serialised stories that were published in a variety of Australian papers. One more Tasmanian governess appears in an online search through the Tasmanian Archives Office. Sarah Crouch (nee Rothwell), who was later in her life active in charity work¹³, was a governess before she married Thomas Crouch.¹⁴

¹¹ Private Deposits A-Z index, University of Tasmania Library, Hobart, Tasmania, September 5, 2011 <http://www.library.utas.edu.au/finding-information/special-collections/private-deposits-a-z-index>, accessed 18 October 2011.

¹² Leake Family Papers, University of Tasmania Private Deposits, <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/10860/2/Leake.pdf>, p. L./B - accessed 24 October, 2011.

¹³ Alexander, 'The Public Role,' p. 228.

¹⁴ P. Bolger, 'Crouch, Thomas James (1805–1890)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/crouch-thomas-james-3296/text5011>, accessed 29 October 2011.

Unfortunately, a small number of primarily sources resembling Mary Walker's letters have been found from the governesses themselves or about governesses in all of Australia. A research project, started in 2010 and then abandoned in 2011 by graduate history student Kate Matthew at the University of New England, aimed to 'name and locate every woman who worked as a governess in Australia in the nineteenth century.'¹⁵ Matthew had hoped to uncover written material about or by the many governesses, as she believed the diaries, letters or other material will add to the history of Australia. She hoped primary source materials from the governesses will uncover information about the big issues that define Australia, the issues that continue to be priorities of political and social life in the twenty-first century: 'emigration, family life, education, class-consciousness and class mobility, and the challenges of rural living.'¹⁶

An obvious but important conclusion is that more must be done by Australian historians, archivists, librarians and the literary community to acquire the diaries and letters of importance from the nineteenth century or otherwise they will be lost. The academic community, with government and private support, needs to work with specific families to obtain nineteenth century material for the public domain. Funding is needed for archivists to provide professional care of the materials. The internet has revolutionised the use of historical documents via online access. The Walker Papers are an excellent example of how one family's donation of

¹⁵ Matthew, 'The Search', p. 227.

¹⁶ Ibid.

their letters and diaries makes possible the research in this paper. There is worldwide interest in studying the Walker Papers, and this raises the reputation and stature of the University of Tasmania.

Historians specialising in the nineteenth century would know the families to approach in their respective states. For example, the Gatenby family held a reunion in 1998 where the diary of George Gatenby (William Gatenby's brother) was the lead story in the newspaper article by *The Examiner* reporter Megan Doherty. 'Everyday for 11 years from 1847, George Gatenby wrote in a leatherbound diary.'¹⁷ Fortunately, the Tasmanian Archives Office has the diaries available for viewing by request. However, in addition, there are 70 total diaries 'that were kept by family members and provide an irreplaceable look back to the early days of Tasmania.'¹⁸ These 70 diaries would be essential for historians interested in the families that established the first European farms in the Midlands. The diaries should be requested from the families in a sensitive manner if they have not been already. With luck, diplomatic and strategic requests to specific families will reveal more primary source material regarding governesses.

Historians in the British Isles also have found it difficult to locate source material from governesses. Writing in the year 2000, in her paper about nineteenth century Irish education, Deirdre Raftery encountered a

¹⁷ M. Doherty, 'Diaries to feature at gathering of the clan', *The Examiner*, 13 June, 1998 at <http://www.examiner.com.au/news/local/news/general/diaries-to-feature-at-gathering-of-the-clan/1318906.aspx>, accessed 8 October 2011.

¹⁸ Ibid.

'paucity of information on the home education provided by governesses in Irish homes during the nineteenth century.'¹⁹ Of the 25,000 women who worked as governesses during the middle years of the nineteenth century in England, Kathryn Hughes (1993) also had difficulty locating primary source material.²⁰ Postulated reasons for the lack of qualitative sources include the unofficial and therefore undocumented quality of the governess position,²¹ the nature of the position being domestic and therefore private,²² the expense and unavailability of paper,²³ and the hope that source material is held in family collections.²⁴ One final reason is that the women were poor, 'that is why they were governesses. And the possessions of the poor rarely survive.'²⁵ The letters of Mary Walker therefore provide significant documentation from an Australian-born governess. Mary Walker was the last in her family to die in 1952. Her legacy to Tasmanian history is to have saved the Walker Papers.

The work of Australian historians A. James Hammerton (1979) and Patricia A. Clarke (1985) laid the foundations of the histories of the 'gentlewomen' from Great Britain who emigrated to Australia and other colonies to take up work as governesses. Other historians studying the

¹⁹ D. Rafferty, 'Home Education in Nineteenth Century Ireland: The role and status of the governess', *Irish Educational Studies*, v. 19 (Spring, 2000), p. 308.

²⁰ Hughes, *The Victorian Governess* (London, 1992). p. xi.

²¹ D. Rafferty, 'Home Education', p.308.

²² Hughes, *The Victorian Governess*, p. xi

²³ P. Clarke, 'Life Lines: 19th Century Women's Diaries and Letters,' *Voices*, vol. 7, no. 1, (Autumn, 1997), p. 59.

²⁴ Matthew, 'The Search for the Australian Governess', p. 229.

²⁵ R.Brandon, *Other people's daughters, the life and times of the governess* (London, 2008). p. 2.

unjust and at times redemptive plight of the middle class governess caught in the Victorian Age have enhanced Hammerton and Clarke's work.

A simplified synopsis of the governess in Great Britain

For centuries in Great Britain, females were thought to be physically and mentally incapable of possessing intellect. Although Martha Vicinus (1985) makes a case that single women held a variety of pivotal positions in 'preindustrial society,'²⁶ Alice Renton (1991) argues that women's education became stunted when nunneries that provided 'colleges of education for groups of girls,'²⁷ closed after the Norman Conquest (in the year 1066) and, 'by the twelfth century the fashion for scholarship in women of noble families was gone.'²⁸ In the Victorian Age, the centuries-old tradition of not educating females left the large population of middle class single British women with no suitable work skills except in the 'three underpaid and overcrowded occupations—governess, companion, or seamstress.'²⁹ 'Early marriage' of daughters was an enormously desirable goal.³⁰ If girls had no prospect of an early marriage or needed to support their own families, being a governess was the first option.

Governesses taught music, French, dancing and art in a family setting. The hours of the job and low pay made virtual slaves of the

²⁶ M. Vicinus, *Independent Women* (Chicago, 1985), p. 3

²⁷ Renton, *Tyrant or Victim, A History of the British Governess* (London 1991), p. 3

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Vicinus, *Independent Women*, p. 3.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.5.

women.³¹ The position lacked resources for teaching like books and paper as Mary Walker found in 1880.

In the nineteenth century, females outnumbered males in Great Britain leaving an excess 'amounting in 1871 to over a quarter of a million women in the age group 20-35 alone.'³² The uneducated middle class women were without family support due to: the death of a father, too many girls in the household for one father to support, or the women's unwillingness to take up servant positions of the lower classes due to middle class norms.³³ That a class of women existed with education limited to sewing, dancing, music and French can be traced to the lack of value in educating girls and women in Great Britain.

The Female Middle Class Emigration Society (1862)

Hammerton, Clarke and others analyse the nineteenth century forces that fated some of these women to poverty and then led to their emigration to the colonies. The governesses' plight gave birth to the leadership of two energetic feminists, Maria S. Rye,³⁴ and Jane Lewin, who decided to assist the British middle class governesses to emigrate to the colonies. Maria Rye founded the Female Middle Class Emigration Society (FMCES) in 1862. Patricia Clarke transcribed and contextualised

³¹ Renton, *Tyrant or Victim?*, pp. 69-75.

³² P. Horn, 'The Victorian Governesses,' *History of Education*, 18, (1989), p. 336.

³³ A. J. Hammerton, *The Emigrant Gentlewomen, Genteel Poverty and Female Emigration, 1830-1914* (London, 1979), p. 33.

³⁴ P. Clarke, *The Governesses: Letters from the Colonies, 1862-1882* (Hawthorne, 1985), p. 11.

113 letters from some of the 302 women who emigrated to the colonies as part of the Society in 1862-1882. 'The majority of the governesses came to Australia.'³⁵ Hammerton states that 113 of the 302 were employed in their new locales as governesses.³⁶ The governesses were obliged to write about the conditions they found and to repay their debt for the passage to the FMCES.

The FMCES letters from Australia 'confirm the prevalence of locally born governesses' like Mary Walker, according to Mathew.³⁷ Other schemes, besides the FMCES, brought free women immigrants to Van Diemen's Land starting in 1831.³⁸ The shortage of women in the colonies, and the demand for 'superior servants'³⁹ including governesses, who 'would not stoop to housework'⁴⁰ continued the drive to attract women to the colonies from the British Isles throughout the century.

What remains to this day critically important for historians of the FMCES scheme is the intact surviving letters as primary source material from the governesses who had to correspond to Rye and Lewin as part of their contract with the FMCES. Two historians have focused on using the letters to research and analyse class and status. Gwenda D.M. Jones devotes a chapter on ship-board behaviour on the voyage out to Australia in her 1982 M.A. thesis on colonial governesses titled *A lady in Every*

³⁵ Ibid, p. xi.

³⁶ Hammerton, *The Emigrant Gentlewomen*, p. 135.

³⁷ Mathew, 'The Search', p 228.

³⁸ Hammerton, *The Emigrant Gentlewomen*, p. 54.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 112

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 113.

Sense of the Word.⁴¹ Using the letters of the women who immigrated to Australia, she focuses on how difficult it was for a governess to maintain the identity of a middle class Victorian lady on board the ship and the accoutrements that were needed to project such status. Janet C. Myers (2001) similarly focuses on the voyage out and class and gender distinctions. The British governess could not maintain her distinct middle class status once she came to Australia, 'where the rigid social distinctions upheld in Britain were no longer enforced'.⁴² The FMCES letters continue to attract historians. U.S. historian student Sandy Krogulski (2009) presents a revisionist view of the FMCES scheme focusing on gender, propaganda and imperialism. Krogulski emphasizes 'the expansion of single women's identities' in the mid-nineteenth century.⁴³

Australian governesses

Through the varieties of histories about the FMCES letters, we can broadly define the characteristics of the Australian nineteenth century governess. The FMCES governesses who wrote from Australia had to compete with other governesses to find open positions in the 1860s in New South Wales and Victoria. 'People are wanted here, but not any sort;

⁴¹G. D. M. Jones, 'A Lady in Every sense of the Word: a Study of the Governess in Australian Colonial Society', Masters Research thesis, Department of History, University of Melbourne, 1982, pg 43-93.

⁴²J. Myers, 'Performing the Voyage Out: Victorian Female Immigration and the Class Dynamics of Displacement', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, (Cambridge, 2001) p. 136.

⁴³S. Krogulski, 'Turning a Curse into a Blessing: Propaganda and the Emigration of British Single Women', *CONCEPT*, North America, 33 (Nov. 2009) no page numbers, final sentence.

people who come here should be intelligent,' wrote Gertrude Gooch who immigrated in 1862. 'I can earn more money here . . . there are enough of us back home.'⁴⁴ Some emigrant governesses started schools like Sarah Webb and a Miss Barlow; however they both cite family support assisting in doing so'.⁴⁵ Annie Davis taught 'music, singing, French, German and drawing' for the nouveaux riches of Sydney for 80 guineas a year.⁴⁶ There are no FMCES letters written from Tasmania.

Documented nineteenth century Tasmanian governesses include Margaret Ruby Hughes of Launceston, who at the age of 14 was governess to four children for two years. She had graduated from a private school and went on to run the same school for 10 years and to teach an average of 30 children through to the '7th Royal reader'.⁴⁷ Charlotte Hawkes, like Mary Augusta Walker, remained single throughout her life. She worked for the Archer family, the largest landowning family at the time, for 41 years in a variety of jobs, including as a governess.⁴⁸ One example of the shifting social class distinction in Tasmania is Sarah Leake, an unmarried woman from one of Tasmania's Midlands shepherding

⁴⁴ Clarke, *The Governesses: Letters*, p. 59.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 69.

⁴⁶ Clarke, *The Governesses: Letters*, p. 83.

⁴⁷ Hughes, Eleanor, 'Margaret Ruby Hughes', in Jessie Street National Women's Library, at <http://www.nationalwomenslibrary.org/margarethughes.php>, accessed 12 October, 2011.

⁴⁸ National Trust of Australia, 'Charlotte Hawkes at Northbury', 2011 National Trust Tasmania, http://www.nationaltrusttas.org.au/behind_closed_doors/pages/charlotte_hawkes.htm, accessed 12 October 2011.

families. Leake documents the arduous work of caring for her family and their estate while she also 'acted as her nieces' governess.'⁴⁹

Hammerton states that unmarried, middle-class women suffered under the English economic 'transition to urban-industrial society'⁵⁰ and that Victorian society 'seemed determined to make casualties of its single women.'⁵¹ He praises the adaptability of the governesses that emigrated from England to the colonies and dispels the myth of victimhood. As did some men who emigrated and found new opportunity, the women may well have found new freedoms from the constrictions of Victorian English society.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the colonies of Australia were new, occupations were based on the demand for convict woman working off their sentences in a variety of servant positions. Decades later, by 1881, when Mary Augusta Walker was working as a governess in the Midlands of Tasmania, one-fourth of all Australian women were working in full-time employment. Domestic service was the largest occupation, 'employing 60 percent of those full-timers'.⁵² What both Australian and English governesses shared was being unmarried and needing work. Australian-born governesses, such as Mary Walker, inherited a culture modelled on British society, particularly in Tasmania as

⁴⁹ A. Alexander, *A Wealth of Women* (Potts Point, 2002), p. 58.

⁵⁰ Hammerton, p. 191

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 193.

⁵² Alexander, *A Wealth of Women*, p. 58

that is 'where the loyalties of the great majority of the colonists lay'.⁵³

However, distinctions were less rigid and people from all class backgrounds interacted. Even convicts could acquire land and education.

Van Diemen's Land and then the colony of Tasmania (after 1856) underwent rapid transformation by European settlement during the century. When Mary Walker took up her position as governess in the Midlands in 1880, thousands of sheep inhabited the once great open area where less than a century earlier aboriginal tribes hunted kangaroos and large emus. The Tasmanian Emu became extinct by 1850. There is no mention in of aboriginal people in Mary Walker's writing. The occupation of governess has surprisingly survived.

A governess in Tasmania: Mary Augusta Walker's letters to her brother James B. Walker, 1880-1881

"So is there any wonder that we occasionally 'lose our heads' when we are hurried a long so fast-rolled around in earth's diurnal course, with rocks and stones and trees'?" – Mary Walker to James B. Walker, 14 October, 1880

Education in the Walker family

Some information about Mary Walker's early education comes from the *Walker Family History – Handwritten 1897*, by James Walker (1841-1899) that comprises a part of the extensive Walker Papers. Mary Walker, born in 1856 would have been in school in the years 1862-1874. There is no information on Mary Walker's education in a search through Tasmanian

⁵³ Alexander, 'The Public Role', p. 1a.

newspapers of the period. Heather Felton, currently a PhD candidate at the University of Tasmania, is writing a biography of James Walker. Her research indicates that after 1850 all the Walker children went to private schools.⁵⁴

Alison Alexander estimates that until 1880, 20 percent of all girls were still being taught at home.⁵⁵ According to the biographical index of the Walker Family Papers, after their father G.W. Walker died in 1859, 'James, as head of the family helped to support and to educate his younger brothers and sisters.'⁵⁶ In James Walker's family history, he bemoans his nine siblings' lack of education due to their father's insistence on Quaker teachers, who visited the home and 'whose chief qualification for the task is that they were members of the Society'.⁵⁷ He scathingly continues about the lack of decent teachers, especially for the girls, his beloved sisters, to whom he provided generously in his will when he died in 1899.⁵⁸ He writes that the teaching profession was still, in the 1850s, the only one open for middle class women:

⁵⁴ H. Felton, 'Mary Augusta Walker's education'. Email to Barbara Zimmerman about the education of the Walker children, 19 October, 2011.

⁵⁵ Alexander, 'The Public Role', p. 295.

⁵⁶ Walker Family Index, *Walker Family Papers includes names, subjects and places index*, University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Collections Australia, <http://www.library.utas.edu.au/finding-information/special-collections/walker-family-index>, accessed 6 October 2011.

⁵⁷ J. B. Walker, *Walker Family History - Handwritten 1897*. University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collections, Australia. <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/1548/>, p. 32, accessed 6 October 2011.

⁵⁸ J. B. Walker, *Summary of the Will of James Backhouse Walker, Hobart, Tasmania, 1898*. University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Australia, <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/6183/>, accessed 6 October 2011.

In those days it was thought that any one of decent character was good enough for a teacher, particularly of girls – in fact, the ‘profession’ of teacher was the first (or last) refuge of those who had proved failures at everything else, or who being left without means of support had to be provided with some employment to make a living.⁵⁹

James Walker was very happy with his own education from two years at York Friends’ School in England, calling it an ‘inestimable advantage’⁶⁰ and he contrasts it with his earlier years at Hobart High ‘where the moral tone of the school was distinctively bad.’⁶¹ James Walker did not share the problems at Hobart High with his father who was one of its founders and a Council member or, he writes, he would have been ‘removed’.⁶²

He laments that a Quaker teacher taught his sister Sarah Thompson Walker, seven years older than Mary Walker. She ‘retained a lifelong detestation of the school’ because of the woman’s ‘grave defects of character and disposition.’⁶³ Sarah must have learned a great deal from the bad experience as she went on to start the Girls’ High School in Hobart

⁵⁹ J. B. Walker, *Walker Family History - Handwritten 1897*. University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collections, Australia. p. 34, <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/1548>, accessed 6 October 2011.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁶¹ J. B. Walker, *Walker Family History*, p. 32.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 34, accessed 17 October.

⁶³ J. B. Walker, *Walker Family History*, p. 34.

with Poppy Clarke in 1892.⁶⁴ James and Mary's mother, Sarah Benson Walker, writes to her cousin in 1882 that 'all my daughters have been educated for teachers.'⁶⁵ If Mary Walker had attended a formal school in Hobart in the 1860s, she may have been taught by former governesses. 'British women were strongly represented'⁶⁶ in the growing teaching profession in Tasmania.

The letters of Mary Walker indicate she was talented at storytelling and writing. It is evident in Mary Walker's creativity in writing and in art that her teachers were inspired. Mary Walker was raised as a Quaker, a religion known at that time with 'its emphasis on self-government, sexual equality and social reform.'⁶⁷ She was the ninth of ten children. Her father, G.W. Walker, was a highly regarded member of society, respected by governors⁶⁸ and governors' wives alike.⁶⁹ 'A pillar of the community,'⁷⁰ after his first journey to Tasmania as a Quaker missionary, he helped found the non-sectarian Hobart Town High School in 1850, the Savings

⁶⁴ A. Alexander, 'The Girls' High School', in *THRA Papers and Proceedings*, v. 30 (3) September 1983 pp.112-125 at <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/6253/>, accessed 8 October 2011.

⁶⁵ S. B. Walker, *Sarah Walker's letter to her cousin*. University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Australia at <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/1646/>, accessed 18 October, 2011.

⁶⁶ Alexander, 'The Public Role', p. 4.

⁶⁷ A. Hyslop, 'Temperate Feminists: Marie Kirk and the WCTU', in Marilyn Lake and Farley Kelly, eds, *Double Time, Women in Victoria – 150 years*, (Ringwood, 1985), pp.118-122.

⁶⁸ M. Bennett, *Quaker life in Tasmania: the first hundred years*, (Hobart, 2007), p. 18.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 36.

⁷⁰ Bennett, p. 36.

Bank of Tasmania from 1845. He ran a successful drapery and clothier business with J.B. Mather, his wife Sarah's brother.⁷¹

The senior Walker and Gatenby families developed a friendship during G.W. Walker's missionary years in Tasmania (1832-1836) when he stayed at Barton, the 'substantial'⁷² property of the senior Arthur Gatenby. George Walker and James Backhouse held a Quaker meeting on the property, and eighteen people afterwards 'partook of the hospitality' in the 'the large and well-furnished dining room.'⁷³ The Gatenby family were landholders and producers of wool and have come to be known as one of the 'Midlands gentry or Shepherd Kings'⁷⁴ of Tasmania.

It is difficult to establish the total length of time that Mary Walker served as governess at Woodbourne. Chronologically, the first letter from Mary Walker is dated September 1880. The last letter is dated 12 October 1881 and there is nothing in it to alert the reader that she is leaving her employment. Her mother Sarah Walker writes to Mary Walker as early as 11 March 1880 encouraging her to continue teaching: 'we may expect that 12 mos. companionship will fix thy teaching pretty safely in the minds of some of them, but if thou leaves now, all will be only as a dream, even

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 32.

⁷² James Backhouse, *Extracts from the letters of James Backhouse, now engaged in a religious visit to Van Dieman's [sic] Land, and New South Wales accompanied by George Washington Walker*, (Oxford, 1834) p. 48.

⁷³ Ibid, p. 49.

⁷⁴ A. Alexander, 'Midlands Landowners', in A. Alexander, ed., *The Companion to Tasmanian History*, (Hobart, 2005), p. 236.

to the eldest of them.⁷⁵ Therefore, Mary Walker may well have been at Woodbourne by or before 1879. In the letter, Sarah Benson Walker urges her daughter to stay on for another six months because ‘thou has not been sent there merely to teach the children to read but to imbue their minds with the love and what is just, holy and true. To teach them to love the good and hate the evil.’⁷⁶

The only mention of her mother in Mary Walker’s nine letters is the botched rush job she undertook to send sketches to her for her birthday when she was reminded by Mrs Gatenby to do so:

I could have done them better; some of them, the faces at least, are only reflections of expressions in the book but I was so hurried and had to do them at odd minutes—when the boys were preparing their letters—and I got them a good deal soiled the greatest horror of doing them any harm. . . I had just been giving the finishing touches to ‘John Gilpin and the post boy’ when—I upset the whole of the bottle of marking ink over the jacket! Such was the extreme agitation of my mind at the time that I could never recall how it happen—but there it was on the smooth white surface, looking quite appalling in its blackness—an inch square and not improved by my

⁷⁵ 11 March 1880, Sarah Benson Walker to Mary Augusta Walker.

⁷⁶ 11 March 1880, SBW to MAW.

having attempted to dry it up by my mouth (wasn't that neatly put?).⁷⁷

By November 1880, Mary Walker has given notice of leaving the position. "I have shown myself 'fair to the Gatenbys' and told Mrs G that I thought I would stay another six months. She was pleased to say that they would be all very sorry so I have no doubt I shall grow grey in the service – take spectacles and caps, you know in time."⁷⁸ Yet, Mary Walker is still writing letters more than six months later. The total time serving as a governess may well have been more than two years. There is no mention of salary or payment in the letters. Alison Alexander (1989) cites one Tasmanian governess in the 1860s who was paid £50 annually.⁷⁹

Mary Walker requested resources from her brother both for teaching and for her own artwork. The books she requested for teaching the boys do not include the Bible scriptures her mother demanded. Instead, Mary Walker thinks of how to reward the boys for learning and what will interest them as individuals:

I want you to get me some books for prizes for these boys. Alfred must have a prize for getting the most marks and I think I must give the other two something. I offered an improvement prize and I think on the whole they are better both in lessons and behaviour than when I came. Some days they are good and then again they are

⁷⁷ 18 September 1880, MAW to JBW.

⁷⁸ 28 November 1880, MAW to JBW.

⁷⁹ Alexander, 'The Public Role,' p. 19.

rather riotous and have to be kept in. Altogether I think I must give all three something, they are dear boys and I can't . . . Alfred has a great horror of anything 'girlish' and of fairy tales. He likes real boyish books. I thought "Westward Ho" would be a good book. I haven't read it, but I have looked at it. What do you say, is it too old? They haven't a Pilgrim's Progress and I thought you might get one illustrated for one of the others. I think it must have plenty of good pictures. See what you can do and send them up in the parcel.⁸⁰

Not only books are desired for teaching but there is also, at the end of one letter, the odd request to 'go in a parcel two crow's eggs. I have promised Alfred. Your (frantic?) Sister, Mary'.⁸¹ The books from James Walker and special materials such as crow's eggs were a success with the boys and Mary Walker wins their affection:

I must tell you some little amusing stories we having at dinner.

Louis the little dark one you remember aged seven nearly is an intense admirer of John Gilpin as he has been introduced to him by the pictures in that book of yours. Every night nearly I have to read it to him, and it is good to see his appreciation of the piece he has taken to quoting it and Mrs Gatenby was telling us . . . this morning he had a 'thrifty mind' and then I related he had thrown his arms

⁸⁰ 28 November 1880, MAW to JBW.

⁸¹ 17 November 1880. MAW to JBW,

round me yesterday, exclaiming “I do admire of womankind but one, and you are she, my dearest dear.” Mr Gatenby considered it might be taken as a “proposal” and I thought a very neatly put one. He had evidently considered the subject before for he asked beforehand if “Miss Walker was a womankind.”⁸²

In her two years or more as a live-in governess for the Gatenbys, she shares the trials of the position such as the lack of resources, loneliness, exhaustion, illness, little or no privacy and long or endless hours:

I am always quite uncomfortable when I am writing, for I fancy they think I write about them at least Mr Gatenby laughs and shakes his head at me and Mrs G smiles in rather a constrained way. I have to explain to them how much I have to say about some things at home. Mr G is in the room now and he says: “what writing again?” It’s quite embarrassing as they are so exceedingly kind, that it makes me feel treacherous. But I don’t do I? Even the sketches were not sufficiently like them to be caricatures indeed I was too much afraid of getting them so, to get them like.⁸³

It is s difficult to know if she is unhappy as so much of her writing is in a jocular tone even when complaining about Mr Gatenby:

⁸² 17 November 1880, MAW to JBW.

⁸³ 18 September 1880, MAW to JBW.

Mr Gatenby says I am to write for a leaden comb. But he is wilfully blind to the wrinkles I have got, says he can only see one and that is under my chin when I arch my neck. It is well he added that clause or else I should be more indignant that I am at present.⁸⁴

The only off-duty time for the governess is late at night and it is one of the only times she has alone to write:

Do you know that I am sitting writing in my room. “All the house is mute” ten o’ clock being awfully late in this unsophisticated household. The wind is blowing gusts against the window, the fire gives out uncertain cracks and crackles – it is getting rather low. I must leave off writing or I shall not have its light in the room after I get into bed.⁸⁵

Not only was she deprived of time off, the day started early, ‘breakfast you know is never later than half past seven’ and continued into the evening. The books provided by James Walker once again are the resources she uses to entertain and educate the boys in the many hours of the day and evening:

Now the evenings are getting longer. I find nearly the whole of them taken up by the boys’ urgent demands for stories. No sooner am I comfortable by the fire with my writing materials, or the new Spectator, kindly provided by an attentive brother—or any other

⁸⁴ 28 November 1880, MAW to JBW.

⁸⁵ 29 March 1881, MAW to JBW.

easy mode of spending the evening than in they come trooping. It is no hardship however, reading to such an absorbed little audience, as I usually have on occasion when Louis is by himself and there is no strong public opinion to keep in check his remorseless passion for hearing the oft repeated adventures of Jack the Giant killer of John Gilpin. I yawn and remonstrate a little. There was never a happier day when you got Hans Andersen for me. ⁸⁶

Mary Walker is happy at the prospect of 'tub night' as the children can be 'borne off with the long suffering Amy,'⁸⁷ who is possibly a servant in the Gatenby household. Before the boys were taken away for the bath, Mary Walker tried to write again but she was interrupted again:

I am very stupid this evening (the fact being a phenomenon it deserves chronicling) not the usual conventional stupidity of letter writers, but occasioned by a headache and my attention being distracted by some of the boys in the room who are looking at pictures and who expect me to give an explanation of the most startling.⁸⁸

The negative aspects of serving as a governess were possibly balanced by a friendly, almost familial relationship with the Gatenbys and the enjoyment of her four young students, Frank, George, Andrew and Alfred, and the beauty of the countryside. She dines well with the Gatenbys: 'I have just

⁸⁶ 29 March 1881, MAW to JBW.

⁸⁷ 18 September 1880, MAW to JBW.

⁸⁸ 18 September 1880, MAW to JBW.

rushed up from dinner to finish this, and feel a little incapable – perhaps the affects of gooseberry pie and such thick cream.⁸⁹

Mary Walker often accompanies Mr and Mrs Gatenby to visit other families in the area, to Cressy, the nearby town, and is invited to their church. She is invited so often she turns them down when they ask her to visit Rhodes, another property in the Gatenby family: ‘They asked me if I would go with them but I didn’t think it would be right to give the boys another holiday as they have had such long ones . . .’⁹⁰ Mary Walker visits the Archer family, the largest landowning family in Tasmania. She describes the Archer family’s property, Woodside, and then refers to Brambletye, an eight-bedroom Archer property. Brambletye sold for \$4.5M in 2008.⁹¹

Last Wednesday afternoon we drove up to Woodside. I wish you had been up there it is a most charming drive to it. The place lies right under the tier Just below Brady’s Lookout, and the road to it winds up hill and down dale, thro a picturesque country with bold, well wooded hills, and wide plains you wonder there was room for, in the middle distance and foreground, and great dark blue mountains looming in the background; while at constant point in the road if you looked back to the East, you could see the whole of Ben

⁸⁹ 17 Nov 1880, MAW to JBW.

⁹⁰ 29 March 1881, MAW to JBW.

⁹¹ N. Clark, ‘Brambletye fetches \$4.55m’, *The Mercury*, 6 December 2008 at http://www.themercury.com.au/article/2008/12/06/42831_tasmania-news.html, accessed 14 October, 2011.

Lomond range lying in the strong sunlight. Mrs Archer was at home but Mr was busy shearing. The place has rather a funereal look surrounded by thick rows of poplars with the mausoleum of some Archer patriarch at one side. I suppose you know they have got 'Brambletye' but Mrs Archer says she wouldn't live there for anything.⁹²

Her artwork continues with her brother's support. The drawing of her ride to the town of Cressy with Mrs Gatenby illustrates the story she wrote about the trip:

I feel our appearance doesn't appeal to the aesthetic feelings of Cressy. I do my best as you may suppose, to lend an air of distinction to the turnout, but as I cling to the sides of the dog-cart, when we go into a particularly deep hole, I recall with painful regret that happy morning when the smooth toll of a luxurious carriage impressed on my features that look of mingled dignity and ease which earned me a little my present condition seems to model. I feel that it is indeed 'the Dutchess' in reduced circumstances. The sketch represents us going evening along a deep rut. Mrs Gatenby has taught herself to drive and does not scruple to take a rein occasionally in each hand. It is said in that book 'Dear Lady Disdain' which I have just begun to read, 'In the country you must live on sensations or be content to vegetate' And so I am thankful I

⁹² 28 November 1880, MAW to JBW.

can enjoy a fine morning, the glorious sight of purple mountains with the shadows of the clouds sweeping over them. I take an interest in the height of the wheat, the conditions of the lambs frisking about as they do on a lovely spring morning, the sweet scent of the gorse hedges and the wattle with which the trees are now golden.⁹³

Although there is no mention in the letters of a salary, there is concern about money in the planning of the brother and sister's trip to the 1880 Melbourne Exhibition:

I think the lodgings idea is very jolly but won't it be also very expensive. I foresee what my office in the expedition will be—mentor incessantly preaching caution in money matters . . . to a recklessly extravagant Telamachus.⁹⁴

At age 24, Mary Walker's warm rapport with the Gatenby boys provides a continuing theme through the letters. Mary Walker was a teacher (and art student) throughout her adult life. The letters give an early-career account of the dedication to teaching and tolerance of her students:

These two boys – Frank and George are tormenting me in a boisterously affectionate mood, my plumage as you would say is very much ruffled by their hugs. I reduced George, who is the most riotous spirit in order by threatening that I would put him down in

⁹³ 18 September 1880, MAW to JBW.

⁹⁴ 28 November 1880, MAW to JBW.

black and white in my letter the mysterious threat has great power always, they don't like the idea of a bad impression going to unknown people. Tho you certainly are not unknown they consider my family quite amongst their acquaintances. You have no idea how observant these boys are. I hadn't till I had been here some months which it took for them to get over their shyness. Then I found that nothing said or done escapes them and after a certain time everything is reproduced for general edifications. Thus, one morning I went down to breakfast when the boys – Denton Fletcher and Will, were home for a few days, and there was an absurd little tableau before me – Will sitting in a chair and Alfred standing over him, one finger supporting Will's chin while he prepared to kiss him – this I found was Miss Walker's brother saying good morning" and it appeared that the young monkeys who had seemed too shy to look at one, had been much amused at your mode of saluting me that memorable morning you were here, and were not giving the little one for the boys benefit.⁹⁵

She played with the young boys often and did not flinch when they kill a snake on a long walk 'down Eastfield way':

As we were going along a log fence we saw a black snake about 3 ft long which Will quickly dispatched. I have never seen a snake killed before. Isn't it strange that they always turn and bite

⁹⁵ 17 November 1880, MAW to JBW.

themselves in death. Agony. The boys have killed no less than 10 already at same spot—this season.⁹⁶

Mary Walker kept a kangaroo rat in the schoolroom after Alfred and his brother Will stumbled upon a nest. ‘There are two kinds of native rats they say – the forest and the kangaroo. Mine is the kangaroo’.⁹⁷ She gives a vivid commentary for James Walker on another rat in a fight to-the-finish in a:

rat-hunt in the garden. “The battle was to the strong”, consisting of four shouting, howling boys with sticks and three equally excited dogs and the weaker side hangs in Charlie’s hands by the tail. A mangled corpse.⁹⁸

James Walker’s support of his sister Mary is the centrepiece of the letters. Mary Walker’s goal was to be an artist. Throughout her adult life, James Walker helped provide the resources and foundation to do so.⁹⁹ Here she responds to him regarding compliments on her writing:

I am much obliged for your literary suggestions. Of course I have dreamt of such things, but to have your support suggest such a thing as a possibility made me feel rather excited. You know, (I needn’t remind you of it!) my constitutional laziness and how difficult I find it to follow things out to the

⁹⁶ 12 October 1881, MAW to JBW.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ 29 March 1881, MAW to JBW.

⁹⁹ Glover, p. 148.

end. And what makes it worse is I can only write with any pleasure – and that will be the only time anything I write is readable – when I am excited by anything. And you forget that there is no ‘wild life’ here, that is the tame style of country life possible; that there are days and days when not the very smallest incident occurs. And an hour’s walk everyday through the same places is not like to supply much food ‘for articles on country life.’ I shall do my best to bring forth fruit to the rate of thirty-fold at least. I hope you give me any suggestions that your literary experience suggests.¹⁰⁰

James Walker seems to take notice from her letters that the Tasmanian countryside provided material for Mary Walker’s art. Unfortunately, there are no letters from James to Mary Walker from this period. In the last letter posted from Woodbourne, immediately after writing about the snake killing, Mary Walker changes from writing about death to life:

Woodbourne looks so lovely just now. The hedges are all in full leaf and the cherry trees are one mass of white blossom, while the pink buds of the apple trees, which seem a little later, are just bursting—and then of course everything is as green as a plentiful supply of rain can make it.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ 5 May 1881, MAW to JBW.

¹⁰¹ 12 October 1881, MAW to JBW.

Conclusion

How do Mary Walker's letters as a governess illuminate the big questions about Australian society that were quoted at the beginning of the paper: emigration, family life, education, class-consciousness and class mobility, and the challenges of rural living?

By studying the Walker Papers collection, one can learn of the history of family life and the changing patterns of education that were occurring in Tasmania during the mid nineteenth century. These patterns include the growing public schools, the use of private teachers and the role of the visiting teacher. The resources Mary Walker used to teach give a perspective on the nineteenth century books that children were reading such as *Westward Ho*, *Cobwebs to Catch Flies*, *Limed twigs to catch young birds*. She quotes the poet William Wordsworth. Her style of teaching was less academic and more focused on the outdoors and allowing the young boys considerable freedom. How did gender influence Mary Walker in teaching four boys and allowing them such freedom? How differently would Mary Walker have taught four girls?

Was class-consciousness less of an issue in 1880s Tasmania because of the shifting population, the convicts who had become members of the community, the break from the rigid class constraints of Great Britain? Living with her employers, Mary Walker coped well with managing relationships with both Mr and Mrs Gatenby. Was class mobility less of an

issue for Mary Walker as her family supported her and because the Gatenbys were old family friends? She was the accepted artist of her family and her youth (at 24 years) made the governess position temporary and thus conceivably more enjoyable from the start. Mary Walker worked intensely and thoughtfully as a governess but her letters reveal that she looked forward to her future beyond the position. How many other governesses were also convinced that working as a governess was a temporary position? How much did Mary Walker earn and how did she spend the money?

There were times Mary Walker wrote that the nature of the work was making her old beyond her years. How many women were forced into working as governesses such as the character Sybylla Melvyn in the Australian novel *My Brilliant Career* (1901), by Stella Maria Sarah Miles Franklin? Did Mary Walker have to support her family like Sybylla?

Was it too difficult for governesses to write about their employers as it could implicate their failings for future generations and ultimately hurt the author?

Living in the Midlands of Tasmania in 1880 was not akin to living in the isolated Australian rural bush. Large mansions of the 'colonial gentry' dotted the 400,000-hectare pastoral countryside with extensive sheep farms. Small towns like Cressy were nearby. Mary Walker gives the impression of purposefully educating herself at Woodbourne by writing,

sketching, planning trips with her brother, visiting, hosting her sister Isa, and working hard to please her young pupils. Rural life provides her with excellent ideas for her art and to use in teaching the boys, such as the encounters with snakes and rats, long walks and the beauty to which she consistently refers. What do her comments about kissing and hugging the boys reveal about her needs for affection? Her physical affection with the boys does not seem compatible with the stereotype of a 'spinster,' and one wonders why she chose to remain unmarried.

The Walker Papers are an example of why it is important that Australian institutions, particularly universities, continue to acquire primary sources documents and make them openly accessible. The knowledge of how individuals and families survived, prospered and created Australian society is documented in Mary Walker's letters. Their value to historical research is in the generation of new ideas about the evolution of women's roles. The governess was a multifaceted link between various worlds: imperial and colonial, public and private, pre and post industrial. Mary Augusta Walker was just one of 163 governesses working in Tasmania in 1880. Nine of her letters create not only a literate and artistic portrait of life in the Tasmanian Midlands but also provide a genuine contribution to the history of nineteenth century governesses.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Backhouse, J., *Extracts from the letters of James Backhouse, now engaged in a religious visit to Van Dieman's [sic] Land, and New South Wales accompanied by George Washington Walker*, (Oxford, 1834). Accessed through Google Books http://books.google.com.au/books?id=dOANAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_similarbooks, 28 September 2011.

Leake Family Papers, University of Tasmania Private Deposits, <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/10860/2/Leake.pdf>, accessed 24 October, 2011.

Primary Positions Australia, job search home page, governess/nanny positions, <http://www.primarypositions.com.au/jobs/governess-nanny>, accessed 10 October, 2011.

Private Deposits A-Z index, University of Tasmania Library, Hobart, Tasmania, September 5, 2011, <http://www.library.utas.edu.au/finding-information/special-collections/private-deposits-a-z-index>, accessed 18 October 2011.

Walker Family Index, *Walker Family Papers includes names, subjects and places index*, University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Collections, Australia, <http://www.library.utas.edu.au/finding-information/special-collections/walker-family-index>, accessed 6 October 2011.

Walker, J. B., *Walker Family History - Handwritten 1897*. University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collections, Australia. pp. 32-34, <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/1548>, accessed 6 October 2011.

Walker, J.B., *Summary of the Will of James Backhouse Walker*, Hobart, Tasmania, 1898. University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Australia, University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Australia, <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/6183/>, accessed 6 October 2011.

Walker, M.A., *Mary Augusta Walker letters to her brother James Backhouse Walker*, Tasmania, 1880-1881, University of Tasmania ePrints, University of Tasmania Library, <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/6263/>, accessed 6 October 2011.

Walker, M.A., *Mary Augusta Walker letters her brother James Backhouse Walker*, Tasmania, 1880-1881, usage statistics for UTas ePrints Repository, http://eprints.utas.edu.au/es/index.php?action=show_detail_eprint;id=6263; accessed 6 October 2011.

Walker, S. B., *Sarah Walker's letters to her cousin*, University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Australia at <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/1646/>, accessed 18 October, 2011.

Walker, S. B., *Sarah Benson Walker letter to Mary Augusta Walker*, 11 March 1880, Walker Family Papers, University of Tasmania, Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, W9/L1.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Alexander, A., *A Wealth of Women*, (Potts Point, 2002).

Alexander, A., 'The Girls' High School', in THRA *Papers and Proceedings*, v. 30 (3) September 1983 pp.112-125 at <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/6253/>, accessed 8 October 2011.

Alexander, A., 'The Public Role of Women in Tasmania, 1803-1914', PhD thesis, University of Tasmania, 1991.

Alexander A., 'Midlands Landowners', in A. Alexander, ed., *The Companion to Tasmanian History*, (Hobart, 2005), p. 236.

Bennett, M., *Quaker life in Tasmania: the first hundred years*, (Hobart, 2007).

Bolger, Peter, 'Crouch, Thomas James (1805–1890)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/crouch-thomas-james-3296/text5011>, accessed 29 October 2011.

Brandon, R., *Other people's daughters, the life and times of the governess*, (London, 2008).

Clark, N., 'Brambletye fetches \$4.55m', *The Mercury*, 6 December 2008. http://www.themercury.com.au/article/2008/12/06/42831_tasmania-news.html, accessed 14 October 2011.

Clarke, P., 'Life Lines: 19th Century Women's Diaries and Letters,' *Voices* (Canberra), v. 7, no.1, (autumn, 1997), pp. 57-66.

Clarke, P., *The governesses: letters from the colonies, 1862-1882* (Hawthorne, 1985).

Doherty, M., 'Diaries to feature at gathering of the clan', *The Examiner*, 13 June 1998 at <http://www.examiner.com.au/news/local/news/general/diaries-to-feature-at-gathering-of-the-clan/1318906.aspx>, accessed 8 October 2011.

Felton, H., 'Mary Augusta Walker's Education'. Email to Barbara Zimmerman about the education of the Walker children, 19 October 2011.

Glover, M., 'A Colonial Abroad: Mary Augusta Walker in England, 1889-1890', THRA *Papers and Proceedings*, September 2001, pp. 148-160.

Hamerton, A. J., *Emigrant Gentlewomen, Genteel Poverty and Female Emigration, 1830-1914* (London, 1979).

Horn, P., 'The Victorian Governess', *History of Education*, 18 (1989), pp. 333-44.

Hughes, K., *The Victorian Governess* (London, 1992).

Hughes, E., 'Margaret Ruby Hughes', in Jessie Street National Women's Library, at <http://www.nationalwomenslibrary.org/margarethughes.php>, accessed 12 October, 2011.

Hyslop, A., 'Temperate Feminists: Marie Kirk and the WCTU', in Marilyn Lake and Farley Kelly, eds, *Double Time, Women in Victoria – 150 years*, (Ringwood, 1985), pp.118-122.

Jones, G. D. M., 'A Lady in Every sense of the Word: a Study of the Governess in Australian Colonial Society', Masters Research thesis, Department of History, University of Melbourne, 1982.

Krogulski, S., 'Turning a Curse into a Blessing: Propaganda and the Emigration of British Single Women', *CONCEPT*, North America, 33, (Nov. 2009). Available at: <http://concept.journals.villanova.edu/article/view/328>. Date accessed 27 Aug. 2011.

Matthew, K., 'The Search for Australia's Missing Governesses', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, v. 12, (2010), pp. 227-229.

Myers, J., 'Performing the Voyage Out: Victorian Female Emigration and the Class Dynamics of Displacement', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, v. 29, (2001), pp. 129-146.

National Trust of Australia, 'Charlotte Hawkes at Northbury', 2011 National Trust Tasmania, http://www.nationaltrusttas.org.au/behind_closed_doors/pages/charlotte_hawkes.htm, accessed 12 October 2011.

Raferty, D., 'Home education in nineteenth century Ireland: the role and status of the governess', *Irish Educational Studies*, vol. 19, (2000), 308-17.

Renton, A., *Tyrant or Victim? A History of the British Governess* (London, 1991).

Reynolds, H., "Men of Substance and Deservedly Good Repute": The Tasmanian Gentry 1856-1875', *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, v.15, issue 3 (December 1969), pp. 61-72.

Taylor, A. W., 'Gatenby, Andrew (1771-1848)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/gatenby-andrew=2083/text2611>, accessed 25 October 2011.

Vicinus, Martha, *Independent Women* (Chicago, 1985).