**Home and Away: A Schoolmistress in Lowland Scotland and Colonial Australia in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century**

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**Introduction**

Writing in *History of Education Quarterly* in 1993, Marjorie Theobald examined the history of middle-class women’s education in late eighteenth-century Britain and its transference and adaptation to colonial Australia in the nineteenth century. She questioned both the British historical perception that before the middle of the nineteenth century middle-class parents showed little, if any, interest in their daughters’ education, and the Australian assumption that the transplantation of the private female academy (or seminary) was simply a reflection of the scramble for respectability by a small middle class scattered among a convict society.[[1]](#footnote-1) Theobald found that, as in Britain by the early 1800s, these schools – all private and run for profit by the wives and daughters of clergy and other professional men – shared a remarkably similar curriculum, generally advertised as “An English education with the usual accomplishments.” This was not, she argued, an elementary education, but rather was rooted in the liberal arts tradition and had been influenced by the search for stability within a rapidly industrializing Britain. The daughters of the British middle classes were to be taught how to deploy their learning discreetly, to ensure that it was at the service of their domestic role and civilizing influence.[[2]](#footnote-2)

 Theobald’s study of colonial Victoria from 1840 to 1910 was based on thirty such private schools run mainly by middle-class women.[[3]](#footnote-3) One of these women, Jane Hay Brown, later Hamilton (1827-1898), is the subject of this paper. However, she had her early schooling in Lowland Scotland where the educational tradition differed from England. While in both countries the middle-class preference was for their daughters to attend private day schools, in contrast to England such schools in Scotland were run by men as well as women, with the latter often boasting of employing the best masters and with girls sometimes attending more than one school at a time. Moreover, whereas reformers in England were indeed very critical of the standard of middle-class girls’ schools in the first half of the nineteenth century, in Scotland there was a general belief that it was good, at least before the later nineteenth century when middle-class girls were seen to be increasingly in need of a more systematic secondary education, particularly by those parents who could not afford either the fees of the private schools, or to support unmarried daughters. As the state began to offer secondary education in the later nineteenth century, the small private schools for young ladies went into decline. There was a similar process in the Australian colony of Victoria, and Jane Hamilton’s experience of running private schools in Victoria in the 1860s and in Scotland in the following decade and a half reflects these parallel developments.

As Jane Hay Brown, she travelled to the Australian colony of Victoria in 1859 to help a family member in distress, changed her emigrant status from temporary to permanent through marriage, reverting to the former on widowhood a decade later when she returned to Scotland. Except for a break of seven years due to marriage and family responsibilities, Jane worked as a governess and schoolmistress from the late 1840s to the mid 1880s. She was a woman whose life would have remained largely unknown without emigration which resulted in a rich collection of family letters.[[4]](#footnote-4) This archive allows us to examine the life of a schoolmistress, providing a means to pursue Theobald’s call for a revised interpretation of an education in “the accomplishments” while allowing us to interrogate the stereotype of the middle-class Victorian lady limited by patriarchy to a life of domesticity and dependency.[[5]](#footnote-5) In particular, Jane’s letters provide insight into the life of a lower middle-class woman whose voice is usually only faintly heard.

 First, a note about the family papers: like all sources, letters must be handled with care. Angela McCarthy warns us particularly about the problems in using personal letters, raising issues of how reliable and representative they are—as she points out, just the fact of survival makes them exceptional.[[6]](#footnote-6) The Brown family papers are exceptionally rich, avoiding the random or haphazard accumulation which McCarthy warns against: the dialogue between two writers can be followed as in many cases both sides have been saved. The archive consists of correspondence between the Brown family in Scotland and James Hoey, future husband of Jane’s sister Maggie, who went to Victoria in 1852, and of Maggie herself once she joined him in Melbourne in 1854. There are also letters between Jane, while she was a governess in Germany (1857-59) and then when she was in Australia in the 1860s, and her mother Margaret, her brother James and his wife Kate, her sister Maggie, their sister Jessie and her husband William Stewart, and a cousin Jane Frew. In addition, there are a few letters between Jane and her future husband Andrew Hamilton when both were in Victoria in the early 1860s, and between Andrew and Jane’s brother; from Jane’s nephew, Robert Hoey, who was sent to Scotland in 1868, returning to Australia as an adult, after working as a book-keeper in Fiji in the mid 1880s; from missionaries whose children boarded with Jane in Scotland; from Jane’s German teacher in Scotland, Miss Schultzen; and between Jane and her son John, reflecting her movements in search of employment and his education at school and university.

Close readings of the Brown family correspondence confirm McCarthy’s observation that letter-writers decided what information to convey, for there are indeed “silences and evasions.”[[7]](#footnote-7) Moreover, as David Fitzpatrick has observed of correspondence between Ireland and Australia, its applications include the consolatory, the functional and manipulative.[[8]](#footnote-8) The Brown letters reveal that, especially at times of great difficulty, the correspondents did communicate their predicament. The often under-stated ways in which they expressed their feelings display assumptions and expectations, notably concerning family responsibilities, gender roles and the importance of religion, with the emphasis on personal accountability, to everyday life. However, whereas both Fitzpatrick and McCarthy examine personal letters in the context of migration history—and this life story provides insight into emigration and return—the main focus here is a life in education.[[9]](#footnote-9)

As will be seen in the ensuing narrative, in both Victoria and Scotland, Jane remained outside the growing state sector of education in the late nineteenth century largely because she lacked a training certificate, but with hints that running her own small school better fitted her family circumstances, allowing her to combine employment with domestic responsibilities. Marjorie Theobald has noted that whereas Jane’s establishment of a school for young ladies in Victoria in 1867 appears “the last throw of a desperate woman – an enduring stereotype of the lady school-keeper,” her letters give another, more positive impression.[[10]](#footnote-10) It will be shown that whatever the pressure of circumstances, Jane acted as a teacher of considerable experience who went about her task in a business-like manner with the moral and some financial support from her family in Scotland as well as practical help from local Presbyterian ministers and their wives. Moreover, Theobald argues persuasively that, despite the scarcity of documentary evidence for such seminaries for young ladies, they made a significant contribution to the development of middle-class girls’ education in mid nineteenth-century Australia, pre-dating the mainstream historiography of reform.[[11]](#footnote-11)

The following discussion will also show that Jane herself had benefited from the development of secondary education for middle-class girls in Scotland which had begun in the 1830s and which had been pioneered by men. Indeed, despite the patriarchal nature of the Scottish educational tradition, its democratic aspect meant that girls had access to academic (though generally not classical) learning. Lindy Moore’s work on such Ladies’ Institutions identifies one in Glasgow run by a Mr and Mrs Begbie where Jane found employment as a lady superintendent on her return to Scotland in 1870.[[12]](#footnote-12) As in Australia, however, she preferred to run her own school, carefully relocating to a small town where there was less competition but sufficient demand. Her establishment differed from those run by women in larger towns and cities in that she never employed men whereas the latter advertised that they hired the best visiting masters. Again, this may have been related to the domestic nature of her schools. She recognised the benefits of larger enterprises which could offer a broader curriculum and specialist teachers, which both she (in the 1840s) and her daughter (in the 1880s) enjoyed.

**An Education in “the Accomplishments” in Early Victorian Scotland**

Jane was the daughter of the Reverend Robert Brown, minister of a large United Secession Church in Cumnock, Ayrshire, from 1823 until his death in 1847.[[13]](#footnote-13) She was born in March 1827, the eldest of five children, four of whom survived into adulthood. By the early nineteenth century, Ayrshire in south-west Scotland was a region of heavy industry as well as agriculture.[[14]](#footnote-14) Indeed, central Ayrshire, including Cumnock, rested on coal.[[15]](#footnote-15) In 1831, the population of the village of Cumnock was 1,600, while that of the whole parish was 2,763. The established Church of Scotland claimed nearly two-thirds of the communicants in the parish, the United Secession Church the remaining third.[[16]](#footnote-16) Jane was educated in a local private school until she was 13 when she lodged with the family of a cousin and close friend, Jane Stewart (later Frew), in Glasgow and attended a school for young ladies in which she was taught French, music, singing, letter-writing, and astronomy. Jane’s mother, Margaret, does not seem to have been in paid employment, not surprising given both the expectations that middle-class married women remain at home, and the demands parishes put on ministers’ wives.[[17]](#footnote-17) On the death of Reverend Brown in 1847, the family had to vacate the manse for his successor.[[18]](#footnote-18) While her mother moved to Glasgow, Jane remained in Cumnock and ran a private school which seems to have flourished at first: her only brother, James, recalled later that she had as many as 60 scholars.[[19]](#footnote-19)

That he remarked on the number of pupils suggests it was exceptional. This was in a small parish within a region which offered few opportunities outside of teaching for middle-class women to support themselves comfortably and with security. There was competition for scholars, with one parochial school and at least five private schools in the parish, and occasionally an additional two in winter as well as regular Sunday schools.[[20]](#footnote-20) Until the mid-nineteenth century, Scottish parish schools were almost entirely run and staffed by men. Women teachers were in the less prestigious adventure and private girls’ schools. It was the development of teacher training from the 1820s, dominated by the Church of Scotland until the Disruption in 1843 when it faced competition from the Free Church, which enabled women to penetrate what had been an exclusively male profession. However, whereas the majority of these teachers came from the upper levels of the working class, Jane was lower middle-class, while as the daughter of a Secession Church minister she remained untrained.[[21]](#footnote-21) This was to become a considerable source of regret, not least because in the long term it marginalised her in the profession: towards the end of her stay in Australia she lamented: “How often I wished that I had had regular *school-training* and been set to teach at once.”[[22]](#footnote-22) As a result, she remained outside the national system on her return to Scotland when the 1872 Education Act resulted in the numerical dominance of qualified women teachers in the School Boards.[[23]](#footnote-23)

She was, then, schooled in “the accomplishments” after the age of 13. Such an education is often dismissed as frivolous, yet Jane, her family and her teachers clearly took it seriously. She was being educated for the employment market for there was an expectation in the family that Jane would work before marriage, contrary to the assumption about middle-class women being more and more restricted to the home by the mid nineteenth century.[[24]](#footnote-24) This was not peculiar to the Brown family. In the early 1860s the Reverend David Esdaile noted that because of the poor remuneration most ministers received, a large proportion of their daughters “must depend on their own exertions.”[[25]](#footnote-25) Given the limited range of respectable occupations open to the middle-class woman who had to earn a living, he considered that a serious education was crucial. While the tradition in Scotland favored mixed-sex schools, middle-class girls like Jane were educated privately and in single-sex establishments, at least until the development in the late nineteenth century of higher grade schools by the larger school boards.[[26]](#footnote-26)  In view of her social, religious and educational background, as well as her lack of training, it is not surprising that she sought work as a governess or in private girls’ schools. Though there was a demand for such ladies’ seminaries, they constituted a much smaller part of educational provision in Scotland than they did in England, which meant that Jane had a limited market to operate within, especially since in Scotland men dominated management and teaching in this sector.

 Hence, Jane had quickly followed her mother to Glasgow in the late 1840s, where she worked as a day governess to two families. As a sign of the competition for such posts, she went to Germany in 1857 to improve her facility in the language in the hope that this would increase her opportunities in the educational marketplace, since she could already offer French. She was also tapping into the network of her former German teacher, Elise Schultzen, who arranged a position in Hildesheim, Lower Saxony, as a “parlour” mistress in an establishment for young ladies, earning just enough to pay her employer for lessons in German and drawing, and to support herself with occasional remittances from her mother and brother. The time spent in Germany was seen by her family above all as an opportunity to make her more competitive in the educational marketplace. They accepted without expressing any concern Jane’s description of herself as a “wandering daughter” in her un-chaperoned travels around Germany; indeed, her brother encouraged her in this, to deepen her knowledge of German culture.[[27]](#footnote-27) When her mother had lost money in 1858 with the collapse of a Glasgow bank in which she had invested, Jane was concerned that her studies meant she was not only unable to assist her mother but was also “the cause of more outlay.” She looked forward to the time “when all this may be more than repaid by my increased qualification for future work.”[[28]](#footnote-28) Her brother James urged her not to feel duty-bound to come home, as he had earned (just) enough that year to help, and would soon be a licensed minister; indeed, a year later he found a position in Paisley, a textile centre close to Glasgow.[[29]](#footnote-29)  He advised her instead to take a governess post offered in Hanover, declaring that she would eventually return:

 so accomplished that you will either get the best husband in the country, which everybody knows you deserve, or find ample and pleasant employment which can make your fortune.[[30]](#footnote-30)

Given that Jane was now in her early thirties and less eligible in the crowded marriage market in Scotland, with its surfeit of women, her focus was on the latter.

In 1853, their sister Maggie had left Scotland to join her fiancé, James Hoey, who had emigrated from Cumnock with his brother Tom and an older friend, Andrew Hamilton, widower of their sister. They were among the free arrivals beginning to tip the population balance away from convicts, and like the majority of Scots who travelled to Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Hoeys went to Victoria.[[31]](#footnote-31) At first they lived in Melbourne, working as merchants, but business proved difficult and the brothers decided to move to “the diggings” in 1855. They lived in a tent in Bendigo in Central Victoria, sometimes moving closer to the diggings in Eaglehawk and California Gully, the former the richest, the latter one of the poorest of the gullies.[[32]](#footnote-32) By the late 1850s, Maggie was the mother of two children, a son Robert and a daughter named after herself. She was, however, also seriously ill with heart disease and possibly tuberculosis. Their brother wrote to Jane in Germany: “My good, dear sister, it seems to be your work in the world to sacrifice yourself for others” and that God appeared to be pointing to Australia as the path of duty.[[33]](#footnote-33) However, he did not instruct her to go. Instead, he enclosed a five-pound note to help pay her fare from Germany to Scotland should she decide to return home, which she did. After a brief stay, Jane sailed from Liverpool and arrived in Melbourne in May 1859.

Thus, while aware of her duty towards her family, Jane had weighed up her own needs as a spinster who had to support herself through teaching against those of her married sister. Two years earlier Jane had refused to leave Germany to help Maggie at their sister Jessie’s request, but was now responding to a direct plea from Maggie.[[34]](#footnote-34) What seems to have persuaded her to abandon her educational plan at this time was the seriousness of Maggie’s condition.

**Emigration and Return to Teaching**

Writings on ladies who emigrated tend to deal with the distressed gentlewoman stereotype among single middle-class women and the higher class ladies who managed their removal to white settler societies.[[35]](#footnote-35) The latter aimed to resolve the “redundant women” problem, improve their job prospects in their new homes, and domesticate the empire through the “right” type of woman. However, in practice educated gentlewomen were not among the preferred categories of immigrants.[[36]](#footnote-36) Hence, the female emigration societies promoted the educated home help. Yet whereas Jane Brown seems to fit their agenda, she did not travel to Australia on such a mission. She made her own decision with advice from her family network and was not part of the “clear element of social engineering” which Marjory Harper discerns in the efforts to steer female emigration to the colonies.[[37]](#footnote-37) Jane’s decision to go to Australia was not because she was a “redundant” spinster, although at the time she would have been considered so by the emigration lobby. Nor did she seek the protection of any female emigration society. Instead, she travelled to Australia (as she had done to and in Germany) unaccompanied.

When Maggie died in November 1859, Jane took over the care of the two children. Shortly after that, Andrew Hamilton (born 1815) proposed marriage. Jane wrote to her sister Jessie that “I must be selfish for once” and accepted Andrew's proposal.[[38]](#footnote-38) She and Andrew had conventional views on gender roles in marriage, with him as the breadwinner and her as the homemaker; but he was anxious that she look on their marriage as a partnership between equals. He wrote to her in March 1860 that:

In perusing your letter I sometimes – and that frequently – find the “*gratitude* to me” and, love, I don’t like it. I can see no grounds for such a feeling on your part more than on my own. We are quite equal, I feel, in respect of any favour in our union and if such a feeling as that of *gratitude* is to be cherished … it is due only to the God of Providence for having led us to each other as he had done. Do not think, dearest, that you owe *me* anything.[[39]](#footnote-39)

Yet her expression of gratitude did not mean that Jane saw marriage as an escape into the home from a single life as a poor governess. She was acutely aware of the precariousness of the economy in the gold-fields. Not only had her brother-in-law been in difficulty for some time, but Andrew, who had been reasonably successful as a merchant in Melbourne in the mid 1850s, had followed his friends to Bendigo, invested in what turned out to be an unsuccessful mining company and taken up prospecting. By the end of the decade, he too was facing severe economic problems. In 1861, Jane told her family in Scotland that they had sold their house and furniture to settle Andrew’s debts, moved to a cottage, and dispensed with a servant. As she wrote the following year, “in gold mining you never know when the lump will come to make you independent.”[[40]](#footnote-40) It was not a reliable or secure way to make a living, at least for small investors like Andrew and her brother-in-law. There was some success: for example, she reported that Andrew had “found £50 of gold … from poultering abt (*sic*)” but that seems to have been an infrequent occurrence.[[41]](#footnote-41) As she observed three years later, “quartz mining does so lead them on – a thorough ‘will o’ the wisp’ concern and yet, of course, it does not always deceive.”[[42]](#footnote-42)

Besides looking after her niece and nephew, Jane gave birth to a son, John, in 1862, and a daughter, Jessie, in 1864, though the latter died two years later. By then, Jane was writing to her family of her worry over her husband’s health.[[43]](#footnote-43) In 1867, when both Andrew's health and business were poor, she opened a school for young ladies, offering instruction “in the various branches of English, comprising Reading, Grammar, Composition and History; in Writing, Arithmetic, Geography and Needlework; also in the French and German Languages.” In addition, she advertised private classes for the study of French and German “to suit young ladies occupied during the usual school hours.”[[44]](#footnote-44) She was 40 years old, and pregnant for a third time, so this step shows both how ill her husband was and how difficult their situation. She wrote to her family in Scotland:

I have been meditating this step for some months past, but as I knew it would be a great struggle for Mr Hamilton to let me take it, I kept my thoughts to myself, besides I always hoped something would turn up for us in some other quarter. But at last Providence seemed to indicate this step and I do trust in Him to bless my efforts. Andrew has been quite borne down with care in consequence of that unsuccessful prospecting, so, in order to help me with daily wants, at least until things are brighter, I have made up my mind to try a school. Andrew did not oppose me, although it vexed me to see the deep depression he was in for a few days after I made up my mind; he would have given the world had something turned up to render that step unnecessary, but I felt it *must* be done.[[45]](#footnote-45)

Certainly, in returning to teaching she acted out of necessity, sought her husband’s agreement first, and realized that her action underscored his failure to provide; but the letters she received from Scotland show not only how much this decision was respected by her family, but also that her female married relatives admired her resourcefulness in taking over the role of breadwinner. As her sister-in-law Kate acknowledged: “I envy your ability, Jane, and the possession of an education for such a sphere of usefulness—I fear were I left alone or were James unfitted for duty, I would make but a poor fend!”[[46]](#footnote-46) Jane’s cousin, Jane Frew, however, worried that she had to start teaching again at her age and, besides sending a bank draft for £25, asked Jane whether Andrew could help at the school.[[47]](#footnote-47) His health was too poor, and while it upset him when he could not provide for his family, it also distressed Jane that she could not fulfil that role without remittances from Scotland. Just after she gave birth (January 3, 1868) to a second daughter, Jane Elizabeth known as Janie, she wrote to her mother:

 That enclosure of yours by last mail gave me pleasure and yet it gives me pain for I know you have not anything to spare – unless you deny yourself what you ought to have. I feel deeply that the remittances ought to be going in the opposite direction and what delight I should feel, could I some day [sic] return your gifts … Still, dear mother, do not think of us as in want. We have been in difficulty and anxiety, it is true, but we have always been able to get every necessary and good credit too and always to appear respectable. Just as you yourself were situated in Glasgow—and *managed—*so have I been and done as far as I could – our dress has never cost much I assure you![[48]](#footnote-48)

Poverty, she considered, did not matter so much in the colony as it did at home.[[49]](#footnote-49)

Ten days after the birth of their daughter, Andrew suffered a lung haemorrhage, which greatly weakened him. Jane stopped the school to nurse him, but still gave a private class three afternoons a week, and planned a second school. The first school in Bendigo had been in the parlour of their cottage, and her niece Maggie, then ten, helped with the housework while she was a pupil there. In the summer of 1867, Jane rented premises in Eaglehawk where there was less competition but still enough demand to justify opening another school for young ladies. She walked there daily with Maggie and John. It was relatively successful, and quickly had 20 pupils but as Jane wrote to her mother, although “the school gets on comfortably” it had not increased. With the aim of attracting more fees, she planned to introduce music lessons.[[50]](#footnote-50) Jane was then ill-advised to move the school to the township of California Gully, a similar distance from her home but which, as noted above, was less prosperous than Eaglehawk. She rented a cottage and employed a servant, but the school did not prosper. This was partly because hard-pressed parents were more likely to pay fees for the education of their sons than their daughters, and partly because they would keep daughters at home to help with the housework. Since absence meant a loss of fees, Jane was prepared to take in young boys to compensate. She observed, however, that there was already a flourishing private boys’ school there and concluded that “it is too poor a locality for a paying select [girls’] school.”[[51]](#footnote-51) Such small private schools for middle-class girls as she set up in colonial Australia had flourished in small towns in Lowland Scotland, from where her brother James wrote in 1868: “I feel sure that there is no place where you could settle either in Scotland or abroad where you would not make much more by your teaching than you can possibly make in California Gully.”[[52]](#footnote-52) In fact, such small establishments were now in decline in both Scotland and Australia.

Although she had spent a relatively brief period as a schoolmistress in Australia, Marjorie Theobald has advised shifting the historiographical angle of vision on Jane from the designation of a “poor widow who kept a school” to “yet another of our highly educated and highly respected Scottish schoolmistresses who came to the Australian colonies as part of family migration.”[[53]](#footnote-53) Thus, her short-lived and modest ventures have been recognised as playing a part in the development of female education in Victoria, though the difficulties she encountered in the late 1860s suggest that the decline detected by Theobald had already begun.

**Return to Home and School**

When her husband died at the end of 1869, she took her brother's advice and returned to Scotland with the three children (son, daughter and niece, the nephew having been sent earlier at his father’s request to live with his uncle James). Jane was not unusual in returning. Between 25 and 33 percent of all emigrants from Europe to the Australian colonies went back to their countries of origin.[[54]](#footnote-54) Of course, she had not gone to Australia with the intention of settling there, but the family correspondence suggests that once married she was committed to establishing a family home in Victoria as her husband had asked her to do.[[55]](#footnote-55) However, once a widow with dependent children, she had to go where her chances of making a living seemed more propitious. Once again, she depended on the family network to finance the trip: Australia was even more expensive to return home from than it was to get to, according to Eric Richards.[[56]](#footnote-56)

Emigrants returned for all sorts of reasons. Marjory Harper makes the general point that often “the decision to return was a carefully planned part of the whole emigration strategy from the start,” demonstrating success rather than failure.[[57]](#footnote-57)  Jane Hamilton had no such strategy, nor indeed much apparent success, but her attitude was pragmatic, and in that she reflected what Harper observed of emigrant Lowlanders: Jane missed the family she had left behind but was not nostalgic for the “land of her father.”[[58]](#footnote-58) The loss of her sister, her brother-in-law and then her own husband (whom she had to bury in a common grave) provided the “push” factors for return, while the “pull” came from the supportive family network which was now only at “home” in Scotland.

Jane arrived in Glasgow in 1870, to find her mother gravely ill. Her niece Maggie now became the responsibility of the Hoey family in Ayrshire, while Jane took in boarders, the children of overseas missionaries sent back to Scotland for their education. She briefly contemplated looking for employment in Germany, but had to accept that she was too old to find work easily, while she now had to earn more than a governess to support her family. As noted above, she soon found work as a Lady Superintendent in Glasgow, at the Dowanhill Institute for young ladies. It had a good reputation for teaching older girls, taking both boarders and day pupils.[[59]](#footnote-59)  Jane’s position seems to have departed from the norm in that the lady superintendent usually lived on the premises, which she did not, perhaps because her employer’s wife did and also because of her own children, child boarders and sick mother. In addition, generally the lady superintendent was not expected to teach, though she was expected to have teaching experience.[[60]](#footnote-60) Jane’s testimonial revealed that she had taught, and indeed had taken “much pleasure” in her classes.[[61]](#footnote-61)

Although this was a popular school for girls, with 136 on the roll in 1873, Jane felt its prospects were uncertain, reflecting the stiff competition between such schools for young ladies in Scotland’s biggest city. In addition, her mother had died in 1871, freeing her from responsibility in Glasgow. She decided to set up her own school, assured of an excellent reference from her employer, both in terms of her teaching and her character. Mr Begbie declared, “I have no hesitation in saying that parents may have every confidence in placing their children under her charge, as they will find her a most judicious and painstaking teacher and a lady of high moral and religious principles.”[[62]](#footnote-62) Jane considered that there was less competition back in Ayrshire, but in view of her early experience in the central industrial region, she looked to the north of the county where there was more of a market for a private girls’ school, settling in the coastal resort town of Largs. Her brother supported the move, pointing out that costs in their home county were much cheaper than in Glasgow. As he observed, “you make your rent easily at Largs. In a Glasgow house you would require a good deal of success in whatever you tried to do for that.”[[63]](#footnote-63)

Jane established a Ladies’ Seminary in the home she rented in 1873. It was a day school but she offered to board young ladies who lived at a distance, usually from farming families, and also advertised to take in the children of summer visitors “for any length of time.”[[64]](#footnote-64) Catering for the lower middle class who wanted to keep their daughters out of the mixed-sex public schools established with the 1872 Education Act, she could command only modest fees. To supplement her income, and in recognition of the generally limited size and often short-lived nature of such ventures, she continued to board children of missionaries, girls as well as boys under eight years of age; the latter she taught separately.[[65]](#footnote-65) This also was neither well paid nor reliable, since missionaries themselves were often hard pressed to make ends meet. As one mother had written from Belize at the end of 1872, her daughters might board for a year but she was able to enclose only five and not the usual ten pounds towards their stay.[[66]](#footnote-66)

While she sent her son, whose education was partly paid for by a church bursary, to a boarding academy (in Dollar), then to Glasgow and from there to Edinburgh University to fit him for the ministry, she taught her daughter in her own school before sending her to Miss Shultzen’s East of Scotland Institution for Young Ladies in Dundee, and paid for private lessons with the aim of equipping her as a teacher of music.[[67]](#footnote-67) Jane believed it was essential to ensure that her daughter receive an education in “the accomplishments” to provide her with the skills to earn a living by means appropriate to her class as well as her gender. Thus, her daughter earned a living by giving music lessons, both privately and in girls’ schools, reflecting the still restricted educational and employment opportunities open to lower middle-class girls compared to boys in the later nineteenth century. It also confirms what Jane herself experienced as a teacher, that parents of limited means tended to devote more funds to a son’s education since he had potentially greater earning power, enough to support the family and not simply himself.

In 1877, her school had 26 on the roll, and earned praise from the local School Board despite the fact that it was private:

We wish to express our satisfaction at the success which has attended the establishment of [Mrs Hamilton’s] Seminary for Young Ladies in our midst. An institution of this kind was much required, and now that it has been provided we are glad that advantage is being taken of it.[[68]](#footnote-68)

Demand was indeed high enough for Jane to employ two female assistants. By the early 1880s, however, the school seems to have been less profitable and Jane was increasingly relying on boarders. Small schools like hers were being overtaken by larger establishments, and in 1885 Jane retired from teaching and moved to Edinburgh to be near her son. He had taken advice from a mentor who knew “of numerous cases in which missionaries were at a loss to know with whom and where to leave their children” and was confident that “in a couple of years it would be a very remunerative thing.”[[69]](#footnote-69) However, in the winter of 1886, she had only two boarders and was paying a high rent.[[70]](#footnote-70) Her position, then, remained precarious, in spite of help from her brother who had undertaken to supplement a small annuity left by their mother with £30 a year, until such time as her son John was able to support her.[[71]](#footnote-71) In 1894, by which time both her brother and his wife were dead, Jane had to apply to charities for help. Only in the following year was her situation finally eased when her son, who had left the ministry and taken up teaching in the mid 1880s, opened his own preparatory school for boys in Melrose, and she went to live with him and his family. Three years later, Jane Hamilton died.

**Reflections on a Life in Education at Home and Away**

This case study of a life in education conforms to the expectation that Scottish middle-class women, especially ministers’ wives and daughters, should lead productive, socially useful lives. Moreover, it shows that this was a lesson Jane Hamilton learned as much from her mother as from her father and brother. She felt keenly that she owed a debt to her widowed mother, whom she clearly admired for the way she had supported herself and continued to help her children in widowhood. Yet all Jane’s superior education and considerable experience as a teacher could not save her from a similar predicament, both in Australia as a wife with a sick husband unable to work, and in Scotland as a widow with children dependent on her into their adulthood. Her determination to see both daughter and son educated beyond the elementary stage reflected a desire to hold on to her family’s social status.

Generally, then, her life mirrors the extremely restricted and insecure possibilities open to women of her social standing. A study of Glasgow between 1830 and 1912 attributes the high rates of spinsterhood to the “massive” emigration of young men from Scotland and the migration of single young women like Jane to Glasgow in search of the means to support themselves.[[72]](#footnote-72) This is underlined by the observations of another middle-class Scottish woman, Henrietta Keddie (1827-1914), who was born in the same year as Jane. Keddie was the seventh of eight children of a Fife-shire lawyer whose modest and diminishing income could not support his four unmarried daughters in adulthood. Her elder sisters worked for several years as governesses before they combined forces to open a girls’ school in their small home-town of Cupar. Keddie herself taught there between 1848 and 1870, and as she remarked in her memoirs:

 When learning dressmaking and such posts as housekeeper and waiting-maid had fallen quite out of court for girls of the middle class, there was absolutely nothing for them by which they could earn a living except as teachers.[[73]](#footnote-73)

Keddie, who remained single, resolved this dilemma by becoming a successful novelist under the name of Sarah Tytler, moving to London with a sister in 1870 to pursue her literary career. Jane was more typical of women of her social class in struggling to support herself in a respectable but ill-paid and insecure profession. That she never seems to have considered moving to England, where there was a marked preference for single-sex and socially segregated schooling as well as a high proportion of unqualified schoolmistresses, may reflect the increasing importance of her network of family and friends as she grew older, as well as the hopes for her son’s future in the church.[[74]](#footnote-74)

When she stopped teaching in 1859 and migrated to Australia, she left a homeland which, after Ireland and then Norway sustained the highest emigration rates in nineteenth-century Europe.[[75]](#footnote-75) Kathryn Gleadle has written that British women who went out to the colonies:

forged a new concept of gentility which could incorporate the need for hard, physical work as pioneers ... The colonial discourses of womanhood could encompass characteristics such as strength, bravery and adaptability, which many embraced.[[76]](#footnote-76)

Although Gleadle is here referring to the heavy labor demanded of female pioneers on farms, Jane Hamilton’s decade in Australia nevertheless seems to bear this out: for much of the time in Victoria she did her own housework, both at home and in school. Yet what is missing from Gleadle’s account is the religious motivation which underpins all Jane’s actions. As has been pointed out, Presbyterianism valued education highly and imbued the virtues of independence, moral responsibility and the dignity of work.[[77]](#footnote-77) Jane Hamilton’s life, both in Scotland and Australia, reflected the powerful Presbyterian emphasis on education for both sexes.[[78]](#footnote-78) It also revealed the centrality of religion to middle-class identity. Like the majority of Scots who went to Australia in this period Jane was a Presbyterian, albeit a dissenting one.[[79]](#footnote-79) In 1860, she wrote to her mother that she and Andrew would probably join the Free Church at St Kilda but she complained that in Victoria “preaching is better in the Wesleyan Church than the Presbyterian” and six years later she recorded that they still often attended the Wesleyan Church.[[80]](#footnote-80)  Her relative lack of sectarianism may reflect the Australian context. According to Malcolm Prentis, the divisions within Presbyterianism in Scotland, especially after the Disruption of 1843, did not have the same impact on Australia: since there was no Established Church there, union was a priority, which happened in Victoria in 1859.[[81]](#footnote-81) Still, Eric Richards cautions that although there was a widespread feeling among many migrants, including the Hamiltons, that they need not replicate the Scottish splits, the various traditions (Established, Free and United) continued.[[82]](#footnote-82) Whatever the impact of these divisions, of course, Presbyterianism is generally depicted as patriarchal due to John Knox's infamous *First blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women* (1558). Knox's target, however, was the powerful queens of his period, not ordinary women like Jane Hamilton whom he respected as the spiritual equals of men.[[83]](#footnote-83)

At the same time, her experiences of emigration and of return point to the importance of social, especially family, networks. The Brown archive, moreover, reveals that the men as well as the women defined themselves in terms of family. Jane’s son articulated this in 1884: “marriage is one of His sacraments and *I know* that a man’s life is not complete without it.”[[84]](#footnote-84) Jane was industrious and resilient, qualities expected of lower middle-class women, and necessary both to survive in the colonies and to support her family on return to Scotland. She accepted her husband’s position as head of the family, but they conceived her role as his helpmeet in a partnership which they recognised as one of equality. However qualified that might now seem, the position of helpmeet was founded on the belief that Presbyterianism gave women an exalted position, and that every human soul was equal before God.

**Conclusion**

Neither as a pupil nor as a teacher does Jane Hamilton seem to have regarded the aim of female education to be simply or principally to make better wives and mothers. Indeed, given the social class of her pupils and the Scottish educational tradition of privileging the academic over the vocational, it is likely that she regarded needlework as an accomplishment rather than a domestic skill. Sewing in her view was an even more precarious way of earning a living than teaching in the lower rungs of private education: “needlework is not easy got and is not well paid here any more [sic] than at home” she observed in 1867 of the situation of the widow of another Cumnock emigrant.[[85]](#footnote-85) While some of the parents of her pupils may have wanted only a superficial polish to prepare them for the marriage market, Jane’s own background and the attention she paid to her daughter’s schooling shows that such an education was increasingly sought to insure daughters against a life of spinsterhood or widowhood when they might have to make their own way.[[86]](#footnote-86) Her brother certainly saw such schooling in “the accomplishments” as adding to a lady’s attractions, but he never disparaged it as a showy façade. Rather, Jane’s education had to be rigorous enough to prepare her for a possible future as a dignified, independent single woman. Moreover, she tried to ensure that other women in her circle would have the same opportunities to support themselves through private teaching. When she left Saxony in 1859 she arranged that she be replaced by her friend Agnes Nichol, daughter of the professor of astronomy at Glasgow University who had died that year; and in the 1880s one of the teachers Jane had employed at her school in Largs, Miss Yorsten, also went to Hildesheim to improve her German. As we have seen, Jane sent her daughter for a time to the Young Ladies Institution in Dundee which was run by her old teacher, Miss Schultzen, who had fist made the Hildesheim connection.

Jane Hamilton did not discuss pedagogical theory in her letters, but nevertheless her approach to female education, as student, teacher and mother, was serious and she clearly found fulfilment in teaching. Indeed, a striking feature of her life in education was that it did not conform to the trend to separate home and work. Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair have pointed to the continuing symbiosis of home and work among upper middle-class professionals in Glasgow, and suggested that middle-class widows of the second half of the nineteenth century were in a position to retain more stable financial and social independence than implied by the usually bleak picture of penniless widows “unable to work and forced onto the grudging hospitality of relatives.”[[87]](#footnote-87) Jane’s life seems to fall between the two: her financial position was almost always insecure, and occasionally near to destitution, but she was able, through her own efforts as a schoolmistress and with the help of her family, to maintain her independence, at least until her old age. Her belief in the dignity as well as the duty of both work and family, and her efforts to combine them, reveal how lower middle-class women could achieve self-reliance and fulfilment within a patriarchal society. It also confirms, of course, just how precarious were the fortunes of the lower middle class, especially women, married as well as single. As she acknowledged in 1867, it was “hard for a woman to know what to turn to” when it was essential to earn money.[[88]](#footnote-88)

On the surface, Jane Hamilton’s looks like a life of self-sacrifice and acceptance of a gendered hierarchy, but that generalization underplays her capacity through education for independent decision-making. She was both educated in and taught “the accomplishments” but the seriousness with which she tackled both and the link her family saw between a sound education and a respectable career confirms Marjorie Theobald’s call for a reassessment of the schooling of middle-class girls before the mid nineteenth-century debates on reform dismissed it as frivolous and superficial. Above all, what this life history exemplifies is how central family, religion and education were to Scottish middle-class identity, both at home and away. As the eldest daughter in a lower-middle class family whose sisters married before her, the parental (and fraternal) aim had been to fit Jane for a life in education in order to secure her status, both socially and financially. Lacking a formal qualification, however, she remained on the margins of the profession, operating in a tight and competitive market and within an educational tradition which favored men, as teachers as well as pupils. Her story nevertheless confirms the importance of education through which she developed a sense of autonomy and earned respect not only from her family but from the communities which her schools served.

1. Marjorie Theobald, “Boundaries, Bridges, and the History of Education: An Australian Response to Maxine Schwarz Seller,” *History of Education Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (1993): 497-510. Convict transportation to eastern Australia ended in 1852, by which time the six colonies had received a certain degree of political autonomy; transportation to western Australia ended in 1867. See Catriona Elder, “Immigration History,” in *Australia’s History: themes and debates*, eds. Martyn Lyons and Penny Russell (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2005), 98-115. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Marjorie R. Theobald, “The Accomplished Woman and the Propriety of Intellect: A New Look at Women’s Education in Britain and Australia, 1800-1850,” *History of Education* 17, no. 1 (1988): 21-35. See also Jane McDermid, “Conservative Feminism and Female Education in the Eighteenth Century,” *History of Education* 18, no. 4, (1989): 309-22. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Marjorie R. Theobald, *Knowing Women: Origins of Women’s Education in Nineteenth-Century Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): see especially ch. 2, “The lost ladies’ academies of colonial Australia”. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Papers of the Brown Family, National Library of Scotland [NLS], Acc. 12100/1-15 (15 boxes), hereafter cited as NLS, Acc. 12100, box number. When last consulted (July 2006), the papers had not been catalogued. The archive contains a typewritten transcript and summary of events which is accurate. All quotations are taken from the original letters, which are in good condition and, for the most part, legible. While the original letters are now held in Edinburgh, they were filmed (consisting of six reels) as part of the Australian Joint Copying Project by the National Library of Australia [NLA] and the State Library of New South Wales, call number NLA, Mfm M858-863. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. The biographical sketch is based on the typed chronology and summary of the letters, headed “Family History and Notes for the Brown-Hamilton Papers,” NLS, Acc. 12100, box 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Angela McCarthy, ed., *A Global Clan: Scottish Migrant Networks and Identities since the Eighteenth Century* (London: Taurus, 2006), 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Ibid., 3-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. See David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1994). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Another interesting aspect of the Brown family correspondence is that it is by a Lowland family. Most Scots who migrated in the nineteenth century were from the Lowlands, but until recently historical attention has been focused on the Highlanders. See McCarthy, *A Global Clan*, 9-10. See also T.M. Devine, ed., *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992); Jeanette M. Brock, *The Mobile Scot: A Study of Emigration and Migration, 1861-1911* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1999); Marjory Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus* (London: Profile Books, 2003); Marjory Harper, ed., *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005). [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Theobald, *Knowing Women*, 41. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Marjorie R. Theobald, “Scottish Schoolmistresses in Colonial Australia,” *Canadian History of Education Association Bulletin* 5, no. 3 (October 1988): 1-18. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. See Lindy Moore, “Young Ladies’ Institutions: The Development of Secondary Schools for Girls in Scotland, 1833-1870,” *History of Education* 32, no. 3 (May 2003): 249-72. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. John Strawhorn, *The New History of Cumnock* (Cumnock: Cumnock Town Council, 1966), 62. In 1847, the Secession (1733) and Relief (1761) Churches united to form the United Presbyterian Church. See Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 23-25. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. See Dane Love, *Ayrshire: Discovering a County* (Ayr: Fort, 2003), ch. 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Gavin Wark, *The Rise and Fall of the Mining Communities in Central Ayrshire in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Ayrshire: Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1999), 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. *The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Volume V, Ayr-Bute* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1845), 483, 489. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. See Lesley A. Orr MacDonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission: Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2000). [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Rev. John Warrick, *The History of Old Cumnock* (Paisley: A Gardner, 1899), 147-48. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. James Brown to Jane Hamilton, 23 July 1867, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. *The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Volume V, Ayr-Bute*, 489-90. For female education in Ayrshire in this period, see William Boyd, *Education in Ayrshire through Seven Centuries* (London: University of London Press, 1961), 83-155. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. See Robert Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); David Northcroft, *Scots at School* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003); Heather Holmes, ed., *Scottish Life and Society: Education. Volume 11, A Compendium of Scottish Ethnology* (East Linton, East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2000). [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Jane Hamilton to the Brown family, 14 August 1868, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 9, emphasis in the original. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. See Marjorie Cruikshank, *A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland* (London: University of London Press, 1970). See also Helen Corr, “An Exploration into Scottish Education,” in *People and Society in Scotland, Volume ll, 1830-1914*, eds. W. Hamish Fraser and R.J. Morris (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990), ch. 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. An assumption made for England, at least: see for example, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Routledge, 1987). See Eleanor Gordon, “Women’s Spheres,” in *People and Society in Scotland* eds. Fraser and Morris for a more qualified view. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Quoted in Macdonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission*, 270. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. See Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*; Lindy Moore, “Education and Learning,” in *Gender in Scottish History since 1700* eds. Lynn Abrams, Eleanor Gordon, Deborah Simonton and Eileen Janes Yeo (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), ch. 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Jane to Margaret Brown, 27 October 1857, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 4; James Brown to Jane Brown, 29 July 1858, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Jane Hamilton to Margaret Brown, 15 April 1858, NLS, Acc. 12100 box 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. See Sylvia Clark, *Paisley: A History* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1988). [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. James Brown to Jane Brown, 29 July 1858, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Malcolm D. Prentis, *The Scots in Australia: A Study of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, 1788-1900* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1983), 54-78. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. See Frank Cusack, *Bendigo: A History* (Bendigo: Lerk & McClure, Revised edition, 2002). Both Eaglehawk and California Gully are now part of the Greater Bendigo Region. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. James Brown to Jane Brown, 8 April 1859, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Jessie Stewart to Jane Brown, 9 December 1857, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 5; Maggie Hoey to Jane Brown, 15 February 1859, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. See A. James Hammerton, *Emigrant Gentlewomen: Genteel Poverty and Female Emigration, 1830-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1979); Jan Gothard, *Blue China. Single Female Migration to Colonial Australia* (Carlton, South Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2001); Lisa Chilton, “A New Class of Women for the Colonies: *The Imperial Colonist* and the Construction of Empire,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 31, no. 2 (May 2003): 36-56. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. For a note of caution against seeing emigration as the solution to the “redundant woman” question, which was first published in *Saturday Review*, 14 (1862): 566-67; also see Judith Johnston & Monica Anderson, *Australia Imagined: Views from the British Periodical Press 1800-1900* (Crawley, WA: University of Western Australia Press, 2005), 102-04. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles*, 371. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Jane Brown to Jessie Stewart, 11 January 1860, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Andrew Hamilton to Jane Brown, 11 March 1860, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 7, emphasis in the original. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Jane Hamilton to Jessie and William Stewart, 25 June 1862, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Jane Hamilton to the Brown family, 25 June 1863, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Jane Hamilton to the Brown family, 26 October 1866, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Jane Hamilton to the Brown family, 26 March 1867, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. School Prospectus for California Gully, 17 April 1867, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Jane Hamitlon to the Brown Family, 26 April 1867, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 9, emphasis in the original. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Kate Brown to Jane Hamilton, 25 June 1867, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Jane Frew to Jane Hamilton, 17 July 1867, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Jane Hamilton to Margaret Brown, 24 January, 1868, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 9, emphasis in the original. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Jane Hamilton to William Stewart, 25 March 1863, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Jane Hamilton to Margaret Brown, 26 June 1867, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Jane Hamilton to the Brown family, 10 September 1869, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. James Brown to Jane Hamilton, 9 September 1868, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Theobald, “Scottish Schoolmistresses in Colonial Australia,” 14. See also Theobald, *Knowing Women*, 40-43. The school Jane Hamilton set up in Eagle Hawk continued. Once back in Scotland, Jane received a letter from Isabella McNair informing her that it had 16 pupils. See Isabella McNair to Jane Hamilton, 8 October 1870, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. See Harper, ed., *Emigrant Homecomings*, both the editor’s introduction and ch. 5, Eric Richards, “‘Running home from Australia’: Intercontinental Mobility and Migrant Expectations in the Nineteenth Century.” [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Jane Hamilton to the Brown family, 11 January 1860, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Richards, “Running home from Australia,” 78. See also Eric Richards, “Return Migration and Migrant Strategies in Colonial Australia,” in *Home or Away? Immigrants in Colonial Australia: Visible Immigrants, volume 3*, ed. David Fitzpatrick (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1992), 64-104. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles*, 282. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Ibid., 371. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Moore, “Young Ladies’ Institutions,” 256. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Ibid., 257. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Testimonial from W.M. Begbie for Mrs Hamilton, 1 April 1873, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 11. As a lady superintendent who taught, Jane was not unique. The 1893-94 Prospectus for the Knox Institute in Haddington (20 miles east of Edinburgh) boasted a lady superintendent who taught pianoforte: see West Register House, Edinburgh, CO7/5/2/11 Haddington School Board Minute Book (1895-1902), where a copy of the prospectus is enclosed. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Testimonial from W.M. Begbie for Mrs Hamilton, 1 April 1873, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. James Brown to Jane Hamilton, 12 January 1875, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. James Brown to Jane Hamilton, 27 August 1885, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. *The Largs and Millport Weekly News*, 18 August 1884. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Agnes Arthur to Jane Hamilton, 14 December 1872, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. See *The Dundee Advertiser*, 9 July 1872 where the Institution boasted “efficient Masters and Governesses,” announced the intention to open a kindergarten, and offered private classes in English, French and German for young ladies of 17 years and over. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Quoted in *The Largs and Millport Weekly News*, 30 May 1877. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. John Hamilton to Jane Hamilton, 8 March 1884, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Jane Hamilton to John Hamilton, 10 December 1886, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Jane Hamilton to John Hamilton, 17 February 1885, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. See Stana Nenadic, “The Victorian Middle Classes,” in *Glasgow: Volume ll, 1830-1912*, eds.W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), ch. 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Quoted in Fraser & Maver, *Glasgow: Volume ll, 1830-1912*, 271. See H. Keddie, *Three Generations: The Story of a Middle-Class Scottish Family* (London: John Murray, 1911). [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Pamela Horn, “The Recruitment, Role and Status of the Victorian Country Teacher,” *History of Education* 9, no. 2 (June 1980): 241-52: 252. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. See Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), 441, table 6.1.1; Tom Devine, *The Scottish Nation* (London: Allen Lane, 1999), ch. 20. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Kathryn Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 56. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. Jane McDermid, *The Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Victorian Scotland: Gender, Education and Identity* (London: Routledge, 2005), 9-20. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Prentis, *The Scots in Australia*, 64, 71. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. Jane Hamilton to Margaret Brown, 16 June 1860, NLS, Acc. 12100 box 2 and Jane Hamilton to Margaret Brown, 27 November 1866, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 9. On 25 March 1864, James Brown wrote to Andrew Hamilton of the proposed union of the United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church of Scotland. However, this did not take place until 1900. See Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*, 27-28. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Prentis, *The Scots in Australia*, 246. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Eric Richards, “Scottish Voices and Networks in Colonial Australia,” in *A Global Clan* ed. McCarthy, 167. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. See MacDonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission*. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. John Hamilton to Jane Hamilton, 23 January 1884, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 12, emphasis in the original. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Jane Hamilton to Margaret Brown, 26 March 1867, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. See for example Marjorie Theobold, “Mere Accomplishments? Melbourne’s Ladies School Reconsidered,” *History of Education Review* 13, no. 2 (1984): 15-28. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. Gordon and Nair, *Public Lives*, 109-14, 187. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. Jane Hamilton to Margaret Brown, 26 March 1867, NLS, Acc. 12100, box 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)