Writing Home: The Colonial Memories of Lady Barker, 1870–1904

> I don't suppose any human being except a gipsy has ever dwelt in so many widely–apart lands as I have. Some of these homes have been in the infancy of civilization, and yet I have never found it necessary to endure, for more than the first few days of my sojourn, anything in the least uncomfortable. Especially pretty has my sleeping–room always been, though it has sometimes looked out over the snowy peaks of the Himalayas, at others, up a lovely New Zealand valley, or, in still earlier days, over a waving West Indian 'grass piece'. But I may as well get out the map of the world at once, and try to remember the various places to which my wandering destiny has led me.[1]

Having made homes across the British Empire in locations that included an army camp in India; a prefabricated sheep station in New Zealand; a 'cottage' in South Africa; and governors' residences in Mauritius, Western Australia and Trinidad, the Jamaican–born author, Lady Barker was famous for the books she wrote about her experiences in the colonies. A twice–married mother of six children, she was also the first 'Lady Superintendent' of the National School of Cookery in London; the editor of a family magazine; and the author of eighteen books, including three domestic advice manuals based upon first–hand experience of household management.

Elsewhere, I have considered Lady Barker's numerous publications as examples of colonial literature; texts concerned with colonial expansion 'written by and for colonizing Europeans about non–European lands dominated by them'.[2] However, this paper examines the autobiographical material incorporated within her domestic advice writing; Lady Barker's experiences of colonial life, with which her reading public were familiar, and which conferred upon her the authority to offer advice about *The Bedroom and Boudoir* for Macmillan's 'Art at Home' series' (Fig. 4.1).[3] Here I want to suggest that advice literature – a genre that depends to some extent upon personal experiences – could be understood as a form of autobiographical writing.

[Insert Fig. 4.1 here – portrait]

Figure 4.1 Front cover *The Bedroom and Boudoir* (1878)

Lady Barker (1831–1911): A Biography

Lady Barker, was born Mary Anne Stewart on 29th May 1831[4] in Spanish Town, Jamaica, the eldest child of 'the last "Island Secretary"'.[5] Much of her childhood was spent in the homes of relatives in Ireland and England. Indeed, in her last book *Colonial Memories* (1904) she commented: 'I began to wander to and from England before I was two years old and had crossed the Atlantic five times by 1852.'[6] She returned to Jamaica in December 1847, later using her childhood experiences on the island as the basis for tales in several children's books, including *Stories About* (1870) and *A Christmas Cake in Four Quarters* (1871).

In 1852 she married Captain George Barker R.A., the *aide–de–camp* to the Governor of Jamaica, and in August of that year they moved to England.[7]

While Mrs Barker spent the next eight years in London facing the practical difficulties of home–making and childbearing, her husband fought in the Crimean War, where he rose rapidly to the rank of Colonel.[8] Sent to India during the Mutiny, Barker was instrumental in the relief of Lucknow. Consequently, he was 'created KCB for services in the field' and offered the command of the Royal Artillery in Bengal.[9]

In October 1860, leaving her two surviving sons with relatives in England, the newly–titled Lady Barker undertook the journey to meet her husband in Calcutta. Travelling north to Simla, she later used the domestic concerns of camp life experienced during this four–month military promenade in *Stories About* (1870). Tragically, during her stay in India, George Barker became seriously ill and died. The widowed Lady Barker returned alone to her family in England, where, for the next four years, she 'lived quietly with my two little sons among my own people'.[10] In 1865, however, her colonial adventures began once more when she met Canadian–born Frederick Napier Broome, 'a young and very good–looking New Zealand sheep farmer'.[11] Broome, who was eleven years her junior, persuaded Lady Barker to marry him and leave England for a sheep station on the Canterbury Plains.[12]

She wrote: 'I often wonder how I could have had the courage to take such a step, for it entailed leaving my boys behind as well as all my friends and most of the comforts and conveniences of life.'[13] They established their own sheep station, 'Broomielaw', on the Canterbury Settlement in the South Island of New Zealand, and despite the death of their baby son, Lady Barker later described this period as 'three supremely happy years which followed this wild

and really almost wicked step on our parts'.[14] Her experiences were described in two best–selling books, *Station Life in New Zealand* (1870) and *Station Amusements in New Zealand* (1873), which were written on her return to London in 1869.. With typical self–deprecating humour, Lady Barker explained that: 'Mr Alexander Macmillan, who was always kindness itself to both of us, […] was responsible for putting the idea of writing into my head. At his suggestion I inflicted "Station Life in New Zealand", as well as several story–books for children, on a patient and long–suffering public.'[15]

Between 1869 and 1876, Lady Barker (who retained her former–title and married name) wrote thirteen books.[16] Her work falls into three categories: those books that recounted her life experiences in the colonies; others best described as juvenile fiction; and three domestic advice manuals. She also wrote stories for *Good Words for the Young*; reviewed novels for the *Times*; and, in 1874, became editor of the family magazine *Evening Hours*.[17] During this prolific period of writing, Lady Barker also gave birth to two more sons and became the first Lady Superintendent of Henry Cole's newly founded National School of Cookery following the publication of her highly successful book *First Lessons in the Principles of Cooking* (1874).

Her experiences of colonial life were to continue in 1875 when Frederick Broome was appointed Colonial Secretary to the Province of Natal.[18] Lady Barker and her two youngest sons left their South Kensington home, and went out to Africa to join her husband at 'poor sleepy Maritzburg', later recording her experiences in *A Year's Housekeeping in South Africa* (1877) (Fig. 4.2).[19]

[Insert Fig. 4.2 here – portrait]

Figure 4.2 Witch–finder from Lady Barker's *A Year's Housekeeping in South Africa* (1877) Macmillan & Co Ltd, London

After a brief return to England in 1877, which saw the hurried production of *The Bedroom and Boudoir*, Lady Barker joined her husband in Mauritius where he served as Lieutenant Governor from 1880. However, serious bouts of malaria forced her to leave 'the Star and the Key of the Indian Ocean' and to return to England until December 1882, when Broome was appointed Governor of Western Australia

Once again she travelled to the southern hemisphere; taking up residence at Government House in Perth.

Broome's governorship of this colony, which was demanding self–government, was often turbulent and Lady Barker was to describe their life in Australia in *Letters to Guy* (1885), a book of 'letters' addressed to their eldest son, who had remained at school in England. Knighted in 1884 and leaving Western Australia in 1889, Broome was appointed Acting–Governor of Barbados in 1891; and, finally Governor of Trinidad, a post which he held until just before his untimely death in 1896.[20]

Returning to England for the last time, Lady Barker (now styled 'Lady Broome') lived in straitened financial circumstances: having always assumed that Frederick would survive his wife, no financial provision had been made for her.

Despite receiving a small pension from the Government of Western Australia, Lady Broome was obliged to supplement her income by writing articles for the *Cornhill Magazine* and the ladies' journal, the *Boudoir*, which

were published together in her last book*, Colonial Memories* (1904). This, the only book to be published under the name 'Lady Broome', recounted her experiences across the British Empire including significant events such as the abolition of slavery, the Indian Mutiny and the Zulu Wars. Here she commented poignantly:

> I often wonder which is the dream – the shifting scenes of former days, so full of interest as well as of everything which could make life dear and precious, or these monotonous years when I feel like a shipwrecked swimmer, cast up by a wave, out of reach of immediate peril it is true, but far removed from all except the commonplace of existence. Still it is much to have known the best and highest of earthly happiness; to have 'loved and been beloved', and to have found faithful friends who stood fast even in the darkest days. [21]

Lady Broome's death on 6th March 1911 was noted by the *Times*, where her obituary largely recorded the careers of her father and husbands, but did comment that 'She was a woman of no small ability.'[22]

Fact or Fiction?

The cultural products of British colonialism, Lady Barker's books have been discussed by international scholars, many of them based in the former 'white Dominions' of New Zealand, Australia and South Africa.[23] Historians and biographers have tended to interpret her books as a straightforward account of the way people lived on Canterbury's back–country sheep stations during the 1860s[24] or using them to reconstruct the life of Lady Barker, who, to quote her earliest biographer: '... was one of a small number of women who during the nineteenth century sailed, pen in hand, to the less–frequented parts of the world and set down their impressions for the stay–at–homes.'[25]

Of these biographers, Betty Gilderdale has constructed the most comprehensive life story in her study *The Seven Lives of Lady Barker* (1996). Relying heavily upon Lady Barker's publications and interpreting them as historical evidence rather than as literature, Gilderdale justified this decision, stating: 'Almost all her books, for children and adults, are autobiographical, based on her observations and experiences. Owing to the scarcity of other material, they necessarily form the main sources for her biography.'[26]

This was certainly the contemporary understanding of her work; a view encouraged by the literary device of the 'letter home', which Lady Barker often employed, and one supported by the 'Preface' to *Station Life in New Zealand* (1870) written by her husband, which comments that the letters 'Simply record the expeditions, adventures and emergencies diversifying the daily life of the wife of a New Zealand sheep–farmer.'[27] Contemporary reviews of her books published in the *Times* also commented upon the authenticity of her experiences. While one reviewer felt that the stories could only be 'from her own life, for they are too real to be anything else',[28] another remarked that whether the stories were 'in all respects true is more than we can vouch for, but at least they wear the garb of truth'.[29] More recently, literary critics and historians have discussed the notion of 'truth' in Lady Barker's work. Lydia Wevers cites *A Christmas Cake in Four Quarters* (1871) as a typical example of the colonial short story 'which begin as tales and yarns which represent experience as orally authenticated and basically documentary even if the realism is heightened or exaggerated for comic or dramatic effect'. She comments that Lady Barker's recording presence gives the narrative 'the character of archive, life as it is lived

rather than literary experience'. [30] Others have examined Lady Barker's use of the letter form, suggesting that it 'is largely, perhaps entirely, a device'[31] and rejecting 'realist' readings of this genre as simple autobiography that provides the historian with 'a readily comprehensible and valid, if partial, account of the past'.[32]

The authenticity of Lady Barker's colonial stories as a form of life–writing is arguable, but an explicitly autobiographical source can be found in her last book *Colonial Memories* (1904).'[33] Written after an absence from the literary scene of almost twenty years, *Colonial Memories* is a series of short autobiographical essays that look back upon the 'wandering up and down the face of the globe'[34] she had undertaken. The introductory essay, titled A Personal Story' also acts as a reminder to Lady Barker's imagined readers who had 'perhaps read my little books in their childhood' and to whom she addressed 'these lines explaining as it were my personal story, with an entreaty for forgiveness if I have made it *too* personal'.[35]

Generally far less exciting than her colonial books, where household chores and everyday outings take on the characteristics of adventure stories, Lady Barker's domestic advice publications have been largely ignored by her biographers. Alexandra Hasluck dismissed both *Houses and Housekeeping* and *The Bedroom and Boudoir* as 'two books on furnishing which are very much pot–boilers' while Nelson Wattie simply noted that she 'also wrote two books, written in a journalistic style, on furnishing a house'.[36]

Nonetheless, Lady Barker's work in this genre is based upon lived experiences that not only reveal contemporary concerns with domestic *and* colonial ideologies, but which also explain her authorship of *The Bedroom and Boudoir* (1878).

Domestic Advice: The Bedroom and Boudoir

By the time Lady Barker began to write advice literature, her reading public was already familiar with her domestic concerns and the decoration of her colonial homes. In *Station Life in New Zealand* (1870) she described 'Our Station Home':

> My greatest interest and occupation consist in going to look at my house, which is being *cut out* in Christchurch, and will be drayed to our station, a journey of fifty miles. It is, of course, only of wood, and seems about as solid as a band–box, but I am assured by the builder that it will be a "most superior article" when it is all put together. F– and I made the little plan of it ourselves, regulating the size of the drawing–room by the dimensions of the carpet we brought out.[37]

Later on she was to produce *Houses and House–keeping* (1876), a book that was originally serialised in *Evening Hours* (1875) as seven articles, each one dealing with a different room in an imaginary London house; some of these articles would later be reworked for chapters in *The Bedroom and Boudoir*. The first article deals with the attic rooms allotted to servants; the second and third consider 'The Nursery'; the fourth deals with 'Bedrooms'; the fifth is titled 'The Dining–Room'; the sixth is 'The Drawing–Room'; and, the final article looks at 'Kitchens'. Here, Lady Barker drew upon her experiences of life in Jamaica, India and New Zealand; *exporting* the English home to the colonies and *importing* the Empire into the domestic spaces of England. Thus, when

advising on suitable decoration for a London drawing room, she recalled ‘a drawing–room of canvas ... which moved twenty–five miles ahead every day’; an officer’s quarters decorated with ‘the most hideous and ghastly wall–papers which could be procured for love or money’; and, ‘a little wooden house, up a quiet valley on a New Zealand station’ where ‘every article of furniture had been slowly and expensively conveyed over roads which would give an English upholsterer a fit to look at’.[38] It was precisely these colonial experiences that made Lady Barker the perfect contributor to Macmillan’s ‘Art at Home’ series; though more for reasons of publishing expediency than professional expertise.

In March 1877, the American art critic, Clarence M. Cook, wrote to the publisher, Frederick Macmillan, offering him the British publication rights to a series of articles titled ‘Beds, Tables, Stools and Candlesticks’ that he had written for *Scribner’s Illustrated Monthly*.[39] Macmillan refused this proposal but instead offered to buy electrotypes of the original engravings that illustrated the articles; many of which represented imported Oriental furnishings displayed in a New York furniture store.[40] He wrote: ‘... the only plan that seems to us practical would be for us to buy the very beautiful illustrations & to re–cast or re–write the text so as to suit it to English requirements.’[41]

Before the plates had even crossed the Atlantic, George Lillie Craik, a partner in the publishing house, set about finding authors who would be willing to write new books *around* the illustrations; Lady Barker, as an established Macmillan author, was among those he approached:

> We have a series of small books to hand called the “Art at Home” series – If you have not seen them I wish you would let me send you the three that have been published – by Mr Hullah on Music at Home and by the Misses Garrett and William

> Loftie on matters of Art. Mr Loftie is the editor. He would greatly like to get you to do a book on the Bedroom. We have got some excellent illustrations together. I feel confident you would like the task.[42]

In the event, Lady Barker was offered £50 for suitable text to complement the electrotypes, which Craik suggested should amount to about eighty pages. He also hinted that there might be sales in America: this despite an earlier letter from Scribner's which had informed Macmillan that Cook's pictures were under copyright.[43]

The correspondence in the General Letterbooks of the Macmillan Archive recorded that the proofs were at the printers by February 1878 and were published later that month, just after Lady Barker's departure for Mauritius. A second printing followed in July 1878: in total 5000 copies of *The Bedroom and Boudoir* were issued. The production of the book is barely mentioned in the Macmillan correspondence, though there seems to have been a minor disagreement between Lady Barker and the editor of the series, the Reverend W J. Loftie, over the title of the volume, with 'Bowers' and 'Boudoirs' both being proposed. Frederick Macmillan attempted to resolve this problem and suggested: 'Suppose we go round the difficulty by calling Lady Barker's book simply "The Bedroom"?' [44]

Given her colonial writings, when the plates from Cook's articles were divided among the commissioned authors, Lady Barker was apportioned any that illustrated non–European furniture or vaguely exotic furnishings. These eventually included a Chinese washing–stand, an Indian Screen (Fig. 4.3), a Chinese Cabinet, and a bamboo chair 'of a familiar pattern to all travellers on the P. and O. boats, and whose acquaintance I first made in Ceylon'[45] :

interestingly, all these illustrations originally appeared in Cook's chapter on *The Living Room*.[46]

The difficulties posed by the reuse of these images was most apparent in her chapter fittingly titled 'Odds and Ends of Decoration', where she managed to describe a picture stand, a bamboo sofa, a piano and 'a great deal of 'rubbish' dear, perhaps, only to the owner for the sake of association'.[47] Here, in an ironic reference to this unhappy mix of text and images, Lady Barker commented

> The worst of such a delightful den as I am imagining, or rather describing, is the tendency of the most incongruous possessions to accumulate themselves in it as time goes on. [48]

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A review of *The Bedroom and Boudoir* published in *The Spectator* (1878) commented unfavourably upon the illustrations:

> We cannot conclude without a word or two about the numerous illustrations; […] Lady Barker herself cannot be satisfied with them, and they are most detrimental to the book, as ones eye is naturally first caught by them, in turning over the leaves. A few carefully chosen and carefully drawn subjects would have been far better in every way.[51]

In eight short chapters, Lady Barker examines different aspects of *The Bedroom and Boudoir*: 'An Ideal Bedroom – its Walls'; 'Carpets and Draperies'; 'Beds and Bedding'; '*Wardrobes* and Cupboards'; 'Fire and Water'; 'The Toilet'; 'Odds and Ends of Decoration'; 'The Sick Room'; and, 'The Spare Room'. While some sections of the text are clearly based on her earlier articles for *Evening Hours*, particularly those on 'Bedrooms' and 'The Nursery', the passages that described the illustrations, draw heavily on Cook's original text. The most glaring example concerns the description of a Japanese chest, which was described in detail by Cook:

> No one but a man knows what a blessing this shirt-drawer is. It will hold the week's wash of shirts without tumbling or crowding, and nothing else need be allowed to usurp a place in it. In these four drawers is room for all one man's linen; and in the little closet, which contains three drawers and a hiding-place for money (which the owner did not discover until after a year's possession), there is room for all his trinkets and valuables. When the two boxes are placed together, the whole measures three feet one inch in length by three feet four high, and one foot five deep.[52]

Lady Barker's version altered very little:

> But the male heart will be sure to delight specially in that one deep drawer for shirts, and the shallow one at the top for collars, pockethandkerchiefs, neckties, and so forth. The lower drawers would hold a moderate supply of clothes, and the little closet contains three drawers, besides a secret place for money and valuables. When the two boxes, for they are really little else, are placed side by side they measure only three feet one inch long; three feet four high, and one foot five deep.[53]

Another discordant note is struck, by the final chapter on 'The Spare Room', where Lady Barker issued the following warning to her readers:

> To a professional man, with a small income, the institution of a spare room may be regarded as an income tax of several shillings in the pound. It is even worse than that;

> it means being forced to take in a succession of lodgers who don't pay, who are generally amazingly inconsiderate and *exigeante*, and who expect to be amused and advised, chaperoned and married, and even nursed and buried. [54]

However, this final chapter of *The Bedroom and Boudoir* had originally been published two years earlier in the *Saturday Review* as a short article written by Mrs Loftie, author of *The Dining Room* in the 'Art at Home' series. Witness the following paragraph from Mrs Loftie's original version of 'The Spare Room':

> To busy people of moderate wealth the acknowledged possession of a spare room represents an income-tax of several shillings in the pound. It means to be forced to take in lodgers all year round who do not pay, but who expect as much attention as if they were in an American Hotel – to be obliged, not only to supply them with free quarters, but to amuse, advise, chaperon, perhaps even nurse and bury them.[55]

Clearly Mrs Loftie's earlier article had been re-cycled, without attribution, for use in Lady Barker's volume in the 'Art at Home Series', which was edited by her husband. Significantly, a review of *The Bedroom and Boudoir* published *The Spectator* in April 1878, had noted a change in style (if not author) and commented:

> The chapter on the "Spare Room" does not say much for Lady Barker's hospitality, though it strikes one that she has taken up her views on the subject more as an excuse for a little smart writing, than because they express her real opinion.[56]

However, elsewhere within the text Lady Barker's real opinions and personal experiences are far more evident. Her chapter on 'Beds and Bedding' drew upon her experiences of motherhood, offering advice on suitable mattresses, bed-clothes and dressing-gowns for children; while 'The Sick

Room' combined advice on the arrangement and decoration of a room which was 'a very comfortable one *to be ill in*' with hints on practical nursing in the home.[57] The review in *The Spectator* commented on the inclusion of this subject:

> The chapter on the "Sick-room" is quite the best in the whole book. […] Though it is not exactly what one would expect to find in a volume on Art, we can take no exception to it on that score, and Lady Barker combines so skilfully valuable advice on the serious work of nursing, with graceful hints as to what she has observed the weary eye of the sufferer take pleasure in, both in form and colour, that very many must be grateful to her for giving her own experience on these matters. [58]

Her experience on these matters enabled Lady Barker to give advice on suitable attire when attending in a sick room; on medicines and invalid food; on the use of bed-rests and tables; and, on correct levels of sunlight and ventilation. She informed her readers that 'Few people understand what I have learnt in tropical countries, and that is how to exclude the outer air during the hot hours of the day'.[59]

Advocating 'a retreat in which to be busy and comfortable'[60] where 'all sorts of little eccentricities might be permitted to the decorator'[61] the central theme of her advice on decoration is the ability of women to transport and to transform their own surroundings: 'As long as a woman possesses a pair of hands and her work-basket, a little hammer and a few tin-tacks, it is hard if she need live in a room which is actually ugly.'[62]

This theme occurred throughout *The Bedroom and Boudoir* and related to her colonial experiences:

> Necessity develops ingenuity, and ingenuity goes a long way. I never learned the meaning of either word until I found myself very far removed from shops, and forced to invent or substitute the materials wherewith to carry out my own little decorative ideas.[63]

Books in particular were noted as an essential element in the creation of this personal space, perhaps more so for Lady Barker because they were so portable: 'I never feel at home in any place until my beloved and shabby old friends are unpacked and ranged in their recess.'[64] Even the arrangement of the 'toilet-table' afforded an opportunity for Lady Barker to refer to her colonial experiences:

> I have seen toilet-tables in Kafir-land covered with common sixpenny cups and saucers, and shown as presenting a happy combination of use and ornament, strictly in conformity with 'Engleez fasson'.[65]

[Insert Fig. 4.3 here – portrait]

Figure 4.3 An India Screen from Lady Barker's *The Bedroom and Boudoir* (1978) Macmillan & Co Ltd, London

Writing descriptions of remembered colonial bedrooms around illustrations of exotic furniture, she gave advice on the most private space in the domestic sphere. Inevitably the text described many of her colonial experiences:

> I have slumbered "aright" in extraordinary beds, in extraordinary places, on tables, and under them (that was to be out of the way of being walked upon), on mats, on trunks, on all sorts of wonderful contrivances. I slept once very soundly on a piece of sacking stretched between two bullock trunks.[66]

Producing a text, geographically and metaphorically miles away from the domestic design advice offered by her contemporaries, Lady Barker's autobiographical anecdotes suggested that 'home' could be anywhere within the British Empire:

> ... it is possible to have really pretty, as well as thoroughly comfortable dwelling–places even though they lie thousands of miles away from the heart of civilisation, and hundreds of leagues distant from a shop or store of any kind. I mean this as an encouragement – not a boast. [67]

Conclusion

Lady Barker's *The Bedroom and Boudoir* is the one of the very few nineteenth century publications that dealt exclusively with this subject.[68] However, woven uneasily around often inappropriate imagery, this fascinating blend of literary genres – autobiography, adventure and advice – forms a highly problematic source for any historian of the Victorian domestic interior unaware of the facts of its production or the life experiences of its author. Aimed at an imagined lower–middle–class readership already familiar with Lady Barker's adventures abroad, *The Bedroom and Boudoir* should be understood as an historical document that engages with contemporary concerns about class, race, gender, health and taste, *and* as collection of Victorian literary genres. It should to be placed in a context of other narratives, both historical and literary, and explored using both historical methodologies *and* literary theories. Without this type of interdisciplinary consideration the already 'imperfect window' into the domestic interior of the past remains doubly distorted.

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[1] Lady Barker, *The Bedroom and the Boudoir* (London: Macmillan, 1878), p. 20.

[2] Emma Ferry, 'Home and Away: Domesticity and Empire in the Work of Lady Barker', *Women's History Magazine*, Autumn 2006, pp. 4–12; Eleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1995, pp. 2–3.

[3] Emma Ferry, '"… information for the ignorant and aid for the advancing …" Macmillan's "Art at Home Series", 1876–1883', in Jeremy Aynsley and Kate Forde, *Design and the Modern Magazine* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 134–55.

[4] FamilySearch™ International Genealogical Index for the Caribbean gives her date of birth as 1830 (film number 1903747).

[5] Lady Broome, *Colonial Memories* (London, 1904), p. xxi.

[6] Ibid., p. x.

[7] Betty Gilderdale, *The Seven Lives of Lady Barker* (Auckland, 1996), pp. 40–48.

[8] Colonel J. Jocelyn, *The History of the Royal Artillery: Crimean Period* (London, 1911), pp. 43–6 and pp. 203–4.

[9] Frances Hays, *Women of the Day: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Contemporaries* (London, 1885), p. 11.

[10] Lady Broome, *Colonial*, p. xii.

[11] Ibid.

[12] FamilySearch™ International Genealogical Index gives the date of their marriage as 21 June 1864. Lady Barker gives it as the summer of 1865.

[13] Lady Broome, *Colonial*, p. xii.

[14] Ibid., p. xiii.

[15] Ibid., p. xiv.

[16] The retention of her first married name and title after her marriage to Broome is an act that troubles many scholars from the Southern Hemisphere, who interpret this as 'English snobbery'. Lady Barker was known as 'Mrs Broome' in New Zealand, but until Frederick Napier Broome was knighted in 1884, she retained the title 'Lady Barker'. Amusingly, in Nelson Wattie, 'An English Lady in the Untamed Mountains: Lady Barker in New Zealand', in K. Gross & W. Klooss (eds), *English Literature of the Dominions: Writings on Australia, Canada and New Zealand* (Würzburg, 1981), p. 98, Wattie comments on Lady Barker's aristocratic pretensions in retaining her title remarking that 'Her readers might be excused for thinking that 'Lady' was her Christian name'.

[17] Founded in April 1871 and edited initially by the Rev. E. H. Bickersteth, *Evening Hours* advertised itself as a 'Church of England Family Magazine'. Under Lady Barker's editorship from 1874, however, the

emphasis of *Evening Hours* shifted away from religion to become 'A Family Magazine'. Many of Lady Barker's books were serialised in *Evening Hours* before publication in volume form.

[18] In 1874, there had been an uprising in the Province of Natal led by Chief Langalibalele. Sir Garnet Wolseley replaced Natal's Colonial Governor and Broome was appointed his secretary.

[19] Lady Barker, *A Year's Housekeeping in South Africa* (London, 1877), p. 59.

20 Broome was only 54 years old when he died; his widow was 65 years old.

[21] Lady Broome, *Colonial,* pp. xxi–xxii.

[22] Obituary: Lady Broome, *The Times*, Tuesday 7 March, 1911, p. 11.

[23] Alexandra Hasluck, 'Lady Broome', *Western Australian Historical Society Journal*, 5/part 3, 1957, pp. 1–16; Alexandra Hasluck, *Remembered with Affection* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1963), an edition of *Letters to Guy* with notes and a short biography; Wattie, 'An English Lady'; Fiona Kidman, 'Introduction' to Lady Barker, *Station Life in New Zealand*, reprint with notes by Fiona Kidman (London: Virago Press, 1984); Peter Gibbons, 'Non–Fiction' in Terry Sturm (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English* (Auckland, 1991); B. Gilderdale; Gillian Whitlock, 'A "White Souled State" Across the "South" with Lady Barker', in K. Darian–Smith, et al (eds), *Text, Theory, Space: Land, Literature and History in South Africa and Australia* (London, 1996); Anita Selzer, *Governor's Wives in Colonial Australia* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2002).

[24] Kidman, p. v.

[25] Hasluck, *Remembered,* p. 1.

[26] Gilderdale, p. xv.

[27] Lady Barker, *Station Life in New Zealand* (London, 1870); Virago reprint, 1984, Preface.

[28] *The Times*, 'Christmas Books*:* Stories About', 23 December 1870, p. 10.

[29] The *Times,* 'Christmas Books: A Christmas Cake in Four Quarters', 25 December 1871, p. 4.

[30] Lydia Wevers, 'The Short Story', in Sturm, (ed.), *Oxford History,* p. 205.

[31] The New Zealand novelist, Fiona Kidman, (p. vii) believed 'they were real letters'. For a contrasting interpretation see Gibbons, 'Non–Fiction', p. 47.

[32] J. Haggis, 'White Women and Colonialism: Towards a Non–recuperative History', in C. Midgley (ed.)*, Gender and Imperialism* (Manchester:, 1998), p. 47.

[33] *Colonial Memories* begins with the following 'Note' dated October 1904: 'My cordial thanks are due – and given – to the Editor of the *Cornhill Magazine*, within whose pages some of these 'Memories' have from time to time appeared, for permission to republish them in this form. Also to the Editor of the *Boudoir*, where my 'Girls – Old and New' made their *début* last season M. A. B'.

[34] Lady Broome, *Colonial*, p. xxi.

[35] Ibid., p. xxii.

[36] Hasluck, *Remembered*, p. 8; Wattie, p. 99.

[37] Lady Barker, *Bedroom*, p. 39.

[38] Lady Barker, 'Houses and Housekeeping: The Drawing–Room', *Evening Hours*, 1875, p. 315.

[39] Cooks articles were collected and published as *House Beautiful: Essays on Beds and Tables, Stools and Candlesticks* (New York, 1878).

[40] BL: Add. MS 55402/372. Macmillan & Co., to Messrs Scribner, Armstrong & Co., New York, 18 April 1877 and BL: Add. MS 55402/372. Macmillan & Co., to Messrs Scribner, Armstrong & Co., New York, 4 June 1877.

[41] BL: Add. MS 55402/372 Frederick Macmillan to Clarence M. Cook, 18 April 1877.

[42] BL: Add. MS.55403/301 George Lillie Craik to Lady Barker, 30 July 1877; BL: Add. MS. 55405/86 Frederick Macmillan to Lady Barker, 8 February 1878.

[43] BL: Add. MS. 55405/86 Frederick Macmillan to Lady Barker, 8 February 1878.

[44] BL: Add. MS. 55403/877 Frederick Macmillan to W. J. Loftie, 14 October 1877.

[45] Lady Barker, *Bedroom*, p. 81. All these illustrations originally appeared in Cook's chapter on *The Living Room*.

[46] Lady Barker, *Bedroom*, p. 81.

[47] ibid, . 89

[48] ibid., p. 90

[49] ibid, . 89

[50] ibid., p. 90

[51] 'Art at Home', *The Spectator*, 13th April, 1878, p. 476

[52] C. M. Cook, *House Beautiful* (New York 1878) *p*. 290-1

[53] Lady Barker, *Bedroom*, pp. 50-1

[54] ibid, 1878, pp. 115 - 116

[55] Mrs M. J. Loftie, "The Spare Room" , *The Saturday Review*, Vol. XLI, April 29, 1876, pp. 545 – 546

[56] *The Spectator*, April 13, 1878, p. 476

[57] ibid., p. 96

[58] 'Art at Home', *The Spectator*, 13th April, 1878, p. 476

[59] Lady Barker, *Bedroom*, 1878, p. 100

[60] ibid., p. 84

[61] ibid., p. 61

[62] ibid., p. 20

[63] ibid., p. 32

[64] ibid., p. 89

[65] ibid., p. 76

[66] Lady Barker, *Bedroom*, pp. 33–4.

[67] Ibid., pp. 20–21.

[68] Robert Kerr, *The Gentleman's House* (London, 1864); Charles Locke Eastlake, *Hints on Household Taste* (London,1868); the Misses Rhoda and Agnes Garrett *Suggestions for House Decoration in Painting, Woodwork and Furniture* (London, 1876); Clarence M. Cooke, *House Beautiful*; J.J. Stevenson, *House Architecture* 2 vols (London, 1880); and Mrs Jane Ellen Panton, *From Kitchen to Garret* (London, 1889), all include brief chapters on the bedroom, but the only other publication dealing specifically with the bedroom I have located is the slightly later Mrs Gladstone's *Healthy Nurseries and Bedrooms including the Lying in Room* (London,1884), a 48 page publication produced in connection with the International Health Exhibition held in London in 1884.