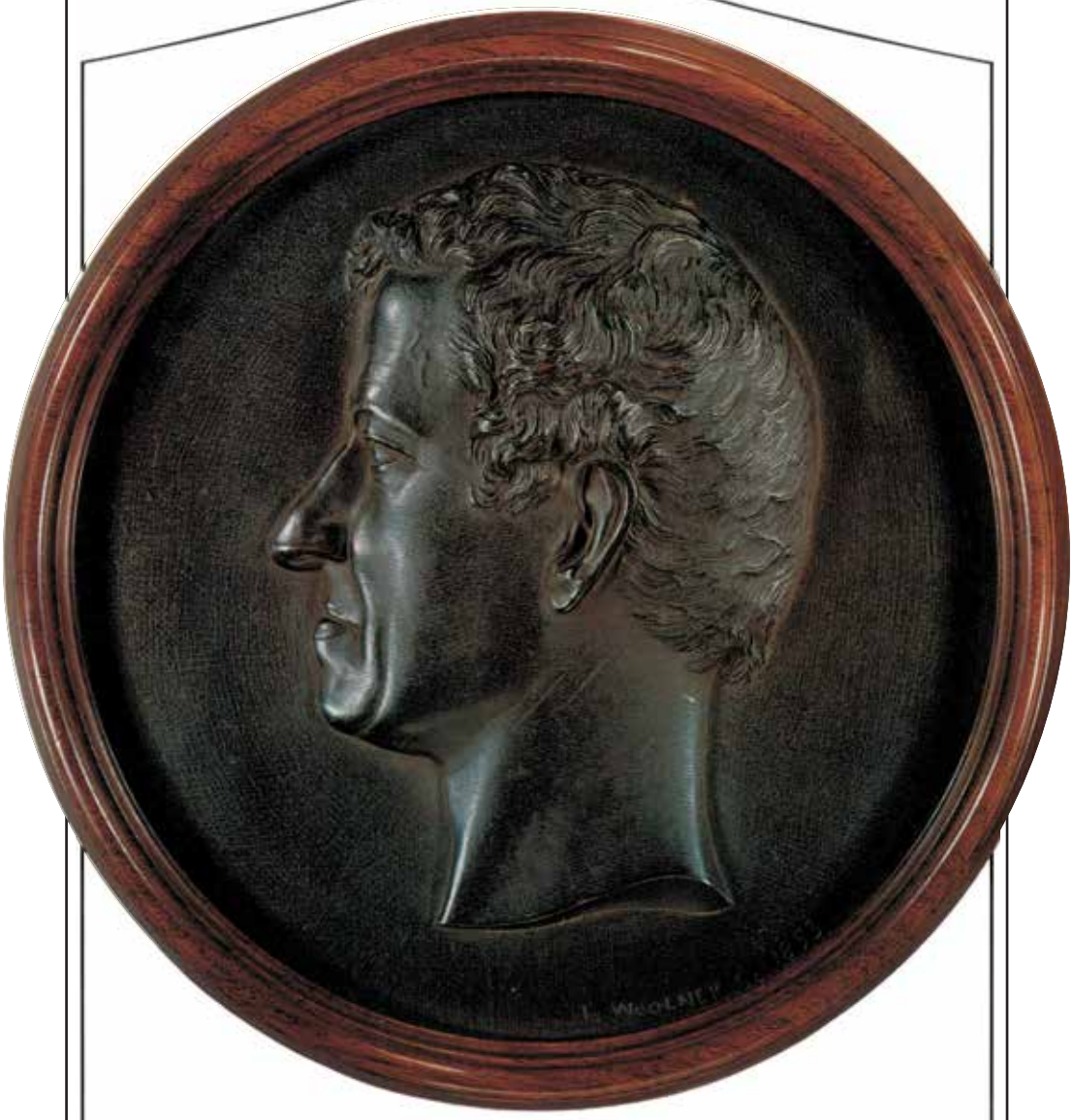
La Trobeana



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The C J La Trobe Society Inc was formed in 2001 to promote understanding and appreciation of the life, work and times of Charles Joseph La Trobe, Victoria's first Lieutenant-Governor.
www.latrobesociety.org.au

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FRONT COVER
Thomas Woolner, 1825-1892, sculptor
Charles Joseph La Trobe
1853, diam. 24cm. Bronze portrait medallion showing the left profile of Charles Joseph La Trobe.
Signature and date incised in bronze l.r.: T. Woolner Sc. 1853: / M
La Trobe, Charles Joseph, 1801-1875. Accessioned 1894
Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria, H5481

Contents

A Word from the President

The La Trobe Society continues to flourish with 233 individual members, and the number grows slowly but steadily. Perhaps the most prestigious aspect of our special association is its journal, *La Trobeana*. The variety of its content each time it appears never ceases to amaze me. The focus is, of course, Charles Joseph La Trobe and the colonial period of Victoria's history, but who would have thought when the La Trobe Society was founded in 2001 that such an historical industry surrounding him would be generated!

While Loreen Chambers takes well-earned sabbatical leave after long and intensive work in the Editor's chair, Helen Armstrong and Dianne Reilly — both members of the Editorial Committee — have stepped up to produce this and the next issue of our journal.

This issue features the text of 2013 La Trobe Society Fellow Dr Madonna Grehan's entertaining and informative AGL Shaw Lecture delivered at the combined La Trobe Society/RHSV event on 16 June. This presentation described the advent of the registration of births, deaths and marriages in Victoria during La Trobe's administration as the necessary underpinning of our social framework, so vital for our historical documentation. This systematic recording of information would not have come about without the incredible foresight of La Trobe and his administration, and the genius of William Archer, later Registrar-General, in designing and implementing it.

Professor John Barnes provides the definitive analysis of the relationship between La Trobe and Georgiana McCrae, a relationship based entirely on friendship and a commonality of education and interests. This clear-sighted discussion will surely lay to rest the unfounded assertions of lesser writers.

John Botham's paper 'The Good Old Rajah' brings to life the story of the three-masted barque *Rajah*, a vessel which made nine voyages between Great Britain and Australia from 1838 to 1851. Among those who sailed in her were Captain Ferguson and his wife Kezia, women convicts responsible for the famous *Rajah Quilt*, Bishop Broughton, Sir John and Lady Franklin, and La Trobe's eldest daughter, Agnes, entrusted to the Captain and his wife when she was sent home to Switzerland in 1845 for her education.

Tim Gatehouse's study of Edward Hulme, a little-known but talented goldfields artist in Victoria, is intriguing in its detailing of the immigration process and the hardship experienced by the Hulme family in venturing to Port Phillip in 1855. Despite the rigours of establishing himself in a new country, Hulme managed to find some time for his art. Tim has also treated us to a brief research report on the Harington crested plate which has unexpected La Trobe connections.

Members will be interested to know that Dr Madonna Grehan has just been awarded the 2015 John Oxley Library Fellowship at the State Library of Queensland for her project '*Something tangible to show our gratitude': a history of Queensland's Centaur Memorial*'. Her research will focus on the 1943 sinking of the *Centaur* hospital ship, Queensland's worst maritime disaster, and its aftermath.

At its meeting on 3 June 2015, the La Trobe Society Committee had preliminary discussions about how best to utilise social media, such as Facebook, Blogs, YouTube, Twitter and Flickr, to promote La Trobe and the Society in the community. Members will be canvassed to seek a responsible person to manage our social media, prior to further discussion on the topic.

Sadly, we have recently lost one of our members, Professor Robin Sharwood AM. Following his term as Warden of Trinity College at the University of Melbourne from 1965-73, Professor Sharwood resumed a prominent legal career, and his service to the wider community through the law and legal education, and in the Anglican Church. Always interested in history, Professor Sharwood was a long-standing member of the La Trobe Society.

Diane Gardiner
Hon. President
C J La Trobe Society

Awards

La Trobe Society members were well represented in the latest Queen's Birthday 2015 Honours List with two of our office bearers, the President and the Manager, receiving awards in acknowledgement of their talent and hard work in the community across many fields:

Diane Elspeth Gardiner AM
For significant service to public administration, particularly in the heritage preservation and historical museum sectors, and to education.

John Stuart Drury OAM
For service to community history through a range of roles.

From all of us, congratulations to them both.

Daryl Ross
Hon. Vice-President
C J La Trobe Society

Charles Joseph La Trobe and the regulation of everyday life:

Implementing the Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act in Victoria 1852–1858

By Dr Madonna Grehan

Madonna Grehan held the C J La Trobe Society Fellowship for 2013 at the State Library of Victoria. Madonna is an independent historian and an Honorary Fellow in Nursing at the University of Melbourne's School of Health Sciences. Originally trained as a nurse and midwife, Madonna completed a PhD in history in 2009. Her research for the La Trobe Society Fellowship has focussed on a history of women, maternity care and family life in nineteenth century Port Phillip and Victoria. Madonna currently holds the John Oxley Fellowship at the State Library of Queensland, researching the Centaur Memorial Fund for Nurses.

This paper is an edited version of the 2015 AGL Shaw Lecture given to a joint meeting of the C J La Trobe Society and the Royal Historical Society of Victoria on Tuesday 16 June 2015.

Victoria has Lieutenant-Governor Charles Joseph La Trobe and his administration to thank for instigating a civil system for the registration of births, marriages and deaths in 1852. Civil registration was successfully implemented, its deficits identified early and addressed. Within a relatively short time and without too many objections, government oversight of these milestones of life was accepted as a part of everyday life. Civil registration's success belies the complexities of putting in place a workable and robust, yet novel, regulatory scheme. This paper considers some of those complexities and the approach of La Trobe's administration in dealing with them.

The making of a registration system

A certificate of birth is a form of evidence that we could not do without in a Western democracy. It enables us to obtain a driver's licence, a passport and numerous other advantages such as health care. Certificates of marriage and death, also, are

documents necessary for participation in aspects of civil society. To know who we are, to know with whom we are connected, drives much of the interest today in genealogy.

Victoria's system of BDM data is less associated with La Trobe than it is with William Archer, a young actuary who was appointed to put the system into effect. Archer certainly shaped the system of regulation that was operational from 1 July 1853, but it was La Trobe and the Legislative Council who initiated this fundamental regulatory tool. In fact, Archer had not arrived in Australia when the *Births, Marriages and Deaths Registration Bill* (hereafter *Registration Bill*) was received in the Legislative Council for consideration, on Friday 29 October 1852.[1] It was passed into law ten weeks later, on 11 Jan 1853.[2] The *Act for Registering Births, Deaths and Marriages in the Colony of Victoria* (hereafter *Registration Act*) received Governor La Trobe's assent on 18 January 1853, the twenty-sixth piece of legislation of forty-six to do so during the 1852-1853 parliamentary session.[3]

By sheer coincidence, on 1 November 1852, just as the *Registration Bill* was being considered by the Legislative Council, William Henry Archer arrived in Victoria. Archer was a committed Catholic and intently interested in matters of life, death, the population and the use of statistics applied to them.[4] Born in London in 1825, he began work at age sixteen as an apprentice with the Medical, Invalid and General Life Assurance Company under the supervision of Francis Gustavus Paulus Neison. Neison, a giant of Britain's discipline of statistical science, mentored Archer for seven years. His pupil then took employment with the Catholic Law and General Life Assurance Company, an engagement that was unsuccessful, hence Archer's migration to Australia.[5]

Following a journey from London aboard *Diadem*,[6] Archer had been in Melbourne for just three days when the Legislative Council was informed that the new Registrar-General's Department would be appointing an officer to undertake its work. The role involved registration of deeds, births, marriages, and the compilation of statistics pertaining to all aspects of registration.[7] It is likely that Archer read about the position, and the introduction of the *Registration Bill*, in local newspapers. A month later Archer wrote to his fiancée in London, Mary Nind, reporting on life in his new surroundings and his situation. Archer and his parents were living at 'the Canvas City of the Yarra Yarra'. He explained to Mary that he had met with the Lieutenant-Governor and the Auditor General, Hugh Childers, but that 'Unfortunately for me, the brother of the Governor's private secretary has got the place most suited for me'.[8] This individual was Frederick Campbell, a draftsman who applied for a government position in 1853.[9] His brother, Major Norman Envidale Savage Campbell JP, was Governor La Trobe's private secretary. Of this appointment Archer wrote to Mary Nind: 'I am told he [Frederick Campbell] does not understand his duties which is a fact not to my advantage again for I suspect he is afraid to have me even under him, lest I should supplant him'.[10]

John Botterill, 1817-1881, photographer
William Henry Archer, c.1870-1874
Photographic print, albumen silver carte-de-visite
Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria, H29504

Popular belief was that recommendations and connections, rather than ability, were what counted for aspirant employees under La Trobe's administration.[11] As if to publicise his credentials, Archer wrote a fulsome letter to *The Herald* newspaper, declaring a fervent hope that a Victorian Department of Statistics would employ 'men of intellect and zeal whose knowledge of how to introduce the system work would make Victoria a leader'.[12] His letter was penned in early January, as consideration of the *Registration Bill* wound up. Archer then wrote to Captain Lonsdale, the Colonial Secretary, in the third week of January 1853, applying for a position and elucidating his qualifications in statistics. With no response, he wrote again a fortnight later. This time, Lonsdale offered him employment on the *Blue Books (Statistical Registers),* with a salary of £150, and Archer began as a clerk.[13] Unexpectedly, on 25 February 1853, Archer received instructions from Lonsdale 'to draw up a general plan for the guidance of the Chief Registrar, and rules in detail for the Deputy Registrars' who would be responsible for registering births, deaths and marriages in Victoria.[14]

'Getting the machinery of registration into motion'

Working from the *Registration Act* with its existing templates, known as Schedules, within a fortnight Archer had drawn up his proposal. In a written communication to Lonsdale and through him, to C.J. La Trobe, Archer deftly pointed out deficiencies in the recently passed statute. In a logical way, Archer identified a concern and persuasively recommended a way to overcome it without inferring that the statute was weak. In fact, looking back at Archer's documentation, logic is the word that encapsulates it.

bedside attendants in maternity cases in the colonial period. On death registration, Archer maintained that a medical attendant should sign a certificate, stating the cause of death, duration of sickness and when the person had last been seen by the doctor. These data items, he said, would 'aid the Medical Profession to act upon a uniform nomenclature'. Archer produced a Nosological Table, a method of categorising all death causes, which Registrars were to supply doctors with.[20] Again, thanks to Archer's intervention, historians can use these data points now to ascertain trends in conceptualising disease processes and responses to them.

SCHEDULE A.

1852 Births in the District of

No.	When and where Born	Name if any	Sex	Name and Surname of the Father	Name and Maiden Surname of the Mother	Rank or profession of Father	Signature, Description, and Residence of Informant	When registered	Signature of Deputy Registrar	Name if added after Registration of Birth
1	Seventeenth June 1852 23, Collins-street East, Melbourne	James	Boy	Edward Jones	Rebecca Jones, formerly Thompson	Grocer	Edward Jones, Father 23, Collins-street East, Melbourne	Eighteenth June 1852	John Smith Deputy Registrar	

An Act for Registering Births, Deaths and Marriages in the Colony of Victoria, 1853, No.26, page 10, Schedule A, Births

To begin with, Archer submitted his plan in two stages. The first were preliminary remarks to Lonsdale as Archer put it, 'Previous to getting the Machinery of Registration into Motion'.[15] In it, Archer insisted that the colony's registration districts must be 'fixed and clearly defined' and tally with census districts to make for meaningful data. This would enable the government statist to determine the relation existing between an ascertained population of both sexes in each district at every age, as well as fluctuations in the shape of births, marriages and deaths. The highly mobile populaces on Victoria's gold fields underscored this point on a framework.[16] The second communication contained much more on what he considered important statistical measurements: meteorology and weather, lunatics, crime, intemperance, education and the mortality of children.[17] John Hopper, a population health specialist, has argued that Archer's understanding of basic principles that apply to epidemiology have stood the test of time: the 'sound baseline statistics on a population' and the relevance of 'confounding variables'.[18]

Two deficiencies identified by Archer are of significance to historians of health. The *Registration Act's* original Schedule for Births did not include 'the Certificate of the Accoucheur, Nurse or other person present' at the birth.[19] Thanks to Archer's suggestion that an amended Births Schedule include these data, it is now possible to study women's and men's roles as

At the heart of his plan for BDMs was Archer's inherent belief in the value of statistical data and a deep concern over property rights: that people could claim entitlement to an estate without evidence of relationship to a deceased person. In the gold-rich Colony of Victoria, with its fluid population, this was not an unimportant consideration. He wanted to capture statistics on infant mortality too. As Archer told Lonsdale, 'no table has ever been framed…No Government has ever done it and Victoria may yet be the first'.[21] He was sure that correct information 'relating to human life in the Colony', carefully recorded and analysed by skilled personnel, would elevate Victoria's place in the British Empire. But even this logical and organised actuary accepted that the road to statistical heaven would be rocky, conceding that 'no amount of written instructions could altogether supply the sort of instinct for going right in these matters, that long experience brings...leaving the finishing minutiae till the whole work is fairly in progress'.[22]

Archer's instructions for BDM registrars demonstrate the weight of their task. On the matter of recording entries, he directed that:

> You will make every entry under a feeling of responsibility of your office taking care that every name given is properly spelled, that the ink used is that ordered by the Chief

Registrar, that the writing is very clear and distinct, without flourish of any kind, and as much as possible a *printing* style, that each letter is well defined taking particular care to distinguish between e's and i's, n's and u's and t's and l's, a very little attention is needed at the time of entry, while carelessness on these points is apt to lead to much correspondence and loss of labour and time, both to the Chief Registrar and those of his Department as well as to the Deputy Registrar himself… On registering twins, particular enquiries must be made to distinguish which is the elder.[23]

Implications of poor writing were universal. Registrar-General Campbell noted this problem in his report of the Census, taken in late April 1854. Campbell declared that the penmanship on some of the enumerators' forms was as 'difficult to decipher as an Egyptian inscription' and that was quite apart from the Chinese element of the Census which called for a translator.[24]

Archer made numerous other recommendations to registrars. Entries were replicated in a second volume for safety's sake. Four times a year, and on days named by the Chief Registrar, Deputy Registrars had to send one volume of the dual-record set into the Registry. Errors known to have occurred could be corrected within six months, but only by making new entries as no erasures of entries were permitted. Periodic inspections of registrars at their location were put in place. Archer recommended that the inspector should determine: how securely the registrar kept his books, whether there was a fire-proof receptacle for their storage, whether the environment was damp, and whether his place generally displayed a want of order or arrangement.[25] La Trobe was impressed with this vision for capturing Victoria's registration data. His instructions to Lonsdale in March 1853 read: 'Let every arrangement be made as far as possible to carry the system proposed into effect - emendations or alterations made be made according to circumstances. CJL.[26]

Thomas Ham, 1821-1870, lithographer
The Government Offices, Melbourne, 1845
Lithograph, after a drawing by Joseph Pittman
Published by the Port Phillip Patriot
Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria, H989
Government Offices built 1844-1846 on the south east corner of William and Lonsdale Streets, referred to as Government House

Acting Registrar-General

The *Registration Act* was set to commence on 1 April 1853, but in practical terms it did not operate until after 1 July 1853. Archer set to work, creating new forms, and appointing District Registrars in thirty-five registration locations within sixteen registration districts, declared on 11 April 1853.[27] The districts followed boundaries of the *Victoria Electoral Act 1851*, as Archer recommended. Archer's appointment as Acting Registrar was gazetted on 25 April 1853.[28] A subsequent appointment as Acting Registrar-General was effective from 1 July 1853.[29]

Now with a substantive position, Archer proceeded to saturate the colony with news of the scheme. The *Government Gazettes*, the *Victoria Commercial and Nautical Almanac* for 1855, handbills and repeated newspaper articles, advertised the arrival of compulsory registration.[30] One notice shows the government's strategy in appealing to the usefulness of information. It said

that compulsory registration was in everyone's interest because:

> As every inhabitant of the colony may, at some time or other, be interested in knowing the time and date of some birth or death; and as a complete system of registration will prevent much litigation in future years, and otherwise protect individual rights of property; besides throwing light on many social questions, as to duration of life among children and the upgrown population, to the increase of statistical science and the general advantage of the inhabitants of Victoria; it is of utmost importance that they should be well-acquainted with the nature and provisions of the Act…under which the new registration system has been formed.[31]

J Tingle, engraver
Steam Packet Wharf, Mack's Hotel &c, Geelong, 1857
Steel engraving, after a watercolour by S T Gill
Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria, H15079

For six months, Archer worked hard to progress the roll-out. He later recalled that in August 1853, La Trobe told him 'We are all delighted to have hit upon you Mr Archer. You have the head that we wanted'.[32] At the end of December 1853, however, La Trobe appointed his private secretary, Scots-born Major Norman Campbell JP, to the substantive position of Registrar-General.[33] Archer wrote to his aunt in England in May 1854 expressing his bitter disappointment. In part it reads:

> I was the originator of the Dept. and formed it wholly and the general belief was that I should hold the head position…Our former Colonial Secretary and now Colonial Treasurer, Captain Lonsdale, told me he considered I might have had it. However, to great surprise of people generally, Mr La Trobe wishing to provide for Major Norman Campbell, his private Secretary, gave him the appointment; and the outburst of indignation that resounded on all sides, on my behalf, is said to have been unparalleled in the Colony. Both the *Herald* and the *Argus* took it up in the most vigorous style and Leader after Leader appeared denouncing the government in terms of measured dignity and severity'.[34]

Campbell's was an unpopular appointment.[35] Critics claimed that he had no experience of the work of a Chief Registrar, while Archer had volumes. But this may be incorrect. Campbell was on the Melbourne Board of Management of the Professional Life Assurance Company, the headquarters of which were in London,[36] so it is possible that he had input into the *Registration Bill* in 1852. Archer's disenchantment at Campbell's elevation was ameliorated when he learnt that his own salary remained at £600, exclusive of the fifty per cent allowance for his house rent, a further £300.[37] On top of that, Governor La Trobe presented Archer with a gratuity of £200, while his Registrar- General's Department colleagues gifted him 'a silver wine cooler weighing over 50 ounces' (1,417gms).[38]

As Archer told his aunt just weeks after, personal acknowledgement of Archer's work came from La Trobe on the day of the Governor's departure from Victoria, Friday 5 May 1854. La Trobe hosted an undress levee at Government House to thank his administration.

A McDonald, photographer
Very Revd J Bleasdale 1870
Photograph: albumen silver carte-de-visite
Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria, H96.160/1538
John Ignatius Bleasdale appointed to Geelong and Colac parish 1851. Prominent in scientific circles, president of the Royal Society of Victoria 1865.

La Trobe was standing with his Officers of State to receive guests when Archer entered the levee, was announced by the Governor's Aide-de-Camp, and bowed to La Trobe. The Governor interrupted his conversation, took Archer's hand and 'pressed it strongly' and said 'I am glad of your success and hope to hear of its continuance'. For William Archer, these words did away with 'any rankling feeling of any kind that might remain in my heart. It was a special honour done me…I have since learned that there were very few to whom he spoke or shook hands, out of those presented' that day.[39]

In time, too, Archer recognised that Campbell's appointment actually worked to his favour. As Archer told his aunt:

> I have the support of the press, a very powerful engine and the good will of government officers generally. Then I am relieved of much responsibility and get credit for all that goes well. Again Major Campbell and myself are first rate friends. He does not interfere with me and I travel and get my salary of £900 as before.[40]

Archer's district inspections

Travel was a critical element in getting the machinery into motion. In 1854 and 1855, Archer evangelised on the importance of registration all over the colony. He familiarised himself with the topography and the complexities associated with specific communities' take up of the *Registration Act's* provisions. He recruited literate gentlemen as registrars: squatters, school masters, chemists, druggists, shop owners and business men. But he preferred doctors because they were intelligent, efficient, respected, and 'are a good deal about their patients'.[41]

From time to time, Archer wrote inspection reports to Norman Campbell in great detail. These are enlightening on the practical difficulties of this pioneering legislation. In late October 1854, for example, Archer visited Western Victoria for an extended period. As instructed, he had started out for Geelong on 21 October by steamer, arriving the same evening and stayed at Mack's Hotel for two nights. He visited Registrar Quinan to discuss a doubtful marriage. He saw the Rev. Mr O'Connell at the new Catholic Mission, twelve miles from Geelong (Mount Duneed). Next he rode to Mount Moriac and stayed with Mr Haines and then travelled on to Duneed where he examined Mr Thomas Rae's registers. Rae ran a well-patronised store, was the postmaster, and had been Deputy Registrar for two months, going out on his horse looking for cases of birth. Archer's only objection was Rae's bad spelling. Of it, Archer wrote 'constant reference to a Dictionary and a Gazetteer has already done much for him, and provided he is well looked after, I have considerable hopes that he may yet turn out well. There appears a difficulty in getting anyone more eligible in the neighbourhood in spite of his defects'.[42]

Archer travelled west towards the Barwon River (Winchelsea), passing the Lady of the Lake Inn, where there were squatters and other families scattered about. Stirling's Inn (Barwon Inn) was full of shearers and hutkeepers. Mr Stirling was not prepared to become a deputy registrar. The schoolmaster, Mr Mitchell, agreed. He was an elderly respectable-looking man who had been a registrar in England and his writing was neat. The next day at 7am, Archer started for Colac. The twenty-five mile journey was hot, windy, unpleasant, and took five hours. After eating and resting, Archer went off to stay with the Rev. John Bleasdale, a Catholic priest.[43]

When Archer visited Colac's registrar, Mr Farrer, he judged the office insecure and noted there was no fire-proof receptacle for the registers, not even a tin deed box. Farrer told

Archer that he could not make visits beyond a radius of six miles from town. Rev. Bleasdale was a skilled bushman, and with him as a local guide, Archer travelled ten or twelve miles north of Colac by Lake Corangamite where he met two or three settlers. There he spoke with Dr David E. Stodart of *Corunnun Estate*, a squatter and formerly a doctor. He declined to be registrar of the area but undertook to ensure that births and deaths were registered at Colac. Archer and Bleasdale returned to Colac just before midnight, possibly because Archer's horse broke its bridle and bolted. The halter had to be mended and Archer was relieved to have a day off to rest and report. It was eight days since he left Melbourne.

With Bleasdale as his companion, the next morning Archer decided to go south east to the County of Polwarth, where there was no registrar. Archer felt it important to report this trip in great detail to Campbell because it illustrated just how hard the travelling was in the bush and reinforced the need for registrars in isolated places. It was about twenty miles as the crow flies and 'at the foot of the high barren ranges'. Travelling south they came upon several huts, and discovered that the parents there knew about registration. The pair reached the Barwon River to find nowhere to cross. A shepherd piloted them to a spot where there was a fallen tree lying across the river. Archer climbed along the log to the other side. Bleasdale whipped the horses over to Archer who caught them, and Bleasdale followed.

Guided by *Ham's Settler's Map*, the pair made for the 'Mission Station' where some stockmen fed them a pannikin of 'odious tea and a passable damper'. Following the stockmen's directions, the pair became lost, riding around for hours until night fell. With clouds above and low visibility, they rode for three or four miles through well-timbered land while heavy rain threatened. Rather than camp, they rode on through muddy marshes, eventually stumbling on a broad cattle track which led them to a shelter. The next morning in broad daylight they discovered that they had been within three miles of their destination for most of the preceding day. At Dean's Marsh, George Vicary Esquire agreed to be registrar for the area south of the Barwon River to Apollo Bay and Cape Otway inclusive. After a successful encounter, Archer and Bleasdale turned for Colac. But at the Barwon River crossing, the horses were frightened, and both bolted without their riders. Archer and Bleasdale had to catch them and ride back. They reached Colac at night.[44]

Archer's trousers were muddy and torn. While they were repaired and the horses rested, Archer visited the Colac Registrar and Dr Stodart, the latter having registered a birth already. Archer concluded that 'It is evidently a beneficial thing both for the Registrars and the Settlers to have some one now and then from head-quarters to visit them. It makes all the parties feel a livelier interest in the Registration System'. The next day, Archer's thirteenth of his south western visitation, the heat was excessive and Archer was unwell. He blamed sleeping in a hut, unpalatable tea and agricultural damper with 'morsels of salt junk' (meat cured with salt which was tough and unappetising). He stayed with Rev. Bleasdale for a day and then went on to Timboon.[45]

S T Gill, 1818-1880, artist
Zealous gold diggers, Castlemaine 1852
Watercolour and pencil on cream paper
Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria, H14136
Shows a family of gold diggers, such as the Mundys, at work.

In April 1855, Archer travelled north to the Central Gold Fields. From Kyneton he rode to Malmsbury, then the Back Creek (Taradale) and Elphinstone. Archer wondered if the registrar should be at Taradale instead of Elphinstone (Sawpit Gully) because the latter was in decline. After three miles of thick timbered country, he arrived at the outlying gold fields of Castlemaine where he stopped. The Deputy Registrar, Mr Landon, was away to Melbourne but had left someone with instructions to record any registrations, a practice of which Archer did not approve. Archer did meet Mr Colles, the Deputy Sheriff, formerly a registrar at Belfast. This pair designed Archer's route to Bendigo. He visited the Church of England, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic clergymen, each an advocate of registration. Discussions cleared up questions about how to obtain the correct information and how to correct errors. Archer checked their returns. He concluded this report writing: 'I find most unexpectedly that it is harder and more tediously slow to go over the little townships and from point to point on a large gold field like this, than to travel in purely pastoral districts where you can only see here and there a sheep station'.[46]

The public's view of registration

Support for the *Registration Act* was not universal to begin with. In 1852, the people of Portland presented a petition requesting that registration be hurried through the Parliament.[47] Some registration locations were found to be a concern. The Act provided for clerks of the Petty Session Courts, who were based at police stations, to be district registrars. In his 1854 report to Parliament, Archer wrote that 'A promiscuously crowded police office is not a desirable place in which females with young children should be compelled to attend, perhaps for hours, to register births'.[48]

Curious in retrospect, one provision of the *Registration Act* may explain missing birth registrations in one's genealogy. Under Section XII, if twelve months passed without a birth being registered, and the birth had not occurred at sea, it was illegal for a Chief Registrar or Deputy Registrar to register that birth, and no certified copies could be issued to vouch for it.[49] It was possible to get around this provision, but not easy. Evidence of a baptism could be presented, the equivalent of a statutory declaration signed and submitted to the Registrar-General. But clearly the system was designed to encourage compliance. While registration was compulsory, it did not cost anything as incentive.[50] After birth registration, parents were entitled to a certificate of birth without charge. In theory, it included all of the data the informant had supplied to the relevant district registrar. But as many certificates show, the attendants at the birth were not always recorded in the 1850s.

Ann Mundy exemplifies the enthusiasm for registration. During a difficult childbirth in 1855, her first baby was sacrificed to save Ann's life. She recovered and in 1856 Ann and her husband, Henry, moved to Brown's Diggings south of Smythesdale. There, without incident, their second baby was born. In his memoirs, Henry Mundy recalled this happy event. Not long after the birth, Ann said to him:

> We will have to get the baby registered; the doctor told me so. So we will have to choose some names for him'. Names, I [Henry] said, how many? 'You and I' she said 'were baptised with only one Christian name, but that is old fashioned; every child now has two names or more'… The next thing I had to do was to walk into Maryborough to register George Francis which I did a couple of days after. 'Well did you register the baby?' was Ann's salute on my return.[51]

Archer certainly had most of the press on his side, mostly for registration's capacity to evince progress or decline in the colony.[52] In September 1854, when the first report of the Registrar- General's office appeared, the *Geelong Advocate and Intelligencer* proclaimed that 'The information contained in these returns [of BDMs] is exceedingly interesting, as evidencing the sanitary and social condition of the colony… about 2 percent of the total number of deaths of females from all causes have resulted from childbirth alone'.[53] There were critics too. In Bendigo, one newspaper wrote that 'a man might as well almost search for a nugget of one hundred pounds weight as for a copy of the Registration Act. Neither has Government made suitable arrangements for an efficient registration'.[54] As individuals discovered, ignorance of the Act was no defence and breaches were brought before the courts, especially for burial without a death certificate.[55]

A uniform and elaborate system

At the prorogation of Parliament in February 1853, La Trobe had summarised the activities of the Legislative Council. Of the *Registration Act,* he had high expectations. He said:

> I look upon the…Act as of no small importance to the Colony. It promises to secure the correct compilations of much valuable statistical information; mark the progress of the Colony; facilitate the proof of births, deaths and marriages; assist in tracing pedigree; and, by securing the publicity of deaths occurring under unusual or suspicious circumstances, contribute to the suppression of crime.[56]

Archer's first *Statistical Register* was published in September 1854. In it, he reported some of the valuable information that La Trobe had hoped for. Archer also acknowledged the role of Charles Joseph La Trobe in enabling his vision of statistical excellence. The Governor had taken 'a warm interest in the progress of the work, and read over with me [Archer] several of the proofs; and the spirit evinced by His Excellency communicated itself to most of the Government Departments'.[57] Archer considered the whole effort a triumph, declaring that 'England has nothing so complete…Victoria has therefore the honor of being the first to work out so uniform and elaborate a system; and hence the Mother country may learn something in the practice of the youngest of its Colonies'.[58]

Major Norman Campbell died unexpectedly in January 1859. Archer was

appointed Registrar-General, a position he held until 1874. There is no doubt that William Archer's shaping of a significant internal capability, the architecture for a civil registration system, was invaluable. Archer was a clever man, adept at understanding human nature and skilled at designing a system that was readily embraced. His replacement of police stations as places of registration, with medical doctors' and others' houses, was inspired. His inclusion of attendants at maternity bedsides has enabled us to examine this realm of practice and subsequent moves to regulate women who practised in it. His remarkable Nosological Tables established a process for categorising death and disease that has stood the test of time. Within the space of five years, this complex regulatory tool of compulsory registration had become part and parcel of everyday life for Victorians. Lieutenant-Governor Charles Joseph La Trobe and his administration had the foresight to plan such a system in the first place, before William Archer arrived to implement it. For this, La Trobe and his administration deserve credit.

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La Trobe and Georgiana McCrae: fact and fiction

By John Barnes

John Barnes is Emeritus Professor of English at La Trobe University. His interest in La Trobe has a personal aspect, as his great-grandmother came from a Swiss family which emigrated to Victoria from Neuchâtel in 1854. John is a long-time member of the La Trobe Society, and was formerly on its Committee. In this article, he discusses some instances of 'faction' that emerged during research for his newly completed manuscript of a biography of La Trobe.

Everyone likes a 'good story', and it is sometimes said that tabloid journalists 'never let the facts get in the way of a good story'. Biographers know that their primary responsibility is to search out the 'facts', to test the evidence, to weigh probabilities, and to resist the lure of a 'good story' that has no factual basis. Especially challenging to the scrupulous biographer are family legends, oral histories that have been passed on from one generation to the next and never questioned. Once a 'good story' takes hold of the public imagination—or even just the family imagination—it isn't easily dislodged, even when its inaccuracy has been authoritatively demonstrated. In her thoroughly researched biography of Georgiana McCrae, which was published over twenty years ago, Brenda Niall gives short shrift to the 'legend' that La Trobe and Georgiana were 'lovers'. What is remarkable is that the 'legend' ever gained currency. The explanation seems to lie in Hugh McCrae's imaginative 'editing' of his grandmother's diary, which was published as *Georgiana's Journal* in 1934.[1]

When Georgiana died in 1890 H.G. Turner, who later produced a history of Victoria, wrote an obituary, in which he praised her as one of the women who kept alive 'ideas of refinement and principles of taste during the "dark ages" of our colonial history'.[2] He stressed her role as a hostess in Melbourne, saying that 'in conjunction with her husband she was wont to entertain a great deal of company, Mr La Trobe, the Lieutenant-Governor, being a constant visitor and attached friend'. This reference to La Trobe pinpointed the social status of the McCraes, which Turner underlined with the remark: 'Hither came also the bishops, the judges, and other minor luminaries together with nearly all the stray visitors to the colony'. Later, referring to the 'charming country house' at Arthur's Seat, Turner enthused that there 'she was always ready for the entertainment of visitors, to whom she extended an almost Arabian hospitality'. He singled out Sir John and Lady Franklin as among those enjoying this hospitality; and then, to indicate 'how well Mrs McCrae was known to the early colonists, and the esteem in which the society of the day held

her', he went on tell the story of how Georgiana stood in for Sophie La Trobe at the opening of Prince's Bridge in 1850.

Georgiana's association with colonial vice-royalty is one of the strongest impressions that a reader takes away from *Georgiana's Journal*. In its first edition Hugh McCrae gave no account of the history of the diary and no hint of his editorial practices, so readers naturally assumed that he had not altered anything. When a second edition was published in 1966, his daughter, Huntly Cowper, contributed a foreword mentioning that Georgiana had written out her diary in her old age (which leaves open the extent to which she revised the original in the process of transcription), but in no way did Cowper disturb the assumption that the published text was exactly what Georgiana had written. For several generations historians have regarded *Georgiana's Journal* as a factual firsthand account of colonial life, and have quoted freely from it. By the time that Brenda Niall undertook to write Georgiana's biography, the general view was that expressed in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*: 'One of the most valuable records of Melbourne life in the 1840s, the journal is also remarkable as the reflection of a distinctive, lively personality'.[3] However, Brenda Niall discovered, as Marguerite Hancock had some years earlier, that Hugh McCrae's version of his grandmother's diary was an unreliable record.[4] Since then Thérèse Weber, who has compared it with Georgiana's own transcript of her diary, has conclusively documented in great detail how far the book is from being a work of scholarship.[5]

Some insight into Hugh McCrae's attitude towards his material can be gained from his later treatment of an earlier diary from which he quotes in his Introduction to *Georgiana's Journal*. He went on to 'write up' this other diary to produce a prose narrative, entitled 'Georgiana in England 1804-1829'. When his manuscript was serialised in *Southerly* in 1947-48, he described his work as 'Built up and imagined by Hugh McCrae on a strong foundation of truth'. In *Georgiana's Journal* he had not written up his grandmother's Australian diary, but neither had he preserved it. Without giving any indication to the reader, he had reconstructed the text by omitting details and, sometimes, whole entries, while elsewhere adding descriptive details and rephrasing entries, and in at least one significant instance completely inventing an entry.

Georgiana McCrae, 1804-1890, artist
Self-portrait, c.1828
Watercolour on ivory laid down on card
Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria, H89.182/1

Johann Friedrich Dietler, 1804-1874 (attrib.)
Charles Joseph La Trobe, c.1835 (detail)
Oil, frontispiece to The Rambler in Oklahoma (Oklahoma City, Harlow, 1955)

An important consequence of such editorial interventions was to emphasise Georgiana's association with the La Trobes. In the small and unpolished society of Port Phillip in the 1840s there is no doubt that the McCraes were among the people whom the La Trobes found congenial, and that a friendship developed between the two couples. Georgiana does not expatiate on her friendships, most of the time merely listing the names of visitors and those on whom she called. At first, there is not much mention of the La Trobes. After an initial visit to *Jolimont* on 18 March 1841 there is no other reference to any exchange of visits until 9 September that year, when Georgiana went with her boys to *Jolimont* to sit with Mrs La Trobe, who gave them cakes, and claret and water. Then there is no further mention of the La Trobes until 7 September 1842. The

entry in *Georgiana's Journal* for that day reports a remarkable exchange between La Trobe and his wife in front of Georgiana:

> After a visit to Jolimont, I told Mr McCrae what I had heard. Madame (speaking in her husband's presence) said of him, 'He has too many irons on the fire'; whereupon he made this rejoinder: 'Not *too* many, my dear, but some that should be tolerably hot ones when it comes to the handling.' Mr McCrae, who wasn't in his best humour, compared Mr La Trobe to Major Davidson's hen—that hopped from one egg to another, so that the whole setting became addled.

On the face of it, this diary entry looks like convincing evidence of an easy intimacy having developed between the La Trobes and the visitor. From what is known of Sophie, however, it seems quite improbable that she would have made any criticism, however mild, of her husband's performance of his duties—and even more improbable that she would have made her criticism in Georgiana's presence. What appears in the book edited by Hugh McCrae may be based on 'a foundation of truth', but it is not in Georgiana's transcript of her diary, where the only record for that day reads: 'Busy gardening — Mrs Bunbury arrived.' There may have been a family 'legend' that led Hugh McCrae to feel authorised to invent the scene; but, in light of his extended note that follows, it seems more likely that he took liberties with Georgiana's text in order to push his own view of La Trobe as an administrator.

Georgiana makes only passing reference to such public matters as La Trobe's struggle with Judge Willis (see entries for 24, 28, 29 June 1843). She does not comment on the increasing turbulence during La Trobe's superintendency, and expresses no opinion about his handling of his official responsibilities. Hugh's notes, however, fill out the diary record, giving it an historical dimension that it would otherwise lack. For instance, the only reference in the diary to Major St John is of his bringing Georgiana a cos lettuce. Hugh McCrae comments that St John was a magistrate and that the lettuce no doubt represented a fine: his note on the accusations of bribery against St John provides a context that is not there in the diary. Hugh seems, in fact, to have been frustrated by his grandmother's lack of interest in the ideas and attitudes of the public figures whom she knew. In a letter to his publisher while working on the diary, he complains: 'Georgiana maddens, through leaving her characters conversationless. Fancy allowing Wentworth, or Ben Boyd, to pass from her table, without a mention of what either had said'.[6] Georgiana may well have been interested in the conversations of such men when they came to dinner, but in her diary she merely notes their names. Like Sophie La Trobe she was focussed on family and domestic affairs, and most of the time it is in this personal context that La Trobe appears in her diary.

By the middle of 1843 when Sophie was giving birth to her third child, Cécile, the two couples were sufficiently close for Georgiana to help out by looking after Agnes, the eldest child, who played with the McCrae boys and shared lessons from their tutor. The Superintendent comes to the McCrae house, *Mayfield*, in his role as her father. He and Georgiana share a love of gardening, and he brings plants for her garden. Agnes, whose portrait she paints, is a link between the two families until she is sent to Switzerland in 1845. There is less contact between them after the McCraes, for financial reasons, move to Arthur's Seat that year, but the strength of the friendship is revealed in Georgiana's record of a stay at *Jolimont* in November 1850. Georgiana, who had come up from Arthur's Seat, was painting a miniature of Charley, the youngest La Trobe child, which may have been the reason for her visit. Her visit would have been especially pleasing to her hostess, as she was one of the few people with whom Sophie could converse and correspond in French, and she records a *tête à tête* during her stay, in which the two women explore distant connections between their families. Georgiana is led to talk about her French connections because on the previous day Mrs Perry, wife of the bishop and a close friend of the La Trobes, had commented on her speech, asking her whether she is a 'Britisher'. In *Georgiana's Journal* Hugh McCrae, for no apparent reason, omits Mrs Perry's observation that Georgiana pronounced some English words 'exactly as Mrs La Trobe does' (see entries for 17, 18 November 1850). It is not surprising that when Sophie, who was suffering from a neuralgic headache, chose to rest at home she asked her visiting friend to replace her in the La Trobe carriage when the new bridge over the Yarra was being opened.

Fortuitously, during her visit the news of Separation had reached Melbourne, so she was in a privileged position to observe and record the local reactions to what was regarded as a momentous development for the colonists. Two of her diary entries (11, 16 November 1850) have been quoted often by historians, believing that they were authentic on-the-spot descriptions; but they are doubly inauthentic, having been written by her sometime after the events, and many years later, freely re-imagined by her

Charles Joseph La Trobe, 1801-1875, artist
Jolimont, 1842
Watercolour
Archives de l'Etat, Neuchâtel

Georgiana McCrae, 1804-1890, artist
Mayfield, 1843
Pencil and coloured washes
Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria, MS 12831
Home of the McCrae Family 1842-1845, on 9½ acres (3.8 ha) on a bend in the Yarra River at present-day Abbotsford. Demolished 1962

grandson. Hugh McCrae himself notes the discrepancy between her account of the actual opening of Prince's Bridge and that of other contemporaries, and it does seem as if it had become muddled in her memory with another occasion. However, it is his reworking of what she wrote about the early morning at *Jolimont* that day that has done most mischief—albeit unintentionally. A comparison of Georgiana's transcript with the version printed in *Georgiana's Journal* reveals how Hugh McCrae gave dramatic shape to her notes on the early morning surprise musical performance:

Georgiana McCrae

> JOLIMONT 16TH November 1850
>
> I am quite "done up", with the extraordinary doings of today & the long fast (from 9 a.m to 5 p.m) — we were startled out of our sleep at 6 a.m by a Reveillée performed by the Saxe Horn Band & some singers, who gave us — 'Hark! the lark at Heav'ns gate sings, "Ciascun lo dice ciascun lo sa" — The National Anthem — & some stirring Polka Tunes to one of which the Band marched away — poor Madame who is suffering from Neuralgic headache — would gladly have foregone the well meant compliment — Mr La Trobe went out & thanked the party — [7]

Hugh McCrae

> 16th A day full of surprises and excitement. At 6 a.m. the saxhorn band began to play a reveillée outside "The Châlet": a performance which had been kept secret even from Mr La Trobe himself, who now appeared in a flowered dressing-gown, straining his eyes at the window. He held my sleeve while some of the gentleman put down their horns to sing "Hark, Hark the Lark!" in a key that was too high for them; yet it sounded better than the French *aubade* which immediately followed. After this they recovered their instruments and gave us stirring polka tunes, although poor Madame, who had one of her neuralgic headaches, would gladly have forgone that part of the programme. Mr La Trobe then walked out on to the veranda to put an end to the music, but with the opposite effect, for, no sooner did the performers behold him, than they joined, some with voices, some with saxhorns, in a tremendous rendition of the national anthem. His Honour bowed, and they would have gone through it again had I not led him into the house….So they marched away, still playing polkas.[8]

Hugh McCrae's pleasant fancy of Georgiana and La Trobe in their dressing gowns listening to the enthusiastic performers has been read in an unexpected way in recent years. In *Pioneer Women Pioneer Land* (1987) Susanna de Vries-Evans — hereafter 'Susanna de Vries', the name under which her later books have been published — writes of the scene: 'This was the only time when Georgiana's journal could be construed as indicating more than mere friendship for Charles La Trobe'.[9] By the time de Vries published *Strength of Spirit* (1995), in which a revised version of her essay on Georgiana appears, she had become aware of Hugh McCrae's rewriting of the diary, but

did not want to give up what she regarded as the 'intimate gesture' of La Trobe holding Georgiana's sleeve. She describes Georgiana's transcript as 'expurgated', and asks: 'Was this a detail Georgiana had related to George, Hugh's father, which he added to spice up the story or was it a proof of the strength of her affection for La Trobe?'[10] Clutching at a straw, she goes on to point out that in her diary Georgiana makes 'Even though her own marriage was now unravelling fast, an affair between her and the Governor seems unlikely.'[12] In her third version, *Females on the Fatal Shore* (2009), she abandons most of her previous speculations, and concedes that 'an affair seems very unlikely'.[13] Why then, one wonders, keep raising the possibility for which there is no evidence?

H. Nash, artist, active 1850
View of opening of the Princes Bridge, Melbourne, on Friday 15th November 1850
To commemorate the arrival of Separation
Dedicated by permission to His Honour C. J. Latrobe [sic] Esqr.
Lithograph
Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria, H2091

no mention of her husband Andrew touching her. (To be exact: Hugh McCrae does not have La Trobe touching Georgiana's person. In the early morning scene that he imagines, the household, including Sophie ('Madame'), is woken up by the band; Georgiana is joined by La Trobe, 'straining his eyes at the window', and when the bandsmen sing 'in a key that was too high for them' he holds her sleeve, which may be read as the reaction of a man with a sensitive ear. Hugh McCrae has Georgiana taking control of the situation: La Trobe goes out on to the veranda — which Susanna de Vries mislabels 'balcony' in a very inexact paraphrase — intending to put an end to the entertainment, but it continues until Georgiana leads him into the house.)

Although she suggests the possibility of a liaison between Georgiana and La Trobe, in three versions of the same essay Susanna de Vries ends up discounting it. In *Pioneer Women Pioneer Land* after much speculation her conclusion is: 'While Georgiana may have found La Trobe attractive, he was deeply in love with Sophie and she was good friends with both of them, so an affair at this time, whilst not impossible, seems unlikely.'[11] In her reworked essay in *Strength of Spirit* she emphasizes the breakdown of the McCrae marriage — 17 years later Georgiana applied for a judicial separation — and concludes:

The effect of Susanna de Vries's books has been to keep the notion of a romantic attachment in the public imagination. In her biography Brenda Niall tartly observes: 'It robs Hugh McCrae's scene of its aura of romance to remember that in November 1850 Georgiana was forty-six, and five months pregnant'.[14] Scenting romance, Susanna de Vries was ready to pass over such inconvenient facts and indulge in reckless speculation. As Thérèse Weber documents, she was influenced by Hugh's negative representation of his grandfather—through omission of entries—and gave her imagination free play in describing Georgiana's husband as a heavy drinker and a gambler.[15] In *Pioneer Woman Pioneer Land* she went so far as to say that Georgiana 'may even have contemplated the possibility of remarrying the widowed La Trobe'.[16] (La Trobe learnt that he was a widower a mere nine days before he left the colony.)

In all three versions of her essay on Georgiana, Susanna de Vries presents as evidence a 'fact' which is not mentioned by any other writer on La Trobe and his times. According to her, what she calls a 'pasquinade' or broadsheet was circulated in Melbourne following Georgiana's deputising for Sophie (at Sophie's request as we have seen) at the

Prince's Bridge opening, 'denouncing La Trobe for taking his mistress to the ceremony'.[17] She provides a footnote: 'A copy of this pasquinade was brought in for sale when I was head of the Rare Book Department in James R. Lawson, auctioneers of Sydney, along with some convict pardons. Unfortunately, the owners thought the documents worth far more than my estimate and decided not to sell'.[18] If this document should ever become available in the public domain it would certainly be evidence of the hostility which La Trobe experienced—but no more than that.

La Trobe had vociferous opponents who were not afraid to attack him. What makes the suggestion of an 'affair' between La Trobe and Georgiana so absurd is that even those opponents—and they include Edward Wilson, editor of *The Argus*, and John Pascoe Fawkner, both of whom Susanna de Vries names in *Pioneer Woman Pioneer Land* as possibly responsible for the broadsheet that she saw—were ready to concede publicly La Trobe's private virtues, while exposing what they considered his public vices. In a farewell address the Mayor of Melbourne, who was no political friend of La Trobe, was moved to say that 'your Excellency's personal character has ever been blameless, and your private conduct such as to render you an example to the community'.[19] There is nothing in either Georgiana's diary or Hugh McCrae's version of it that would unsettle this judgement.

Hugh McCrae's intervention in his grandmother's text created a work of 'faction' (a term coined some years ago to describe a combination of fact and fiction). It has less value than Georgiana's version as an historical source, but is more readable and entertaining. Adding to the readability are his notes on people and events, well described by Nettie Palmer as the 'exuberant comments of a grandson devoid of a sense of time who feels himself contemporary with his grandmother in her best days'.[20] Marguerite Hancock has rightly warned that *Georgiana's Journal* should be considered a work of literature rather than a historical document'.[21] Paul de Serville was more accurate than he realized when he wrote that the entry for 16 November 1850 in *Georgiana's Journal* was a scene 'worthy of a novelist's pen'.[22] Hugh McCrae's attitude to what he found in Georgiana's diary is more like that of a novelist with a taste for the picturesque than that of a scholarly editor concerned for the literal truth. While the trusting reader may enjoy unreservedly his lively image of colonial life in early Melbourne, the responsible historian cannot afford to take anything on trust.

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Edward Hulme: a lost Victorian artist

By Tim Gatehouse

Tim Gatehouse is a retired solicitor with an interest in historical research, particularly that of early Victoria. He is a distant relative of Edward Hulme.

The most significant and dramatic event of Charles La Trobe's term of office in Victoria was the discovery of gold in 1851, which resulted in a huge influx of population to the infant colony. The primary purpose of most immigrants was to improve their personal circumstances, but La Trobe was concerned that a single-minded obsession with the accumulation of wealth would not bode well for the future of the colony as a civilized country. In his response to the welcome he received on landing at Melbourne, La Trobe stated that:

> It will not be by individual aggrandizement, by the possession of numerous flocks and herds, or of costly acres, that we shall secure for the country enduring prosperity and happiness; but by the acquisition and maintenance of sound religious and moral institutions, without which no country can become truly great.[1]

Amongst the emigrants who left Britain to make a better life for themselves in Victoria was Edward Hulme.[2] He would have concurred wholeheartedly with La Trobe's sentiments, as he demonstrated throughout his long life in the colony.

Edward Hulme was born at Fulham five miles south west of London on 2 February 1818.[3] His parents, Daniel (1789-1823) and Mary (née Wood 1789-1875) were married at the Old Church of St. Pancras, Somerstown, on New Year's Day 1810. The baptismal records of their first four children Mary Ann, twins William Clough and Caroline, and Isabella indicate that the family lived in Henry Street (now Roger Street) Somerstown until the end of 1814, then moved to Fulham where three more children, Daniel, Edward and George were born. The family was still living at Fulham at the date of the 1841 census.

Daniel Hulme was a grocer, as were in all likelihood Mary's parents. In earlier life he had been a midshipman in Nelson's navy and had been wounded in one of the battles of the Napoleonic wars. Daniel's early death at the age of 40 when Edward Hulme was five years old was attributed by his family to the heavy drinking to which he had been accustomed in the navy. His

father's example led Edward Hulme to become a total abstainer.[4]

Six of Daniel and Mary Hulme's children survived to adulthood, and after Daniel's death Mary continued to run the grocery business in High Street Fulham.[5] Edward Hulme would appear to have received a sound education. The acumen he displayed in his business affairs, the pamphlets he wrote on matters of importance to him and his surviving correspondence are indicative of a learned, orderly and reflective mind. Hulme's firm views on religion and the high ethical standards he practised throughout his life can be attributed not only to his mother's commitment to the religious upbringing of her children, but also to the friendship of an influential cleric with whom the family was acquainted, Charles Blomfield (1786-1857), Bishop of London.[6] How the connection arose is not known, but was possibly the result of the family's grocery business supplying provisions to Fulham Palace, the nearby summer residence of the bishop.

Bishop Blomfield was renowned not only for his zeal as a prelate, with a particular interest in the higher education of the clergy, but also for his kindly and genial nature.[7] It would not have been out of character for him to have taken the fatherless Edward Hulme under his wing ensuring that he received an education worthy of his talents. The bishop certainly did his best to promote Hulme's career later in life. In his memoirs Hulme recalled that the only career he ever wanted was that of an artist, so he was fortunate through the bishop's influence to be enrolled at the Royal Academy School in London.[8] After completing his studies there, and according to one family source, also studying in Paris,[9] Hulme commenced his artistic career as an itinerant painter of portraits and landscapes, travelling mainly on foot from London to the nearby counties in search of commissions.

He obtained much work in Norfolk, once again through the good offices of Bishop Blomfield, who recommended him to Bishop Stanley of Norwich.[10] The bishop in turn introduced Hulme to the mayor of Norwich, William Freeman[11] who was prominent in local art circles. Freeman was a water colour artist himself and a member of the Norwich Society of Artists.[12] He was sufficiently impressed by Hulme's abilities to commission a portrait of himself in his mayoral robes, and was instrumental in obtaining other portrait commissions for Hulme, and purchasers for his landscapes.

It was in Norfolk that Hulme met his future wife, Jemima Land, beginning a relationship between the two families which was to profoundly influence the futures of both. Jemima was born in the village of Great Ryburgh, Norfolk in 1821,[13] the daughter of Joseph Land (born 1779) and his wife Mary (née Bush). Joseph Land was an agricultural labourer employed on the Sennowe Hall estate, then owned by the Morse-Boycott family,[14] and situated three miles from Great Ryburgh. There is something of a mystery surrounding the Land name. Joseph Land's parents were Joseph Beland and Josephte Hoffman, which indicate a French origin, but neither the date on which the name was anglicised nor the circumstances of the family's arrival in England is known. The Belands may have emigrated to England from French Canada some time after 1763 when the French territories in Canada were ceded to Britain at the conclusion of the Seven Years War. Another possibility is that they were Huguenot refugees of a century earlier.[15]

Edward Hulme aged 25 and the 22 year old Jemima Land were married at the village of Brisley, Norfolk, about five miles from Great Ryburgh in 1843. Jemima does not appear to have been living with her parents at the date of the 1841 census, so given her father's employment, she may well have been in domestic service near Brisley at the date of her marriage. Afterwards, she and Edward moved to Clapham on the outskirts of London, setting up house in Park Road, where Edward painted, specializing in miniature portraits, and also taught painting.[16] He exhibited two paintings at the Royal Academy exhibition in 1845, and one in 1854. In 1847 he entered the competition for the decoration of the recently rebuilt House of Lords, which replaced the building destroyed by fire in 1834. Competitors were allowed to enter two pictures, which had to be based on specific themes. Hulme completed one picture in the category of scriptural allegory. It was titled 'King of Kings and Lord of Lords', but was unfortunately disqualified due to a breach of the competition rules relating to the size of the figures depicted. However, by way of consolation, Sir Charles Eastlake, President of the Royal Academy[17] ordered that it be exhibited in Westminster Hall in consideration of its merit. Illness, probably typhus fever, prevented Hulme from completing the second painting for the competition. To recuperate he took his family to live at Higher Westerfield Farm near the village of Marldon, in the healthier climate of Devon. Here he continued to paint and also learned the rudiments of agriculture, knowledge which served him well in later life.

In April 1851 they moved back to London where Hulme worked on the final details of the decoration of the Crystal Palace in preparation for

Edward Hulme, 1818-1904, artist
Edward Hulme family, 1850
Oil
Private collection
Depicting himself, his wife Jemima, and their first
four children, Daniel, Edward, Arthur and Joseph
From a photograph in possession of the author

the Great Exhibition.[18] He continued to exhibit at the Royal Academy and to teach painting. One of his pictures of this period depicts himself, Jemima and their first four children. They are portrayed as a self-consciously respectable middle-class family, impeccably dressed, with one of the children, Arthur, being taught to read by his mother.[19] However the prospects of making an adequate living to support them remained elusive.

Jemima's family, the Lands, were also contemplating their future, seeing little prospect of advancement in England. By 1852 Joseph Land had died and two daughters had married, Jemima to Edward Hulme and Hepsabeth to Edward's brother William Clough Hulme, who was yet another grocer in the family. Three of Jemima's brothers, Edward aged 26, John aged 24 and Arthur aged 16 had left their home at Great Ryburgh to assist William Clough Hulme in his shop in High Street Putney, just across the Thames from Fulham.[20] The gold discoveries in Victoria were heralded in England at the beginning of 1852, presenting a brighter prospect for the Lands, so they made the decision to emigrate. It was a courageous decision for the 64 year old widow Mary Land, Jemima's mother, but she lived to eventually enjoy the hard won prosperity of her family, dying in 1875 at their farm at Milawa, near Wangaratta.[21]

The major responsibility for the family's emigration was borne by Edward Land, the oldest son. According to family tradition,[22] they landed at Sydney and walked to the diggings at Nine Mile Creek, later dignified by the name of Stanley, near Beechworth.[23] Here, after establishing their mining claim and setting up a primitive home, the rest of the family joined them.

By 1855 the glowing reports of life in Victoria sent back by the Land family convinced Edward and Jemima Hulme that the only way they would be able to adequately provide for their growing family, now numbering seven children, was to emigrate. The expense for a family of this size was considerable, so in the hope of defraying the cost of their passages and earning salaries as well, Edward applied to the emigration commissioners for the post of school master, and Jemima for that of matron, on the maiden voyage of the newly built clipper ship

Schomberg, due to leave Liverpool on its maiden voyage in October 1855.[24]As it transpired, these positions were available only to those with no more than three children. In this instance Bishop Blomfield's influence was not sufficient to persuade the emigration commissioners to deviate from the rules. So the Hulmes, having declined the well-intentioned suggestion that they circumvent the regulations by attributing four of their children to other passengers, had to pay their fares.

The delay in attempting to resolve this issue resulted in the family missing the sailing time of the *Schomberg*, although their luggage and Edward's paintings which he hoped to sell in Melbourne as a start to his career were already aboard ship.[25] Two weeks later they obtained passages on another emigrant ship, the *Sultana*, carrying 250 passengers to Melbourne.[26]

After the usual hazards and discomforts of such voyages, exacerbated by having seven young children to care for, they arrived in Melbourne on 10 January 1856. Their initial disappointment at the sight of the town enveloped in a dust storm was compounded by the news that the *Schomberg* had been wrecked at Peterborough on Victoria's south-west coast.[27] With all their belongings and Edward's paintings now lost, and having spent all their money on paying for their passages which they had hoped would be free, the family began life in the colony with just ten shillings capital.

They were fortunate to obtain accommodation on their first night at the Wesleyan Emigrants Home in Drummond Street, Carlton, now the site of the current Medley Hall. It had been established to assist emigrants in needy circumstances, where they would not be subjected to the temptations of the hotels. Shortly afterwards Edward found work in Collingwood digging potatoes and a two roomed cottage to rent in nearby Cambridge Street.[28]

His intention was to establish himself as an artist, and to this end he called on Bishop Charles Perry at *Bishopscourt* to present a letter of introduction from his longstanding patron Bishop Blomfield, who described Hulme as 'the son of an old respectable inhabitant of Fulham … a painter not without considerable talent'.[29] The bishops had been well acquainted in England. Bishop Blomfield was a strong advocate for the improvement of the education of the clergy, and had received much support for his efforts from the highly intellectual Charles Perry.[30] Bishop Blomfield was also strongly in favour of establishing firm foundations for the Church of England in British colonies, where it would not necessarily enjoy the privileged position it did at home. Charles Perry's appointment as first Bishop of Melbourne was therefore of considerable interest to him, and he assisted the Archbishop of Canterbury at his consecration.[31]

Bishop Perry's influence may have helped Hulme obtain some commissions, but if so, they were not sufficient to support his family. By 1856 there was considerable competition from artists returning to Melbourne from the goldfields without the fortunes they had hoped for, as well as from photography, which provided a cheaper alternative to painting for portraiture.[32] So Hulme made the decision to join Jemima's brothers, Edward and John Land, on their mining claim at Stanley, where they had been since 1852.

Leaving the children and Jemima, who was now pregnant with their eighth child at Collingwood, Hulme set out to walk the two hundred mile journey to Stanley. Considering the long journeys he made on foot in England, the walk may not have been as difficult as it would appear to today's readers, but it was a necessity in his straitened financial circumstances.[33] The frontispiece of Hulme's memoirs is a lithographed self-portrait at this period. He is depicted striding through the bush with a full beard, a cabbage-tree hat, a swag over his shoulder, a stick in one hand and a billy in the other: the complete Australian bushman, in marked contrast to the impeccably dressed gentleman in the 1850 family portrait. He had adapted well to colonial life.

In his first year on the diggings Hulme walked several times to Melbourne to visit his family, staying for two months at the end of 1856 to await the birth of their next child. During this time he worked on the interior decoration of the newly completed Parliament House and completed three paintings that were exhibited at the Victorian Exhibition of Art in December 1856. This had been organized under the patronage of some of Melbourne's most prominent citizens in attempt to raise an interest in art amongst a population obsessed with material gain. Hulme's entries were three oil paintings titled *Mount Wombat by Moonlight, Seymour at the Close of Day* and a portrait of George Symons, an auctioneer who had emigrated to Port Phillip in 1849 and died in Fitzroy in 1860. The two landscapes must have been inspired by the countryside through which Hulme passed on his journeys between Melbourne and Stanley. They were both offered for sale but it is not known if buyers were found. The portrait of Symons was lent to the exhibition by the sitter.[34] Despite having gone to the goldfields to make a living and hopefully a fortune like other artists of that period, Hulme must still have harboured hopes of establishing himself as an artist. In the

opinion of the art critic of the *Age* newspaper, the painting of Mount Wombat was '… well deserving of praise. The foreground with the drays and horses, and the men standing about with the tents and bushfire is well executed'.[35] Unfortunately the exhibition was not a success, the newspapers noting the small attendances and general lack of interest. The general Victorian public was not yet ready for art.

After the child's birth the family accompanied him back to Stanley, this time in the luxury of a wagon.[36] Here they thrived in their slab-walled shingle-roofed cottage surrounded by an orchard and vegetable garden. Hulme survived the dangers of mining, on several occasions narrowly escaping from collapsing shafts, the children survived the insanitary conditions and Jemima the perils of childbirth, three more children being born at Stanley, bringing the total to eleven.

Although Hulme and Jemima's brothers did not make a fortune from their mine, they made an adequate living, more than many miners were able to manage. As gold yields diminished agitation increased for Crown land, much of which was held by squatters paying relatively small licence fees to the government, to be made available for small farms. The Selection Acts of the 1860s enabled settlers with little capital to purchase Crown land over a period of time, conditional upon making improvements such as clearing and fencing.[37] In 1865, taking advantage of these provisions, Hulme and his brothers-in-law selected land on the King River near Wangaratta.[38]

A new phase of pioneering now began with clearing the land, sowing crops and raising livestock. In recognition of what appeared to be his main occupation at the time, splitting timber for fencing, Hulme facetiously referred to their new home in letters to his mother in England as 'Splitters Hall'. She took him seriously and sent her next letter to that address.[39] Prosperity came gradually, but was marred by the accidental drowning of fifteen year old George in 1865.[40] More land was selected, unsuccessful selectors were bought out, and by 1886 an estate of upwards of 2,500 acres with a brick homestead had been established. In 1891 Hulme and his sons purchased an additional property in the Riverina.[41]

Hulme's brothers-in-law Edward and John Land did not remain long at 'The Horse Shoe', their selection near Wangaratta. In the early 1870s they moved to Cudgewa in the Upper Murray district, where they too prospered. In 1907 a newspaper reported that their farm named *Ryburgh* after their home village in Norfolk comprised over 3,000 acres of rich dairying and cropping country.[42]

Despite the public apathy to the 1856 exhibition, the importance of art in transforming the colony into a civilized society was gradually realized in the wider community. Ever since the earliest days of settlement many forward-thinking colonists like Charles La Trobe and Redmond Barry had been aware of the need to establish cultural institutions similar to those they had known at home. A start was made with the Mechanics' Institute, Public Library, Botanic Gardens and the University, but even though, at Redmond Barry's instigation, a collection of plaster casts of classical statues had been installed in the Public Library, there was no public collection of paintings. In 1864 the trustees of the Public Library sought to remedy this by the purchase of a number of paintings from England, selected by Sir Charles Eastlake, President of the Royal Academy. These were to form the nucleus of the collection of the National Gallery of Victoria.

There was strong public sentiment that since the new collection was to be established with pictures from overseas, encouragement should also be given to local artists. Accordingly a competition for artists resident in Victoria was organized, the winner to receive the sum of two hundred pounds and have his picture on permanent exhibition with the newly-acquired paintings.[43] Forty-three entries were received, one being from Edward Hulme. He had continued to paint, even in the period when he was hard at work in his mine, as shown by his painting of Stanley township in 1858. Painting must have come as a rare but welcome relaxation from toil and the responsibilities of his growing family. With the rather unusual title *Flora Australis Vulgaris*, Hulme's entry was in fact a portrait of his family, a composition similar to the picture painted in 1850, but now with the family completed by the eleventh child Alfred born in 1864. It was described by the *Herald* newspaper art critic as 'a rather prettily painted family group … far from being devoid of merit, but the background is a little flat and uncertain.'[44] In the event he did not win, the prize going to Nicholas Chevalier for his painting *Buffalo Ranges, Ovens District,* still one of the best known paintings in the National Gallery of Victoria's collection.

During the next two decades when most of the routine work on the farm had devolved to his sons, Hulme was able to spend more time painting. His pictures were exhibited at Melbourne, Sydney and Auckland, and on occasions in London. Those not sold or which had been painted for his own pleasure were displayed in his house.[45] In Melbourne, Hulme

exhibited at the Victorian Academy of the Arts between 1876 and 1882. The academy had been founded in 1870 and was the forerunner of the Victorian Artists Society established in 1888. Most of his exhibits were landscapes of the King River and north eastern Victoria. Hulme's prices at one exhibition ranged from 15 to 52 guineas.[46] He won a silver medal for a landscape at the Sydney International Exhibition in 1879,[47] and also exhibited at the International

It was not only on art that Hulme had strong views. He occasionally went into print in the form of pamphlets on other subjects of concern to him, any proceeds from their sale being donated to the temperance movement. His views on temperance were largely formed by his family's experience of his father's alcoholism. Having taken the pledge of abstinence as a young man he never wavered and advocated the cause for the rest of his life, in word and

Edward Hulme, 1818-1904, artist
Off for the 200 miles' tramp, 1856
Self-portrait of Hulme on his way to the Ovens gold diggings
Lithograph
Frontispiece of his memoirs, A Settler's 35 Years' Experience in Victoria, Australia 1856-1891 (Melbourne, 1891)

Exhibition at Melbourne in 1880. Hulme sold many paintings in Sydney to Eccleston du Faur, a senior public servant in the Lands Department of New South Wales, and a major patron of the arts.[48] In 1886 Hulme exhibited two paintings at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London, titled *Diggers Camp on the way to the New Eldorado, with Black Guide,* and *Evening Glow, Upper King Valley*, which drew on his mining and farming experience for inspiration.[49]

Hulme took a keen interest in the affairs of the Victorian Academy, as his correspondence with its secretary, the long suffering Frederick Gibbes shows. He made many suggestions for improving the hanging and display of paintings at its exhibitions, of which he was very critical and for which he blamed the poor sales of his work in Victoria compared with his success at exhibitions in other colonies.[50] In one letter to Gibbes, Hulme urged the academy to apply to the government for financial assistance, suggesting that a deputation of 'gentlemen, not artists' be sent to plead its cause.[51]

deed. Not only was alcohol barred from his house, but he refused to grow hops on his farm, and did not even approve of wine being used in church services for communion. He subscribed to a theory that the wine used in the earliest years of the Christian church was non-alcoholic.[52] He regarded his own material success as evidence of the benefits of abstinence, his land holdings having in part been augmented by the purchase of what he termed 'drunk out farms'. He cherished the belief that all abstainers had prospered as colonists.[53] There was little sympathy for human weakness.

Hulme's opinions on other social and political matters were greatly influenced by his early association with John Bright (1811-1889), the British radical politician. With Richard Cobden, Bright was one of the founders of the Anti-Corn Law League. The Corn Laws, taxes imposed on foreign grain imported into Britain, artificially inflated the price of British grain, to the benefit of the land owners who produced it and the detriment of the general population

who consumed it, the worst affected being the poor. Of these 'free traders' as they were known, Cobden was the strategist and Bright the orator. He had developed his oratorical skills as a young man campaigning for the temperance movement, through which Hulme, a fellow campaigner met him. In his evidence before the Victorian government's Tariff Commission in 1894, Hulme stated that he was 'a free trader, having learnt free trade under honest John Bright '.[54]

on family farms, which encouraged the most efficient use of land and reinforced the social fabric of the community. He favoured breaking up the large pastoral estates for the creation of small farms.[56] He may not have appreciated that his own success was due not only to hard work, but also to the high quality of the land he selected. This was not always the case in other parts of Victoria where the results of closer settlement were often disappointing.

Edward Hulme, 1818-1904, artist
Stanley, Ovens, c.1859
Lithograph, hand coloured
Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia, NK246

Hulme may also have imbibed more from Bright than his free trade principles. Bright was a Quaker. Hulme, despite his upbringing in the Church of England and the assistance he received from Bishop Blomfield, was at least from the date of his arrival in Victoria, firmly non-sectarian in his religious outlook. When registering his family at the Wesleyan Emigrants Home he nominated his religion as 'Christian brother', a term used by members of the many dissenting religious denominations opposed to the teaching and influence of the established churches.[55]

Bright was also opposed to the privileged position of Britain's landed aristocracy, especially in Ireland where he advocated the transfer of the Protestant landlords' estates to the Catholic tenant farmers. Bright's anti-landlord opinions may have influenced Hulme's views on land ownership. Hulme believed that the true wealth of a country was founded on agriculture, based

As part of his small farm ethos, Hulme supported the introduction of irrigation to increase agricultural production. In one of his publications he pressed for the planting of vineyards watered by irrigation, but strictly for the production of dried fruit, not wine. He predicted that the tropical areas of Australia would eventually be an enormous source of food production, but only with Asian labour as Europeans could not stand the climate. He accepted that this would eventually lead to the diminution of the European proportion of the population, but seemed untroubled by the prospect, an attitude not commonly held in the years immediately preceding the adoption of the White Australia Policy.[57]

Hulme was too practical a man not to be able to justify making exceptions to his principles when necessity required. In his evidence to the Tariff Commission in 1894 he

stated that as a 'free trader' he was opposed to the stock tax levied on the movement of livestock between colonies. He thought it impeded the prospect of federation which by that date was a much debated topic. By that date also he was the owner of properties in both Victoria and New South Wales, so the tax affected him personally. However, he then went on to say that he was a 'temporary protectionist', on the grounds that tariffs helped stimulate the growth of new industries, an important consideration while Victoria was in the grip of the depression that followed the collapse of the land boom. When economic conditions improved the tariffs could be lifted. Hulme himself had pioneered the cultivation of lavender on a commercial scale for the manufacture of perfume from its oil, for which he stated there was an 'unlimited market'. Of course there should be no duty levied on the perfume bottles he had to import. Such was his enthusiasm for this project that he named his farm *Lavender Villa*.[58]

Despite being a practical farmer, Hulme was unusual for his time in having an apparent appreciation of the principles of conservation before the term was commonly understood. He believed that humanity had been given the earth to use responsibly. He did not approve of the total clearance of land for farming and advocated the retention of areas of natural bush land, at least on hilltops.[59] These views must have been formed after witnessing the devastation of the landscape during the decade he spent mining. His artist's eye was alive to the beauty of the unspoiled countryside, which to others was only a resource to be exploited.

Edward Hulme died in 1904 at *Lavender Villa* on the farm he had literally carved out of the wilderness. He was in many ways an exemplar of the successful colonist, who left Britain where he perceived there was no future for his family, overcame initial difficulties and adjusted to colonial conditions. He not only became the owner of 'numerous flocks and herds' and 'costly acres', to quote Charles La Trobe, but all in accordance with a strict canon of moral precepts. In so many ways a conventional man of his time, some of his opinions would have appeared radical, if not visionary, to his contemporaries.

Although Hulme had to forsake art as a career, he never gave up painting and may have had greater success had he been able to devote more time to it. By the time he had the leisure to do so, public taste had been conditioned by the high standards of Von Guerard, Chevalier and the Heidelberg school. Despite not being in the first rank, Hulme's paintings of his family, their home and the surrounding countryside are still of considerable merit. In 1979 their significance was recognized by the holding of a memorial exhibition at the Albury City Art Gallery, where after a short period of public appreciation, they returned to the enjoyment of Hulme's descendants.

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1 *Port Phillip Patriot and Melbourne Advertiser*, 7 October 1839, p.4 (cited in Dianne Reilly Drury, *Charles Joseph La Trobe: the making of a governor*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2006, p. 146).

2 Not to be confused with Frederick Edward Hulme 1841-1909, English artist, teacher and botanist. Research does not reveal any family connection between this artist and Edward Hulme, at least as far back as their respective grandparents, but earlier generations may have been related.

3 *Edward Hulme (1818-1904): Memorial Art Exhibition*, Albury City Art Gallery, 23rd May-15th July, 1979.

4 Kerryn Taylor, Hulme family History, http://ancestorchaser.blogspot.com.au/2014/02/hulme-family-history-st-pancras-and.html, posted on internet 18 February 2014.

5 Ibid.

6 Edward Hulme, *A Settler's 35 Years' Experience in Victoria, Australia 1856-1891*, Melbourne: M.L. Hutchinson, 1891, p.3.

7 Warwick William Wroth, 'Blomfield, Charles James (1786–1857)'*Dictionary of National Biography*, London: Smith Elder& Co., 1885, Volume 5, pp.229-230.

8 The Royal Academy of Arts was founded in 1768 by George III to promote the arts through education and exhibitions, in order to raise the status of the professional artist and establish a sound system of training for artists.

9 Oral reminiscences of Mrs Lily Redding, nee Land, niece of Edward Hulme, as related to the author.

10 Edward Stanley, 1779-1849, of a notable Cheshire family, Bishop of Norwich 1837-1849, father of explorer Owen Stanley.

11 William Freeman, 1784-1877, mayor of Norwich 1843, member of family firm of carvers, gilders and manufacturers of artists' materials. President of the Norwich Society of Artists 1820. Exhibited at the Royal Academy.

12 Norwich Society of Artists, founded in 1803, the first provincial art movement in Britain, inspired by the beauty of the Norfolk countryside and influenced by the Dutch landscape painters.

13 *Memorial Art Exhibition*.

14 UK censuses, 1841 and 1851.

15 In 1685 Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes which had granted freedom of worship to French Protestants, resulting in the flight of many Protestants to neighbouring protestant countries.

16 *Memorial Art Exhibition.*

17 Sir Charles Eastlake, 1793-1865, artist, art historian and gallery director. In 1847 he was secretary of the Fine Arts Commission, the organization that dispensed government patronage to art. In 1850 he became President of the Royal Academy and was knighted, and in 1855 was appointed first director of the National Gallery.

18 UK census 1851.

19 The children were: Daniel born 1844, Edward born 1846, Arthur born 1848 and Joseph born 1849. The fifth child George, born in 1851, is not included indicating that the picture must have been painted c.1850.

20 UK census 1851. Arthur Land was always known in the family as 'Putney'.

21 Tombstone of Mary Land, Milawa cemetery, Victoria.

22 Redding.

23 Stanley was named after Edward Stanley, 1799-1869, Prime Minister of Great Britain 1851, 1858-1859, 1866-1868; succeeded his father as 14th Earl of Derby in 1851.

24 The matron was responsible for the social welfare of the passengers. They were not present on all emigrant ships.

25 In her reminiscences Lily Redding stated that the reason for missing the *Schomberg* was the family's protracted farewells in London.

26 Hulme, *A Settler's 35 Years,* p.4 .

27 Despite rumours that Captain Forbes had deliberately run the ship ashore in a fit of pique when he realized he would not break the record for the sailing time to Melbourne of which he had boasted, he was cleared of all blame by an official inquiry, although his career was ruined.

28 Hulme, *A Settler's 35 Years,* p.9.

29 *Memorial Art Exhibition.*

30 A. de Q. Robin, *Charles Perry Bishop of Melbourne*, Nedlands, W.A., University of Western Australia Press, 1967, p.33.

31 Robin, p.34.

32 Elizabeth Findlay, 'Art and Patronage in Early Colonial Melbourne: John Pascoe Fawkner and William Strutt', *The La Trobe Journal*, Nos. 93-94, September 2014, pp.40-41.

33 Hulme, *A Settler's 35 Years,* p.4.

34 *Catalogue of the Victorian Exhibition of Art, December 1856*, Melbourne, 1856. Neither landscape was included amongst the paintings owned by Hulme's descendants exhibited at Albury in 1979, so they may have been sold.

35 *The Age,* 20 December 1856, p.3.

36 Hulme, *A Settler's 35 Years,* pp.13-14.

37 Margaret Kiddle, *Men of Yesterday*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1962, p. 231.

38 Hulme, *A Settler's 35 Years,* p.15.

39 Ibid, p.19.

40 Ibid, p.24.

41 Ibid, p.27.

42 *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, 10 May 1907 p.20.

43 Michael Watson, 'The Victorian Art Exhibition 1864-1865', *The La Trobe Journal*, No. 88, December 2011, p.40.

44 Ibid, p.46.

45 Redding.

46 Joyce McGrath to David Hulme, 23 October 1878, MS 7593, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria.

47 *Memorial Art Exhibition.*

48 Edward Hulme to F.B.Gibbes, 25 March 1879, MS 7593, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria.

49 McGrath to David Hulme, 23 October 1878.

50 Hulme to Gibbes, 25 March 1879.

51 Edward Hulme to F.B.Gibbes, 20 October 1881, MS 7593, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria.

52 Edward Hulme, *Total Abstinence Defended* (pamphlet), Melbourne, M.L.Hutchinson, 1894.

53 Hulme, *A Settler's 35 Years,* p.30.

54 *The Age,* 25 April 1894, p.8.

55 Hulme, *A Settler's 35 Years,* p.7.

56 Ibid, p.33.

57 Ibid, p.45.

58 *The Age,* 25 April 1894, p.8.

59 Hulme, *A Settler's 35 Years,* p.31

Unidentified women of the convict ship, HMS Rajah
The Rajah Quilt, 1841
Pieced medallion style unlined coverlet: cotton sheeting and chintz appliqué, silk thread embroidery, 325 x 337.2 cm
National Gallery of Australia, NGA 89.2285

'The Good Old Rajah': and those who sailed in her

By John Botham

John Botham is webmaster of the La Trobe Society and a member of the editorial committee. He spent a career in the RAF and with the Civil Aviation Safety Authority before developing an interest in early Victorian history. He assisted with the production of La Trobe's 'Jolimont: A Walk Round My Garden' (2006) and worked tirelessly thereafter to develop an understanding amongst government and the public of the heritage importance of the La Trobe's Cottage. From 2009 to 2010 was Vice-Chair of the Friends of La Trobe's Cottage.

'Nothing has given me more pleasure than to see the good old Rajah and Mrs and Capn Fergusson.' La Trobe wrote these words to his eldest daughter Agnes in 1846.[1] So who were the Fergusons he was so pleased to see, and what was so good about the 'old Rajah'?

The *Rajah* was an unremarkable, three masted barque of 352 tons,[2] indistinguishable from the hundreds of ships plying the seas during its nine voyages between Great Britain and Australia from 1838 to 1851. It was, however, remarkable for the people it carried and their links with La Trobe.

The *Rajah* was built in Whitby in 1835,[3] where the shipyards, producing high quality ships from teak and English oak, were beginning to feel the incoming tide of steel ship building, and were yet to feel the flood-tide of steamships.[4] The *Rajah* was probably built and owned by John Langborne, and sailed between Whitby and Quebec.[5] After Langborne's death in 1836 the *Rajah* was sold to J. Smith of Leith,[6] the port of Edinburgh.

Smith appointed a new Master, Charles Ferguson, a twenty five year old local Leith man. Under his command, the ship sailed from Leith in April 1838 with nineteen passengers and cargo for Hobart[7] and Sydney. After its return, it stayed in Leith for most of 1839 having damage repaired, so its young Master might have gained some valuable experience on the voyage. The *Rajah* sailed for Sydney again at the end of the year returning to London where it was fitted out for the transportation of convicts.[8]

The Story of the Rajah Quilt

On 5 April 1841, the *Rajah* sailed from Woolwich, bound for Hobart, with one hundred and eighty female convicts on board.[9] During the

Walters, Samuel, artist
The Barque Joseph Cunard, 1839
Oil on canvas
Royal Museums Greenwich
A barque similar to the Rajah

Paul Jean Clays, 1819-1900, artist
The Port of Leith
Oil on canvas
Ocean's Bridge Group Ltd
The port of Leith with the original Arthur's Seat behind

voyage, some of the convicts produced the only surviving patchwork quilt made on a convict ship. The *Rajah Quilt* is now in the National Gallery of Australia collection.

Accompanying the convicts on the *Rajah* were ten of their children, Surgeon-Superintendent Dr James Donovan, and three passengers: 'Rev. R. Davis, W.H. Herrick, Esq., and Miss Hayter'.[10] Dr Donovan, as Surgeon-Superintendent, was the government representative and naval agent on board, having overall responsibility for the convicts on non-nautical matters. He also undertook the role of naval surgeon. This had been common practice since 1815 in an attempt to reduce the number of convict deaths at sea.[11] The authorities did not provide any female supervision on board ships carrying female convicts. However, Elizabeth Fry and her British Ladies' Society for Promoting the Reformation of Female Prisoners had advocated for the appointment of matrons in prisons and convict ships.[12] They had selected Kezia Hayter as matron for the *Rajah* and she obtained a free passage 'with the understanding that she should devote her time during the voyage, to the improvement of the convicts'.[13] She had previously undertaken voluntary work at Millgate prison for Elizabeth Fry and had been inspired by a sermon preached by Reverend Robert Rowland Davies which, she wrote in her diary, 'first led me to settle to leave England'. Reverend Davis had held a number of colonial religious posts and was returning to Van Diemen's Land after accompanying his sick wife back to England.[14]

The Ladies of the Convict Ship Sub-Committee supplied the convicts 'with various articles of clothing, besides haberdashery, materials for needle-work, and knitting, (in order to afford employment during the voyage) and with books of instruction, comprehending that most blessed book whose value the Committee are anxious should be rightly appreciated — the Holy Scriptures.'[15] The Ladies noted that:

> The prisoners in the 'Rajah' were peculiarly favoured. A clergyman … went out in that ship as a passenger; and… the free passengers, the crew, and the prisoners, were assembled, as far as their several circumstances would admit, on the evening of each passing day, for the purpose of prayer and praise. Besides the advantage which the prisoners derived from the instruction given by the clergyman, they were also under the superintendence of a female of superior attainments, who had previously been an officer at the General Penitentiary…[16]

Miss Kezia Elizabeth Hayter was only twenty-three when she took on the role of matron to 180 'rough working-class convict women',[17] many in their fifties. She had been born into a cultured family, but became estranged from her mother when very young and appears to have had a difficult childhood. She was very fond of her uncle, the painter Charles Hayter; her cousin, Sir George Hayter, was painter to the Queen.[18]

The Ladies Sub-Committee had adopted the policy of dividing the women into 'classes of twelve, including the monitor, chosen from the number by the women themselves. As far as possible, those whose ages or criminality were similar were placed together'.[19] Each monitor was responsible for the good order and cleanliness of her mess, and for the organisation and cooking of the food.[20] The many other skills held by the convicts were utilised for teaching the children and other convicts, for helping in the ship's hospital and for occupations such as needlework. The Ladies supplied two pounds of patchwork pieces to each woman transported.[21] They considered that 'The time and ingenuity required in Patchwork, rendered it a particularly suitable occupation; and as the convicts were to have the things when done, to sell for their own profit on arrival, it was evidently their interest to turn their skill to the best account.'[22]

The convict women on the *Rajah* may well have made quilts for their own use, or for sale, but some decided to work together to produce a quilt for a special purpose. The inscription embroidered at the bottom of the quilt explains:

> TO THE LADIES
> of the
> Convict ship Committee
> This quilt worked by the Convicts
> of the ship Rajah during their voyage
> to Van Diemans Land is presented as a
> testimony of the gratitude with which
> they remember their exertions for their
> welfare while in England and during
> their passage and also as a proof that
> they have not neglected the Ladies
> kind admonitions of being industrious
> · June · 1841 · [23]

Kezia Hayter's efforts must have made a huge impact on the convict women. The quilt was 'an extraordinary work of art; a product of beauty from the hands of many women who, while in the most abject circumstances, were able to work together to produce something of hope'.[24]

There was someone else on board on whom Kezia made a huge impact, for in June 1841 she became engaged to Captain Charles Ferguson.[25]

The ship arrived in Hobart on 19 July 1841 and the *Hobart Town Courier* reported that

> The female prisoners brought out in this ship appear to be of a much better character than usual; their behaviour during the voyage was very good, doubtless in a great degree the result of the indefatigable care which appears to have been exercised both with reference to their morality and physical comfort.[26]

Four days later the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Franklin, visited the ship with his wife, Lady Jane Franklin. His address to the assembled convicts was well received and Lady Franklin noted in her diary that Sir John congratulated the convicts when shown the quilt.[27] Although some writers reported that the quilt was given to Lady Franklin and that she took it back with her to England for Elizabeth Fry, she made no mention of this in her diary.[28] It may have been taken back to England by Captain Ferguson, Kezia or Lady Franklin, but what is known is that it was found in Edinburgh and made its way the National Gallery of Australia in 1989.[29] It is most probable that the quilt returned to Britain in the *Rajah*, for, as we will see, all the likely keepers of the quilt returned to Britain on that ship.

On 22 August 1841, Captain Ferguson bade farewell to his betrothed in Hobart and sailed for India and Leith.[30]

Kezia's work for the Ladies' Society was now complete, apart from reporting on the conditions in the Cascades Female Factory, the workhouse for female convicts. However, before Lady Franklin had left England, she had made a similar agreement with Elizabeth Fry. She had also agreed to provide assistance to the convicts, but she had made little progress in the previous three years. However, Kezia's arrival, and example, reinvigorated her. She was most impressed by Kezia and invited her to stay at Government House and to assist with the education of her step-daughter, Eleanor. Kezia declined the offer, preferring more independence. She worked at a girls' school, offered her services to the Female Factory and encouraged Lady Franklin to form a committee along the lines of the Ladies' Society. However, Kezia received much resistance from the Hobart establishment and press, and in April 1842 she moved to William Archer's property at *Brickendon*, near Longford, and became governess to the Archer children.[31]

Kezia's long wait was finally over when Captain Ferguson brought the *Rajah* back to Hobart on 23 June 1843.[32] After their marriage on 1 July,[33] Kezia joined Charles at sea and on 10 August, Captain and Mrs Ferguson sailed away to Sydney.[34]

The Bishop of Australia's voyage to Port Phillip

When the Rajah left Sydney on 15 September 1843 bound for England and via Port Phillip, William Grant Broughton, Lord Bishop of Australia, was amongst the passengers. Broughton was undertaking tours of his diocese, and he planned to visit the Port Phillip District. On Sunday, 17 September he wrote in his journal: 'Morning service at eleven, attended by the officers and crew. Preached on Mark vi. 50, 51, "He talked with them, and said unto them, Be of good cheer: it is I: be not afraid. And he went up unto them into the ship." A most attentive congregation.'

The Bishop's journal[35] provides an indication of the difficulties of sea travel at that time. On Wednesday, 20 September he wrote: 'Off the entrance [to Bass Strait]. Wind very strong from the north-west. All day employed in endeavouring to make the passage between the islands, but ineffectually.' The following night they finally entered Bass Strait, but the next day the gale resumed, preventing them from entering Port Phillip for the next three days. By 25 September the weather was more favourable. He wrote: 'Soon after midnight came off the port. Stood off and on, or lay to, until day-break. Stood on, and entered between the Heads at half-past seven, A.M. The pilot came on board, and we continued all day beating up towards Geelong, our place of destination.' The next day the ship finally anchored, but 'The distance from the ship to the landing-place was about five miles and a half. Had a very unpleasant tedious row to the shore, the wind being very strong and contrary.'

During his visit to Geelong, Bishop Broughton had meetings with the Church Committee, laid the foundation stone of Christ-Church and held prayers every morning and prayers with a sermon every evening, with good attendances. On 9 October he caught the 9am departure of the steamer *Aphrasia* to Melbourne. He wrote:

> The wind was north-east, and rather strong against us: but the vessel made head, and reached the wharf at Melbourne soon after three P.M., where I was kindly received by the Rev. A. C. Thomson, Captain Lonsdale, Mr. James Smith, and others[36] … In the year 1838, Melbourne contained but three houses deserving the name; and its population consisted of a few hundred souls. It is now a large metropolis, with suburbs covering a very great extent of ground, and with a population approaching to 8,000, more than one-half of whom are members of our Church. Shortly after landing, I received a visit from the excellent Superintendent of the District, C.J. La Trobe, Esq., who from that time, during the whole of my two months' residence, continued to render me the most valuable services, accompanied by the kindest hospitality and attention.[37]

William Nicholas, 1807-1854, artist
Bishop William Grant Broughton, 1843
Watercolour
State Library of
New South Wales, DG P3 / 18

Bishop Broughton stayed 'at Capt Coles[38] house which he has lent for the Bishop's accommodation with the servants to attend to him'.[39] The Bishop provided assistance with services at St James' Church:

> St. James's Church is a large structure, substantially built of a dark-coloured stone found in the neighbourhood. … with the exception of the smallness of the chancel, it is very satisfactory in its architectural character. It presents, however, the appearance of only bare walls, and is in a most incomplete state, both within and without, as well as burdened with a debt of 900/.,[40] which renders hopeless its completion at present: the area around it is not even enclosed. … But measures were immediately

Thomas Bock, 1790-1855, artist
Jane, Lady Franklin [*sic*], 1838
Chalk on paper
Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston, QVM.1928.FD.497

D F Murphy, engraver
Captn Sir John Franklin KHC, The Arctic Explorer, c.1845
Engraving on paper, after a painting by E P Hardy
National Portrait Gallery, Canberra, 2010.102
At foot of title: Sailed from the Thames in command of the Erebus & Terror steam sloops with 138 gallant companion officers & seamen on the Arctic Expedition May 19th 1845

> entered upon for promoting a fresh subscription for the reduction of that encumbrance. … there was another subscription in contemplation at the same time, for the erection of another church in the eastern quarter of the town.

After two months attending to the needs of the church in the Port Phillip District, Bishop Broughton boarded the *Midlothian* for Sydney. His departure followed the pattern of his arrival and gave a glimpse of the future direction of sea travel:

> December 12. —Weighed and proceeded down the port; but by the state of the wind, compelled to come to anchor off Shortland's Bluff. December 13.—Proceeded down to the Heads, but could not leave the port; the wind from south-east blowing strong into the mouth. December 14.—Weighed anchor early; but the wind failing, took up our former position. The steamer *Shamrock*, bound to Sydney, by way of Launceston, at that time appearing in sight, resolved to secure a passage, and removed from the *Midlothian* to the steamer. By nightfall, we had made two-thirds of the passage to Launceston.

Bishop Broughton saw the expansion taking place in the Port Phillip District and the impact that it was having on the church. Churches were being built with no clergymen to preach in them and he felt that a bishop was needed to take charge on site. He advocated for the establishment of a Bishop of Melbourne, which eventually led to Charles Perry's arrival in Melbourne in 1848.

Sir John and Lady Franklin's return to England

In 1843, Sir John Franklin was recalled from his position as Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land, having fallen foul of that scourge of early governors: dissent and undermining by local officials, compounded by lack of support from London.[41]

> From Hobart Town he had a magnificent and most affectionate send off. His passage to the harbour and from the harbour to the [schooner] *Flying Fish* which lay in the stream, was one long triumphant procession by land and water, and was described at the time as "a tribute of affection paid by a loyal and generous people to a truly good man…"[42]

The Franklins had booked a passage to England on the *Rajah* from Melbourne, perhaps

because of Lady Franklin's former friendship with Kezia Ferguson – a long voyage could prove very tedious with the wrong sort of company. The Franklins arrived in Port Phillip on 9 December 1843[43] to find that the departure of the *Rajah* had been delayed. Typical of the Franklins, they arranged some activities to fill in the time. On 19 December, leaving Sir John's daughter, Eleanor, at *Jolimont* with Sophie, they set off north with La Trobe and Frederick Powlett[44] to the Loddon River, via the Mollisons[45]. La Trobe and Sir John climbed to the summit of Jim Crow, later renamed Mt Franklin by La Trobe, and attended a corroboree. The Franklins arrived back at their inn in Melbourne at 2am on Christmas morning. La Trobe continued to *Jolimont,*[46] and the Franklins joined the La Trobes for Christmas dinner later that day.[47]

On 29 December the Franklins headed south, staying at Captain Reid's property at *Tichingorook* (now *The Briars* at Mt Martha). Captain Reid[48] and Andrew McCrae[49] accompanied them to the top of Arthur's Seat. At the summit, 'Sir John remarked … that it was "just 40 years since he … had stood on the self-same spot surveying the panoramic view of the then uninhabited wilderness".'[50]

On that occasion, Franklin had been a sixteen year old midshipman aboard HM Sloop *Investigator*, under the command of his cousin (by marriage) Captain Matthew Flinders. Flinders wrote of 27 April 1802:

> After breakfast I went away in a boat, accompanied by Mr. Brown and some other gentlemen, for the Seat. … I ascended the hill; and to my surprise found the port so extensive, that even at this elevation its boundary to the northward could not be distinguished. … we afterwards walked a little way back upon the ridge. From thence another considerable piece of water was seen, at the distance of three or four leagues; it seemed to be mostly shallow; but as it appeared to have a communication with the sea to the south, I had no doubt of its being Mr. Bass's[51] Western Port. [52]

Flinders thought highly of young Franklin, writing to his wife in May 1802: 'John Franklin approves himself worthy of notice. He is capable of learning every thing that we can shew him, and but for a little carelessness, I would not wish to have a son otherwise than he is.'[53]

On 1 January 1844, Sir John and Lady Franklin accompanied La Trobe to a 'Grand Demonstration at Sandridge,' and on 9 January, La Trobe said farewell to the Franklins as they caught the 8am steamer for Geelong. Many local people were sorry to see the Franklins depart and some even accompanied them as far as the Heads, returning with the pilot. The weather delayed the *Rajah* from sailing, so they did not board until the 11th and finally sailed through the Heads on the 12th.[54] They arrived in London on 8 June, the *Rajah* returning to Port Phillip on 21 December.[55]

Like La Trobe, Sir John was an adventurer at heart and was too good a man to be happy in the cut and thrust of colonial politics. The Franklins' impromptu visit to Melbourne had been like a whirlwind; exploring, socialising and gathering friends old and new. Sir John and Lady Franklin made a great team, tragically destined to be split a year later when Sir John set sail on the ill-fated search for the North West Passage.

Agnes La Trobe's return to Europe

The problem of Agnes's education and behaviour had been concerning the La Trobes for some time. She had been described by her father as 'a noble little girl … & full of talent, but as wild as a march hare & giddy beyond endurance.'[56] Georgiana McCrae described her as 'very volatile & quick'.[57] They were considering sending her to Neuchâtel to live with her grandmother, but sending a child of seven on her own on a sailing ship halfway round the world must have been a daunting prospect. However, they were aware of the *Rajah* and, more importantly, Kezia Ferguson's presence on the ship. They may have met Mrs Ferguson previously and would, almost certainly, have been told about her by Lady Franklin and perhaps also Bishop Broughton. Kezia's experience of life at sea, and as a school teacher and governess, as well as being a genteel lady 'of superior attainments' with strong religious convictions, must have convinced the La Trobes that this combination of on-board assistance and support was the opportunity they sought.

La Trobe wrote: 'Agnes's separation from us, first mooted about the beginning of Feb & decided upon during her mother's & my short visit to Melb 17th–22nd Feb. … now the thought uppermost in our thoughts.[58] To help with their decision, the La Trobes would have visited the ship and discussed Agnes's voyage with the Fergusons. (La Trobe reported that they visited Geelong on 17 February where the ship was at anchor).[59] As well as taking care of Agnes, Kezia was to give Agnes daily lessons[60] and keep a journal for the duration of the voyage.[61]

The ship set sail on 24 April,[62] and Kezia wrote on the 26 April: 'Agnes has not left her

Sir George Hayter, 1792-1871, artist
Charles Ferguson, c.1844
Miniature watercolour
Personal collection of David J Ferguson

Sir George Hayter, 1792-1871, artist
Kezia Elizabeth Ferguson, c.1844
Miniature watercolour
Personal collection of David J Ferguson

bed today having been thoroughly sea sick but she has been sweetly patient …though she has called out very many times "I want my Mamma & Papa'".[63] Agnes soon recovered and Kezia wrote:

> Friday May 30. We have again had bad weather and been compelled to [heave-to.] Today has been more moderate and Agnes has been able to do her lessons but now tonight while I write we are threatened with another gale it is very trying weather and we all feel it very much except Agnes and she seemed quite invulnerable to storms and tempests she is lively happy and talkative as ever and under all circumstances is very good. I become more convinced of the excellence of her disposition …
>
> Saturday Sept[r] 13. Agnes has been tolerably good today and has completed her sampler of which she is not a little proud …
>
> Saturday morning Oct[r] 4. We have been highly favored [*sic*] my dear Mrs La Trobe with clear pleasant weather. Mrs Fenwick landed with the mail early yesterday morning at Folkestone. We anchored last night above Margate and are now on our way to Gravesend where I hope we may be in a few hours. I wrote Mr La Trobe and Mr Mollison[64] so Agnes's arrival is known to them. She is quite well and has been very good and is quite pleased to land with good nails she says.[65]

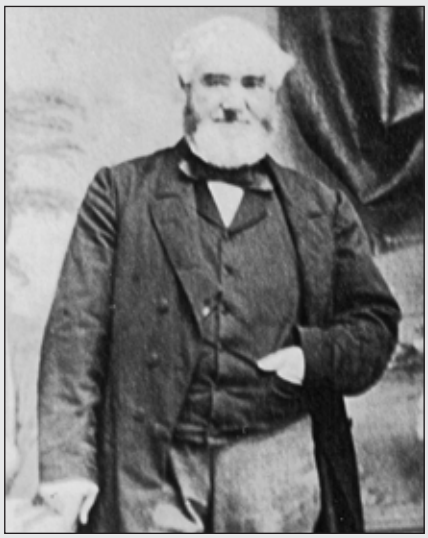
Agnes later wrote in her journal: 'I arrived in November in London at the house of my uncle Peter La Trobe, beloved brother of my father and secretary of the Moravian Missions. Aunt Rose de Meuron (born Montmollin) younger sister of my mother picked me up and we came to Switzerland by the Rhine…'[66]

After Agnes's departure from Melbourne, her parents wrote to her regularly. On 2 April 1846, Sophie wrote from the Heads:

> Now I must thank you for the two letters I got from you the day before we left Jolimont… Mrs Ferguson's journal came at the same time. I shall never forget all her kindness to you & the tender care she took of you during the long & perilous voyage. I hope you will never forget her & her good advices & recommendations. I shall be glad to hear that she has seen Tante Rose. We have heard that Cap. & Mrs Ferguson were coming back to this colony so I hope to see her & thank her & speak of you with her.[67]

The *Rajah* did not call into Port Phillip on its visit to Australia in 1846, but La Trobe met

Johann Friedrich Dietler, 1804–1874, artist
Agnes Louisa La Trobe, c.1850
Watercolour
Archives de l'Etat, Neuchâtel
Agnes aged 13



Unknown photographer
Captain Charles Ferguson, c.1864
Personal collection of David J Ferguson
Captain Ferguson when Harbour Master of the Port of Melbourne and of Victoria

the Fergusons while he was in Sydney, meeting the new Governor FitzRoy. He was pleased to see 'the good old Rajah and Mrs and Capn Fergusson' [*sic*]. He also wrote: 'We have talked a great deal about you and I never cease to bless God that He enabled us to place you in such good kind careful hands … I send you a little letter from dear Mrs Ferguson who has now a nice wee wee baby…'.[68] Kezia had disembarked in Hobart to give birth to their first child George in July 1846,[69] sailing on the schooner *Waterlilly* to rejoin the *Rajah* in Sydney.[70]

Agnes was parted from her mother for eight years and from her father for nine years. Although this must have been very hard for her, she was looked after with love and devotion in the comfort of Sophie's family home, and all the hopes and wishes of her parents for her education and success in life were fulfilled.[71]

Captain and Kezia Ferguson's life after the Rajah

Over the next few years the *Rajah* sailed to Australia three times, and Kezia had a second boy, Charles, in February 1848 while the ship was returning to London. They continued to give good service to their passengers. When the *Rajah* arrived in Adelaide in January 1849, the *Adelaide Observer* wrote:

> We are happy to find … that the cabin passengers and emigrants on board the *Rajah* have expressed their unqualified approbation of the gentlemanly and Christian conduct displayed by Captain Ferguson. Divine Worship was conducted by the Rev. J. M. Strongman every Lord's-Day, and family worship every evening on deck. Classes also were held for children and young people during the week, whilst the monotony of the voyage was some what relieved by lectures and discussions.[72]

With the family expanding, the Fergusons decided to move ashore, so when they arrived in Port Phillip in May 1850, Captain Ferguson handed over the command of the *Rajah* to Captain William McQueen. The ship changed ownership in 1854 and was mainly employed on the Hull and Baltic route until it disappeared from the Lloyds Register in 1861.[73]

The Fergusons settled in Port Phillip, with Kezia giving birth to their third child Jessie on 5 July 1850.[74] However, the joy would have been overshadowed by the death of two-year-old Charles the next day.[75]

The La Trobes were very glad that the Fergusons were staying in Port Phillip. Sophie wrote to Agnes:

> Mrs Ferguson arrived in the Rajah with Cap. Ferguson with their two little boys. They are not returning to England but are going to settle here for the present. … I was very glad to see her … and to talk with her. She of course enquired much after you.

> We are very much pleased at their intention to stay in Melbourne for such good people are of an infinite value in a country like this.[76]

Captain Ferguson was appointed as the first Harbour Master of Geelong in April 1851. La Trobe wrote later: 'He there did excellent service in a variety of ways calculated to advance the interests of the port, and to introduce order, where, from circumstances, but little order had hitherto prevailed.'[77]

In February 1852, he replaced Captain Bunbury[78] as the Harbour Master in Williams Town,[79] taking over the responsibility of Harbour Master of the Port of Melbourne and the colony.[80] This was just at the time of the gold rush and the management of the port became both extremely important and very difficult. Added to this he took on the responsibility of the Police Magistrate and Chief of the Water Police. La Trobe wrote later:

> … it …must have been a struggle in which the Chief Harbour Master was engaged from the very outset to secure order, and answer the innumerable calls on every branch of his department, at the same time that there was for many months an almost complete impossibility of securing subordinate agency, such as boatmen, pilots, and police, at any price. But I may bear witness to the untiring diligence, energy, and self-devotion with which Captain Ferguson grappled with the difficulties of his position, and the seemingly insurmountable obstacles which stood in his way.
>
> Already in 1852, when the overflowing of our gaol and stockade rendered the adoption of other methods of restraint absolutely necessary, and addition to the existing buildings could not be thought of, it was Captain Ferguson who first suggested the employment of hulks; and it was with his personal assistance and supervision, and under his unflagging energy, that the three first of these — the *Success*, the *President*, and the *Sacramento* — were purchased, fitted up, and made available for the purpose in view, and the rules and regulations for the employment and safety of the men afloat and ashore prescribed and carried out. He carried the same energy into every branch of his department, and his influence was soon apparent. His subordinates of every class became actuated by his spirit.[81]

Captain Ferguson was frequently seen taking action to assist vessels in difficulties, the most famous being the clipper *Ticonderoga*. When the ship entered the Heads and anchored off Point Nepean in November 1853 with a plague outbreak aboard, Captain Ferguson boarded the Schooner *Empire*, which sailed with food, medical supplies and equipment to help the survivors.[82] Captain Ferguson reported that:

> … about 714 emigrants on board; 100 deaths, and nineteen births had occurred on the passage, seven of the former since the ship anchored at the Heads. There are at present 300 cases of sickness amongst them, principally scarletina [scarlet fever, later determined to be typhus]. Tents have been erected with the sails, spars, &c., of the ship on Point Nepean, where a quarantine ground has been marked out.[83]

The establishment of a Quarantine Station at Point Nepean had been mooted for some time, but this incident spurred the authorities into action and Captain Ferguson took charge of setting up the site.

In January 1854, he went to the assistance of the clipper *Marco Polo*, which had run aground in Port Phillip when under the command of a pilot. When the ship returned to Melbourne in November, Captain Ferguson was presented with a silver tea set[84] with the following inscription:

> Presented by the owners of the
> MARCO POLO
> To Captain Charles Ferguson
> HARBOUR MASTER OF
> MELBOURNE VICTORIA
> To mark their high estimation of
> his invaluable services in rescuing
> THEIR FAVOURITE AND FAR
> FAMED SHIP from her perilous
> position when stranded in Port
> Philip Bay in January last.
> LIVERPOOL JULY MDCCSLIV
> [i.e. MDCCCLIV, 1854].[85]

Captain Ferguson was tireless in the Williamstown community: he was the Chairman of the Committee for founding the Fire Brigade service;[86] he was responsible for raising the first volunteer force, the Victorian Marine Artillery, at the time of Crimean War, and they were placed under his command.[87] Ferguson Street in Williamstown was named after Captain Charles.

Kezia gave birth to five more children in Williamstown, naming one Sophie and another John Franklin. She became a member of the Williamstown Ladies Benevolent Society.[88]

In 1868, Captain Ferguson became unwell and sailed to England to obtain treatment. After a spell at a hydropathic establishment in Matlock, he consulted with Sir William Ferguson, who advised 'amputation, without loss of time'. Although the operation seemed to go well, a 'few days later, however, all was clouded by symptoms of hospital fever (pycemia). This resisted all control, and finally carried him off on the 27th of December.'

La Trobe went on to say in his letter to Captain Cole in Melbourne after Ferguson's death:

> He had lived a Christian life, and his death was the peaceful and resigned death of a Christian. It was a melancholy satisfaction to me to be able to join a few friends in following his remains to their resting place in one of the outlying London cemeteries on the last day of the year.
>
> The character of Captain Ferguson's unbroken service during the fourteen years which have elapsed since I left the colony must be well known to the Government and the people he has served so long and so faithfully. I confine myself to recalling to mind those earlier, and what must have been the hardest and most difficult, period — none can know how difficult but those who were in that fierce struggle for the maintenance of order under so many disadvantages … I had sincere regard for the man, and just pride in the qualities of his heart, head, and hand. … I never have hesitated in believing that, in appointing Captain Ferguson to the office he has so long filled, it was the right man in the right place.[89]

Captain Ferguson impressed and inspired all who came into contact with him. While he was the Captain of the *Rajah*, his passengers, whether convict, steerage or cabin, all had positive experiences, and people sought out the ship for their voyage. While he was Harbour Master, he inspired his subordinates and received the gratitude of those he helped and those he served.

Kezia stayed in Williams Town until 1882, when she moved to Adelaide with her son George and daughter Sophie. She died three years later.[90] Kezia was ahead of her time in the care of women convicts in Australia — even the Governor's wife could make little progress, so what hope for a newly arrived, twenty-three year old, unmarried lady. However, she demonstrated on the voyage in 1841 what could be achieved, strengthening the case for those who followed. She became an asset to the Ferguson team on the *Rajah*, providing care and support for travellers, and later as a mother bringing up her six children.

So the answer to the first question posed, 'who were the Fergusons?', is now revealed. Charles and Kezia Ferguson were two remarkable people and La Trobe's words in his eulogy to Captain Ferguson are fitting for them both: 'just pride in the qualities of … heart, head, and hand'. And the 'old Rajah'? It was simply made 'good' by the presence on board of those two remarkable people.

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1 Charles Joseph La Trobe to Agnes La Trobe, 30 September 1846, MS 14152, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria. La Trobe's misspelling of Ferguson may have been caused by confusion with the *Fergusson*, in which he sailed to Australia in 1839.

2 *Lloyds Register of Shipping*, 1836.

3 Ibid.

4 Stephanie Karen Jones, A Maritime History of the Port of Whitby, 1700-1914, Thesis (PhD) University of London, 1982, p.99.

5 The owner of the *Rajah* was shown as Langborn in the *Lloyds Register of Shipping*, 1836 and 1837. There was a John Langbourne (1781-1836), ship builder and ship owner in Whitby at the time. His death correlates with the transfer of ownership of the *Rajah*: http://northyorkshirehistory.blogspot.com.au/2013/05/the-family-of-nathaniel-langborne-1739.html (accessed 28 February 2015)

6 J Smith is listed as the owner of the *Rajah* and its home port Leith, from 1838 to 1853: *Lloyds Register of Shipping*, 1838 to 1853.

7 At this time Hobart was known as Hobart Town, and Tasmania was known as Van Diemen's Land.

8 David J Ferguson, Ferguson Family History, http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~dferguson/Capt.Ferguson/CKFerguson.htm (accessed 28 February 2015)

9 Trudy Cowley and Dianne Snowden, *Patchwork Prisoners: The Rajah Quilt and the women who made it*, Hobart: Research Tasmania, 2013, p.16.

10 *Colonial Times*, 27 July 1941, p.2.

11 Charles Bateson, *The Convict Ships, 1787-1868*, Glasgow: Brown Son and Ferguson, 1959, p.46.

12 Thomas Timpson, *Memoirs of Mrs Elizabeth Fry*, London: Aylot, 1854, p.37 and 135.

13 Ibid. p.133.

14 P. R. Hart, 'Davies, Robert Rowland (1805–1880)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1966, Volume 1, p.291-292.

15 Timpson, p.132.

16 Ibid.

17 Cowley and Snowden, p.26.

18 Ibid.

19 Cresswell, *A Memoir of Elizabeth Fry*, London: James Nisbit, 1868, p.87.

20 Cowley and Snowden, p.16.

21 Timpson, p.119.

22 Fry and Cresswell, *Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry* Vol.1, London: John Hatched, p.316.

23 Robert Bell, About the Rajah quilt, http://nga.gov.au/rajahquilt (accessed 28 February 2015; Diemans [*sic*])

24 Ibid.

25 Cowley and Snowden, p.29.

26 *Hobart Town Courier*, 30 July 1841, p.3.

27 Cowley and Snowden, p.21.

28 Rebecca Nason, National Museum of Australia, http://www.nma.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0014/2561/NMA_Rajah_quilt.pdf (accessed 28February 2015); Judith Cornish, http://livehistoryhobart.com.au/we-see-the-rajah-quilt-at-last/ (accessed 28 February 2015); Bell.

29 Bell.

30 *Colonial Times*, 27 August 1941, p.2.

31 Cowley and Snowden, p.29-39.

32 *Colonial Times*, 27 June 1943, p.2.

33 Cowley and Snowden, p.42.

34 *Colonial Times*, 15 August 1843, p.2.

35 William Grant Broughton, *Two Journals of Visitation to the Northern and Southern Portions of his Diocese*, 1843, London: The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1846, http://anglicanhistory.org/aus/wgbroughton/journals1846.html (accessed 28 February 2015)

36 Georgiana McCrae wrote that on *4th* October 'Mr McCrae and Capt Lonsdale went to the steamer to meet and welcome Bishop Broughton …': *in* Thérèse Weber, 'Port Phillip Papers: the Australian journal of Georgiana McCrae', Thesis (PhD), University of New South Wales, 2000, Vol.2, p.304.

37 William Grant Broughton.

38 Captain George Ward Cole was a prominent business man with shipping interests, and later a member of the Legislative Council: Weston Bate, 'Cole, George Ward (1793–1879)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1966, Vol.1, p.233-234.

39 Georgiana McCrae, p.309.

40 Comparing minimum wages, 900 shillings (£45) in 1843 would be the equivalent of $100,000 today.

41 Kathleen Fitzpatrick, 'Franklin, Sir John (1786–1847)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1966, Vol.1, p.412-415.

42 Willingham Franklin Rawnsley, *The Life, Diaries and Correspondence of Jane Lady Franklin 1792-1875*, London: Erskin Macdonald, 1923, p.93.

43 *Port Phillip Gazette*, 13 December 1843, p.2.

44 Frederick Powlett had pastoral interests in the area and was known to Sir John, as he had accompanied him to Van Diemen's Land in 1837: P. M. Sales, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967, Vol.2, p.349.

45 Alexander and William Mollison were pastoralists on the Coliban River to Pyalong, north of Melbourne, and friends of La Trobe: Gael Thomsen, 'Mollison, Alexander Fullerton (1805–1885) and Mollison, William Thomas (1816–1886)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967, Vol.2, p.243-244.

46 Charles Joseph La Trobe, Memoranda of journeys, excursions and absences, 1839-1854, H15604, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria.

47 Georgiana McCrae, p.344.

48 Captain James Reid (c.1795-1867) had served in the Peninsular and Burmese Wars before moving to Port Phillip in 1840. He returned to England in 1846. He later became Governor of the Launceston Gaol: *The Cornwall Chronicle* (Launceston), 2 February 1867, p.4.

49 Andrew Murison McCrae (1801-1874) was married to Georgiana, a great friend of the La Trobes. In 1843 he took up a run at Arthur's Seat (now McCrae): Norman Cowper, 'McCrae, Georgiana Huntly (1804–1890)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967, Vol.2, p.160-161.

50 Georgiana McCrae, p.362.

51 George Bass discovered Western Port in 1798 while exploring the coast of what is now Gippsland. Keith Macrae Bowden, 'Bass, George (1771-1803)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967, Vol.1, pp.64-65

52 Matthew Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis,* London: G & W Nicol, 1814, Vol.1, pp.212-213.

53 The Flinders papers, http://flinders.rmg.co.uk/Documents876a.html?Type=1&CurrentPage=8, (14 of 41 -accessed February 2015)

54 Sophie Cracroft's diary, http://eprints.utas.edu.au/id/eprint/10530, University of Tasmania, (accessed 28 February 2015)

55 *Port Phillip Gazette*, 25 December 1844, p.2.

56 Charles Joseph La Trobe to Julia Latrobe, 8 June 1842, Charles Joseph La Trobe, Miscellaneous Papers, MS 000317, Royal Historical Society of Victoria.

57 Georgiana McCrae, p.284.

58 Charles Joseph La Trobe, Memoranda of journeys, excursions and absences.

59 Ibid.

60 Georgiana McCrae, p.520.

61 Kezia's Journal — Photocopied journal and letters of Agnes La Trobe, MS 14152, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria. (Also in microfilm at MS13354 folder 24)

62 *Port Phillip Gazette*, 26 April 1845, p.2.

63 Kezia's Journal.

64 This was probably Crawford Mollison (1775-1851), father of Alexander and William Mollison.[47] Crawford lived in Portland Square, London, and his services might have been offered in case Peter La Trobe was not available when Agnes arrived.

65 Kezia's Journal. Agnes was pleased to be cured of biting her nails. Kezia wrote on 27 May: 'She was delighted today to have the nails of both her hands cut. I hope she has quite overcome this habit. I put the gloves on once some time since which very much distressed her and she has since not bitten them. While I was cutting them she said she was sure if Mrs Gilbert (wife of the painter and Agnes's former school mistress) saw them she would jump for joy and after all she said it was Mrs Gilbert's gloves that cured her.'

66 Chronicle of the life of Agnes La Trobe, MS 14152, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria, (original in French).

67 Sophie La Trobe to Agnes La Trobe, 2 April 1846, MS 14152, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria.

68 Charles Joseph La Trobe to Agnes La Trobe, 30 September 1846, MS 14152, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria.

69 *Launceston Examiner*, 18 July 1846, p.4.

70 *The Australian*, 18 August 1846, p.2.

71 Sophie returned to Switzerland in 1853 and Charles Joseph in 1854. Agnes married Count Pierre de Salis-Soglio in 1874.

72 *Adelaide Observer*, 13 January 1849, p.2.

73 *Lloyds Register of Shipping*, 1852-1861.

74 Ferguson.

75 *Pioneer Index, Victoria 1836-1888 index to births, deaths and marriages in Victoria*, 1998 (CD ROM)

76 Sophie La Trobe to Agnes La Trobe, 17 July 1850.

77 Charles Joseph La Trobe to Captain Cole, 28 January 1869, H7626, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria.

78 Captain Richard Hamner Bunbury (1813-1857), who had been Harbour Master since 1844, resigned following the publication of a report by the Select Committee of the Legislative Council appointed to enquire into the state of the Department of the Harbour Master at Williams Town: *The Argus*, 3 January 1852, p.2.

79 *The Argus*, 19 February 1852, p.2.

80 Ibid, 11 March 1852, p.2.

81 Charles Joseph La Trobe to Captain Cole.

82 *The Argus*, 5 November 1853, p.4.

83 Ibid, 9 November 1853, p.4.

84 Ibid, 7 November 1854, p.5.

85 Ferguson.

86 Ibid.

87 Military History and Heritage Victoria inc, Gellibrand Point Battery, Williamstown — 1954-1869, http://mhhv.org.au/?p=3281 (accessed 28 February 2015)

88 Ferguson.

89 Quotations about Captain Ferguson's death are from La Trobe to Captain Cole.

90 Ferguson.

The Harington Family Crested Dinner Plate: a research report

By Tim Gatehouse

Tim Gatehouse is a retired solicitor with interests in historical research and archaeology.

One of the pleasures of collecting old china is the opportunity to research the history of a particular piece if it happens to bear an identifiable crest of the original owner for whom it was made. Having his crest incorporated in the design of the china and engraved on table silver enabled the owner to display the noble origins of his family.

Some years ago I purchased the dinner plate illustrated. Many hours were spent thumbing through my 1910 edition of *Debrett's Peerage* until I eventually identified the crest as that of Sir Richard Harington, baronet, of Whitbourne Court, Herefordshire. With the publication in the last issue of *La Trobeana* of 'Whitbourne and Whitbourne Court, 1858-1866' by Kate Lack and Loreen Chambers,[1] this beautiful piece of china took on a new significance, Whitbourne Court having been one of the English homes of Charles Joseph La Trobe after leaving Victoria.

The bone china plate is twenty-five centimetres in diameter, with a white well surrounded by a border of deep pink, a shade named Rose du Barry after the mistress of Louis XV and reflecting the revival of that period's decorative style in England from the early 1860s to the end of the century. The lobed edge is finished with a gilded dentil molding. Superimposed on the border in black is the Harington crest, the heraldic description of which is 'A lion's head erased or, langued and collared gules, buckled of the first'.[2] The motto 'Nodo Firmo ', translates as 'With a firm knot'. The plate bears no marks to indicate its manufacturer, but it is of very high quality. The

Tim Gatehouse, photographer
Harington Family crested dinner plate, 2015
and crest detail (inset).

design would have been selected from a pattern book in which the colours were hand painted to the precise shade of the finished product, with the crest included as an integral part of the decorative details.

The Harington family is of considerable antiquity. A John de Haverington (modified over time to Harington) is recorded as being amongst the barons summoned to Parliament by Edward II. It was for one of his descendants, Sir John Harington that the baronetcy was created in 1611 and inherited by his descendants down to the present day. Sir John was tutor to Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I,[3] and grandmother of George I.[4]

Sir James Harington, the third baronet, supported Parliament in the Civil War and was one of the judges commissioned to try Charles I, an honour he wisely declined, thus avoiding the grisly fate that befell the regicides after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. For his part in the war he forfeited his own title, but the baronetcy passed to his successor on his death.[5]

The judicial traditions of the Harington family were continued by the 11th baronet, Sir Richard Harington (1835-1911). It is most likely that it was for him that the dinner service, of which this plate is a part, was made. Richard's father was the principal of Brasenose College Oxford and his mother the daughter of the dean of Christ Church Oxford. Richard commenced his career in the law in 1858 as a barrister of Lincoln's Inn. In 1871 he was appointed a police magistrate and in 1872 a county court judge. In 1860 he married Frances Agnata Biscoe, the daughter of Rev. Robert Biscoe, rector of Whitbourne.[6] In 1877 Richard succeeded to the baronetcy.[7] He purchased Whitbourne Court in the following year from Joseph Lambourne Smith,[8] and lived there until his death in 1911.[9] Since Whitbourne Court was in such close proximity to his father-in-law's church and rectory it would have been familiar to Richard Harington from the days when he was courting Frances Biscoe.[10] It must have impressed him as a suitable residence to support the additional dignity of his baronetcy when he inherited the title.[11]

Considering the value of a dinner service of this quality and the Louis XV revival style of decoration that was fashionable from the 1860s, it is likely that the service was a present to Richard and Frances for their marriage in 1860, with the family crest included as a pointer

Loreen Chambers, photographer
Dining room at Whitbourne Court, 2014

to his expectations in the fullness of time. On the other hand, he may have commissioned it at a later date. How this plate found its way to Melbourne will never be known, but it is a small link between La Trobe's 'pretty retreat' as he described Whitbourne Court,[12] and Victoria to which he contributed so much.

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1 Kate Lack and Loreen Chambers, 'Whitbourne and Whitbourne Court, 1858-1866', *La Trobeana*, vol.14, no.1, March 2015, pp.15-27.

2 *Debrett's Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage and Companionage*, London, Dean and Son, 1910, pp.307-309.

3 Debrett, p.308.

4 Pursuant to the political machinations to exclude the Catholic Stuarts from the throne following the fall of James II in 1688, legislation was passed to provide that on the death of Queen Anne the throne was to pass to her nearest Protestant relation, who would have been Sophia, Electress of Hanover and daughter of Princess Elizabeth (later Queen of Bohemia). Unfortunately the electress was deprived of her dearest wish to become Queen of England when she died shortly before Queen Anne, and was succeeded by her son Georg Ludwig who ascended the throne as George I.

5 Debrett, p.309.

6 Reverend Robert Biscoe was rector from 1833-1870.

7 Richard Harington succeeded to the title 9 February 1877 on the death of his cousin Sir John Edward Harington, 10th Baronet, 1821-1877.

8 Phyllis Williams, *Whitbourne: a bishop's manor*, Whitbourne: Hamish Park, 1979, p.164. (Produced in conjunction with the Bromyard & District Local History Society, The Department of Extramural Studies, University of Birmingham and The Workers' Educational Association.), p.33.

9 Debrett, p.307.

10 Kate Lack and Loreen Chambers, p.19.

11 The Harington family sold *Whitbourne Court* some years ago and it is now sub-divided into three apartments. The central and oldest section, the area where the La Trobes lived, is owned by Mr Roger Clarke. The newer sections were added during the Harington family's ownership.

12 Charles Joseph La Trobe to Frederick Powlett, 25 May 1865, in *Letters of Charles Joseph La Trobe*, edited by L.J. Blake, Melbourne: Government Printer, 1975, p.61.

La Trobe's Cottage Report

Charles La Trobe's 214th birthday was celebrated at the Cottage and Domain House on Sunday 22 March. Guest of honour Jan Edmanson unveiled an oil painting of the garden by artist Jo Reizte, who has kindly donated it to the La Trobe Society for display at the Cottage. Jo and Jane then jointly planted a beautiful new *Camellia japonica* 'Welbankii' (white flowers). Newly created cards and postcards were on sale and can now be purchased at the Cottage or from the Society.

The Friends of La Trobe's Cottage and La Trobe Society members were privileged to hear Professor Tim Entwisle, Director and Chief Executive of the Royal Botanic Gardens, talk about his 'Passion for Plants' at their annual lecture in Mueller Hall. The audience noted many parallels between Professor Entwisle's passion for plants, which developed through his university work and early plant hunting adventures, and La Trobe's lifetime interest in plants and the natural environment. We were also reminded of their shared interest in developing people's appreciation of nature through botanic gardens.

Funds raised through a combination of such events and generous donations have provided over half the monies needed to re-shingle the roof of the Kitchen/Storeroom block at the Cottage. The National Trust will contribute the rest of the funds. The present shingles are in a very poor state and were unlikely to survive another winter. The main Cottage roof was re-shingled with Canadian western red cedar shingles four years ago and the outbuildings will be replaced with similar shingles imported from Canada.

Extra funds provided by the Friends of the Cottage have also enabled recent repairs to rotting timbers, window frames and a number of weatherboards on the outbuilding. During the summer new curtains for the bedroom transformed the appearance of the room. The fabric is a Belgian linen-blend, 'Bloom, Midnight' from Zepel Fabrics.

The National Trust with the History Teachers' Association of Victoria has created an interactive site of La Trobe's Cottage for schools. This can be accessed from both the Friends' and the Trust's websites. Students can navigate their way through the rooms at the Cottage and view a re-enactment of scenes in the life of members of the La Trobe family.

With the mild summer and help from our volunteers, the garden looked good over autumn. For spring we have purchased lots of lovely old daffodils and anemones to create an absolute splash of colour leading into the garden. It is hoped that our new bird bath log, specially made from a piece of Otways yellow box, will attract the bees in greater numbers next season.

Booked tours of Government House and La Trobe's Cottage on Mondays and Thursdays remain extremely popular with community groups and the general public. Because of our committed, experienced and enthusiastic volunteer National Trust guides, these tours continue to provide the necessary income to help maintain the Cottage. After another successful season of Sunday openings, it is planned to continue the program, beginning again in early October.

Lorraine Finlay
Manager, La Trobe's Cottage

Charles Joseph La Trobe, 1801-1875, artist
Ezzolino's Tower, Padua, 1830
Watercolour on paper
Collection: National Trust of Australia (Victoria)
Deposited on long-term loan in the Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria

Charles Joseph La Trobe, 1801-1875, artist
Petrarch's House, Arqua, 1830
Pencil and wash on paper
Collection: National Trust of Australia (Victoria)
Deposited on long-term loan in the Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria

La Trobe's Publications on the web

Our fine website has been enhanced by the addition of digital versions of La Trobe's published works — his four travel books:

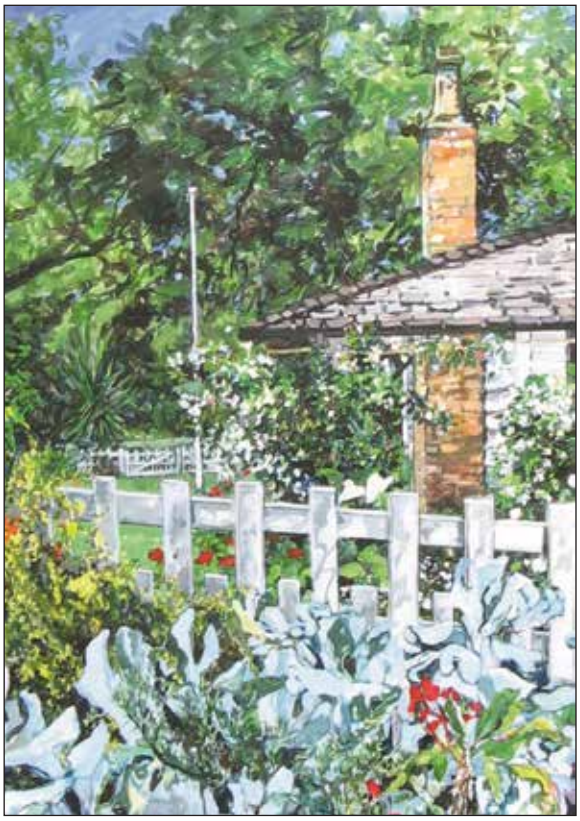
- *The Alpenstock: or sketches of Swiss scenery and manners*, 1825-1826. London, R. B. Seeley & W. Burnside, 1829
- *The Pedestrian: a summer's ramble in the Tyrol and some of the adjacent provinces*, 1830. London, R. B. Seeley & W. Burnside, 1832
- *The Rambler in Mexico*, 1834. London, R. B. Seeley & W. Burnside, 1836
- *The Rambler in North America, 1832-1833*. London, R. B. Seeley & W. Burnside, 1835

together with his four official reports (tabled in the British House of Commons):

- *Report on Negro Education, British Guiana and Trinidad*, 14 August 1838 (1839)
- *Report on Negro Education, Jamaica*, 19 October 1837 (1838)
- *Report on Negro Education, Windward and Leeward Islands*, 14 April 1838 (1838)
- *Report on the present state and prospects of the Convicts in Van Diemen's Land,* May 31, 1847 (1848).

The website is generously hosted by ripefruit.net.au, courtesy of La Trobe Society member Brian King. It is hoped that ready access to these publications and other material relating to Charles Joseph La Trobe, including many of his artistic works, will greatly assist historians and many other interested people

Helen Armstrong



Jo Reitze, artist
La Trobe's Cottage and Garden 2014
Oil on canvas (detail)

New Greetings Cards

Talented landscape artist Jo Reitze donated a painting, *La Trobe's Cottage and Garden 2014,* to the La Trobe Society. It was unveiled by Gardening Australia's presenter Jane Edmanson at the Cottage on La Trobe's Birthday Celebration in March.

Jo Reitze is a Fellow of The Victorian Artists Society and President of Melbourne Society of Women Painters and Sculptors. She has a distinguished list of awards and exhibitions to her credit over many years, including: finalist A.M.E. Bale Prize for Oils, finalist A.M.E. Bale Prize Works on Paper, and the Victorian Artists Society Artist of the Year Exhibition. In 2005 she commenced Jo Reitze Paints your Garden and has since completed numerous garden paintings on commission.

A series of note cards and postcards featuring Jo's painting of La Trobe's cottage and garden can now be purchased at the Cottage or from the Society:

Note card $3.00 each, or $20 for 8
Postcard $1.50 each, or $10 for 8
Plus postage, as applicable.

Contact the Society as follows with your order: treasurer@latrobesociety.org.au, or phone 9646 2112.

Payment may be via cheque to
The C J La Trobe Society Inc,
401 Collins Street, Melbourne 3000;

alternatively you may EFT payment to:

The C J La Trobe Society Inc
BSB 033-018 Account 149584

Forthcoming events

JULY

Friday 17

Melbourne Rare Book Week Lecture
Time: 6.30-8.30 pm
Venue: 401 Collins Street, Melbourne
Guest Speaker: Dr Jonathan Burdon AM, MD, FRACP, FCCP, FACLM, FAICD, Consultant Respiratory Physician, Co-Convenor Melbourne Rare Book Week, and La Trobe Society member
Topic: Medicine in Melbourne in the time of La Trobe
Refreshments
Admission: No charge
Bookings essential:
secretary@latrobesociety.org.au
or call 9646 2112 (please leave a message)

AUGUST

Wednesday 5

La Trobe Society Annual General Meeting and Dinner
Time: 6.30 pm
Venue: Lyceum Club, Ridgway Place, Melbourne
Guest Speaker: Dr Sylvia Whitmore, Historian & La Trobe Society member
Topic: La Trobe in Mexico
Invitations will be sent closer to the time

SEPTEMBER

Visit to Bishopscourt

Date and time to be advised
Host and speaker:
Archbishop Philip Freier
Topic: The History of Bishopscourt (tbc)
Further details will be sent closer to the time

NOVEMBER

Wednesday 25

Cocktails at Parliament
Time: 6.00-8.00 pm
Venue: Federation Room, Parliament House, Melbourne
Guest Speaker: Mr Murray Thompson MP
Invitations will be sent closer to the time

DECEMBER

Sunday 6

Anniversary of the Death of C J La Trobe
Time: 11.00 am
Venue: St Peter's Eastern Hill, 15 Gisborne Street, Melbourne
Refreshments
Further details will be sent closer to the time.

Back Issues

Back issues of La Trobeana are available on the Society's website, except for those published in the last twelve months.
The back issues may be accessed at www.latrobesociety.org.au/LaTrobeana.html
They may be searched by keyword.

Contributions welcome

The Editorial Committee welcomes contributions to La Trobeana which is published three times a year.

Further information about the Journal may be found at
www.latrobesociety.org.au/LaTrobeana.html.

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BACK COVER
La Trobe Family coat of arms

INSIDE FRONT COVER
Charles Joseph La Trobe's coat of arms, taken from his bookplate


"Qui la cèrca, la trova"