

LA TROBE'S COTTAGE

a conservation analysis

**Miles Lewis
Melbourne**

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Introduction

This is a sort of *ex post facto* conservation analysis. It is now many years since La Trobe's Cottage was shifted from its site and totally reconstructed. The project was a pioneering one for the National Trust, and in many ways a creditable one. but the building was not recorded and analysed in the manner which would today be regarded as essential. Such records as were then kept are now increasingly difficult to locate, and many of those involved in the project are dead. The Trust's own records are incomplete in many respects, and in fact it appears that large numbers of files were deliberately destroyed under the recent administration of Douglas Hill. While the files for the La Trobe Cottage Management Committee were discovered, more or less by chance, for the years 1962-4 and 1968-75, that for 1965-7 is missing. The Furnishing Committee's files have not been searched, and the treatment of the furniture which follows derives from other files. It already goes far beyond the norm for such studies, and is thought to be adequate for the purpose of assessing the significance of the property.

No attempt is made here to conduct the rigorous physical analysis which the original building would have warranted. The majority of the present building is a reconstruction. What does survive is for the most the locally-built and less interesting portion. Even here, to identify which were the original and which were the replacement materials would be a difficult task, and would entail an unwarrantable amount of damage to the building, all to very little purpose. What is attempted here is to assemble the surviving documentary material and a certain amount of oral history, and to assess the importance of the building in relation to other examples. In particular an attempt is made to place it ('it' meaning the building as it was, rather than the present fragment) in relation to other works of the prefabricator H Manning.

The conclusion of a conservation analysis is the statement of cultural significance, and this follows shortly, but a number of other interesting aspects have emerged, which warrant attention being drawn to them here. John Robart, the alleged builder of the cottage whose tools are on display there, was not its builder. La Trobe did not (as the present writer formerly believed) sell his larger and intended permanent Manning house when it arrived: he built it on a corner of his estate as a rental property, generally known as 'Upper Jolimont.' The Bateman drawings were not done in 1854, as has been supposed, but in 1853. The plush curtains now in the restored cottage are the original

curtains from Sir George Verdon's private residence over the E S & A Bank in Collins Street, and of considerable significance in relation to the conservation work on that building.

I am particularly grateful to John & Phyllis Murphy, the architects for the reconstruction of the house, for their recollections, their hospitality, and access to their records. These records are invaluable in relation to this as to many other early projects of the Trust, and they demonstrate that the honorary work of the Murphys was of an exemplary quality by the standards of the time, a fact perhaps insufficiently recognised today. I am also grateful to Peter Struthers and Jan Allen for assisting me with the Trust's records, to Frank Strahan for the use of the Graham Papers in the Melbourne University Archives, to Robert Sands and Terry Sawyer for material arising out of earlier investigations of 'Inveresk', to John Kendall and Mary Sheehan for supplying copies of their respective reports on Jolimont Square, to Mrs W J Kendall for access (many years ago) to S B Vaughan's journal, which she has subsequently deposited at the State Library, to Mrs Bradley Reed for access to the Manning house at Queenscliff, to Mrs Mary Wilson for access to her Manning cottage at Burnside, South Australia, and to Peter Bell for taking me there.

Statement of Significance

La Trobe's Cottage is a conjectural reconstruction of the house of Superintendent La Trobe as in about 1839-40, containing within it a small proportion of authentic fabric, including one wall of the building originally prefabricated by Manning of London, as well as a substantial museum collection. The original building was La Trobe's private property, and was never the government house of Victoria. The reconstruction on the present site is of historical significance both for its association with La Trobe and for the role which the project played in the early history of conservation in Victoria. It is also of scientific significance for the authentic fabric of 1839 which is contained within the dining room, one of the oldest surviving timber structures in Victoria, which is a potential future source of technical information.

Expansion:

La Trobe's Cottage consists of three distinct elements, each of different significance. The dining room was built for Superintendent C J La Trobe in 1839, has been carefully moved to the present site, and contains authentic building fabric of considerable potential interest. The balance of the house proper was originally a prefabricated structure bought by La Trobe from Manning of London, and as now rebuilt conforms essentially to Manning's panelised system, contains two of the original panels, and replicates the original external appearance as illustrated by contemporaries. Its dimensions and plan have been established on the basis of La Trobe's own sketches. The outbuildings are mock-ups of those built by 1840, based upon the approximate plan dimensions and upon illustrations principally of 1852.

The complex as a whole is of historical interest not merely for its association with an important colonial administrator, now enhanced by a museum collection containing a considerable quantity of authentic La Trobe material, but also, because of its relatively humble character, for the light it sheds upon the difficult circumstances of his administration. While this latter aspect has been obscured by the removal of the building from the original site, its present form illustrates its scale and its approximate character as described by Georgiana McCrae and others in La Trobe's time.

The dining room is of scientific importance for the authentic fabric it contains and for the light that, potentially, it may shed upon building practices in the first years of settlement, of which almost no other evidence survives in usable form. The original panelled wall between

the dining room and the balance of the house survive, as (it is believed) do the original Gothic windows with T-section glazing bars. The rest of the house is a simulacrum, and only at this level does it illustrate the work of the leading prefabricator, Manning of London, which is better studied in more authentic examples in South Australia and elsewhere.

The whole complex has gained some social significance from its image as Victoria's first government house, but this is in part misleading, and is substantially the creation of the National Trust itself. Of more material importance is its crucial role in the early years of the National Trust movement. The preservation of the dining room is one of Victoria's pioneering exercises in authentic conservation by the leading practitioners of the day, John and Phyllis Murphy, while the recreation of the balance is a monument to the naivety of conservation philosophy in the 1950s and 1960s, and the siting and landscape are the outcome of some of the earliest negotiations between the forces of conservation and government in Victoria, involving the state government and the Minister for Lands, the Melbourne City Council, the Governor, the Royal Botanic Gardens and the Museum of Victoria.

In these terms then, the dining room, including the panelled common wall, is the only physical element of substantial significance, and this is due to the authentic Manning components which it contains, as well as the locally assembled fabric of 1839. The balance of the panelled house is of some interest as a recreation with an adequate factual basis. The kitchen wing is no more than a broadly appropriate visual backdrop, and although the furniture includes some items which are authentically connected with La Trobe, but these do not date from the period adopted for the reconstruction, and have only associational relevance. The present siting and recreated elements are significant as the outcome of important developments in the cultural history of Victoria during the 1950s and 1960s.

Government houses in Victoria

The misleading reputation of the cottage as Victoria's 'first government house' was promoted, if not invented, by Bedggood & Co in the 1930s, and subsequently maintained by the National Trust. What was probably the first dodger issued by the Trust after the opening of the cottage was headed 'Visit Victoria's First Government House, and stated in the text that the building was 'the State's [sic - for colony's] first Government House.'¹ It is necessary to examine this claim before even the title of this study can be confirmed. It is in fact unacceptable in that (a) the cottage was not a government house as normally understood, and (b), even if it had been, it would be very far from being the first such building in Victoria.

The expression 'government house' is generally taken to refer to the official residence of a colonial administrator, whether officially designated a governor or governor-general, or at the humbler level of a commandant. La Trobe's cottage was not an official residence, for it was provided by La Trobe himself, and was built on his own private landholding. William Howitt, visiting in 1852, briefly referred to La Trobe's houses as a small wooden cottage, 'for there is yet no government house',² Nor is this a mere quibble, for in La Trobe's time the phrase 'government house' was used to apply to another building, that containing his office, in the heart of Melbourne. Whether or not we agree that the term 'government house' should properly apply to an office, the fact is that it was so applied, and this fact alone is sufficient to make the description totally inapplicable to La Trobe's house

The government houses of Victoria have been as follows:

date	location	occupant
1803-4	Sullivan Cove [Sorrento]	Lieutenant-Governor David Collins (this would have been only a tent)
1826-8	Corinella. Westernport Bay	Captain Wright, Commandant (a substantial building, regularly referred to as 'Government House' ³)

1 National Trust of Australia (Victoria), *Visit Victoria's First Government House* [broadside, Melbourne?c 1965]

2 William Howitt, *Land, Labour, and Gold* (2 vols, London 1855), I, P 14. Letter of 28 September 1852.

3 William Hovell's plan of the settlement refers to it in this way, while elsewhere Hovell alternates between calling it 'Government House' and 'the Commandant's house.' However, the overseer for

1836- 7	ne cnr Little Collins and Spencer Streets. Melbourne	Captain William Lonsdale. Commandant (built as the subaltern's house)
1837 -9	opposite the south end of Spring Street	Captain William Lonsdale, Commandant (referred to as 'Government House', ⁴)
1839-44	?none, or Batman's Hill	Superintendent C J La Trobe (office on Batman's Hill. not normally known as 'Government House')
1844-54	William St, Melbourne	Superintendent C J La Trobe [from 1851 Lieutenant-Governor] (office, regularly referred to as 'the Governor's Office', 'the Government Offices', or 'Government House' ⁵)
1855-76	Toorak House, Toorak	Governor Sir Charles Hotham Governor Sir Henry Barkly
1876-now	present Government House Domain, South Yarra	Victorian governors 1876-1900; Australian governors-general, 1901-1932; Victorian governors 1934-
1901-30	'Stonnington', Glenferrie Rd Malvern	Victorian governors, 1901-1934.

Thus there were at least two, and arguably four government houses before La Trobe's time, so that even the office which he himself called 'government house' was far from being the first in Victoria.

This leaves the question of what the present building should be called, and there are really only two possibilities. Its original name was 'Jolimont', but that more particularly refers to the estate upon which it stood, and from which it is now so conspicuously divorced. Of this site Mme La Trobe is supposed to have said 'Quel Joli Mont!',⁶ but it was in fact named after a specific wooded hill in Switzerland near the Montmollin family house, where the La

the construction regularly referred to it as 'Government House'. See P J F Coutts, *Corinella: a Forgotten Episode in Victoria's History* [Records of the Victorian Archaeological Survey No 15] (Melbourne 1983), p 41, fig 9, and p 113. Coutts cites the map as PROL MPG 594 S BC 1269.

4 R D Boys, *First Years at Port Phillip* 1834-1842 (2nd ed, Melbourne 1959 [1935]), p 73.

5 W L Williams, *History Trails in Melbourne* (Melbourne 1957), p 24.

6 Boys, *First Years at Port Phillip*, p 110.

Trobes had done their courting. On either basis, the name relates very explicitly to the original site, rather than to the house itself. That leaves only the name 'La Trobe's Cottage', which, if prosaic, is absolutely correct, and is indeed what it was called by the Trust in earlier years.

The La Trobe Background

The biography of La Trobe has been written elsewhere,⁷ and there is no purpose in reiterating here more than the bare bones of his life as a whole. Some attention, however, must be paid to those details which are of particular relevance to his house in Melbourne.

La Trobe was a member of the Moravian faith, born in London and partly educated in Switzerland, and he was the author of four books on travel. His family had always been concerned in the movement to abolish slavery, and he himself had been commissioned by Lord Melbourne to produce three reports on the education of negroes in the West Indies, with a view to properly equipping the emancipated slaves for their freedom. It was this work that brought La Trobe to notice as a suitable administrator for Port Phillip. He had married Sophie de Montmollin, of an eminent Swiss family, and at the time of his appointment they had a two year old Swiss-born daughter, Agnes Louisa.

The terms of La Trobe's appointment were set out by Sir George Grey as follows:⁸

You will be entitled to a salary at the rate of £800 a year, payable from the Colonial revenue, and which will include house rent and every other charge except the forage of two horses, for which you will receive an allowance estimated at about £70 a year.

gave him a salary of £800 a year, which was not high. As it was to include house rent, he was required to find his own dwelling - an arrangement which was very unusual for a colonial administrator - and the whole package was less than generous, given the inflated prices of everything at Port Phillip in 1839.

La Trobe approached the London prefabricator Manning (or so we infer, for Manning's name is not mentioned by La Trobe), and placed an order for two buildings⁹

7 Alan Gross, *Charles Joseph La Trobe* (Melbourne 1956); Joan Ritchie, 'A Study of Charles La Trobe' (MA [history], University of Melbourne 1966). In addition see numerous of his official despatches published in the series of *Historical Records of Victoria*, and his letters in A G L Shaw (ed), *The Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence* (Melbourne 1989).

8 Sir George Grey, Secretary of State for Colonies, to C J La Trobe, 4 February 1839, in *Historical Records of Australia*, series I, XIX (Sydney 1923), p 786.

9 Rough draft of a memo by La Trobe entitled 'Ex Colonial Governors: a page of facts.', then in the Public Library of Victoria, from a typed transcript of this and other material sent by C A McCallum, Chief Librarian, to Prof B B Lewis, 7 May 1959 [Lewis file 21].

I planned a small pannelled cottage capable of being easily put together which was to be prepared to be shipped off without [?] delay direct to P.P. with tents and a variety of stores such as I was instructed by my advisers to be indispensable or convenient. The plan of the frame work and fittings of a more substantial & permanent cottage was decided upon & the work put in hand, to be completed & forwarded to the colony as soon as might be after my departure ...

With these arrangements in hand, La Trobe sailed first to Sydney, where he obtained permission from Governor Gipps to set up his cottage temporarily on any piece of unoccupied Crown land near Melbourne.¹⁰ He then proceeded to Port Phillip, where he arrived on 30 September 1839. At first the La Trobes were accommodated by Captain Lonsdale, the former commandant, in his wooden cottage, which was itself a prefabricated building made in Sydney by the Royal Engineers.¹¹ J A Allan writes that the La Trobes were in Lonsdale's '5-roomed house in Spencer Street - on the same corner where stands the Hotel Alexander',¹² but this is perhaps because Allan was under the misapprehension that Lonsdale's prefabricated house was put up only in 1839.¹³

Lonsdale's cottage stood in the Police Paddock, opposite the south end of Spring Street (on the site of the present Jolimont Railway Yards). La Trobe chose for himself a site further to the east, undoubtedly inspired by the fact that Lonsdale's was already occupying Crown land in this vicinity. In fact, if the house was to be handy to the heart of the settlement, there was little real choice. To the south there was no bridge over the Yarra; west of Batman's Hill was swampy; and north of Lonsdale Street, though possible, was generally unattractive or, where it presented a slightly more picturesque appearance, was unsuitably close to the burial ground. The importance of the scenery should by no means be discounted: La Trobe was a connoisseur of the picturesque and a landscape painter of talent, and it would not be surprising if he did (as is reported¹⁴) for a time consider building in what is now Studley Park.

On the 12½ acre [5 ha] site he had chosen La Trobe had his cottage built within three weeks

10 G Gipps, memorandum of 8 August 1840, in Shaw, *Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence*, pp 41-2, & R D Boys, *First Years at Port Phillip 1834-1842* (2nd ed, Melbourne 1959 [1935]), pp 110-111

11 See Miles Lewis, *Lonsdale's Cottage* (Melbourne 1982).

12 J Alex Allan, 'Charles Joseph La Trobe: the Man and his House' (typescript 1932), p 5.

13 Allan, 'Charles Joseph La Trobe', p 6.

14 Allan, 'Charles Joseph La Trobe', p 6.

of his arrival, and immediately advised Gipps of his actions, telling him that:¹⁵

Upon my arrival here, I fixed upon a suitable spot in the Government paddock, next to that in which Captain L resides & took measures to put up my portable cottage & whatever offices were indispensably necessary. I know that I am there on sufferance & not of right, & that whenever circumstances may oblige you to tell me to remove I must do so at all risks. Nevertheless I have been obliged to spend so much even in putting up these (temporary erections for such they must be called) from the exorbitant price of labour (10/- to 14/- per diem) & materials, that this alone would make me unwilling to move for some time unless it were necessary. But, other considerations impel me to ask you to sanction my remaining where I am proposing to live, & that is my utter inability to cope [?comp.] with the speculators of this town in buying land within any reasonable distance, and my determination to seek from you no advantage or indulgence in selecting and purchasing what might suit me, beyond what you might accord to any other. Were there no land fever in the District, & were land selling in a natural way: plentiful as it is, there might have been no impropriety in my asking you to sanction my purchasing a given plot of ground conveniently sited at an evaluation: or to allow it to be put up at auction at anyone of the land sales that I might become the purchaser - & none in your yielding (?) to my request. But as matters are, I can do neither with propriety and so little hope have I of procuring land within a few miles of town at a reasonable rate, that I have taken measures to dispose of my permanent House which I expect daily from England, even before it arrives, as, to keep it warehoused here is out of the question - I believe the position I have chosen is not likely to interfere with anyone. The paddock is railed in, & is part of that reserve which was set apart by Governor Bourke's orders for the use of Govt cattle & horses. The mounted police have their barrack in one corner of it & I have modestly placed my cottage &c near another.

Gipps wrote back a personal - again unofficial - letter 'respecting the land on which you have squatted at Melbourne'. Officially he left the matter entirely to La Trobe's discretion. 'The question,' he said in the personal letter, 'is really an embarrassing one and I do not know how to advise any better course than the one which you have resolved to adopt.' Gipps had always thought that La Trobe should be provided with a house, but the terms of his appointment explicitly excluded this, so that Gipps did not feel able to originate any such recommendation, though he would so far as possible support any application made by La Trobe himself.¹⁶ How heartfelt must have been the despatch which La Trobe sent in January 1840 to Deas Thompson, the Colonial Secretary in Sydney, urging that more land should be brought onto the market so as to reduce the inflated prices. After all, these prices

15 La Trobe to Gipps, 19 October 1839, in Shaw, *Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence*, pp 5-6.

16 Gipps to La Trobe [personal], 29 January 1840, in Michael Cannon & Ian MacFarlane (eds), *Historical Records of Victoria*, III (Melbourne 1984), p 164; also in Shaw, *Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence*, pp 11-12.

must surely have been much to the benefit of the Government, even if they were daunting to prospective purchasers such as the Superintendent.

On 7 February 1840 the *William Barras*, Captain Norrie, arrived from London by way of Adelaide with eighty packages of building materials and 328 'battins' consigned to La Trobe, undoubtedly the more substantial house which he had been expecting from London. He did not sell it, as he had told Gipps he would do. As La Trobe himself recalled, 'The house in frame came out after awhile, brought out and was landed at a cost of 50/- per ton like all the goods and chattels that preceeded [sic?] it - for transport up to the site of its erection & from first to last before it could be erected and be considered habitable - had cost upwards of four times its value in London.'¹⁷

In January 1840 La Trobe asked to be allowed to buy his chosen site, and the Surveyor-General recommended to Gipps, in a letter of 25 January 1840, that it be sold to him at £6 10s an acre, which is what land at a similar distance from town had fetched recently. But Gipps determined that he must buy any land at auction, so that there was no suggestion of his obtaining an unfair advantage.¹⁸ La Trobe expressed his thanks to Gipps for agreeing to have the land put up for sale, but also some trepidation about the likely outcome.¹⁹

That great inconvenience may result to me in consequence of its being brought into the auctionroom I do not deny. But n'importe, I am convinced that in justice to either you or myself, I could not shape my request to you in any other way. I only regret that without a stretch of your prerogative it can hardly now be included in the land sale which I see is proposed for the 15th of April.

But Gipps was prepared to stretch his prerogative, and on 14 March the Colonial Secretary's office in Sydney instructed that the land should be put up for sale.²⁰ It ought therefore to have been included in the auction scheduled for April, but 'Some delay ... occurred in the Surveyor-General's office', and it was too late to be dealt with.²¹ As the winter of 1840 approached it became increasingly apparent that the cottage was inadequate to the needs of the family, and La Trobe told Gipps that additions would be necessary, but that he could

17 Rough draft of a memo by La Trobe entitled 'Ex Colonial Governors: a page of facts.', then in the Public Library of Victoria, from a typed transcript of this and other material sent by C A McCallum, Chief Librarian, to Prof B B Lewis, 7 May 1959 [Lewis file 21].

18 G Gipps, memorandum of 8 August 1840, in Shaw, *Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence*. pp 1-2, & R D Boys, *First Years at Port Phillip 1834-1842* (2nd ed, Melbourne 1959 [1935]), pp 110-111.

19 La Trobe to Gipps, 12 February 1840, in Shaw, *Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence*, p 14.

20 Allan, 'Charles Joseph La Trobe', p 5.

21 G Gipps, memorandum of 8 August 1840, loc cit.

hardly venture upon them until he owned the land.²² Gipps apologised to La Trobe for the delay in selling the land: 'The reasons given to me are that there wd. have been barely time to advertize it according to regulations, and that it wd. have been the only allotment of the sort included in the sale.' He hoped that La Trobe would in fact gain from having it included in a larger sale.²³ That same day he directed that the land be offered for sale in the next auction, which was scheduled for 10 June.²⁴

Gipps now no longer felt his original hesitation about recommending to the English authorities that La Trobe be provided with an official residence, notwithstanding the terms of his original appointment. He (Gipps) was now prepared to make such an application, in which case the land should be withdrawn from sale and, according to Gipps's proposal, La Trobe would be compensated for his outlay on the house, to a total amount not exceeding £2,000, and it would be reserved as an official residence for the Superintendent.²⁵ La Trobe declined the offer, wisely as it turned out, but probably after a great deal of soul-searching. He wanted to press ahead with his attempt to buy the land, but without prejudice to the idea that an official residence should be provided by Government, and he requested that Gipps proceed with the application to the Secretary of State for this.²⁶

The *Port Phillip Herald* reported that there was 'a strong feeling of indignation that the lot should have been [that is, was to be] auctioned, for it was an insult to the community to treat their principal officer thus shabbily.'²⁷ In the same issue the land was formally advertised for sale subject to the condition that the purchaser must allow three months for the removal of 'certain buildings, fences, &c., which are erected thereon', or pay for them at the valuation of £1,200.²⁸ If the worst came to the worst, La Trobe would have a chance to save his assets, and he could be thankful that the cottage was of panelised construction.

The worst did not come to the worst, for at the auction John Pascoe Fawkner, the founder of

22 La Trobe to Gipps, 4 April 1840, in Shaw, *Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence*. p 22.

23 Gipps to La Trobe, 8 April 1840, in Shaw, *Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence*. p 24.

24 Colonial Secretary to Surveyor General, 25 April 1840, in Michael Cannon & Ian MacFarlane (eds), *Historical Records of Victoria*, III (Melbourne 1984), p 165.

25 Colonial Secretary to La Trobe, 25 April 1840, in Michael Cannon & Ian MacFarlane (eds), *Historical Records of Victoria*, III (Melbourne 1984). p 165. La Trobe later mistakenly referred to the sum as £3,000.

26 La Trobe to Colonial Secretary, 19 May 1840, in Michael Cannon & Ian MacFarlane (eds), *Historical Records of Victoria*. III (Melbourne 1984), pp 166, 168.

27 *Port Phillip Herald*. 12 June 1840, quoted in Shaw, *Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence*. p 30, n 4.

28 Allan, 'Charles Joseph La Trobe', p 6, ref *Port Phillip Herald*, 12 June 1840.

Melbourne, stood up and appealed to the crowd not to oppose the man who might at some future date become their governor. This suggestion was enthusiastically greeted by all except George Harper of Sydney who, just before the fall of the hammer, attempted to advance £1 on the minimum price. According to Liardet's account Harper was 'instantly silenced with shouting, groaning, yelling, bonneting, kicking and cuffing from the arena of sale', and the land was knocked down to La Trobe for £21 per acre, or £250.²⁹ The reality was not quite so dramatic. According to James Graham, writing immediately afterwards, Harper bid £21 just on the fall of the hammer, 'but it was so apparent to everyone present that he was too late that no one thought anything more on the subject'. This is probably a slightly tendentious account by a La Trobe partisan, written with an eye to feeding the gossip mills in Sydney and hence discrediting a claim by Harper which was possibly technically valid.

La Trobe himself was very pleased with the bargain, as he had been prepared (according to Graham) to go to £350 an acre for the sake of finally settling his family.³⁰ This is largely borne out by what he wrote to Gipps:³¹

My own allotment was put up at the head of those of its class, & was knocked down to me at the minimum price - much to my astonish.t & gratification honestly speaking, for I was prepared for stout opposition on the part of the *auslandern*, who, however the people of my own district might shew me a degree of courtesy, could not be expected to do so. Moreover Hoddle for his own good purposes, had prepared a beautiful plan of an extention of the town in that direction & exposed a map like a tailor's pattern book to all who came to inquire after the Superintend.t's allotment. However I got my land (& theirs into the bargain), much more cheaply than I merited, for had I been desired to pay for it, with.t competition I should have be quite willing to pay hundreds where I have paid tens.

The *auslandern* were the Sydneysiders, a number of whom were prevented from being present because bad weather delayed their ship, the *Cumberland*.³²

George Harper, however, was preying upon La Trobe's mind, for he wrote again to Gipps

29 A Liardet painting shows Fawknor appealing to the crowd not to bid against La Trobe for the Jolimont estate - but the one man who ignored the plea is said to have been called Green: Liardet papers, and as quoted in Winston Burchett *East Melbourne 1837-1977* (Hawthorn [Victoria] 1978), p 20. This is corrected in the account published by Adams. Selby, *Old Pioneers' Memorial History*, p 88, refers to Richard Howitt's account of the sale.

30 James Graham to Stuart Donaldson, 12 June 1840, in Sally Graham, *Pioneer Merchant* (South Yarra [Victoria] 1985), pp 67-8. For another account of the sale see Richard Howitt, *Australia: Historical, Descriptive, and Statistical* (London 1845), pp 120-122.

31 La Trobe to Gipps, 12 June 1840, in Shaw, *Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence*, p 29.

32 Ibid, p 30, n 4.

the following day so as to get in first with his account of the incident: 'His protest however was not put in till *26 hours after the sale* had taken place, & was therefore held to be, by the conditions of the sale of no value.' Had Harper come forward in time, La Trobe insisted, his objection would have been given every consideration.³³ According to Graham, Harper was³⁴

more wroth about it and has entered his protest which by the terms and conditions of the sale is of no avail, it having been sent in full 30 hours after the sale. He has tried almost every lawyer in the place to endeavour to get them to undertake legal proceedings, but they are all unwilling to do so on account of the great absurdity of the case; so that he is only making a fool of himself and holding himself up to the contempt and disgust of every right-thinking person.

Satisfactory as the outcome might have seemed, it concerned Gipps, who felt (apparently even before hearing of the Harper incident) that the time might come when it would bring the Government under criticism: 'It seems to me that we may be attacked, first for letting under any circumstances Land go for £20 [per acre], which according to the opinions I now hear very generally expressed, is worth £500 per acre and secondly that the transaction is on the whole equivalent to the acceptance of a present, which every Governor is within the limits of his Government forbidden to take.'³⁵ La Trobe expressed himself 'surprised and distressed' by this, and gave Gipps a somewhat rambling resumé of all the circumstances which explained and justified the situation.³⁶ And once more he felt impelled to write again the very next day, more coolly and more briefly, but nonetheless decisively: 'I cannot seek to claim & retain possession of the land, without placing myself in a false position towards you & all who may be inclined to partake of your opinions.' He therefore left it in Gipps's hands to decide whether the purchase should stand.³⁷ Gipps felt obliged to confirm the purchase, but to cover himself and La Trobe so far as possible by placing confidentially with the Colonial Secretary a detailed memorandum of the whole transaction.³⁸

This is no doubt the reason why the grant was not issued until 24 August 1841.³⁹ Fawcner

33 La Trobe to Gipps, 13 June 1840, in Shaw, *Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence*. pp 30-31.

34 James Graham to Stuart Donaldson, *loc cit*.

35 Gipps to La Trobe, 11 July 1840, in Shaw, *Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence*, p 33.

36 La Trobe to Gipps, 24 July 1840, in Shaw, *Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence*, pp 34-5.

37 La Trobe to Gipps, 25 July 1840, in Shaw, *Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence*, p 36.

38 Gipps to La Trobe, 8 August 1840 & enclosed memorandum, in Shaw, *Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence*. pp 39-42.

39 Attested copy of grant by purchase to Charles Joseph La Trobe: Graham La Trobe Papers, LS 2130/5 Box 2

on the other hand, flushed with his success at the auction, went to uncharacteristic extremes of sycophantic bonhomie by urging the public, through the columns of his *Port Phillip Patriot*, to go further, and to 'take the opportunity of presenting to His Honour the land which a niggardly and parsimonious government has compelled him to purchase.' In later and less amicable times, when Fawkner called upon the British Government to recall La Trobe, he must surely have regretted this early enthusiasm.

The temporary panelled cottage acquired a life of its own:⁴⁰

The framed house had not arrived & as time wore on necessity and the exigences of my situation had obliged me to spend a few hundreds effecting the so called temporary lodgement. Whether considered or intended to be temporary or not, this pannelled cottage of 4 rooms turned out to be the nucleus of the dwelling in which I resided & my family during my whole prolonged term of service of fourteen long years.

When the 'framed' permanent house arrived he did not sell it, as he had intimated to Gipps, but put it up at one corner of his estate, where it became known as 'Upper Jolimont', and then let it out.

The houses at Jolimont will be discussed in detail below, but La Trobe also built a holiday house at Shortlands Bluff (Queenscliff) in 1844-5. Sophie and the children had first holidayed there in February 1844, and by December La Trobe was planning and building the cottage which was on the site of the present St George's Church. It was almost certainly more or less pre-cut in Melbourne, but there is no evidence that it was in any specific sense a prefabricated house. La Trobe recorded: 'Towards the close of [1844] very busy planning + executing my project for erection of a cottage at the back of the Bluff - and by a good exercise of personal exertion and labour contrived to have all in a pretty forward state for the first of Jan. 3 roomed cottage with verandah - + tents, + store + open [w ?] shed on the high ground over the north end of the Bluff'.⁴¹ In January and February 1845 he spent some time there, apparently with his family, and he took them there in late February 1846 (two months after the birth of Charles). La Trobe himself was there again in April, but it does not appear that his wife ever returned (for her health became too bad for long excursions). By 1848 La Trobe was 'making arragts. for the removal of my cottage from the Heads to

40 Rough draft of a memo by La Trobe entitled 'Ex Colonial Governors: a page of facts.' then in the Public Library of Victoria, from a typed transcript of this and other material sent by C A McCallum, Chief Librarian, to Prof B B Lewis, 7 May 1959 [Lewis me 21].

41 C J La Trobe. 'Memoranda of Journeys Excursions & Absences 1839-1854' [rough notes], p 225.

Jolimont, the distance + inconvenience being too great,⁴² and in April⁴³ it was installed next to his main house, on the east side. He now had three cottages on his estate.

It is perhaps necessary to mention here two other buildings which have been claimed as La Trobe's. 'Grantully', at Mount Evelyn, is said to have been La Trobe's and to have been originally at South Yarra on the site of Melbourne High School, from which it was moved.⁴⁴ This was Charles Forrest's land, above the Victoria Tannery, and it would presumably mean that it had been Forrest's house, but nothing is known to link Forrest with La Trobe's buildings. 'Grantully' has in any case been substantially altered, and even if authenticated would be likely to tell us little about Manning, and nothing about La Trobe. What became the front wing of the now demolished 'St Ninian's', Brighton, has also been said to have been originally made for the governor (presumably meaning La Trobe), and erected late in 1839, though this is only the vaguest of rumours.⁴⁵ By another account it was pre-cut in England, which is consistent with the La Trobe connection, but made of Singapore teak,⁴⁶ which is not. Although the French windows were consistent with an early date, Weston Bate assumes that this part was not built until the fifties and that the rest of the house is earlier.⁴⁷

La Trobe's period of occupation of Jolimont will be discussed in more detail below, but during this 14½ years there his children Eleanor, Cecilia and Charles were born. La Trobe himself was an active traveller, and was often absent in the more remote parts of the Port Phillip district, as well as spending time as Acting Administrator of Van Diemen's Land from October 1846 to February 1847. His financial situation improved markedly in 1842, when Gipps managed to increase his salary to £1500 per year.⁴⁸ However, vocal opposition to La Trobe built up during the 1840s, and though he was promoted to Lieutenant-Governor upon the separation of the colony, with effect from 1 July 1851, he submitted his resignation

42 La Trobe, 'Memoranda of Journeys', p 237.

43 L J Blake & R Gill, 'Chronology: Charles Joseph La Trobe' (typescript, no date). National Trust file F.196.

44 *Argus*, 22 March 1841; 26 April 1841; Michael Read, 'Prefabricated Buildings and structures' (BArch history thesis. University of Melbourne 1963), p 53. Read's information was obtained verbally from the owner, the late Ernest Buckmaster. The story seems most improbable: there was a teak house on the South Yarra site thought to have been erected in the 1850s (Cooper, *History of Prahran* (1912). pp 19-20) which might be the one in question. Even if this date was wrong, if the house came from England it would not have been of teak.

45 Mary Lloyd & Clare Lewis. 'Portable Buildings' (BArch history thesis. University of Melbourne 1959). p 4. quote as their source Mrs E L Blakemore, who then occupied the building, but Ms Blakemore told the present writer that she no longer had any recollection of this supposed connection with the 'governor.'

46 Esme Johnson. 'Ghosts of St Ninian's'. *Australian Home Beautiful*. II. 2 (1 February 1933), P 24.

47 Weston Bate, *A History of Brighton* (Melbourne 1962). p.93.

48 Gipps to La Trobe, 8 October 1842 & n 4, in Shaw. *Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence*, p 174.

to England in December 1852. By the time he returned to England in May of 1854 his detractors were in the majority in the colony, and his stocks were low with the authorities at home.

La Trobe's wife had preceded him to Europe because of her poor health, and on 30 January 1854 had died at the Montmollin family home in Neuchâtel. On 6 May 1854 he embarked for England. It may have been of some little comfort to La Trobe in his time of adversity to know that he was no longer a poor man. The estate at Jolimont had of course been a bargain even when he bought it, and when it was subdivided some time after his departure, it produced a very handsome return indeed. In October 1855 La Trobe married Rose Isabelle de Meuron, the widowed sister of his late wife Sophie, and their child Margaret Rose was born on 3 September 1856. For a time after the marriage he and Rose lived at Ightham Mote, Kent, but in 1859 they were at Whitbourne Court, Worcester. During 1862 the sight in his left eye began to deteriorate, and by late 1865 the sight in his right eye as so diminished that he was practically blind. He died on 4 December 1875.

La Trobe was never given another post, and he was never treated as an ex-governor. However, in 1858 he was appointed a Companion of the Order of the Bath, and in 1865, following intensive lobbying on his behalf by Henry Moor, the British *Colonial Government Pension Act* was amended to provide a one-third pension for La Trobe of £333.6s.8d. a year. This was still not much - 'It may pay for boots and breakfast if not breeches & beafsteaks'⁴⁹ - and he professed himself still financially dependent upon his Australian property.⁵⁰ He once likened himself to a hedger's glove, which the British government drew on to save its skin from the harsh realities, the thorns and brambles of colonial rule, and then, when it had served its purpose, cast away into a ditch.⁵¹

49 La Trobe to James Graham, 22 December 1865, in L J Blake (ed), *Letters of Charles Joseph La Trobe* (Melbourne 1975), p 68.

50 La Trobe to James Graham, 24 October 1865, in Blake, *Letters of La Trobe*, p 66.

51 La Trobe Papers, State Library of Victoria, quoted in Kathleen Fitzpatrick, 'Charles Joseph La Trobe', *Victorian Historical Journal*, XLVII, 4 (November 1976), p 253.

Manning Houses

Manning was a carpenter and builder by trade, and by the 1830s had become easily the most important of the English manufacturers of portable buildings. Not only was he by far the most prolific and influential, but he also developed a distinctive system of construction. He can be regarded as the first system builder in the modern sense, as opposed to those other prefabricators whose work differed little from traditional carpentry, though Manning himself seems to have manufactured traditionally carpentered houses as well. Manning's advertisements are always signed 'H' Manning. Gilbert Herbert at one point refers to him as 'Henry' Manning,⁵² but mostly calls him 'John',⁵³ though it does not appear that he has evidence for either name. It would take some convolution to reconcile 'John' with the 'H' of the advertisements, but my investigations, surprisingly, show some evidence for 'John' by way of the C A Manning connection discussed below.

Manning seems to have invented and begun making his panelled houses in about 1830, if not earlier, possibly for a son who was reported to have gone as a settler to the Swan River in Western Australia.⁵⁴ Who the son in question may have been is unclear, but there was a Charles Alexander Manning who settled in Fremantle, having been formerly a West Indian merchant. His marriage certificate gives the father's occupation as 'architect', which seems promising enough, but the father's forename is given as John, and he has elsewhere been reported as William.⁵⁵ He may of course of been J H or J W Manning.

At the Swan River colony, which was to become Perth, it was said that

These cottages were found to be of the greatest service to settlers, both in protecting their families from the weather, and their property from theft. Many persons who took and and only tents, suffered severely in both respects; their tents being frequently blown down in the middle of a stormy night, and their goods being thus not only exposed to weather but to pilfering. Provided with a cottage of this description, an emigrant might land from a ship in a new country in the morning and sleep in his own house on shore at night.

At any rate Manning was claimed, by 1833, to have made many houses for the Australian

52 Gilbert Herbert, *Pioneers of Prefabrication* (Baltimore [Maryland] 1978), p 23.

53 Ibid, pp 4, 15.

54 J C Loudon, *Encycloptedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture*. &c (London 1846 [1833]), p 256.

55 Information provided LO me, and marriage certificate kindly obtained for me, by David Hutchison, then Curator of History at the West Australian Museum, 1976.

colonies and particularly for the Swan River. A single room at Hobart Town was said to be often let for £1 a week, while one of Manning's portable cottages with two rooms could be bought in London for £50.

The Western Australian connection is somewhat elusive. A photograph survives of one house built in the 1830s in what is patently the panelised Manning system, to be discussed below. The house is 'Mona Cottage, Perth, which is slightly unusual in that it has attic rooms under the roof, and the side walls are extended with a row of small additional panels, about 0.9 m high, to create the necessary roof space.⁵⁶ Manning's customers appear to have included the Western Australian Co, proprietors of the Australind Settlement at Port Leschenault. The journals of the Chief Commissioner, Marshall Waller Clifton, name the window sizes most useful to settlers, and indicate that these can be obtained from Manning of High Holborn. In 1842 Clifton's son was building a new house, and mentions taking Mrs Clifton's cottages down river. These, which may have been Manning cottages, appear to have been very small structures with Gothic windows (inviting comparison with La Trobe's cottage). They formed the basis of the first Leschenault House, which was destroyed by flood in 1862.⁵⁷ A surviving house at Kalamunda, thought to be a Manning structure, has been identified by John White.⁵⁸

Houses 'of panels screwed together' - presumably meaning Manning's system - are supposed to have been used on Adelaide in 1836.⁵⁹ However, one of the first documented Manning buildings to be put up there was that brought in 1837 by John Barton Hack and erected according to his diary in one day, on 21 February 1837.⁶⁰ Manning advertised in the *South Australian Record*:⁶¹

PORTABLE COLONIAL COTTAGES

56 Photograph of A H Stone, 1861, in an A H Stone album at the West Australian Museum. This seems to have been the house of Thomas Helms, who came to Perth in the 1830s, which stood in Irwin Street between Hay and Murray Streets. The photographer is annotated 'Grandpa', apparently in reference to the figure on the steps, and the photographer A H Stone was married to Helms's daughter. Information from David Hutchison, as above.

57 Information from Ian Molyneux, Fremantle, and Charles Staples, Perth, 1990.

58 Information from John White of Gingin, 1990.

59 [John Stephens], *The Land of Promise* (London 1339), p 109.

60 Goldney, *The Quaker Meeting House*, p 7. See also J Gilchrist, 'John Barton Hack (1805-1854)', in A G L Shaw & C M H Clark (eds), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, I (Melbourne 1966), p 497; ref G C Morphet, *John Barton Hack: a Quaker Pioneer* (Adelaide 1943).

61 *South Australian Record*, 3,27 November 1837, p 1.

H. MANNING, 251, HIGH-HOLBORN, London, manufacturer on the most simple and approved principles, pack in a small compass, may be erected with windows, doors, and locks, painted inside and outside, floors, &c. complete for habitations in a few hours after landing. price £15. and upwards. They may be taken to pieces and removed as often as the convenience of the settler may require.

H.M. made those now occupied in the colony, by the Rev. C.B. Howard, J.B. Hack, esq. and others from whom testimonials have recently been received of the superiority of those over all others

Other South Australian settlers who bought buildings from Manning were, according to another advertisement, Robert Gouger, the Colonial Secretary; T B Strangways, the Acting Colonial Secretary; G S (later Sir George) Kingston, Colonial Surveyor - all of whom had ordered a second cottage after their experience of the first - and also Captain Hindmarsh, the late Governor; Lt E C Frome, Surveyor-General; Judge (later Chief Justice Sir Charles) Cooper; Captain Chesser, and many others.⁶² In fact the greater number of the houses in Adelaide in about 1840 as Alexander Tolmer remembered them, 'consisted of wood, brought out from England by the emigrants themselves, called 'Manning's houses'.'⁶³

Frome's house was at his 'Vale Farm' at Walkerville, and it still stands. Though it is much altered there are two excellent paintings of it by S T Gill, done prior to 1851, in the Art Gallery of South Australia.⁶⁴ In Pennington Terrace, North Adelaide, a Manning cottage was built in 1839 by Henry Watson, bother-in-law of J B Hack. However, Watson found it inadequate for the extremes of heat and cold in Adelaide, and within a year he had encased it in brick, in which form it survives today.⁶⁵

The fact that Howard brought a Manning house is confirmed by local sources. It was said to have been the gift of P St Leger Grenfell and was put up on stumps facing North Terrace on the eastern part of the church acre. Howard also brought a prefabricated church with him at the end of 1836, and the reason why it is not mentioned in Manning's advertisement may be

62 Henry Capper, *Capper's South Australia* (3rd ed of his *South Australia*, London 1839), advertisements, p 12. See *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. svv, for Gouger, Kingston. Hindmarsh, Howard, Frome and Cooper.

63 Tolmer, *Reminiscences*. I, p 131.

64 My information is from Sir Edward Morgan, then Chairman of the Gallery.

65 D W Berry & S H Gilbert, *Pioneer Building Techniques in South Australia* (Adelaide 1981). pp 77-8, citing letters of Henry Watson to English relatives, 1838-43. in the Archives Department of the State Library of South Australia. Apparently Watson migrated in December 1837, and his three bedroom house reached Adelaide on the *Henry Porcher* three months after he did. Information from Watson's descendant, Peter T C Watson of Colchester, England, 21 December 1988.

the embarrassing fact that the timbers proved too flimsy to be used for the purpose, though the materials were adapted for use in constructing the first schoolroom.⁶⁶ The church as originally sent out was described not as a panelled but as 'a frame one',⁶⁷ but the presumption must be that it was also made by Manning, who did make conventional buildings as well as panelised ones. The house and the church were obtained simultaneously by the Church Society, which had received subscriptions of over £800, more than half of this amount being from the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.⁶⁸ The church was described as a handsome structure for 750 persons, which took up the whole cargo space of the *William Hutt*, but it was found by Colonel Light to be too flimsy.⁶⁹

By 1840 Manning was able to advertise that he was patronised by Her Majesty's Honourable Board of Ordnance, by each of the Surveyors General in the colonies of New Zealand and South Australia, and by the New Zealand Land Company.⁷⁰ He had little impact in the established settlement of Sydney, but even there an advertisement appeared in 1841 for a prefabricated cottage by 'the first maker in London',⁷¹ probably meaning Manning.

Manning's apparent near monopoly of the South Australian market and of houses for Government officials would itself be enough to suggest him as the most likely manufacturer of La Trobe's cottages, and the fact that he specialised in, if he had not actually patented panelized construction, would support the hypothesis. But the evidence is stronger than this, for the cottage resembles in detail one of Manning's as described in Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture*,⁷² and surviving examples in Victoria and South Australia, and another bought out to Australia in 1852. One of these surviving buildings is at Queenscliff, and will be discussed below, for though it is completely altered externally, its owner's inventory of parts and directions for putting it up

66 L J Ewens, *The Establishment of Trinity Church Adelaide*, a paper read at a meeting of the Pioneers' Association of South Australia, held at Trinity Church Hall, 6 July 1953, pp 5-7.

67 T Horton-James, *Six Months in South Australia; with some account of Port Phillip and Portland Bay* (London 1838), Advertisements, p 245.

68 Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent* [Melbourne 1967 [1957]], p 119, ref S A Church Society, Annual Report 1836 (Angas Papers, S A Commission, 815); *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 18 June 1836.

69 Pike, op cit, p 265, ref the Patriot, 3 August 1836; *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 18 June 1836.

70 *South Australian Record*, III, passim, eg no 1 (4 July 1840), p 15.

71 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 August 1841, quoted by James Broadbent, 'Aspects of Domestic Architecture in New South Wales 1788-1843' (3 vols PhD, Australian National University 1985), I, p 22.

72 J C Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture*. ?

survive as documentary evidence of a most useful kind. But for this earlier period our information of other Manning buildings in Melbourne is limited simply to the facts that one of them was advertised for sale in the *Port Phillip Herald* in February 1841,⁷³ and another in the *Port Phillip Patriot* in December, as already discussed above. It is also relevant that Sir Thomas Mitchell wrote to Georgiana McCrae of 'Manning of Holborn, who makes a business of building wooden houses in sections for use in Australia. He can prepare a five-roomed one for £125, at two weeks' notice. Freight out £30.'⁷⁴

Not much is known of Manning's non-panelled buildings, which adds importance to the conclusion of this report that 'Upper Jolimont' was one of these, for though it has been long ago demolished, it is relatively well recorded in photographs. La Trobe was not particularly enamoured of it, for, as noted above, the cost of landing, assembling and finishing it came to about four times the original purchase price, whereas 'My pannelled cottage tho' infinitely less commodious & more humble in appr. even before the numerous additions made to it in subsequent years stood me in a proportionate sum to its first cost.'⁷⁵ The mere fact that La Trobe complained of the cost of assembling and finishing it shows that he did not in fact sell it, as first proposed (and, as indicated above, it is clearly the building that became 'Upper Jolimont').

However, a substantial Manning house was put up for sale in Melbourne, and there are rumours of other buildings linked with La Trobe. There was advertised in December 1841 a:⁷⁶

London Built Portable Cottage

A very superior cottage built by Manning of London (private sale) 59 ft x 20 ft 1 storey Gothic style dining & drawing room, 5 bedrooms, one dining room, storeroom. w.c. (patent apparatus) and an attic 59 ft x 13 ft (i.e. for sleeping apartments). There are slates and lead for the roof and plaster lath for the ceiling and all fittings. The most complete and [?arranged] cottage yet sent out ...

Dunlop, McNab & Co.

73 *Port Phillip Herald*, 28 February 1841.

74 McCrae, *Georgiana's Journal*, p 120.

75 Rough draft of a memo by La Trobe entitled 'Ex Colonial Governors: a page of facts.', then in the Public Library of Victoria, from a typed transcript of this and other material sent by C A McCallum, Chief Librarian, to Prof B B Lewis, 7 May 1959 [Lewis file 21].

76 *Port Phillip Patriot*, December 1841, p 13, quoted by Richard Moshel & John Witorz, 'Building Materials imported into Victoria from the First Settlement until 1856' (BArch, University of Melbourne, 1971),

The fact this house was Gothic in style is consistent with the use of Gothic windows in the panelled cottage, but as this advertisement dates almost two years after the arrival of La Trobe's house it could not on any interpretation have been the same building.

Manning had designs upon the domestic English market as well as the export trade, and it was suggested that his standard two-roomed cottage might be used as a shooting box and could be taken about the countryside on a cart drawn by a single horse. It was also suggested that a Manning house could be used as an 'ambulatory cottage' for a man with an income of £200 or £300 a year who wished to enjoy a variety of rural scenery, or better still a whole terrace of 'co-operative ambulatory cottages' could be occupied by a party which rented a field for them from place to place. His houses might also be used as country residences, and one had been built for Captain J G Hall in a permanent position at Wargrave near Henley-on-Thames: here the modules were of four feet [1.2 m] and the building apparently measured about 38 feet by 13 [11.4 x 5.2 m], and managed to accommodate an entrance hall, servant's bedroom, kitchen, storeroom, sitting room, bedroom and attic lumber press.⁷⁷

Elsewhere, Manning claimed that his cheapest building cost £15, and that they could be used as stationary or movable residences, packed into a small compass, 'and may be completely erected in a few hours, with joists, floors, doors, and locks; windows glazed and painted inside and outside.'⁷⁸ Robert Gouger, whose first house from Manning in South Australia had been only 'a small room', but whose friends had taken large houses, said they were very easy to erect and to move;⁷⁹

They have answered remarkably well, and by far surpass any other wooden houses in the colony. They are covered with a tarpaulin, and this is the best temporary covering you can have at first; as soon as you can, however, you will find it expedient to substitute for the tarpaulin the colonial roof of shingles.

Though it was not used in all of his buildings, panelized construction was what Manning described as 'his peculiar plan' and, he said,⁸⁰

These cottages can be removed from one station to another, struck and erected again in a matter of a few hours. They are panelled throughout, painted inside and outside, with doors and fastenings, glazed folding windows, floors, joists, and roofing complete.

77 Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture*, (secs. 510, 514-515), pp 251, 256-7.

78 Capper, *Capper's South Australia* (3rd ed.), Advertisements, p 12.

79 Gouger, *South Australia*, p 71.

80 *South Australian Record*, loc cit.

Even in 1853 when there was a big Australian market for his buildings, Manning was advertising his cottages as suitable both 'for shooting boxes on the moors, or for exportation.'⁸¹

The house illustrated by Loudon was simply two rooms measuring 12 feet [3.6 m] square internally, with a connecting door between them. They were eight feet [2.4 m] high, and one might be fitted with a stove in the corner - of wrought iron. for lightness - from which the flue ran up with 50-80 mm clearance inside a square wooden or iron box, so as to avoid setting fire to the tarpaulin which was provided as a temporary roof. The foundation consisted of four sleepers of five by three inches [127 x 76 mm] laid on edge, thirteen feet [3.9 m] long and spaced about six feet [1.8 m] apart, so that the ends of the building would cantilever out nearly a metre beyond the outermost sleepers. The walls were built onto five by three inch [127 x 76 mm] grooved plates, laid flat, two of them about 25 feet [7.7 m] long laid across the ends of the sleepers, and forming the necessary cantilever at each end of the building. Thirteen foot [3.9 m] plates were transversely at the ends, apparently halved into the longitudinal plates which supported them, and another of the same size supported the internal partition. The floor joists measured five by two inches [127 x 51 mm] on edge, and there were five in each room, spaced 0.6 m apart and, and deeply rebated where they crossed the sleepers, which were themselves deeply rebated to receive them. The joists were thus set low enough for the flooring to finish flush with the upper surfaces of the wall plates, and where they butted into the transverse plates, both members were cut in somewhat complicated shapes so as to key together.

The essence of the system, however, lay in the panelled work: the standard panel was about three feet [0.9 m] wide and fitted with the grooves of the base plate and of I-section posts which were placed between them. These posts measures 3½ inches by 2¼ [89 x 576 mm]. except the corner ones which was three inches [76 mm] square so as to accommodate grooves on adjacent sides, and 8 ft 6 in [2.55 m] thick. The corner posts had nuts let into them so that a bolt could be inserted through the wall plate from below and screwed up to join the two members, thus making use of the free access underneath the corner of the building due to the cantilevered construction. Once the posts and panels were all in position the grooved top plate could be bolted down similarly to the corner posts, and make the

81 *Times*. 11 July 1853, p 1. Manning's cottages must have been used for or displayed at the Royal Agricultural Society's show at Gloucester, for he advertised that they were to be sold there at a great reduction after the meeting of the society which terminated on 15 July. Purchasers could apply to Manning himself at the show-yard 'where they may be seen in use' or at his London premises, 251 High Holborn.

whole assembly rigid. It may be mentioned that the wall sections were themselves divided vertically into three recessed panels, that the rafters were placed on the 'open couple' principle without either ceiling joists or collar ties to prevent spreading, and that the tarpaulin usually provided was tied to the rafters and the eave using strings fixed to its underside and along the edges.⁸²

La Trobe's house was roofed in shingle, and had presumably been supplied initially with the tarpaulin roof common to Manning's other buildings, but by 1852, when Samuel Vaughan brought to Victoria a 'rough house' and a panelled house made by Manning, they were supplied with boarding and with floorcloth to be laid over it. Vaughan lists sizes of the packages he brought and their contents in such detail that it is possible to deduce the salient features of the two buildings (see Appendix [p.110]): the rough house appears to have measured 19 ft 9 in by 18 ft 6 in [5.93 x 5.64 m], with a gabled roof running the length, and an eaves height of something over 2.1 m. At 1.65 m from one end was a partition, behind which was a small store, about 1.8 m long, and a kitchen, each with its own door to the main room. The building had one external door and two windows. Ground and top plates measured 4½ by 3 inches [114 x 76 mm], and studs typically measured 5 by 2 inches [127 x 51 mm], and were at 2 ft 9 in [0.83 m] centres. There was no flooring except in the store-room, but the roof was boarded and covered with floorcloth in the manner described.

The more important of Vaughan's buildings is the panelled house, which was put up in Mona Place, South Yarra (whether the rough house was erected with it is not clear) and subsequently moved to Queenscliff, where it still stands in Mercer Street,⁸³ though altered beyond recognition but for a small amount of panelling visible inside. No sleepers are mentioned, but the ground plates again measured 4½ by 3 inches (not grooved as in Manning's earlier buildings), and on them walls were built of alternated grooved posts and framed panels. The panels measured 7 ft 8 in by 3 feet by 1½ inches [2.3 m x 0.9 m x 38 mm], and the posts were typically 3 inches [76 mm] square with a one inch [25 mm] deep groove down each side to receive the panels, so that the centre-to-centre distance was 3 ft 1 in [0.93 m], and the whole system varied little from that used in La Trobe's cottage. Special posts were provided for the comers, with the grooves on adjacent sides, and three-grooved posts (not used in the house described by Loudon) for points at which one

82 Loudon, *Encyclopaedia*. (secs 510, 511), pp 251-6.

83 My information on these points is from Vaughan's granddaughter, Mrs W J Kendall, who has kindly shown me Vaughan's papers and allowed free use of the journal. The owner of the panelled house at Queenscliff, Mrs Bradley Reed, was also most obliging in letting me look at the building.

wall butted into another. The panels, described as 'framings', were of three types, 'sash framings', 'bead and butt framings' which were apparently used for external walls, and 'square panelled framings', which are the type visible at Queenscliff. These last are of the same design as La Trobe's, framed with what appear to be 3 by 1½ inch [76 x 38 mm] styles and muntins, between which are 200 mm wide recessed panels running the full height and apparently formed of board about 13 mm thick. The top plates were the same size as the bottom plates, but grooved, so that once fixed down they stabilised the whole of the walls, and the gable ends (unlike La Trobe's) were panelled on the same principle as the walls, but in .45 m [1 ft 6 in] sections, and with lighter posts.

Thus much for Manning's structural system. This particular building appears to have measured eleven modules by seven, or about 10.2 x 6.6 m (the lengthwise plates were made in two parts and only joined on site), with a plain gabled roof in the long direction pitched to rise a further 2.3 m. There was a three foot passage across the centre, and on each side of it two rooms, one of five modules by four and the other of five by three. Four 'sash framings' were provided, which would allow one window to each room, in addition to which a separately packaged 'cottage window' may or may not have been incorporated in this building (without it the number of panels, sashes and doors is just right for the plan described but that two of the exterior 'bead and butt framings' are replaced by two superfluous 'square panelled framings'). Of the eight doors provided we must assume that one opened at each end of the passage, and four others opened off the passage into the rooms at either side: there must then have been two further external doors or connecting doors between adjacent rooms. Floor joists were either 4½ by 2 or 3 by 3 inches [114 x 51 or 76 x 76 mm], and were spaced at 152 mm [1 ft 6 in] centres and floored with 280 by 25 mm [11 x 1 inch] boards. No ceiling was provided. Rafters measured 5½ by 1½ or 5 by 1 inches [140 x 38 or 127 x 25 mm] at the gable ends: however the total number, sixty-four, suggests a spacing of little more than 0.3 m, and the area of boarding provided to cover them is also excessive. These boards measured 280 x 16 mm [11 x 5⁄8 inches] and came in lengths of 3.15 and 6.9 m, so that one of each type placed end to end would run the length of the building: there was, however, about ten square metres extra of each type. The house was accompanied by a detached water closet, also of prefabricated panels, and measuring 4 by 3 feet [1.2 x 0.9 m] in plan.

Vaughan entered in his journal the directions for erecting the panelled house:⁸⁴

Directions for erecting my Wooden House. (Portable Panell'd made by Mr Manning of Holborn)

First look out the ground plates or cills and knock them together, take care to bring the corners together as they are marked - next place the corner posts according to their respective marks into the bottom plates + put the nuts on screws from the underside + screw them tightly up - next put in the middle posts those that are fastened with screws + screw them from the underside very firmly; next knock the top plates together according as they are marked (these plates are grooved the bottom are not) + lift them up bodily + place the same upon the top of posts already screwed in. Then screw the top plates down to the posts but not close down at first until you get all the panelled framings + posts in all round which you must do by first placing in a framing then a post and the last (when you come to close the last two) must be sprung in thus [sketch]. You must take care to place the doors and windows in the places where you want them to be before you screw down the top plates *firmly* + put in the cross partitions - i.e. in a similar way to the external enclosures. The cross plates are marked at each end which you must be particular in looking to. having got all properly down screw up all the nuts very firmly - next put in the Rafters + nail two or three braces across the underside of the Rafters to keep them in their places - then nail on Board covering for the Roof - *and last of all* put down the Floor Boards.

The gable Enclosures are put in similarly to the panell'd framing. Note: the Bottom plates are painted *Black*.

Another emigrant wrote from Melbourne in 1854,⁸⁵

I have purchased a piece of land for £200 45 feet by 90 [13.5 x 27 m] in the suburbs, on which I placed the house I brought out with me, purchased of Manning, of Holborn. For the sort, it is a very excellent house. I have made additions to it, and when finished, it will

84 Samuel Vaughan's journal, as quoted above. Among Vaughan's letter of Introduction, he also transcribed into his journal, is of 26 September (1852) from Lord Desart to the Officers of the Depot at Melbourne, the latter to provide storage for Vaughan's property, as he was bringing 'a large quantity of goods among wch. is a wooden house', and another from John Dewrance & Co. of London (per W Healy) to a Mr Wheatley: 'It has occurred to us that as he is taking a house with him your Services and Experience may be of value to him and in return he no Doubt may do you a good turn.'

85 *Builder*, XII, 605 (9 September 1854), p 476.

A very similar complaint, indeed it might almost be the same man referring to the same house, was made by the *Builder's* Melbourne correspondent in 1856, who also had a panelled house by Manning in which the sides of the rooms were only eight feet [2.4 m] high, though he had made the ceiling higher at the centres of the room by following in the pitch of the rafters. He described his roof as of tin tiles over 1 inch [25 mm] boarding, and complained that the heat inside was terrible, often 90° in the dining room, while it also caused the gutters to crack so much that when 'a sudden tropical shower comes - no joke about it - we are all swimming inside'. Quoted in the *Australian builder*, no 27 (4 September 1856), p 216.

have eight rooms and a kitchen, with store closet. I think you might suggest in your *Builder* some improvements on emigrants' houses. The great fault is that they are too *low*: the pitch of my rooms is only 8 feet [2.4 m] high, and in summer we have the thermometer from 90 to 100 [36.2 - 37.7°C] in the shade: it has been 97 [36.2°C] in our sitting-room, on the shady side. The roof is a great difficulty, also: mine is now covered with $\frac{3}{4}$ inch [19 mm] deal boards, thin canvass, and over all tin tiles painted. It will make a watertight roof but it may be very hot, so that suggestions might be made as to ventilation.

Manning's influence, it appears, spread even further than his buildings. In 1840 a Baltimore architect, James Hall, published *A Series of Select and Original Modern Designs for Dwelling Houses*, illustrating a cottage of interchangeable wooden panels, some solid and some glazed. The house had two rooms of twelve feet [3.6 m] square and was to be bolted together on the site and covered by a tarpaulin if there was not time to make a shingle roof. In other words it was Manning's design copied from Loudon's *Encyclopedia*.⁸⁶

In 1856 a building which was apparently panelized appears in an illustration from the Crimean War,⁸⁷ and by this time, as we shall see, panelised buildings of a sort were being made in Victoria. In 1861 Skillings and Flint, a firm of New York lumber dealers, took out a United States patent for a system consisting of a few standardised panels and a number of interchangeable parts. The company subsequently advertised a number of designs suited to plantations and army camps, and claimed that a house could be erected in three hours. Some of these buildings were in fact bought by the Union Army.⁸⁸

Manning's own activities were not confined to emigrants' houses: a major work for which he was responsible was the pavilion used in different parts of England for meetings of the Agricultural society which, in the form in which it stood at Derby on one occasion, measured 48 x 45 metres and was constructed in five bays in the transverse direction, with a gable roof over the central one, stepping down in a 1.2 metre clerestory to the skillion roofs of the adjacent bays, and stepping down again to those of the outermost bays. It was light in appearance but strongly constructed, with ten tonnes of iron in the roof, and there were 150 framed canvas windows in the clerestories which could be opened for ventilation. When it was first used is not clear (the Society first met in 1838) but in 1842 Sir Robert Smirke suggested the addition of diagonal ties to the roof structure because of the exposed position on which it was to be erected that year, on the heights at Clifton near Bristol. Subsequently

86 Peterson, 'Early American Prefabrication', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series. XXXIII, p 41.

87 Mr B D Stuart's Army Stores for the Fourth Division, Cathcart's Hill, before Sebastopol. *Illustrated London News*, XVIII, 782 (2 February 1856), p 109.

88 Kelly, *Prefabrication of Houses*. p 9, reproduces the patent drawings.

it was used, amongst other places, at Derby, Shrewsbury, Newcastle and York. At Newcastle, however, it was described as if substantially a new building ('Most of the materials had been used at former meetings of the society'): Manning charged £3.000 for its erection, and it now measured only 42 x 25 metres. Ventilation was by 'leaves of thin canvas stretched over a light framework, which folded upwards to admit the air, and when hanging down they offered no obstruction to the light' - in fact it would appear that the canvas was treated to make it translucent, as was done in Peter Thompson's buildings. The roof, supported by ironwork and covered with floorcloth, was said to be completely impervious to the weather.⁸⁹ The structure seems to have had a rival, or successor, in 'Gray's New Portable Tenting, or Shedding' erected in 1855 for the Bath and West England Agricultural Society, and invented by Jonathan Gray, a member of the Council. It was inspected by the Medical Ordnance Department and the War Department, but it is not clear whether the Government adopted the method.⁹⁰

89 *Illustrated London News*, III, 63 (15 July 1843), pp 35, 40, 41; VII, 168 (19 July 1845), p 40; IX, no 220 (18 July 1846), pp 44, 45; XIII, 326 (15 July 1848), p 17; *Builder*, IV, 182 (1 August 1846), p 371.

90 *Illustrated London News*. XXVII, 766 (20 October 1855), p 485.

Description

At La Trobe's cottage the first task is to distinguish between the building produced by Manning and the modifications made by the local builder, Robart and/or Beaver. The dining room at the end, which is weatherboarded but not panelled, might be taken to be one of the additions foreshadowed by La Trobe in 1840, or a later modification even than that, but for the fact that it appears in La Trobe's own sketch 'Jolimont in early times as first erected, 1839'. It was presumably built by Beaver at the same time as the panelled house, and it has casement windows matching those elsewhere, perhaps taken from the external wall which was eliminated by the creation of the extra room. It was described by the Murphys as being 'of standard stud frame construction'.⁹¹ No other description nor any detailed drawings appear to exist, as the room was moved so far as possible in one piece, even including the plastered wall surfaces. An analysis might well reveal - as have the fragments of Lonsdale's Cottage - information on the prehistory of the stud frame in Australia, early nail types, and possibly earlier forms of wall cladding.

The panelled cottage has been recreated on the basis of the relatively small portion that still survived, and of La Trobe's two sketch plans, especially 'Jolimont en Mars 1840' [Jolimont in March 1840] which gives the critical dimensions. It is easy to recognise the grooved posts, 3½ inches [89 mm] across and at 3 ft 1½ inch [0.95 m] centres, and the panels of Loudon's illustrations. The external panels are entirely different and have a weatherboard infill, but the internal ones appear to be framed up with 3½ by 1¼ inch [89 x 32 mm] styles at each side and two intermediate muntins of nearly 3 by 1¼ inches [76 x 32 mm], between which are flat panels set back about 9.5 mm. The overall width is about 0.9 m or three feet (assuming 25 mm overlapped by the grooved post at each side) and the height something more than 2.25 m (which is the height of panel actually exposed): the height of the external panels appears to be greater. The weatherboard infill of the exterior panels appears to have been a local addition, for it is not found in other Manning buildings or in Loudon's illustrations, besides which it is, according to the Murphys, of red cedar.⁹²

The Melbourne City Council rate and valuation books in 1850 describe La Trobe's dwelling as a '12 roomed wooden house with kitchen and rooms, coach house, etc., gardens', and the house occupied by Perry as an 'eight roomed wooden house with kitchen, stabling, etc. and

91 John Murphy & Phyllis Murphy, untitled typescript notes, p 4.

92 Murphys, p 6.

gardens' and the same information is repeated in 1851.⁹³ The rate books of 1859 and 1860 simply describe the buildings as 'wooden'.⁹⁴ There is a more precise description of the materials in the Graham La Trobe papers in 1859, which refer to a 'wooden building ... walls wood plastered ... roof slate' and an outbuilding used as 'servants rooms, kitchen, stables and harness room' which is a 'brick and wood building'. According to Mary Sheehan it is unclear whether this complex is describing Jolimont or Upper Jolimont,⁹⁵ but the slate roof seems to suggest the latter.

The dimensions of the building as reconstructed are about 11.4 x 5.7 metres (38 x 19 feet), or twelve panels by six, with a two panel wide (nearly 1.9 m) passage across the centre. Presumably the transverse six panel dimension was evident from the remains on site, but the long dimension and the details of the rooms must be hypothetical. On one side is the bedroom, of five panels by six, and on the other the living room, of five by four, with two small closets behind. The ceilings follow the roof slope up to a height about 0.6 m higher than the tops of the panelled walls, presumably with the joists acting as collar ties. As reconstructed, the entrance door is placed between two panels of about half width, but the windows generally are designed to fit into the space of a normal panel, each consisting of a pair of outward opening casement sashes and each sash divided with fine glazing bars, five horizontal and one vertical, in addition to small bars forming a pair of pointed gothic arches to the two top panes. During the restoration it was found that these bars were flat sections of what the Murphys took to be mild steel,⁹⁶ but presumably rolled wrought iron, halved into each other at the comers, and backed with run lead beading.

Of the decoration all that is known is the simulated oak wood graining, which was found on some of the original panels.⁹⁷ Nor is anything known of the services, but there is a mysterious reference in a press report of 1960 to a 'bluestone underground passage',⁹⁸ which suggests that there might have been a drain from a water closet. The Melbourne Club is known to have had such a drain in the 1850s, and Black Rock House, Sandringham, had a tunnel to the beach which was probably for the same purpose. Water closets were used in Melbourne houses, such as James Graham's 'Yarra Cottage' of 1839, and were supplied with

93 Cited in Mary Sheehan, 'Jolimont Square Archaeological Project: Historical Report' (Melbourne 1989), pp 6-7.

94 Cited in Sheehan, 'Jolimont Square', p 5.

95 Graham La Trobe papers, University of Melbourne Archives, cited in Sheehan, 'Jolimont Square', p 5.

96 Murphys, p 5.

97 Murphys, p 5.

98 Mary Stuart. 'La Trobe's Cottage History', *Age*, 3 February 1960.

Manning houses such as one advertised for sale in Melbourne in 1841 (see below).

Our knowledge of the outbuildings is confined essentially to La Trobe's plans, Edward La Trobe Bateman's drawings (now held by the State Library, see illustrations [refer p.115]) and a couple of photographs of the detached cottage. This despite the fact that the two storey maid's quarters stood until about 1920, the kitchen until 1937, the later kitchen to the east and the detached cottage also until 1937 (but not the stable, which was demolished in the nineteenth century).

The La Trobe occupation

By 19 October 1839, as we have already seen, La Trobe had put up his 'portable cottage & whatever offices were indispensably necessary'. Elsewhere he gave some further account of how he established his cottage at Jolimont:⁹⁹

as soon as I could I selected a spot on the Reserve in [Lonsdale's] vicinity - put up my tents then ----- with the pannelled cottage to which I have alluded had just arrived at its destination. I moved into them while I set to work to get the ---- upon the ground, put it together & furnish it with a shingle roof.

There is nothing in this to suggest that the dining room was built at this stage. However the dining room contains windows belonging to the panelised system, and the common wall seems to have been conceived as such, rather than as part of the exterior shell (it has no windows, but two door openings into the dining room) which tends to suggest that the two parts are contemporary. On balance, however, the probability is that either the extension was projected at the outset, or the wall panels were adjusted afterwards (not as easy as it sounds, however, given the nature of the Manning system as described in Vaughan's instructions, quoted above).

The dining room must have been built very soon afterwards, for La Trobe's sketch 'Jolimont in early times as first erected, 1839' shows in view and in plan both the panelled and the non-panelled portions, apparently complete. This 1839 drawing has provided the basis for the Trust's recreation of the building. It would seem that the house which La Trobe himself occupied and which now stands reconstructed on the King's Domain is simply the panelled cottage with an extension built on the spot, for the non-panelled section is certainly not 'a more substantial and permanent cottage' than the panelled section - it is merely a single room. Earlier claims that the dining room represents La Trobe's second, non-panelised Manning house, can now be completely dismissed, for we know that that house arrived considerably later, was considerably bigger, and, as will appear, became Upper Jolimont.

A further plan by La Trobe, 'Jolimont en Mars 1840' [Jolimont in March 1840] is on the back of a letter dated 2 March 1840,¹⁰⁰ in which La Trobe says 'Small as our establishment

99 Rough draft of a memo by La Trobe entitled 'Ex Colonial Governors: a page of facts:', then in the Public Library of Victoria, from a typed transcript of this and other material sent by C A McCallum, Chief Librarian, to Prof B B Lewis, 7 May 1959 [Lewis file 21].

100 Letter by La Trobe, 2 March 1840, donated to the Public Library of Victoria by Baronne Godefroy de Blonay (granddaughter of La Trobe), quoted in *Trust Newsletter*, 1 (June 1959), p 2.

is, I assure you that there is not a more comfortable, well regulated and more lasting one in this part of the world, both without and within'. The dimensions of three rooms are given, the dining room 14 by 18 feet [4.2 x 5.4 m], the drawing room 15 by 12 feet [4.5 x 3.6 m], and 'Sophie's Room' (the master bedroom) 18 by 15 feet [5.4 x 4.5 ft]. The last two are particularly helpful, as they establish unambiguously the dimensions of the whole of the panelled cottage, and are the basis upon which it has been reconstructed.

It is not clear who assembled the cottage for him. Liardet states that the cottage 'orne' [orné] was erected by George Beaver, as does Selby,¹⁰¹ but this has yet to be confirmed from any primary source. Beaver did indeed assemble the building which became known as Upper Jolimont, which would be sufficient to give rise to the story, but this does not show that he built the first cottage. There is a competing claim for a carpenter, John Robart, which is presented with some circumstantial detail, but is quite inadmissible, as Robart reached Melbourne only after the cottage was built. Beaver is an eminently suitable candidate to have been employed by La Trobe. He had been first a carpenter and then a builder, living in Queen Street until 1841, and then in Bourke Lane (Little Bourke Street) in 1842. He appears on the 'List of Burgesses' issued by Fawkner in 1842, was elected a member of Melbourne's first Town Council, and was a committee member of the Mechanics Institution, of which La Trobe was the president.¹⁰²

Robart may well have been Beaver's employee, for his name does not appear independently in La Trobe's accounts (which begin in March 1840). He was a carpenter from Guernsey, who emigrated in 1839 in the *Caroline* with his wife, Elizabeth Priscilla Pritchard, née Perkins, one child, and another born en route. He is said to have arrived in December 1839 and settled 'in a house in Jolimont', and one of his first jobs was the assembly of La Trobe's prefabricated house. His children were said to be friendly with the La Trobe children. This detail is from a historical compilation undertaken in 1970 by Miss Joyce Downing,¹⁰³ drawing upon the recollections of Robart's great-granddaughter, Miss Mary (Tot) Trembath, who was then aged eighty, but who died before the matter came to the Trust's attention.¹⁰⁴

101 Isaac Selby, *The Old Pioneers' Memorial History of Melbourne* (Melbourne 1924), p 237.

102 J Alex Allan, 'Charles Joseph La Trobe: the Man and his House' (typescript ?c 1932), p 6.

103 [Joyce Downing], 'The Years That Are Past: the Robart-Hayden Story' (mimeographed typescript, undated [1970]), p 2. This was provided to the Trust by a family member, Ms Margaret Yates of Hawthorn East, in 1978.

104 Yates to Col S R Birch, Administrator, 24 September 1978.

Robart's ship cannot have been the *Caroline* which reached Melbourne on 16 December 1839, for this vessel had come from Hobart, been driven ashore on Swan Reef, Van Diemen's Land, unloaded and salvaged.¹⁰⁵ One would expect some reference to these adventures in the family history. This history is, however, consistent with the arrival of another *Caroline*, a brig which arrived from Sydney on 27 January 1839: although it is listed only as returning to Sydney a few weeks later, the fact that it carried a quantity of wool suggests that it was in fact on the European run.¹⁰⁶ The reference to the house at Jolimont is less convincing, for La Trobe occupied the whole of Jolimont, and there was no house there until the completion of the original cottage (which, so far as we know, La Trobe did not share with the Robart family). But even if Robart was in fact in a tent at the outset, it is understandable that this fact may have escaped the family recollection.

The plan 'Jolimont en Mars 1840' shows various additions which should probably be identified as those which La Trobe had foreshadowed to Gipps, and also (notwithstanding the discrepancy in date) as those which he himself later remembered as having taken place in November-December 1841. At the back corner of the bedroom have been added two small rooms, a dressing room for La Trobe himself, and 'Rebecca's Room' for the maid, Rebecca Carter. At the other back corner of the house, adjoining the dining room, has been added a butler's pantry, from which a brick pathway leads to the kitchen, dairy, stable and stores, which are quite detached from the house on the other side of the back courtyard. When the time came to move the cottage the Murphys found that the rafters over the butler's pantry had been extended by spiking additional lengths to their sides, but had originally matched those of the west verandah, thus confirming that the verandah had continued uniformly around this end.¹⁰⁷

Other contemporary evidence includes a watercolour sketch by Mrs Hanmer Bunbury of July 1842, which corroborates La Trobe's own drawings, and an anonymous [actually G A Gilbert] painting of 1842-3 which shows the garden now quite formally laid out in beds, but the plants still more or less in their infancy. The additions to the house itself are not included in the present recreation, but the outbuildings have been conjecturally reconstructed as at 1840. The history of subsequent additions and constructions on the site is not easily unravelled, but we may surmise that some were prompted by the birth of the La

105 M A Syme, *Shipping Arrivals and Departures Victorian Ports*, I (1798-1845) (Melbourne 1984), p 42.

106 Syme, *Shipping Arrivals and Departures*, I, p 43.

107 'La Trobe's Cottage', *Trust*, November 1964, p 2; Murphys, p 4.

Trobes' second, third and fourth children, Eleanora Sophie on 30 March 1842, Cecilia on 20 June 1843, and Charles Albert on 25 November 1844 [actually 25 December 1845].

Meanwhile it is necessary to consider the history of La Trobe's second house. Although he had told Gipps of his intention to sell it, and of his determination to avoid storage costs, he must have changed his mind within a few weeks. The components, as we have seen, arrived in February 1840. James Graham, who at this time acted as business agent for La Trobe, records from 11 May 1840 onwards a number of outgoings which seem to be of a building nature (except that the first is probably fencing for Jolimont proper).¹⁰⁸

1840		
May 11	- paid for 789 Paling at 12/- p 100	£4.15.-
July 22	- J. McDonnell for 400 feet 1/2 inch boards at 30/- per 100 feet	£6.-.-
August 6	- T. Bum for 404 feet quartering	£4.-.-
August 15	- your order to G. Beaver p Rect.	£150.-.-
Sept 12	- your order to George Beaver	£100.-.-
Sept. 26	- your order to George Beaver	£100.-.-

This house was otherwise known as 'Jolimont Cottage' ['Upper Jolimont'] and a photograph taken prior to its demolition shows a very neat rectangular structure with a hipped roof continuing as a verandah around at least two and probably four sides, clad in weatherboard and roofed in slate, with four sets of shuttered French windows to the long elevation and two to the short. There are very simple, tall octagonal chimney pots, two at one end of the ridge and one at the other, but the really distinctive feature is the form of verandah column - a slender rod, presumably of wrought iron, with bracket angling out at the front to support the eave gutter.¹⁰⁹

On 1 January 1841 La Trobe was debited £3 'for advertising Cottage to let', and on 7 April he received £75 as the first quarter's rent from F Manton.¹¹⁰ The tenant was undoubtedly Frederick Manton of Manton & Co, flourmillers &c, of Little Collins, and later Flinders Streets,¹¹¹ best known as the man who imported the iron components of the Vesta paddle steamer, assembled it on the south bank of the Yarra, and put it into the

108 Graham Brothers Account Current Book No 1, p 53.

109 "Jolimont Cottage", formerly on the site of Inveresk, Jolimont. Demolished c. 1872', photograph, Telecom Australia neg no VH 481/2.

110 Graham Brothers Account Current Book No I, p 277.

111 'Garryowen' [Edmund Finn], *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne 1835 to 1852* (2 Vols, Melbourne 1888), I, P 113; II, pp 595, 939, 960.

Melbourne-Williamstown trade on 1 May 1842.¹¹² Manton's quarterly rent was reduced to £50 in August 1842, reflecting the economic recession,¹¹³ and after this he seems to have become insolvent.¹¹⁴ In February 1843 the rent was paid by J Manton: this must have been Frederick's brother John Augustus Manton, a civil engineer who is noted for his design of an iron suspension bridge to cross the Yarra, a project which fell victim to the recession, and for an even worse-fated attempt to convert the lighter *Fairy Queen* to steam.¹¹⁵ Although J A Manton is recorded as paying the £50 rent, the same amount was paid back to him 'for Stable + improvements',¹¹⁶ which sounds as though this was not a genuine cash transaction, but rather that Manton had built a stable in lieu of rent. Despite these improvements the rent was further reduced to £32.10s in the next quarter, when there was a new tenant, J S Hill,¹¹⁷ probably James Hill, the prominent auctioneer.

After six months occupation by Hill the house may have fallen vacant, for no rents appear on the ledgers of James Graham, but from May 1844 it seems to have been put into repair again for letting, as money is paid for 'Key to Front Door of Cottage' (which seems to mean Upper Jolimont), and for other materials which are probably for the same building, then at the end of June 'Keys +c to Cottage', in August 'sundry repairs to cottage', in October repairs to the verandah, and new slates and repairs to the roof. From 3 October 1844 the quarterly rent is paid by A McLachlan, and occasional minor works to the building continue to be undertaken.¹¹⁸ The first available rate book in 1845 shows a wooden house of four rooms, kitchen, stables and yard, occupied by Archibald McLachlan and valued at £75 annually. McLachlan was an accountant, and a member of the Melbourne Club.¹¹⁹ In 1848, when he was still in occupation, the house was said to have six rooms, a kitchen and offices, and two rooms (possibly part of the 'offices'), wash house, offices, stable, garden and yard, and was valued at £100. Later information shows that the kitchen was detached, but it is not easy, from subsequent photographs, to see how two rooms could have been added to the house itself, much less two further rooms a little later, as will appear.

112 'Garryowen', *Chronicles of Early Melbourne*, II, pp 571, 575. See also I, pp 221, 228; II, pp 568, 596.

113 Graham Brothers Account Current Book No 2, p 12.

114 Paul de Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen* (Melbourne 1980), p 153, refers to him as 'the flash insolvent'

115 'Garryowen', *Chronicles of Early Melbourne*, II, pp 500, 576; see also I, p 297, 306; II, pp 514, 751, 800, 890, 891.

116 Graham Brothers Account Current Book No 2, p 99.

117 Graham Brothers Account Current Book No 2, p 99.

118 Graham Brothers Account Current Book No 2, pp 169, 213, 249, 250, 267, 314.

119 de Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen*, p 193.

At Jolimont proper the gardener appears to have been George Taylor,¹²⁰ and the housekeeper was Charlotte Pellet (often given as Pelet), a longstanding retainer of Mme La Trobe's family in Switzerland, who reached Melbourne on 23 March 1841.¹²¹ She is mentioned by James Graham in a letter to La Trobe during his acting governorship of Van Diemen's Land in 1846:¹²²

Mrs Graham and I went up to Jolimont on Saturday. We found Charlotte very busy scrubbing away at the floors and as particular about having everything as clean and tidy as if you were at home yourselves. She requested me to let Mrs. La Trobe know that everything was going on right. George has also the garden in very good order and very clean. There is a great show of roses just now but they have got a little blighted by the hot winds ...

Susan Meade was engaged as a governess at some date which has not been established, but she had left by 1846.¹²³ This suggests that she must have been looking after Agnes Louisa (b 10 February [actually 2 April] 1837), the only child old enough to require any sort of tuition, and as the girl was sent back to Europe to live in March [actually April] 1845,¹²⁴ Meade's engagement may well have ended at that time. Another governess, Mlle Beguine, or Beguin, was appointed for the younger children possibly in late 1849 or early 1850,¹²⁵ and returned with them to Switzerland in 1853.¹²⁶

The amount of official entertaining done in the cottage was very limited. On 23 October 1841 Governor Gipps arrived on his first official visit to the Port Phillip District, but he stayed at Northumberland House in Flinders Street,¹²⁷ and there is no explicit reference to him visiting Jolimont. However Sir John Franklin, Governor of Van Diemen's Land, and

120 To whom payments were being made in 1840: Graham Brothers Account Current Book No 1, p 53.

121 Joan Ritchie, 'Housekeeper of Jolimont', *Victorian Historical Journal*, XLVII, 4 (November 1976), p 277.

122 James Graham to La Trobe, 27 October 1846, in Sally Graham, *Pioneer Merchant* (South Yarra [Victoria] 1985), p 155.

123 Carlotta Kellaway, 'Charles Norton's Album', in Harold Paynting & Malcolm Grant (eds), *Victoria illustrated 1834-1984* (Melbourne 1985), p 32.

124 'Agnes separation from us first mooted about beginning of Feb and decided upon during her mother's and my short visit to Melbn 17.22 Feb. C J La Trobe, 'Memoranda of Journeys Excursions & Absences 1839-1854' [rough notes], p 219.

125 Mlle Beguine is mentioned as 'Mlle' in La Trobe to his wife, 20 January 1850, and is named in La Trobe to his wife, 11 February 1850: see L J Blake (ed), *Letters of Charles Joseph La Trobe* (Melbourne 1975), pp 37-39.

126 Joan Ritchie. 'Housekeeper of Jolimont', *Victorian Historical Journal*, XLVII, 4 (November 1976), p 279.

127 'Garryowen', *Chronicles of Early Melbourne*, I, p 220.

his wife Lady Jane Franklin, made a private rather than an official visit in December 1843,¹²⁸ and it appears they stayed with the La Trobes. When La Trobe took the Franklins off on a country trip he noted, of their daughter, 'Miss Franklin stays at Jolimont with S'.¹²⁹ Governor Fitzroy, on his visit in March 1849, stayed at the Royal Hotel, but was entertained to dinner at Jolimont, together with the principal officers of the ship *Havannah*, by which he had come.¹³⁰

One of the most striking events at Jolimont occurred on the morning of 16 November 1850, the day when La Trobe was due to open Princes Bridge. As described by Georgiana McCrae, who had stayed at the house overnight:¹³¹

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 gentlemen 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 foregone that part of the programme. Mr La Trobe then walked out onto 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.

The cottage was too small to become a great hub of colonial society, and neither La Trobe's official salary nor his private means would have made this possible in any case. The La Trobes preferred to hold musical evenings, and offer informal hospitality.¹³² Their intimates included Captain and Mrs Richard Hanmer Bunbury, and Georgiana McCrae (who perhaps came to see herself, in a genteel way, as some sort of rival to Mme La Trobe, whose place she occasionally took on official occasions). 'Everything peaceful inside', she remarked when she called early in 1841, 'but the rooms dark, on account of the trellised verandah. While I waited for Madame, I smelt flowers in the garden, and listened to a clock on the shelf. *Madame très aimable pour moi ... et très myope.*' Her son wrote of another

128 'Garryowen', *Chronicles of Early Melbourne*, II, p 743.

129 C J La Trobe, 'Memoranda of Journeys Excursions & Absences 1839-1854' [rough notes], p 219.

130 'Garryowen', *Chronicles of Early Melbourne*. I, p 224.

131 Hugh McCrae (ed), *Georgiana's Journal* (2nd ed, Sydney 1966 [1934]), pp 236-7. [Cf. Georgiana's actual description in a new edition, Canberra 2013, p 9.]

132 Joan Ritchie, 'The Role of C J La Trobe in Victoria, 1839-1854', *Victorian Historical Journal*, XLVI, 4 (November-December 1975), pp 488-9.

visit.¹³³

I noticed a map pasted between pictures against the wall, and, underneath it, on a desk, manuscripts, with saucers of seeds. There were, also, butterflies in glass cases, dimmed by humidity, at different parts of the room, the whole creating a meditative atmosphere, saddened by the perpetual tack-hammer of a drip from the roof.

The seeds reflected La Trobe's interest in botany, and the garden became something of a showpiece. Plants were sent to La Trobe by everybody from Gipps¹³⁴ downwards. Mrs Perry, when she arrived in 1848, recorded that the house stood:¹³⁵

in a very pretty garden - is surrounded by trees on every side; when you come out of his (La Trobe's) gates, you would imagine yourself in a gentleman's park, but you exclaim, What yellow stuff is this on the ground? What curious trees are those throwing their naked arms about in all directions? Substitute English grass and English foliage and you have, as far as the eye can reach, (and I believe much further) a more noble and extensive park than ever adorned this lower world - sometimes spreading out in extensive plains, sometimes swelling with gentle hills, and sometimes rising into a really lovely range of mountain scenery. The river Yarra which winds to an incredible extent through great part of this country, is much narrower than at Melbourne, and forms no feature in the landscape, being lost among the trees.

When William Howitt called to pay his respects in September 1852 he commented upon the great variety of native trees and shrubs to be seen in the spacious grounds.¹³⁶ These plants had so grown that a series of drawings done by Edward La Trobe Bateman, in 1853,¹³⁷ conveys very little precise information about the house.

133 McCrae, *Georgiana's Journal*. pp 54-5. Georgiana McCrae's journal entry for 18 March 1841.

134 Gipps to La Trobe, 18 June 1848, in Shaw, *Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence*. p 138.

135 Frances Perry, 10 March 1848, in A de Q Robin (ed), *Australian Sketches* [the journals & letters of Frances Perry] (Carlton [Victoria] 1984).

136 William Howitt, *Land, Labour, and Gold* (2 vols, London 1855), I, p 14. Letter of 28 September 1852.

137 Edward La Trobe Bateman, receipt for £50 received from La Trobe per McArthur, 11 June 1857, 'on account of drawings made in the year 1853: Graham La Trobe Papers LS2/30/5 box 1. The sketches are held by the State Library, and a study for one of them, 'View of the Larger Nursery, Jolimont' is held by the National Gallery of Victoria, presented by a descendant of the Howitt family. Caroline Clemente surmises that the series, together with a similar series of the Plenty Station, were amongst those intended by Bateman for a proposed publication, *Bush Homes of Australia*, and were those lent by Mrs Godfrey Howitt for display at the Melbourne Exhibition of 1854. Caroline Clemente, 'Artists in Society: A Melbourne Circle, 1850s-1880s', *Art Bulletin of Victoria*, 30 (1989), pp 40, 42, ref *Official Catalogue of the Melbourne Exhibition, 1854, in Connexion with the Paris Exhibition. 1855* (Melbourne 1854), p 30. The receipt might appear to indicate that the sketches were commissioned by La Trobe rather than done by Bateman for his own purposes, but it may be simply that La Trobe bought them in 1857, and hence the payment at this time.

Bateman was the Lieutenant-Governor's cousin, the brother of the famous British hydraulic engineer, a notable landscape architect and advocate of the picturesque, and a minor member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood of painters. His sketches show that the house had acquired a continuous verandah along the front instead of the previous small porch, an increased quantity of trelliswork, and additions at each of the front corners, consisting of a new weatherboard room in front of the dining room, and a glazed conservatory with polygonal sides, next to the bedroom. The overall impression is that of a conglomerate, almost ramshackle house, and of a picturesquely overgrown garden, far removed from the fairly spartan structure of 1839 which is once again presented to us today.

These additions cannot be dated, but a view of 'Jolimont 1843-4' is said to show brick foundations in the foreground,¹³⁸ suggesting that something was being built at that stage. A memo by La Trobe himself refers to 'My dressing room (first [?] a verandah made 1845', and the first rate book in 1845 described the house as having nine rooms, as well as a kitchen, three additional rooms, stables and yard. Thus it appears that some and perhaps most of the additions were made in 1845. In 1848 it has only six rooms, plus a kitchen, store, stable, laundry and gardens. A possible explanation for the disappearance of the three separate rooms will be suggested below, but it is hard to believe that the house itself had shrunk by three rooms, especially as the valuation rose by £30: some sort of mistake in writing up the entry seems probable. In 1850 Jolimont has twelve rooms, kitchen and rooms, coach house etc, gardens,¹³⁹ however it appears that this figure includes what was really a separate building, recently added to La Trobe's establishment, the detached cottage referred to below, and the house would have closer to nine rooms, just as in 1845.

The Counsel plan of 1853 shows the substantial additions which had been made to on the north side of the house, and this is corroborated by the outline as shown on Bagot's plan in 1865, as well as by Allan's account of the house in 1932, *infra*, referring to a long room on the north side which was La Trobe's study/library. This addition seems likely to be one of the extra rooms in existence by 1845. There is no record of any of these building works, for those transactions which appear in the ledgers of James Graham, such as a payment to W Thomas in 1847 for canvassing a bedroom ceiling,¹⁴⁰ are more likely to relate to Upper

138 'View of Jolimont, Port Phillip 1843-44', [G A Gilbert], Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria, cited Mary Sheehan. 'Jolimont Square Archaeological Project: Historical Report' (Melbourne 1989), p 5.

139 Melbourne rate books 1848, cited in Sheehan, 'Jolimont Square', pp 6-7.

140 Graham Brothers Account Current Book No 2, P 410.

Jolimont.

Bateman's sketches also show an increased number of outbuildings, including the detached cottage already mentioned (subsequently often referred to, in rather Batemanian language, as 'The Hermitage'), and 'Upper Jolimont', at the north-east corner of the site (Wellington Parade and Jolimont Terrace). The detached cottage was much closer to the main house, on the east, and was the holiday house which La Trobe moved from Shortland's Bluff (Queenscliff) in April 1848.¹⁴¹ It had been built as a holiday house in 1844-5, and was almost certainly more or less pre-cut in Melbourne. Although there is no evidence that it was in any specific sense a prefabricated house, the mysterious three separate rooms listed at Jolimont in the 1845 rate book may be this cottage. La Trobe recorded: 'Towards the close of [1844] very busy planning + executing my project for erection of a cottage at the back of the Bluff - and by a good exercise of personal exertion and labour contrived to have all in a pretty forward state for the first of Jan. 3 roomed cottage with verandah - + tents, + store + open [w ?] shed on the high ground over the north end of the Bluff'.¹⁴² By 1848 he was 'making arragts. for the removal of my cottage from the Heads to Jolimont, the distance + inconvenience being too great'¹⁴³ It is in 1850, when the cottage was back at Jolimont, its presence is reflected in the fact that twelve rooms appear in the rate assessment

This cottage appears to have become simply a part of the La Trobe establishment, unlike Upper Jolimont, and in a photograph of 1913¹⁴⁴ it is referred to as being 'sleeping quarters' of La Trobe's house. This photograph, together with a more distant one of 1896,¹⁴⁵ show a rectangular building with a verandah along at least two sides, hipped roof clad in corrugated iron and flattening out in broken-back profile to roof the verandah. The verandah posts are timber, the cladding is of weatherboard, and in the longer facade there are two sets of margin-glazed french windows with shutters. In the shorter facade there is a conventionally proportioned window, though the arrangement of sashes cannot be seen, much less that of the glazing bars.

141 L J Blake & R Gill, 'Chronology: Charles Joseph La Trobe' (typescript, no date). National Trust file F.196.

142 C J La Trobe, 'Memoranda of Journeys Excursions & Absences 1839-1854' [rough notes], p 225.

143 C J La Trobe, 'Memoranda of Journeys Excursions & Absences 1839-1854' [rough notes], p 237.

144 'Sleeping quarters of Governor Latrobe's - first Governor of Victoria built at Jolimont 1839'. Photograph of 3 April 1914. Collection of Ian M L Armstrong; copy in National Trust file F.196. Appears to show the detached cottage.

145 'First Government House Jolimont built for Capt La Trobe 1st Gov of Victoria'. Photograph of 1896. Collection of Alan Grant; copy in National Trust file F.196.

La Trobe let Upper Jolimont to Bishop and Mrs Charles Perry, who arrived on 23 January 1848, though it was not available immediately, presumably because McLachlan was still there. The house which had been chosen for them was rejected by the Perrys as too small, and badly located, and they boarded at the Southern Cross Hotel in Bourke Street West while waiting to move into La Trobe's building.¹⁴⁶ McLachlan must have been given peremptory notice, for he paid his rent in full to 31 April 1848, and was then given a refund of about two days' worth.¹⁴⁷ Mrs Perry wrote:¹⁴⁸

Our house that is to be contains two sitting-rooms, opening into one another with folding-doors, and three bedrooms - all on the same floor, as is the case with every house here [except those over shops the streets, and for three 'gentlemen's houses' previously described]. Then there is a small store-room, and at about five yards' distance is a small kitchen, with two closets in it, in which servants have hitherto slept - a coach-house, and stables for two horses. This is the whole of the premises. The flower-garden is of moderate size, and there is a small kitchen-garden beyond, and beyond that the Government paddock. Before we go in, C. [ie Charles Perry] is going to build two servants' rooms, attached to the kitchen; and join the kitchen to the house, by some kind of covered way. There is a verandah round three sides and a half of the house, and altogether it looks very pretty.

The Perrys paid £100 per annum, but in the first year seem to have paid nothing, but offset the rent against the cost of their building work, actually receiving £10 back from La Trobe.¹⁴⁹ The extra two rooms duly appear in the 1850 rate book, and the valuation increases from £100 to £120, while in 1851 a coach house appears, and the valuation increases further to £140. The house was occupied by the Perrys until Bishops Court in East Melbourne could be completed in 1853. There are some indications that La Trobe did not at first find these neighbours particularly congenial, but in later letters he speaks of them with affection.

After the departure of the Perrys, Upper Jolimont was let to H C Childers, apparently from mid-1853. Counsel's survey of Jolimont in 1853 (referred to below) shows the 'Upper House' as containing a verandah, dining room, nursery, study, bedroom, butler's pantry, bedroom, servant's room, kitchen, store, coach house and stables.¹⁵⁰

146 A de Q Robin, *Charles Perry: Bishop of Melbourne* (Nedlands [Western Australia] 1967), pp 46-7.

147 Graham Brothers Account Current Book No 3, p 149.

148 Frances Perry, 10 March 1848, in Robin, *Australian Sketches*, p 80.

149 Graham Brothers Account Current Book No 3, p 222.

150 'Map of Jolimont Melbourne the property of His Excellency Chas. Joseph La Trobe Esqr. Lieutenant Governor Victoria 1840-1853' surveyed by R Counsel in 1853. La Trobe papers, Manuscript Collection, State Library of Victoria, H18199.

As a result of the gold boom inflation La Trobe could charge Childers £400 per annum, four times the rent paid by the Perrys. This was further increased to £600 from the end of February 1854, though Childers was reimbursed £11 for the installation of a copper boiler,¹⁵¹ and later rebated his rent for other work including repairs to the shutters.¹⁵² The city council assessed the property at this time at £800 per annum,¹⁵³ but the rent still seems extraordinary in relation to earlier values. It was still not enough to endear Childers to La Trobe, who refers to him in a confidential letter of 21 April 1854 as 'our fat friend + tenant' who had left the entrance gate broken.¹⁵⁴

Childers prospered well enough even without La Trobe's goodwill. He had arrived in 1850 with a letter of introduction from Earl Grey, and experienced a meteoric rise from being a mere inspector of denominational Schools to a commissioner of national schools and a director of the Mount Alexander & Murray Valley Railway Company, then Auditor-General and member of the Legislative Council, then Collector of Customs and member of the Executive. He ultimately returned to settle in England, entered British Parliament, and rose to become variously First Lord of the Admiralty, Secretary of State for War, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Home Secretary.¹⁵⁵

In 1853 a thorough survey of the estate was prepared by one R Counsel, presumably with view to its sale or letting.¹⁵⁶ This shows the house itself, and due east of it the smaller detached dwelling which had been illustrated by Bateman. Behind the main house is the yard, and at the back of that the linked kitchen and bedroom. From the back corner of the kitchen another wing marked 'store stables +c' extends eastwards, with a small shed attached to the end. On the south flank of this stable wing is another kitchen to serve the small dwelling, to which it links by way of a diagonal path. The map names, and gives dimensions for every room of any substance (and these have been tabulated in an appendix to this report [p.117]). The City Council assessed the property at £800 per annum in 1853, increased to £1,500 in 1854 as a result of the gold boom inflation.

151 Graham Brothers Account Current Book No 4, p 40: see also Isaac Selby, *The Old Pioneers' Memorial History of Melbourne* (Melbourne 1924), p 237.

152 Hugh Childers to Graham, 2 May 1854: Graham La Trobe Papers, LS 2/30/5 Box 2.

153 Memo of C J La Trobe, April 1854: Graham La Trobe Papers, LS 2/30/5 Box 2.

154 La Trobe to Graham, 21 April 1854: Graham La Trobe Papers, LS 2/30/5 Box 2. Also in L J Blake (ed), *Letters of Charles Joseph La Trobe* (Melbourne 1975), p 47.

155 H L Hall, 'Hugh Culling Eardley Childers (1827-1896)', in N B Nairn et al (eds), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, III (Melbourne 1969), pp 390-391; Paul de Serville, *Pounds and Pedigrees* (Melbourne 1991), p 285: see also pp 80,88,234,506,533.

156 'Map of Jolimont Melbourne the property of His Excellency Chas. Joseph La Trobe Esqr. Lieutenant Governor Victoria 1840-1853' surveyed by R Counsel in 1853. La Trobe papers, Manuscript Collection, State Library of Victoria, H18199.

The Jolimont Estate

Soon after La Trobe's departure both houses were let to the government for the occupation of the military establishment, including the commandant, Sir Robert Nickle. Nickle probably occupied Jolimont itself (as will be discussed in the summary of rate book entries, appended), though it was at Upper Jolimont that he died on 26 May 1855.¹⁵⁷ The rate books suggest that Upper Jolimont was occupied by the gloriously named Colonel Valiant in 1855-6, and it is known that it was subsequently occupied by Captain J T T Boyd,¹⁵⁸ assistant military secretary to Colonel Edward Macarthur, who was by now the occupant of Jolimont proper. In 1858 Boyd resigned from his regiment and emigrated to New Zealand,¹⁵⁹ and in June of that year the government tenancy of both houses expired.

On 28 March 1854, prior to his departure, La Trobe had executed a power of attorney nominating as his attorneys and representatives in the colony Frederick Armand Powlett, David Charteris McArthur, and William Hamilton Hart. Powlett was a close friend of La Trobe and a public servant - a land commissioner, later a gold commissioner, and for a time Colonial Treasurer.¹⁶⁰ McArthur (nothing to do with the lieutenant-colonel) was the Melbourne Manager, and later General Inspector, of the Bank of Australasia.¹⁶¹ Hart, however, is a mystery, and never seems to have been active in La Trobe's business. The function of the attorneys was to relate almost entirely to La Trobe's land at Jolimont, and included selling by public auction or private contract, receiving money, expediting conveyances &c.¹⁶²

They sought more detail than this, and La Trobe wrote a lengthy memorandum on 2 April 1854. In it he gave them complete discretion, but explained: 'My land at Jolimont, and the improvements upon it, constitute at present my whole fortune' apart from the limited means of current support for himself and his family. If the whole property were sold forthwith he

157 Winston Burchett, *East Melbourne 1837-1977* (Hawthorn [Victoria] 1978), pp 23-4.

158 Burchett, *East Melbourne*, p 24.

159 Brenda Niall, *Martin Boyd* (Melbourne 1988), pp 30-31.

160 P M Sales, 'Federick Armand Powlett (1811-1865)', in A G L Shaw & C M H Clark (eds), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, II (Melbourne 1967), p 349.

161 Geoffrey Blainey, 'David Charteris McArthur (1810-1887)', in Bede Nairn et al (eds), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, V (Melbourne 1974), p 122.

162 Power of attorney of C J La Trobe to Frederick Armand Powlett, David Charteris McArthur & William Hamilton Hart, 28 March 1854, attested copy of 21 December 1858, with Registrar General's receipt of 2 December 1858: Graham La Trobe Papers, LS 2/30/5 Box 2. Original [?] lodgement in book 73, memorial 903, Registrar General's Office, cited in F J Kendall, 'Victorian Deaf Society Jolimont Square Site' (typescript report February 1989), p 6.

would wish for half the amount to be forwarded to him in England, but would be happy for the balance to be invested in the colony. Otherwise his attorneys should determine an advantageous layout, and use their discretion in selling and leasing portions of it, though he was anxious that at least some be sold so as to provide enough capital for him to buy a house in England. He assumed that in such an arrangement the sites of the cottages would be leased rather than sold, and he wished it to be clear in that case that all costs would fall upon the tenant, even though this might reduce the figure for rent. He expressed a preference that any sales or agency business be entrusted to Dalmahoy Campbell,¹⁶³ a Melbourne stock and station agent, pioneer footballer and former city councillor, who in 1848 had voted against a motion calling for La Trobe's removal.¹⁶⁴

Certainly La Trobe's expectations were in the short term to be disappointed, for it appears that the depressed state of the market made the property difficult to shift: 'however agreeable to me it would be to hear of a decent sale of a portion of my land, as projected,' he wrote, '& of a stout remittance, I must submit to circumstances like the rest of the Australian world.'¹⁶⁵ On 3 April 1856 he was able to acknowledge receipt from McArthur of £800,¹⁶⁶ which is puzzling, as it precedes all of the known sales from the estate. It is impossible, and would serve little purpose, to trace each remittance from this point, but in January 1860 La Trobe received £200, made reference to McArthur proposal to send him £200 quarterly, and mentioned the fact that £500 had been invested on his behalf in Melbourne: 'I suppose that Huckson's payment of balance is what has placed you in the position ... ' - Huckson being one of the early purchasers.¹⁶⁷

After La Trobe's departure the attorneys had initiated the subdivision without delay, and Thomas Tappenden did 51½ days work in May-July 1854, renewing fencing and gates in new materials, and 'Marking out the ground for allotments.'¹⁶⁸ In February 1855 the

163 Memo of C J La Trobe, April 1854: Graham La Trobe Papers, LS 2/30/5 Box 2. This is reproduced as an appendix to Kendall, 'Victorian Deaf Society Jolimont Square Site'.

164 'Garryowen' [Edmund Finn], *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne 1835 to 1852* (2 Vols, Melbourne 1888), I, p 288: for Campbell see also I, pp 307, 377, 447; II, pp 527, 528, 747-9, 767, 810, 918, 920.

165 La Trobe to D C McArthur, 3 February 1855, in L J Blake (ed), *Letters of Charles Joseph La Trobe* (Melbourne 1975), p 48.

166 La Trobe to D C McArthur, 3 April 1856, in L J Blake (ed), *Letters of Charles Joseph La Trobe* (Melbourne 1975), p 51.

167 La Trobe to D C McArthur, 16 January 1860, in L J Blake (ed), *Letters of Charles Joseph La Trobe* (Melbourne 1975), p 53.

168 Thomas Tappenden, invoice to McArthur & Powlett. 10 July 1854: Graham La Trobe Papers, LS 2/30/5 Box I.

architect and surveyor Charles Laing is said to have been paid £40 for 'Survey Subdivisions and Plans of the Jolimont Estate',¹⁶⁹ but in March 1857 another £40.10s was paid for surveying, trenching and marking the land out for sale.¹⁷⁰ This must have created part of what is now Agnes Street, dividing Jolimont in the north-south direction, which is named after the La Trobes' eldest daughter. This first plan of subdivision of the estate of 1855-57, which we may call A, does not survive. After Robert Huckson and James Palmer had bought land the subdivision was extended in 1859 to cut up more of the land surrounding the two houses, and this version, B, is missing as well, but it can be confidently reconstructed almost in its entirety. In 1863 the unsold land at the west side was resubdivided into much smaller lots, and in 1864 the balance was similarly resubdivided into smaller allotments and re-numbered, into what we may call scheme C.

Thus on the final plan, under scheme C, Huckson's and Palmer's land is excluded from the numbering, but the balance of the allotments are, with one other exception, numbered continuously from 1 to 49.¹⁷¹ The exception is some land on the eastern side which is not numbered, and this is explained by another map which shows this land being sold under the old numbering system in 1864, even after the resubdivision has begun on the west.¹⁷² The simplest way to unravel a somewhat confusing situation is to work backwards and construct scheme B first and thence, so far as possible, scheme A. The argument that follows should be understood in relation to the plans reproduced at the back of this report.

We can infer more or less the whole of scheme B from a series of different items of data:

1. Allotment 1 was in the north-east corner of the estate, extending from La Trobe Parade / Jolimont Terrace to Charles Street, but the north-south depth is not indicated. Lots 2 to 6, numbering from east to west were bought by James Palmer. These allotments by 1859 were bounded by Wellington Parade, Charles. Palmer and Agnes

169 Mary Sheehan, 'Jolimont Square Archaeological Project: Historical Report' (typescript report, November 1989), p 8, quoting the Graham La Trobe papers, Melbourne University Archives. I have not located this reference in the papers.

170 C J La Trobe account with William Green: Graham La Trobe Papers, LS 2/30/5 Box 2.

171 There are various versions of the final subdivision plan of Jolimont, the first of which is 'Plan of the Jolimont Estate/the property of C.J Latrobe Esq', in the volume 'Land Subdivisions of Melbourne and Suburbs', pp 73-4, Map Collection, State Library of Victoria. It appears to show all the land for sale shaded, for it excludes only that sold to Palmer, marked 'Sir J Palmer Jolimont Square' (Palmer was knighted in 1857) and the two allotments containing the cottage and outbuildings. However Huckson's name appears on his block - as if he had bought it after the shading of the map was done.

172 'Sketch of Land Jolimont 25th Nov. 1864': Graham La Trobe Papers LS2/30/5 box 2.

Streets.¹⁷³ though when Palmer first bought them probably Charles Street and Palmer Street had not been conceived.

2. Huckson bought the next land along Wellington Parade to the west, which was allotment 7, measuring 275 by 100 feet.
3. When the thirty allotments between Agnes Street and the present Jolimont Road (excluding Huckson's land) were being sold early in 1864, Graham told La Trobe that this was the land formerly known as allotments 8 to 12.¹⁷⁴ This suggests that there were five more allotments like Huckson's, running east-west between the two streets, and each with a frontage (like Huckson's) of about 100 feet (30 m).
4. The plan of 1864 already mentioned (dating from after the resubdivision of allotments 8 to 12)¹⁷⁵ still shows allotments 13, 14, 15 and 16 of the earlier subdivision. Nos 14, 15 and 16 all run between the private road which later became Charles Street, and La Trobe Parade / Jolimont Terrace, and have frontages of 100 feet to each. Allotment 13, at the south end, is slightly wider to take up the odd left-over dimension, and is also longer because it extends across and blocks Charles Street. We may surmise that allotment 12 blocked Agnes Street in a similar fashion.
5. Above allotment 16 there remains space for two more 100 foot allotments before reaching Wellington Parade, of which the more southerly was presumably no 17, while the more northerly was that on which the house Upper Jolimont was located which, as we have already seen, was no 1. The allotment was unsuccessfully offered for sale in September 1858, as will appear below, with a frontage of 173 ft 6 to Wellington Parade (which is the exact distance between La Trobe Parade (Jolimont Terrace) and Charles Street).
6. Although these blocks down the east side of the subdivision were in hundred foot units like those to the west, they were subdivided to some degree even before sale. The land bought by Ebdon is precisely one of these 100 foot blocks, no 16. That bought by Mouritz and Bruce taken together comprises the next one, 15. That bought by Hetherington, together with the unsold land to the south which later became allotments 44 and 43, makes up the next, 14.
7. This subdivision into lesser areas seems puzzling, but there is some indication that Mouritz, Bruce and Hetherington made their purchases in an association or partnership of some kind.¹⁷⁶ They made their payments simultaneously in ratio 2:1:1, and the division of the land was probably made to reflect these shares - approximately two to Mouritz and one to each of the others.

173 Untitled sketch plan of part of the Jolimont Estate subdivision, c 1857, on Bank of Australasia letterhead, and therefore probably by D C McArthur: Graham La Trobe Papers LS2/30/5 box 2.

174 Graham to La Trobe. 24 February 1864. Graham Bros Letter Book No 1, p 131.

175 'Sketch of Land Jolimont 25th Nov. 1864': Graham La Trobe Papers LS2/30/5 box 2.

176 Graham reports 'the balance of £1200 due by Mouritz, Bruce + Hetherington was paid into the Bank': Graham to La Trobe, 25 April 1865, Graham Bros Letter Book No 1, p 388.

8. It is apparent from this description that not only the immediate site of the cottage on the south side of Palmer Street was reserved from sale, but the whole of the land south to Jolimont Street, bounded on the east and west by the lines of Agnes Street and of Charles Street.

Having established the nature of scheme B in some detail, it is now possible to turn back to the earlier scheme, A:

1. We know with certainty only that this scheme included lots 2 to 6, bought by Palmer, and 7, bought by Huckson.
2. It appears clear that allotment 1 existed at the north-east corner, because the adjoining allotments are numbered from 2 onwards, running eastwards. We do not know its dimension in the north-south direction, and there is certainly nothing to suggest a dimension of 100 feet as in scheme IB. McArthur's sketch in 1859 shows the allotment extending more than 400 feet with no south boundary, though it is only a very crude indication.
3. We know that La Trobe was forced in 1858 to buy back from Palmer a part of allotment 2. As this allotment shows on McArthur's sketch with a dimension of 61 ft 3 in in the east-west direction, compared with 77 ft 9 in for numbers 3 to 6, it appears that the land in question was a strip 16 ft 6 in wide (despite evidence to the contrary, see below), now forming part of Charles Street. Charles Street is shown on McArthur's sketch as 33 feet [10 m] wide, as it is today, and it seems likely that the other half of this width was recovered from allotment 1, though it is not impossible that there was a 16 ft 6 in lane here even in the first subdivision. For reasons considered below, Palmer Street was probably also created at this stage

F J Kendall believes that McArthur and Palmer had agreed upon a sale ahead of the official date of the auction,¹⁷⁷ but this conflicts with Palmer's own account, and there seems to be no particular evidence for it unless it explains the £800 remitted to La Trobe in April 1856. It is now necessary to consider the somewhat puzzling details of Palmer's land. Although he bought five allotments in 1857, Palmer later recalled that he sold sixty feet (18 m) of allotment 2 back to La Trobe in November 1858.¹⁷⁸ If this refers to a strip of that width it simply cannot be correct, for a sixty foot strip would take up nearly all the allotment, which was in the first instance (apparently) 77 ft 9 ins [23.3 m] wide, and most of which Palmer built upon. It seems more likely that Palmer meant sixteen rather than sixty feet, as discussed above. We have a rough sketch¹⁷⁹ which is probably by McArthur, as it is on

177 Kendall, 'Victorian Deaf Society Jolimont Square Site', p 9.

178 Palmer to Graham, 5 October 1869, in Graham La Trobe Papers LS2/30/5, box 2.

179 Sketch plan of ?late 1858, on Bank of Australasia, Superintendent's Office, notepaper, in Graham La Trobe Papers LS2/30/5, box 2.

notepaper of the Superintendent's Office, Bank of Australasia (see illustrations). It is undated, but as it shows allotment 2 reduced in width, and Charles Street at its present width of 33 feet or 10 metres, it must be taken to post-date the repurchase by La Trobe.

Palmer recalled that 'some alterations were made [about January 1859] in the roads and boundaries which led to the cancellation of the original conveyance and the substitution of a new one.'¹⁸⁰ This must refer to the creation of Charles Street and possibly, but not necessarily, also of Palmer Street, for La Trobe's outbuildings extended across this street and even onto Palmer's land, tending to suggest that no street was originally envisaged. At the time of the original sale to Palmer La Trobe's estate agent, William Green, agreed to:¹⁸¹

make good any defects to Dr Palmer's fence on the southern boundary caused by the impediment of any of the outhouses of Jolimont, which Dr Palmer agrees to remain until [1 June 1858].

This would have been necessary because the cottage and outbuildings were leased to the government until that time. There remains one worrying and unexplained aspect of McArthur's sketch, which is that it appears to give the east-west dimension of allotment I as 155 ft 5 ins, which is substantially less than the present distance between Jolimont Terrace and Charles Street (though as the sketch runs off towards the edge of the page it is not clear whence this dimension is measured).

Now a chronological summary seems necessary (the details of the sale of each allotment are given in an appendix [p.120]):

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| March/May 1857 | In accordance with scheme IA, Palmer bought allotments 2, 3 and 4 in March, and allotments 5 and 6 in May 1857, ¹⁸² after the estate was advertised for sale in the <i>Argus</i> , <i>Leader</i> and <i>Age</i> . ¹⁸³ |
| 29 December 1857 | Huckson bought his land on 29 December 1857. ¹⁸⁴ |
| November 1858 | Scheme B was apparently developed late in 1858, for it was in November that La Trobe bought back part of Palmer's land to contribute to the creation of Charles Street, though nothing was sold |

180 Palmer to Graham, 5 October 1869, in Graham La Trobe Papers LS2/30/5, box 2.

181 Sheehan, 'Jolimont Square', p 9, referring to a document in the Graham La Trobe papers which I have not myself sighted.

182 Palmer to Graham, 5 October 1869, in Graham La Trobe Papers LS2/30/5, box 2.

183 Kendall, 'Victorian Deaf Society Jolimont Square Site', p 7, quoting the Graham La Trobe papers.

184 La Trobe to Huckson, Agreement for sale of land, 29 December 1857, in Graham La Trobe Papers LS2/30/5, box 2.

under this plan until after scheme C was begun.

- 1863-4 Scheme C begun (following the transfer of the business to Thomas Stubbs, and the beginning of the more intensive resubdivision) with the sale of thirty allotments which made up the balance of the land west of Agnes Street¹⁸⁵ (being a closer subdivision of what had been allotments 8 to 12 of scheme B).
- 1864-6 Sale of land to Ebden, Mouritz &c on the east side, in accordance with scheme B.
- 1865-6 Sale of all the land south of Palmer Street, including the sites of the cottage and its outbuildings
- 1867-8 Sale of five allotments east of Charles Street
- 1869 Sale of allotments 48 & 49 at the north-east corner of the estate, together with the house 'Upper Jolimont'.
- 1871 Sale of allotments 41 & 42, at the south-east corner of the estate.

This left only four allotments, the site of Upper Jolimont and the adjoining block on Wellington Parade, and the matching two allotments at the south-east corner of the estate.¹⁸⁶ The last sales were not completed until June 1871.¹⁸⁷

Palmer resubdivided his allotments and built on them a group of imported two storey timber houses. In September 1857, the builder James Bonham, acting for Palmer, applied to the City Council, on Palmer's behalf, for a permit to build 'Foundations (for imported houses)' at 'Jolimont (Jolimont Square) off Wellington Parade South'.¹⁸⁸ This is the first reference to the name 'Jolimont Square' for the cul-de-sac which was now created at right angles to Wellington Parade, and it also poses some problems about the houses which were built there. Five houses were built in Jolimont Square in 1857-8, but they were almost certainly

185 A detailed plan of this area, 'Plan of Subdivision of Part of the Jolimont Estate' in 'Land Subdivisions &c', p 27, State Library of Victoria, has the names of purchasers recorded on it (as do later plans of the whole estate).

186 'Plan of the Jolimont Estate, The Property of C.J. La Trobe Esqre.', by R C Bagot, surveyor, c 1866 Melbourne University Archives. The original allotments sold to Palmer et al are unnumbered, but shaded as sold, and have the purchasers' names written on. The remaining land west of Agnes Street is divided into numbered allotments, 1 to 30, but also shaded and labelled with the purchasers' names. The blocks of my third stage are not shaded, but have had the word 'sold' written on: they include the main cottage site which is known to have been sold early in 1866 (see below). The final four blocks are numbered but otherwise not touched.

187 Kendall, 'Victorian Deaf Society Jolimont Square Site', p 7, quoting the Graham La Trobe papers.

188 MCC notice of intent to build no 759, 4 September 1857, Burchett Index, cited in Kendall, 'Victorian Deaf Society Jolimont Square Site', p 8.

imported before the date of the application to build the foundations (which would have had to fit them), and may be linked with an advertisement in the *Argus* in June 1856, offering for sale a two storey portable house of Baltic timber, 'ex Goffredo Mameli' [sic].¹⁸⁹ This is the *Goffredi Mameli*, which had sailed from Genoa and reached Melbourne on 29 March 1856,¹⁹⁰ and this suggests that the house was of Italian, or possibly Swiss manufacture. The five houses built at Jolimont may have been part of the same shipment, and from the same place (which would be consistent with La Trobe's Swiss connections if he was involved, though this seems improbable).

The year or more that separates the *Goffredi Mameli* House from those at Jolimont presents serious problems. However, on 11 June 1856 the architect Albert Purchas called tenders on behalf of Alex McArthur for the erection of six houses in East Melbourne,¹⁹¹ which would seem likely to be those on the Jolimont estate. 'Alex McArthur' may be a mistake for D C McArthur, in whose name any building might have to be done before the transfer to Palmer. However, there is no indication that any houses were built at Jolimont so early, and some months later there is a notice of intent to build six houses on a quite different site to the east,¹⁹² which might suggest that these are the houses to which the tender notice refers, but that this also seems most improbable.¹⁹³ However this may be, McArthur's six houses were not built at this time.

Palmer had bought all the allotments of La Trobe's land fronting Wellington Parade between Agnes and Charles Streets, but apparently on the basis that the westernmost allotment would not be developed for the present.¹⁹⁴ This seems to have been because Jolimont proper was occupied until mid-1858 by the military, and the government lease

189 *Argus*, 28 June 1856.

190 So I am advised by Mr Marten Syme, who has kindly checked the shipping indexes.

191 *Argus*, 12 June 1856, p 7; *Australian Builder*, 12 June 1856.

192 Melbourne City Council notice of intent no 774, 31 October 1856 for Wellington Parade, East Melbourne opposite the Government Stables (Wellington Parade near Hoddle Street); builder Thomas G James; architect unnamed; Owner Thomas G James, St Kilda; description: six two-storey houses. Reference from the Winston Burchett Index.

193 A space of nearly five months between the calling of tenders and the lodgement of a notice of intent is unusual. It would also be virtually impossible that tenders would be called by an architect if an owner was building them for himself. In fact there is no subsequent evidence of these houses, and it is unlikely that they got built

194 Sheehan, 'Jolimont Square', p 28, reproduces McArthur's sketch plan of subdivision of the estate, but seems not to recognise its implications (for she refers, p 8, to Palmer as having bought lots 'on Jolimont Square' - which in fact did not exist). See also p 9 for the requirement that Palmer leave lot 6 undeveloped until June 1858. The new conveyance in January 1859 [Sheehan p 10] seems to do nothing but confirm the same purchase plus the width of Charles Street. It refers to a frontage of 271 feet to Wellington Parade, and this exactly corresponds to the 406.9 link frontage of the six allotments and the street as indicated on the plan.

must have provided a broad access road in this location. Palmer consequently left this westernmost allotment free and resubdivided the other four to create Jolimont Place, running north-south, with allotments along either side. The application to build the foundations, as we have seen, was in September 1857, which suggests a fairly short period of construction, for on 4 February 1858 tenders were called for plastering and painting the houses,¹⁹⁵ so that they must by then have been nearly complete.

One of the subsequent rate books refers to the houses as being of lath and plaster with brick foundations,¹⁹⁶ but some survived into fairly recent times, and there is no doubt that the exterior cladding was of timber,¹⁹⁷ though Burchett describes the back walls of each as being in brick.¹⁹⁸ Though they were rectangular, two storeys high, and generally rather like Lyndurst Hall in Coburg, they do not compare with it in any degree of detail. Although only five of these houses were built, the subdivision plan provides six sites, and six houses were actually shown there on Cox's Coastal Survey of 1864-6.¹⁹⁹ Purchas's tender also referred to six houses, and it seems just possible that (a) McArthur, as La Trobe's agent, proposed to build the six houses along Wellington Parade; (b) the need to leave the westernmost allotment undeveloped made one house redundant; (c) the remaining five houses were not built at this stage, but the components were sold to Palmer with the land, and were erected by him only subsequently, and in accordance with his new layout.

The main streets of the estate (as distinct from Jolimont Place) were developed slowly. In 1858 tenders were called for 'felling, stumping and forming about 16 chains of road at Jolimont,'²⁰⁰ which could well represent the length of Agnes and Charles Streets. During 1858 William Green made a series of payments to workmen who were engaged principally in forming roads on the estate.²⁰¹ However, more than a decade later the Melbourne City Council's Health Committee reported 'that the streets situate in Jolimont, and which are all upon private property are unformed, ill-drained and consequently unhealthy.'

195 Winston Burchett, *East Melbourne 1837-1977* (Melbourne 1978), p 24.

196 Mary Sheehan, op cit.

197 See the illustrations in Maie Casey et al. *Early Melbourne Architecture* (Melbourne 1953). p 128; David Saunders. *Historic Buildings of Victoria* (Brisbane 1966), p 102. The verandah form has local characteristics which may be compared with the Freehold Land Society competition designs published in the *Australian Builder* during 1855.

198 Burchett, loc cit.

199 Reproduced Sheehan, op cit, p 29.

200 Winston Burchett, *East Melbourne 1837-1977* (Melbourne 1978), p 25.

201 C J La Trobe account with William Green: Graham La Trobe Papers. LS 2/30/5 Box 2.

McArthur too was henceforward less active, and it was Graham who really carried La Trobe's interests forward.

In August 1864 Bagot was engaged to survey the blocks and peg out the boundaries in accordance with the original plan of the estate, survey the existing buildings with a view to arranging the subdivision, and supply reduced tracings of the plan.²¹² The new subdivision he now mapped out was the final one according to which the balance of the land was sold. Graham sent a copy of the plan to La Trobe and explained their hopes of selling lots 33 to 40 (those south of the cottage) at £5 per foot frontage; lots 41,42,48 and 49, all corner blocks, for £8 a foot (plus the value of the house, Upper Jolimont, as will appear), and the remaining lots between La Trobe Parade (Jolimont Terrace) and Charles Street, for £10 a foot.²¹³ On 24 October 1865 La Trobe acknowledged having received the plan.²¹⁴ This is the Bagot survey, of which copies are held both by Melbourne University Archives and by the State Library.

The house and outbuildings were on land bounded by Charles and Agnes streets to the east and west, Palmer Lane to the south, and what was to become Palmer Street on the north. The buildings being on an angle, the corner of the kitchen block overlapped the north or Palmer Street boundary. Moreover the land they were on was divided into two allotments, with a north-south boundary slicing through them arbitrarily. Both blocks were 141 ft 5 ins [43.1 m] in the north-south direction, but lot 31 was larger, 176'10" [53.9 m] in the east west direction, compared with the 135'6" [41.3 m] of lot 32. The house and most of the kitchen block were on lot 31, and the second dwelling and eastern outbuildings on lot 32.²¹⁵

In 1856, while still in official occupation, Upper Jolimont appears to have been given a new slate roof with galvanized iron ridges, new roofs to the kitchen, scullery and verandah, and various repairs.²¹⁶ In September 1858, after the military had left, the house was offered for sale with land fronting 173 ft 6 in to Wellington Parade,²¹⁷ but it did not sell. The house was

212 Invoice, R C Bagot to the Trustees of the Jolimont Estate, 9 September 1865: Graham La Trobe Papers LS2I30/5 box 2.

213 Graham to La Trobe, 25 August 1865, Graham Bros Letter Book No 1, P 457.

214 La Trobe to James Graham, 24 October 1865, in L J Blake (00), *Letters of Charles Joseph La Trobe* (Melbourne 1975), p 65.

215 From Gross, reproduced in *Trust*, November 1964, p 3.

216 Invoice of H Taylor to the Trustees of C J La Trobe, 10 August 1856: Graham La Trobe Papers LS2I30/5 box 1. The invoice does not specify to which house the work was done. but Jolimont proper had only recently had a new verandah roof and repairs to the maw roof.

217 Burchett, *East Melbourne*, p 24.

occupied in 1859, according to the rate book, by a Captain Bagot (whether any connection of the surveyor is not apparent), in 1860 to one Robertson, and in 1861 to a man whose name is variously spelt in the rate books, but who we know from the Graham papers to be Solomon Belinfante. The Graham papers show the house to have been let in February 1861 to an unspecified tenant for £130 a year,²¹⁸ and the rate book entry confirms that this was Belinfante, though he is not named in the surviving papers until 1863. From that year he paid £110 a year, reducing to £100 in the last six months of his tenancy from September 1867 to March 1868.²¹⁹

Meanwhile La Trobe's agents kept trying to dispose of the property, and in March 1865 Graham reported that they had a treaty for its sale, and hoped to get £2,000 for it.²²⁰ La Trobe wrote to Powlett:²²¹

You know that after our former disappointments I am getting a little impatient to realize when anything like a decent offer of purchase comes forward and if the sum offered for the upper house is not to be rejected as preposterously out of the question should not be sorry to know that it at best was off our hands - with all the contingencies to which that kind wooden property is unavoidably liable.

It did not sell, however, and by August their expectations seem to have been lower - £10 per foot frontage for the land, and £350 for the house.²²² In September Belinfante was given six months notice,²²³ presumably in anticipation of a sale, this time apparently to Archibald Michie, but that the sale was not concluded either, for in January 1866 La Trobe wrote 'I could well imagine reasons why you did not like to push that Minister of In-Justice Michie to the wall, however much I regret that the allotment was not fairly disposed of.'²²⁴ In March 1866 he expressed his approval to Graham of the sale of Jolimont proper and said that he would be very glad to hear of the disposal of the upper house at a fair price.²²⁵

218 Accounts current La Trobe with McArthur & Powlett, then with James Graham, nos 2-32, 30 September 1864 - 28 March 1881.

219 Accounts current La Trobe with McArthur & Powlett, then with James Graham, nos 2-32, 30 September 1864 - 28 March 1881. Also Robert Sands, *Inveresk Conservation Management Plan* (Melbourne 1986), p 5, ref City of Melbourne rate books: Sands calls him Belingfante.

220 Graham to La Trobe, 25 March 1865, Graham Bros Letter Book No 1, p 375.

221 La Trobe to F A Powlett, 25 May 1865, in L J Blake (ed), *Letters of Charles Joseph La Trobe* (Melbourne 1975), p 61.

222 Graham to La Trobe, 25 August 1865, Graham Bros Letter Book No 1, p 457.

223 Solomon Belinfante to D McArthur, 16 September 1865: Graham La Trobe Papers, LS 2/30/5 Box 2.

224 La Trobe to James Graham, 15 January 1866, in L J Blake (ed), *Letters of Charles Joseph La Trobe* (Melbourne 1975), pp 68-9.

225 La Trobe to James Graham, 21 March 1866, in L J Blake (ed), *Letters of Charles Joseph La Trobe* (Melbourne 1975), p 71.

In 1869 Upper Jolimont was vacant, and in the hands of Graham Brothers as agents, until on 16 August it was bought by the timber merchant John Sharp,²²⁶ subject to a mortgage to Graham.²²⁷ Sharp is said to have moved to the site and built himself a timber house, only for this to be replaced seven years later by the towered mansion, 'Inveresk', which is on the site today.²²⁸ However, it is intrinsically unlikely that Sharp would have built a house and kept it for only seven years, and all the evidence suggests that it was in fact the original 'Upper Jolimont' that Sharp initially occupied and then demolished, and this is precisely what is reported by Isaac Selby,²²⁹ and by Robert Sands in his study of the property.²³⁰

In July 1877 the auction was advertised of all the materials of a house in Jolimont Terrace, which had included a 133 foot [40.6 m] verandah.²³¹ This must have been the original house, Upper Jolimont. In August the architect James Gall called tenders for a two storey brick residence in Jolimont,²³² and in October tenders were called for roofing and carpenter's work at a new building on the corner of Jolimont Terrace.²³³ From 1878 the rate book lists Sharp as owner and occupier of a fourteen room brick house, and this new house, 'Inveresk', still stands today.

226 Robert Sands. *Inveresk Conservation Management Plan* (Melbourne 1986), p 5, ref City of Melbourne rate books; Memorials of Transfer.

227 Klingender Charsley & Liddle [solicitors] to Graham. 2 September 1869: Graham La Trobe Papers, LS 2/30/5 Box 2.

228 Winston Burchett, *East Melbourne 1837-1977* (Melbourne 1978), p 26.

229 Isaac Selby, *The Old Pioneers' Memorial History of Melbourne* (Melbourne 1924), p 237.

230 Sands, *Inveresk Conservation Management Plan*, p 5.

231 *Argus*, 20 July 1877, p 2.

232 *Argus*, 6 August 1877, p 3.

233 *Argus*, 30 October 1877, p 7.

The Cottage after La Trobe

Jolimont was let to the government, and appears from the rate books to have been occupied as two distinct dwellings, though the division into seven rooms each does not at all correspond with the respective sizes of the main house and the detached cottage or hermitage, which were more like nine and three or four rooms. The main house was probably occupied by Sir Robert Nickle until his death in 1855. Subsequently the occupant until mid-1858 was Colonel (soon to be Major-General) Edward Macarthur,²³⁴ who presumably had it on a furnished basis, for the bulk of La Trobe's furniture apparently remained until the time of a dispersal sale in 1862.²³⁵ In 1855 repairs were made to the main roof and the verandah roof was covered in corrugated iron, under the supervision of the Colonial Engineer's Department but charged to La Trobe.²³⁶ In May 1856 the laundry roof, measuring 40 by 14 feet (12 x 4.2 m) was roofed in corrugated iron.²³⁷ In May 1857 the architect Osgood Pritchard surveyed Jolimont and took measurements for the necessary repairs, and in July he prepared specifications and called tenders for re-roofing.²³⁸ The house was re-shingled, and the Venetian shutters all around were taken off, repaired and re-hung.²³⁹

The lease to the government must have carried the exclusive use of what became Agnes Street, or rather a wider access way at this location, for Palmer was precluded from using lot 6 at all before 30 June 1858,²⁴⁰ and similarly the sale of allotment 7 to Robert Huckson, in December 1857, carried a specific condition that he would not 'at any time before the 30th of June 1858 enter upon or use the right of way running on the eastern portion of lot 7 ...'²⁴¹

On 2 September 1858 Jolimont was offered to let by the agent William Green, together with 'grounds and garden covering an area of two acres 25 perches, and ... replete with every

234 Winston Burchett, *East Melbourne 1837-1977* (Melbourne 1978), p 24.

235 *Age*, 22 March 1960.

236 Invoice of Alexander Amos to the Trustees of C J La Trobe, certified by William H Burgoyne, Clerk of Works, October 1855: Graham La Trobe Papers LS2/30/5 box 1.

237 Invoice of Alexander Amos & Co to the Trustees of C J La Trobe, 31 May 1856: Graham La Trobe Papers LS2I30/5 box 1.

238 C J La Trobe account with William Green: Graham La Trobe Papers, LS 2/30/5 Box 2.

239 Invoice of Daniel Williams to the Trustees of C J La Trobe, certified 30 September, presented 26 November 1857: Graham La Trobe Papers LS2/30/5 box 1.

240 Sheehan, 'Jolimont Square', p 28, p 9.

241 La Trobe to Huckson, Agreement for sale of land, 29 December 1857: Graham La Trobe Papers LS2/30/5 box 2.

comfort,' and a gardener was advertised for as well.²⁴² However it does not appear that any tenant was found at this time, for the property is listed as empty in the 1959 rate book. From December 1858 to January 1859 three contract payments totalling £153 were made to Lambeth & Hayes for 'alterations',²⁴³ but it is not clear whether these were at Jolimont or Upper Jolimont. In 1860 La Trobe was concerned that the cottages had not yet been sold. He suggested to McArthur:²⁴⁴

You [and Powlett] may find opportunity to confer as to any particular way without real sacrifice of getting rid of the cottage allotments which are a drag now, and likely to be an increasing one as they get older. Of the lower cottage [his own former house] I have not much to say - but of the upper the timbers were first rate & the main build ought not to be far gone in decay. However I do not look to either adding much to the land value of the Allotments on which they stand. I can well understand that wooden houses have gone out of fashion.

From 1860 there were separate tenants in the house proper and in the detached cottage. Jolimont proper was let for £150 a year from mid-1860,²⁴⁵ and Inspector Thomas Lyttleton had it from 1863, presumably at this rate, though he paid only £100 a year from September 1864 to September 1865.²⁴⁶ Thomas Hamilton Lyttleton [1826-1876] was at this time Superintendent of the Melbourne Metropolitan Police Force, but is known not only as a policeman, rising ultimately to the rank of inspecting superintendent, but as a leading painter of race horses.²⁴⁷ Horatio Patton rented the 'Hermitage' or detached cottage for £45 a year in 1861, reduced to £35,²⁴⁸ and found it 'in a sadly neglected state - in fact scarcely habitable', and without kitchen of any sort. Patton himself built a kitchen, with a fireplace, chimney and stove, and also built a bathroom, floored and covered in the verandah, and painted the whole of the exterior.²⁴⁹ Patton later recalled that the garden²⁵⁰

242 C J La Trobe account with William Green: Graham La Trobe Papers, LS 2/30/5 Box 2; Burchett, *East Melbourne*. p 24.

243 La Trobe account with William Green. loc cit.

244 La Trobe to D C McArthur, 11 May 1860, in L J Blake (ed), *Letters of Charles Joseph La Trobe* (Melbourne 1975), p 55.

245 Undated scribbled note: Graham La Trobe Papers. LS 2/30/5 Box 2.

246 Accounts current La Trobe with McArthur & Powlett, then with James Graham. nos 2-32, 30 September 1864 - 28 March 1881.

247 Colin Laverty, 'Thomas Hamilton Lyttleton (1826-1876)', in Joan Kerr (ed), *The Dictionary of Australian Artists* (Melbourne 1992), pp 484-5; H J Gibbney & A G Smith. *A Biographical Register 1788-1939* (2 vols. Canberra 1987). II. p 38.

248 The small cottage was apparently let for £45 from 28 [January] 1861, undated scribbled note: Graham La Trobe Papers, LS 2/30/5 Box 2. However, Patton may have received a rebate in view of the poor condition of the house and/or the work he did upon it, for he is recorded as paying only at the rate of £35 per year: Accounts current La Trobe with McArthur & Powlett, then with James Graham. nos 2-32, 30 September 1864 - 28 March 1881.

249 Horatio W Patten to F A Powlett, 20 May 1864: Graham La Trobe Papers, LS 2/30/5 Box 2.

had become a wilderness, as quiet and secluded as though you were a hundred miles away from town, although in reality only a few minutes' walk. When I was there ringtail opossums, kingfishers, native minahs, pigeons, and other birds abounded, as they were never disturbed. Among the trees and shrubs was the finest hawthorn that I have seen in the colonies; it overtopped the cottage, and the rose trees had grown through the shingle roof, and blossomed several feet above it.

In February 1864 Graham told La Trobe that he was having repairs done to Jolimont, especially the roof, for 'We have got good tenants there, at present, and we must keep them contented and comfortable.'²⁵¹ This they were not at present. Patton wrote to Graham Brothers that he was prepared to continue at the Hermitage for another two years at £40, but only if it was put in repair: 'The Roof must be seen to at once as the wet comes through everywhere'.²⁵² Is so bad, according to James Graham, that in wet weather there was scarcely a dry room in the house:

We had a new roof of corrugated iron put on over the old shingled one, which will make, I am confident, a good and lasting job, and as the iron is fastened on battens laid down on the old wooden roof, a current of air consequently passes between the two roofs, which will have the effect of keeping the house cool in the summer weather.

In consideration of this work being done, Patton was prepared to sign a lease for a further two years (but at six months notice if the property was sold). Only 'trifling repairs' were required at Jolimont proper.²⁵³ The work was done by Robert Forbes for £53 17s 6d, including the roofing of the verandah, two detached rooms and passage.²⁵⁴ In 1865 a new iron roof was put on the stables and the house was further repaired.²⁵⁵

Until the resubdivision of 1865 the grounds had constituted the whole of the block bounded by Agnes Street, Palmer Street, Charles Street and Jolimont Terrace, and were divided into equal areas for the two tenancies by a fence running approximately north-south, as still shown on Bagot's plan. Now, however, the lower half of the site was excised to create

250 Cutting from the *Argus*, dated only 9 May, but apparently c 1885, signed 'H.W.P.': an accompanying cutting which responds refers to it being fifty years since the original settlement of Melbourne. Both are pasted onto the back of a view of the cottage in oils, LT288, Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria.

251 Graham to La Trobe, 24 February 1864, Graham Bros Letter Book No 1, p 131.

252 Horatio W Patton to Graham Bros, 5 May 1864: Graham La Trobe Papers, LS 2/30/5 Box 2.

253 Graham to La Trobe, 25 June 1864, Graham Bros Letter Book No 1, p 213.

254 Tender of Robert Forbes, 'Roof to Hermitage', 11 March 1864: Graham La Trobe Papers, LS 2/30/5 Box 2.

255 Graham Brothers Account Current Book No 7, p 127.

allotments 33 to 40, and the upper half cut into two allotments by a north-south line slicing straight through the buildings, though so placed as to minimise inconvenience. On lot 31 the main cottage and rear buildings survived but for a corner cut off the kitchen by the line of Palmer Street, though it was probably not demolished at this stage. On lot 32 was the detached cottage or Hermitage, the kitchen and the stable, but that the west end of the stable obtruded onto lot 31, and a small area at the north-west corner overlapped into Palmer Street.

The allotment containing the house was finally sold to John Lupton for £900 on 14 February 1866,²⁵⁶ when La Trobe remarked:²⁵⁷

I am so fully aware of the rumble tumble state into which the dear old barrack, the birthplace of three of my children and for so many years our pleasant home had fallen in the lapse of 25 years and more, that I can hardly groan about its sale, and transfer into other hands.

Lupton was a Riverina squatter.²⁵⁸ On 16 February 1866 (which must be after the sale) he entered into an agreement to rent the coach house and stables 'at the rear of Mr Lupton's cottage,²⁵⁹ (though in fact on the adjoining allotment, 32). The agreement proved superfluous, for in the following month Lupton himself purchased the lot containing the Hermitage, and perforce the stables, for £689. Some months later he bought allotments 33 and 34, which gave him an L-shaped block linking through to Yarra Park at the south. All this seems as if he were trying to establish a substantial suburban villa for his own use.

Patten continued in occupation until 1867, but then Lupton occupied both houses until 1874. He appears to have settled lot 31 on his wife Mary Anna on 31 March 1871,²⁶⁰ notwithstanding which he also appears also to have sold it on 5 June 1873 to John Hare for £1,700,²⁶¹ though this may in reality have been a mortgage.²⁶² Lupton died on 12 April

256 Memorandum no 514 book 157.

257 La Trobe to James Graham, 21 March 1866, in L J Blake (ed), *Letters of Charles Joseph La Trobe* (Melbourne 1975), p 71.

258 Age, 27 September 1932 [Kenyon Press Cuttings, SLV, III, p 272]: the name of his property is given as 'Birrumbed'.

259 Memorandum of agreement between Graham, as attorney for La Trobe, and John Lupton, 16 February 1866: Graham La Trobe Papers, LS 2130/5 box 2.

260 Memorial 485 book 209.

261 Memorial 214 book 230.

262 This mysterious transaction is described as a conveyance. However, when the certificate of title was issued in 1886 it referred to the existence of an unregistered mortgage to Harry Emmerton, the solicitor who had witnessed both the conveyance and Lupton's earlier settlement on his wife. It would seem that Emmerton may have paid out Hore in some way.

1874, leaving John Charles Bringagee Lupton as his executor, but on 20 July 1874 the latter resigned this position and transferred it to Mary Anna.²⁶³ From 1874 Mrs Lupton is listed as occupier of Jolimont, and on 12 May 1886 a certificate of title was issued to Mary Anna Lupton, now described as being a widow, of Woollahra. Sydney.²⁶⁴

Mrs Lupton let the house to A or A M Topp in 1876-9 (according to the rate book), and the 1876 directory lists Samuel Topp as the occupant of 'Jolimont House', without any stated occupation.²⁶⁵ It may have been at this time that Jolimont became a guest house, as is rumoured, in which case it probably continued as such until 1886. There is no occupant shown in the rate book in 1880, but from 1881 to 1886 a Mrs Kerr appears. In 1885 there came the first semi-flippant, but nonetheless prophetic proposal to preserve the cottage for historical reasons and possibly, it is implied, to move it.²⁶⁶

If this comparatively ancient edifice is deserving of honour because of the colonial notabilities who placed their legs under its mahogany in the olden time, we would suggest that the reward not be withheld until it has tottered to the tomb. Barnum once made a handsome bid for Shakespeare's house, at Stratford-on-Avon, with the intention of setting it up in New York. The highly original dwelling of the first Governor of Victoria may be obtained for a smaller sum.

Almost immediately afterwards, however, the process of encroachment began, if not as yet that of destruction. On 22 May 1886 Mrs Lupton sold the property to James Tunstall Fenton, Arthur Fenton and John Fenton, chinaware importers of Bourke Street East. They were the sons of Alfred Fenton, who with his bother Herbert had originally established the Melbourne business as a branch of the family company in Staffordshire.²⁶⁷ A few weeks later the architect J A B Koch called tenders for a three storey warehouse on the site for Alfred Fenton & Sons,²⁶⁸ and the rate book of 1887 first lists Alfred Fenton & Co as occupying the site with a three storey brick store, in addition to a wooden house of ten rooms, and the valuation had jumped from £90 to £400. The building was a large brick structure with a 55 [16.8 m] foot frontage to Agnes Street and a depth of 180 feet [54.9 m],

263 Memorial 461 book 241.

264 Vol 1817 folio 363213.

265 *Sands & McDougall's Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1876* (Melbourne 1876), p 103.

266 Cutting from the *Argus*, apparently c 1885 (see discussion above), pasted onto the back of a view of the cottage in oils. LT288, Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria.

267 Alexander Sutherland (ed), *Victoria and its Metropolis* (2 vols, Melbourne 1888), II, p 561.

268 *Argus*, 29 July 1886, p 3. The address of the building is not given in this advertisement, but it is identified in Burchett's index of building permit applications, no 2369, as being in Agnes Street. Jolimont. Burchett, *East Melbourne*, p 25, incorrectly dates the building to 1889.

with equipment including a large lift worked by a gas engine.²⁶⁹ It extended right along the south side of the lot, and shows on plan as just touching the south corner of the cottage verandah.²⁷⁰ At the east end of the factory a small stable projected northward, coming close to the south-east corner of the house.

By 1894 the structures remaining on lot 32 appeared to consist of the formerly detached cottage now joined into a continuous structure with the kitchen, but with the large store and stable block removed. They were screened by new development in an L-shape from Palmer Street, along Charles Street and up Palmer Lane, consisting apparently of four terrace or attached houses to Palmer Street and two to Charles Street. In 1901 various alterations were made to the plumbing, and at this time the owner of the lot containing the former La Trobe buildings was recorded as Arthur Palmer Blake of Middlesex, England, and his agent was E W Buzzard of 456 Collins Street.²⁷¹ For many years round about 1914 it seems that the cottage was occupied by Mr and Mrs J S Elliott.²⁷² It was also for some years occupied by one Mrs Fairlie Taylor (though whether she was then of that name, or was even an adult, is not clear), who in 1963 was still alive, at Cheltenham.²⁷³ The complex appears to have been finally demolished in 1937, prior to the erection of a three storey building in 1937-8 for the then owner, N O'Donoghue of 109 Swanston Street, by the General Construction Co Ltd of 247 Collins Street.²⁷⁴

On 14 July 1899 the allotment with the cottage and the factory was bought by the Flinders Lane boot manufacturer John Charles Rowe Bedggood, though most accounts assume that it was Bedggoods who built the factory. By 1901 they had demolished the front verandah and steps of the house, so that there was some space between the two buildings, but the facade was becoming increasingly inaccessible, because in addition to the stable to the east,

269 Sutherland, *Victoria and its Metropolis*. II, p 561.

270 Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works Plan No 27 'East Melbourne', M/387(27), copyrighted 14 January 1895, lithograph LE 19 September 1894, reprinted March 1898 No 50.

271 Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works drainage plan [property service cover] no 25092, litho no 95, detail plan no 878, 27 July 1901 to 2 October 1901.

272 Mrs ?Ilma Petersen to Prof B B Lewis, undated [c 1962] [Lewis file 20]. The Elliotts were Petersen's parents. She seems clear that she speaks of their cottage as adjoining Jolimont proper. It was thought to have been part of the estate, possibly 'the Administration Block', and she refers to it at one point as 'the Hermitage ?Palma'.

273 Eric W Moorhead, Royal Historical Society of Victoria, to Professor B B Lewis, 7 August 1963 [Lewis file 20]. Moorhead had confused the cottage with Upper Jolimont and refers to it as having been occupied by Perry, but the identification is clear as he speaks of a structure having been close to Jolimont proper, and ultimately demolished in the 1930s.

274 Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works drainage plan [property service cover] no 25092, litho no 95, detail plan no 878, 6 September 1937 to 19 January 1939.

there was now to the south-west of the house a two storey lavatory block attached to the factory. Bedggood & Co's agents at this stage [were] well-known architects Ussher & Kemp. There was also a driveway angling into the site from Agnes Street, and this was probably a vestige of the former layout around the cottage, with which it was parallel.²⁷⁵ The cottage was occupied by Mr & Mrs S C Hancock, whose son, Russell, later advised the National Trust that he had been born in the building in 1904.²⁷⁶ Whether the Hancocks were tenants or caretakers is unclear. In 1912 a painting of the cottage was done by a Miss Cooper, an artist living in a nearby boarding house,²⁷⁷ but this has not been located. It appears that Jolimont was occupied by the Bedggoods' caretaker until 12 April 1914, when it was opened to the public by a group of elderly people calling themselves the 'Early Pioneers'. It attracted considerable interest, but the outbreak of the Great War caused the initiative to collapse.²⁷⁸

The maid's quarters were demolished in about 1920,²⁷⁹ but Bedggoods preserved the cottage as a caretaker's residence, and in 1924 Selby referred to what survived as 'a portion' of the original cottage, which 'I presume will not much longer endure the attacks of age and vandalism.'²⁸⁰ In 1927 Herbert Moore published a sketch of what he alleged to be La Trobe's cottage (together with the statement 'the timber and iron ... came from Switzerland'), but it is so completely incorrect that one must assume that he drew a different building, or from an illustration, perhaps of the long-demolished Upper Jolimont.²⁸¹

In 1931 Bedggoods commissioned Edna Walling to design a garden - in what proved to be a semi-formal Jekyllian style - to give access to the cottage from the west.²⁸² In 1932 it was

275 Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works drainage plan [property service cover] no 24795, litho no 95, detail plan no 878, 10 June 1901 to 11 September 1901, with additional work of 2 May 1903 and 8 September 1909 to 22 September 1911.

276 [John] Russell Hancock of Lowry Bay, Wellington, to the Secretary of the National Trust, 23 January 1973. Hancock stated that his father was Sydney Charles Hancock, a native of England, and his mother Victoria Josephine, née Smith.

277 Reg Stanley of Kew to the La Trobe Cottage Trust, 14 May 1963, stating that he boarded in the same house as Miss Cooper, who took him to see the house, and that her painting was very 'lifelike'.

278 Mrs ?Ilma Petersen to Prof B B Lewis, undated [c 1962] [Lewis file 20]. Petersen's parents lived next door in the detached cottage, see above.

279 J Alex Allan, 'Charles Joseph La Trobe: the Man and his House' (typescript ?c 1932), p 8. This structure still appears on a later MMBW plan, with its north corner cut off by Palmer Street, but this is probably because the previous plan was traced unthinkingly: Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works drainage plan [property service cover] no 24795, litho no 95, detail plan no 878, 23 July 1937 to 14 January 1938, with additional work of 10 January 1942.

280 Isaac Selby, *The Old Pioneers' Memorial History of Melbourne* (Melbourne 1924), p 88.

281 Herbert Moore, *Links with Other Days* (Melbourne 1927, unpaginated).

282 Murphys, p 2.

opened to the public. At about this time the company issued a dodger²⁸³ headed on one side:

With compliments of BEDGGOOD & Co. Pty. Ltd.
Victoria's First Government House

This was followed by a new view of the cottage by Herbert Moore, complete with the now missing verandah, and a piece of verse, while on the other side was a text headed 'Our First Governor', and a conclusion 'This historic building has been preserved as a gesture of goodwill to the community by the owners, Bedggood & Co. Pty Ltd.' Moore this time had drawn the right building, in the process reinstated the missing verandah, but the cottage appears oddly proportioned and seen at a rather steep angle, doubtless because the artist had to jam himself in against the factory wall to get any sort of front view, and from this to reconstruct the former appearance. In 1935 La Trobe's daughter Eleanor, then aged 93, wrote to an Australian acquaintance, 'I am so glad that the Bedggoods have made such a nice restoration of poor old Jolimont, & that it has been such a success'.²⁸⁴

The best description of the cottage is one written by J A Allan at the time of the opening in 1932.²⁸⁵

It lies in a quiet oasis bounded on three sides by Agnes, Charles, and Palmer Streets, Jolimont: on the south it is dwarfed by the towering brick wall of Bedggood's factory.

...

Time-worn without, its charming, spacious, and well-preserved interior is in a touching contrast. There are five rooms, of which two - the drawing room and the main bedroom - measure 18 feet by 15, and 18 feet by 14½ respectively. The vestibule leading to the original front door is 7 feet wide by 18 feet long. Fine wood-panelling predominates throughout the apartments.

According to Allan the house stood intact as it had been built [in 1839, as he thought], but for the loss of the front verandah and steps, and the floor of the western verandah. The latter had been of wood, supported on redgum blocks probably cut on the property, but in the recent renovations it had been replaced in hand-made bricks salvaged from the demolished maid's quarters. The building was supported at the front by a dwarf wall of hand-made bricks, filling the gap created by the natural slope of the ground. Trelliswork which originally surrounded the front and side verandahs was now partly removed. The building

283 Copy in National Trust file F.196, donated by Miss I L Haysom of East Prahran.

284 Eleanor La Trobe to Miss Wood, 15 March 1935. Copy in National Trust file F.196, supplied by Mrs Swinnerton of Kew [Miss Wood's sister].

285 Allan, 'Charles Joseph La Trobe', p 1.

was clad in weatherboard, beaded at the front and mainly plain at the sides and rear, and the window frames were of 'steel' [*sic* - for wrought iron]. The key of the front door had been stolen in about 1912, and the 'antique box lock' measuring twelve inches by eight (300 x 200 mm) was said to be now in the Mitchell Library, Sydney - whether it may still be there is not clear. A 'long, well-lit room looking north' had been lined with La Trobe's cedar bookshelves, but these had been removed and sold by a tenant at about the time of World War I. Lead from the roof valleys had likewise been sold off.

If the 'long, well-lit room looking north' is difficult to accommodate in the house plan as presently interpreted, so are the dimensions of the bedroom and drawing room. Although the centre-to-centre dimension between posts is in fact somewhat larger, we must assume that Allan is thinking in three foot modules, because the transverse dimension of the house is well-established by the common wall with the dining room, and his eighteen foot long 'vestibule' [the hall] must necessarily be six modules long or about nineteen feet [5.7 m]. This being so, it is hard to believe that his references to the width of the vestibule as seven feet and to that of the bedroom as 14½ feet are accidental, especially as one does indeed tend to expect the drawing room to be larger than the bedroom.

Although the maid's quarters had gone by the time of Allan's account, the detached kitchen remained, connected with a servery just inside the house door by a brick-paved path, roofed and vine-grown. In line with these buildings was the 'wine-cellar' (one might surmise a dairy or cool store as being more probable), a bricked-in semi-underground chamber, now choked up and missing its original roof, as well as the lock of the door, which had been looted. 'It is pleasant to know', Allan concluded:²⁸⁶

that in the hands of the present owners, Messrs, Bedggood & Co., who have inspired the fine beautification scheme carried out by Miss Edna Walling, landscape designer, of Mooroolbark, further ill-treatment or neglect is unlikely.

Allan, alas, was wrong. In 1935 Bedggoods put up a further building fronting Agnes Street and attached to the north-west of the factory: that is, taking up some of the space to south-west of the house, and presumably some of the Walling garden.²⁸⁷ Two years later they built a new building at the east end of the block, which entailed the demolition of the kitchen and 'wine cellar' and all of the panelled cottage but the west corner, which was cut

286 Allan, 'Charles Joseph La Trobe', pp 8-9.

287 Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works drainage plan [property service cover] no 24795, litho no 95, detail plan no 878, 22 November 1934 to 29 October 1935.

through at an angle, leaving the dining room and butler's pantry intact.²⁸⁸ The new structure would also have necessitated taking a corner off the room behind the butler's pantry, but in fact the room appears to have been demolished completely at this stage. This new building may well have been designed by the architects Arthur W Purnell & Pearce, for they appear as Bedggoods' agent for the next plumbing alterations, which take place in 1945-6.²⁸⁹

During World War II hand-made bricks from the site with the makers' thumbprints in them, which had doubtless been produced the demolition, were sold by the Red Cross to raise money.²⁹⁰ It was feared that the surviving remains of the cottage would now have to be demolished to provide space for an air raid shelter, but Bedggoods were able to make other arrangements.²⁹¹ It seems that there was thought to have been an underground tunnel associated with the cottage, and a section of it was discovered, perhaps in about 1950. It was inspected by a group including La Trobe's biographer, Alan Gross, who recalled it as being a well integrated series of rooms, apparently designed for storage, which had sandstone foundations and bluestone dividing walls. A later building in Hawthorn bricks had been superimposed, according to Gross,²⁹² but it would seem more probable that the rooms were built integrally with the 'later' building, which must be the Fenton, later Bedggood building.

In 1934-5, during the brief public heyday of the cottage Miss Pat Woods, sister-in-law of John Bedggood, acted as hostess to visitors to the cottage, and corresponded with Eleanor La Trobe, who was then in her nineties living in Westbourne, England. Subsequently Woods herself moved to England, but in 1963 her sister, Grace Swinnerton of Kew, donated to the Trust the letter from Eleanor La Trobe which has been quoted above, and the text of what Mrs Swinnerton said was a radio broadcast by Woods on 3DB's 'In Melbourne Tonight'.²⁹³ This in fact appears to be the typescript account signed by J Alex Allan, which has been used here extensively.

288 MMBW drainage plan [property service cover] no 24795, 23 July 1937 to 14 January 1938. op cit.

289 Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works drainage plan [property service cover] no 24795, litho no 95, detail plan no 878, 17 April 1945 to 18 March 1946.

290 *Sun*, 1 July 1964.

291 Alan Gross. *Charles Joseph La Trobe* (Melbourne 1956), p 14.

292 Alan Gross to Prof B B Lewis, 29 November 1959 [Lewis file 21]

293 Grace D Swinnerton of Kew to Professor Brian Lewis. 2 May 1963.

The Hot Potato

The father of the La Trobe Cottage project was perhaps Tristan Buesst, a founding father of the Trust itself. The Buesst family had the BBB (Buesst Brothers & Bills) mattress empire, but they also had cultural pretensions (Tristan's sister was Ysolde²⁹⁴). On 14 October 1956, during the first phase of organisation of the Trust, Buesst wrote to Noel Goss, the honorary secretary, indicating which of the proposed Trust committees he would be prepared to join,²⁹⁵ and went on:

One small committee might be formed, I suggest, to attempt to preserve for posterity the Latrobe Cottage at Jolimont. Miserable structure that it is, it yet has considerable historic value. Presumably it is still on the Bedggood land & the cooperation of that company would of course be essential.

At this stage there was no suggestion that preservation of the cottage would require it to be moved.

In July 1958 Roy Simpson, Chairman of the Survey & Identification Committee, asked the Executive of the Trust to invite Bedggoods to donate the house, and proposed that it should be moved to a safe location such as the grounds of Como, or near Cooks' Cottage in the Fitzroy Gardens.²⁹⁶ Nothing seems to have been done about this, for on Christmas Eve the architect Stuart Calder was at 'Teddy' Bedggood's house, and was asked by him what the Trust's intentions were. He replied that there was to his knowledge no definite policy, though there had been a suggestion that the cottage be demolished and rebuilt elsewhere, and that university students might assist in preparing plans based on old photographs and upon what remained of the building. Bedggood replied that the Trust would need to act immediately, because his firm was desperate for parking space and, so far as he was concerned, the cottage must go.²⁹⁷ It appears that the issue had come to a head because the Melbourne City Council had banned street parking in the Jolimont area.²⁹⁸

On 23 March 1959 a meeting was held between Mr Horace Bedggood and, on the Trust's behalf, David Saunders (lecturer in architecture, Melbourne University), Stuart Calder

294 Married as Ysolde Plant, and also a leading light in the Trust.

295 Tristan Buesst to Noel Goss, honorary secretary of the National Trust, 14 October 1956.

296 Roy Simpson, chairman of the Survey & Identification Committee, to the honorary secretary of the National Trust, 24 July 1958.

297 Stuart Calder to Noel Goss, honorary secretary of the National Trust, 21 January 1959.

298 Murphys, p 2.

(architect) and Neville Hollinshed (architect). It appeared that the Bedggood brothers had 'divergent ideas about the cottage', but Horace gave an assurance that there was no immediate intention of pulling it down and that, in any event, the Trust would be given plenty of warning. He was opposed to the idea of demolishing it and storing the parts.²⁹⁹

The view of the Trust's advisers was that only parts of the building such as the doors, window frames and living room ceiling would be worth keeping: 'There would appear to be little point in keeping and re-erecting old studding'. The idea had been proposed that 'it could be very desirable to be able to build a cottage in accordance with the most authentic drawings available and incorporating such features from the present building as are worth-while'. Of the several sites proposed, the grounds of Government House were most favoured. The cost was estimated at between £15,000 and £20,000, and it was thought that a perspective drawing of the cottage as it would appear on completion would be an important preliminary to fundraising. Meanwhile university students were to prepare survey drawings under Saunders's direction during their Easter vacation.³⁰⁰

The impending destruction was reported in E W [Bill] Tipping's 'In Black and White' column in the Melbourne *Herald* early in June. The firm would retain a small garden around the house, Tipping conceded, with its own separate side entrance, 'But can't something be done, either by the Government or the National Trust, to preserve one of the few really worthwhile relics of Melbourne in its entirety.'³⁰¹ 'Entirety' was scarcely the appropriate word, for by this time what was left of the house was described as a 'fragment ... a very small portion of the buildings which [La Trobe] erected there'.³⁰² The next day the *Sun* reported Noel Goss, Honorary Secretary of the Trust, as saying that the cottage would not be destroyed, but probably would be removed to another site,³⁰³ and on the day after that the *Herald* published an item 'Cars Will Park on La Trobe Garden But House Will be Preserved', with a photograph marked up to show the fifty feet (15 m) of land on the Agnes Street frontage to be used for parking.³⁰⁴

The issue became public in *Trust News* in June, when 'reconstruction of the whole group at

299 'Memorandum to Executive: Latrobe Cottage' (mimeographed typescript, undated).

300 'Memorandum to Executive: Latrobe Cottage' (typescript, 24 June 1965 [sic]) [on Department of Crown Lands and Survey letterhead], National Trust file F.196.

301 *Herald*, 4 June 1959, p 3.

302 *Trust News*, 1 (June 1959), p 2.

303 *Sun*, 5 June 1959 [unpaginated cutting on National Trust file F.196].

304 *Herald*, 6 June 1959.

another site', was proposed, and it was reported that the owners, E & H Bedggood, 'have expressed a willing desire to co-operate in any suitable schemes which will achieve its preservation'.³⁰⁵ On 8 June the *Age* reported Lewis's confident announcement that the cottage would be moved 'some time this year', probably to the Domain, and that 'Among the planned additions to restore the cottage to its 1840 state will be two courtyards, a garden that includes a maize lot and a building in which the maize was ground, another building, and much of the original furniture ...'.³⁰⁶ This is interesting for its reference to the maize mill, which appears on a primitively-drawn sketch plan in the Trust files, the origin of which is unknown.

On 28 July Horace Bedggood wrote 'when you can put before us a definite proposition that will ensure preservation of the Cottage, we again say that we will give such proposition very favourable consideration'.³⁰⁷ Arrangements were confidently put in hand. Research on the building was carried out at Melbourne University by reference to the State Library, the Melbourne University Archives and La Trobe family records, and it seems that the essential documents, such as La Trobe's and Bateman's sketches, were all brought to light at this time. Melbourne University architecture students had produced measured drawings of the part of the building which remained,³⁰⁸ and plans for the proposed reconstruction.³⁰⁹ The research does not seem to have been compiled systematically in anyone place, and in some respects it was distorted by the students or by the Trust itself. In the detached wing the linking room appeared as a dairy in La Trobe's sketch 'Jolimont en Mars 1840', but appears as 'shoes' in the first reconstruction drawings. The eastern pavilion of that wing had been marked in 1840 as stables, but in the subdivisional plan thought to have been prepared by Charles Laing in 1855³¹⁰ it has become a bedroom, which is understandable enough, as by then a larger stable had been built next to it. However, the Bagot plan of about 1865 had been altered to suggest that this rear 'bedroom' is a smaller square structure than is shown on the original plan, and it was this that the Trust followed.³¹¹

There is a problem of chronology in the drawings prepared at this time, presumably as the outcome of the student work. There are three versions of one drawing. One version on

305 *Trust News*, 1 (June 1959), p 2.

306 *Age*, 8 June 1959.

307 'La Trobe's Cottage', typescript memo, undated but c March 1962 [Lewis file 20].

308 Murphys, p 2.

309 *Trust News*, 1 (June 1959), p 2.

310 Reproduced in Susan Adams (ed Weston Bate), *Liardet's Water-Colours of Early Melbourne* (Melbourne 1972), p 54.

311 *Trust*, November 1964, p 3.

the Trust's files is somewhat crudely lettered, and is entitled 'Latrobe's Cottage (Reconstruction Preliminary Plan)': it takes in the main cottage and the butler's room attached to the dining room, but extends no farther north. Another version, acquired by the writer from Professor Brian Lewis in the 1960s, is entitled 'Reconstruction Preliminary Plan for Latrobe's Cottage',³¹² and extends north to include the kitchen/stable outbuilding and the linking brick pathway. So far as the house itself is concerned, it appears to be more accurately drafted and better lettered, but is essentially a tracing with only the addition of broken lines indicating the eaves overhang. The third drawing, which survives only as a slide, is identical but for the tentative addition of the nursery at the north-east corner of the house, and gratuitous downward shift of the word 'closet' in the two rooms where it appears.

Two of the versions include the kitchen/stable outbuilding, in a fairly rudimentary form, and with the eastern block reduced to nearly square, in accordance with the doctored version of the Laing plan already referred to. In both versions there are door and window openings only on the south face. However, there is also a full working drawing for the outbuilding at ¼ inch to the foot [1:48] 'La Trobe Cottage - Kitchen, Stable Etc' in Brian Lewis's hand, still with the squarish eastern block.³¹³ This includes not merely a plan, but a south elevation and three cross-sections, partially dimensioned, and with the spacing of members, and the materials of floors, walls and roof all indicated.

While the kitchen floor is shown tiled, the stable is shown without any internal subdivision, so that the stores are not defined, and with a conventional suspended timber floor, which is not compatible with its designation as a stable. In this drawing the outbuilding is given a window at both the west and the east ends. There is also a perspective view, now known to survive only in the form of a slide at Melbourne University, which accords with the Lewis drawings in that it omits the nursery, but does include the end windows of the outbuilding (or at least the visible one at the west). Whatever the chronology, of these drawings, they describe the essential scheme upon which the subsequent reconstruction by the Murphys appears to have been based, subject to for such further modifications as will be explained.

Surprisingly enough it was only on 10 August 1959 that the Trust advised Bedggoods of the award of an 'A' classification to the building, as one of fourteen in Melbourne assessed at

312 Now held by the writer.

313 Now held by the writer.

this level. This was a form letter over the name of Sir Daryl Lindsay, as President, which made no reference to the press publicity or to any preceding negotiations, but offered the Trust's advice and sought information as to the company's intentions for the house.³¹⁴ H L Bedggood replied, offering to discuss the matter with a Trust representative.³¹⁵ On 27 August Professor Brian Lewis was advised that the Trust Council had appointed him, with Sir Lewis Byrne, Stuart Calder [architect] and Tom Freeman [architect], as a committee to deal with La Trobe's cottage.³¹⁶

The question of a new site was not so easily resolved as the idea of moving the house. The National Museum of Victoria proposed that it be on the land reserved for a new National Museum, this being the old Observatory site on the Domain, and offered to make the land available.³¹⁷ At the Trust's Annual General Meeting on 16 November 1959 Lewis made a definite announcement that the cottage would be rebuilt on the Domain, at a cost of £2,000.³¹⁸ Architecture student drawings of about this time surveyed three sites, one outside the Botanic Gardens gateway to the north of Government House, one in the Observatory grounds outside the Government House south gateway, and, the third just next to the second, the present location off Birdwood Avenue. These are existing conditions surveys only, and do not show the precise siting proposed for the cottage, though the second one does indicate the boundary of the land to be excised from the Observatory (or, as it is quaintly put, the 'Grounds of the Astronomer Royale's [sic] Residence,').³¹⁹ The offer of this site was withdrawn by the National Museum trustees early in 1960 because they realised that it would leave them inadequate space.³²⁰

In mid-1960 the issue remained unresolved, and an aside appears in *Trust News*: 'When finally the City Council and State Government agree on a site for the restored cottage ...'³²¹ Meanwhile a steady flow of letters went from Professor Lewis, the Trust President, to the Town Clerk, the Minister for Public Works and others. The City Council favoured the

314 Sir Daryl Lindsay, President, National Trust, to the Secretary, Bedggood & Co Pty Ltd, 10 August 1959.

315 H L Bedggood to Mr [sic] Daryl Lindsay, President, National Trust, 14 August 1959.

316 Noel Goss, honorary secretary, National Trust, to Professor Brian Lewis, 27 August 1959.

317 C W Brazenor, Director, National Museum of Victoria, to Sir Daryl Lindsay, 26 October 1959. Also unidentified press cutting on National Trust file F.196.

318 *Age*, 17 November 1959; also the *Sun* and the *Herald*.

319 Prints of all these drawings, and a tracing paper original of the third, are held by the writer. The first is that of H G Thompson, the second is unidentified, and the third that of Nicholas Tesdorf.

320 Prof B B Lewis to F H Rogan, Town Clerk, 15 February 1950 [Lewis file 22].

321 *Trust Newsletter*, no 5 (June 1960), p 1.

Observatory site - which of course did not belong to it, and which had already been withdrawn from offer.³²² In June 1960 Lewis told the Minister, Sir Thomas Maltby, that the City Council's Parks and Gardens Committee was deeply opposed to any excision of land near the south entrance to Government House. He now raised the possibility of overriding the Museum trustees as 'I understand that the site is not yet vested in the Museum and my information is that a small piece of land on the boundary would not affect their plans ... ' The site was under full control of the Minister, and he encouraged Maltby to act unilaterally.³²³

Maltby was having none of this, and very quickly responded that the land was required for additional state premises, and that in any case the policy was to erect only state buildings in state reserves. He disingenuously suggested to Lewis (who had been conducting his correspondence on university letterhead as 'Professor of Architecture', not as President of the National Trust) that he should approach the National Trust for a site at Como.³²⁴ Lewis responded, equally disingenuously but with marginally less finesse, that he was 'quite in agreement with the decision' but that, though the Trust was willing to have the cottage in the grounds of Como, 'it feels that it would be very selfish to do so'. The importance of the cottage required a location nearer to its original site and to the City of Melbourne.³²⁵ Simultaneously, Lewis wrote Cr W J Brens, chairman of the Council's Parks and Gardens Committee, to seek that body's reconsideration of the matter,³²⁶ to J S Owens, Superintendent of Parks and Gardens,³²⁷ and to R T M Pescott, Director of the Botanic Gardens, to suggest a site in his gardens, perhaps adjoining the Herbarium.³²⁸ The latter, having purportedly 'discussed the matter fully with the Secretary of Lands' was able to reject the proposal by return post.³²⁹

An air of increasing desperation now emanates from the correspondence. Lewis suggested to Brens the strip of land adjoining the railway in Wellington Parade South, as being close to the original site.³³⁰ Brens responded that this site would undoubtedly be required for road

322 F H Rogan, Town Clerk, to Prof B B Lewis, 6 June 1960 [Lewis file 22].

323 Lewis to Sir Thomas Maltby, Minister of Works, 3 June 1960 [Lewis file 22].

324 Maltby to Lewis, 9 June 1960 [Lewis file 22].

325 Lewis to Maltby, 14 June 1960 [Lewis file 22].

326 Lewis to Cr W J Brens, 14 June 1960 [Lewis file 22].

327 Lewis to J S Owens, Superintendent of Parks and Gardens, Melbourne. 14 June 1960 [Lewis file 22].

328 Lewis to R T M Pescott, Director, Royal Botanic Gardens, 14 June 1960 [Lewis file 22].

329 Pescott to Lewis, 15 June 1960 [Lewis file 22].

330 Lewis to Brens, 23 June 1960 [Lewis file 22].

widening, and suggested a site close to the Burke & Wills monument in Royal Park.³³¹ Lewis responded, as diplomatically as he could, that this was too far from the tourist circuit and from the original location, and he broached for the first time the fact that Lonsdale's Cottage was now also available and in need of a site, possibly adjoining La Trobe's.³³² A fortnight later Lewis suggested to Brens a site behind the police station in Wellington Parade, facing the MCG.³³³ A fortnight after that he wrote to the Deaf and Dumb Society, which owned Palmer's old estate surrounding Jolimont Square, and asked them to provide a site on a temporary basis, for perhaps fifteen years.³³⁴ What response the Society made is not recorded, but it must have been unfavourable, for soon Lewis was harassing poor Brens again, seeking a site not just for La Trobe's but for both cottages. 'A couple of the inner suburbs' had made approaches for the cottages, he asserted somewhat improbably (and certainly there is no evidence of any such approaches in Lewis's papers), but it would be very disappointing if the City of Melbourne did not retain its own inheritance.³³⁵

Now events took a slightly different turn. Lewis wrote in the most friendly terms to Bernard Evans, an architect held in little regard by the profession, and one whom Lewis had good reason to dislike personally, but who now possessed the singular virtue of being Lord Mayor of Melbourne. Lewis sought Evans's support in his capacity as Lord Mayor, and his 'architectural opinion as to the site',³³⁶ and this exercise in petty hypocrisy was perhaps the master stroke which finally brought victory. Evans, who was no fool, did not reply in quite the same informal vein ('Dear Bernard' from Lewis), but his secretary conveyed his views.³³⁷ He agreed with the principle of locating the cottages within the City, but was not happy with the sites which Lewis mentioned - the Flagstaff Gardens, and the site outside the south gate of Government House. He would discuss the question with Brens shortly.

Still it dragged on. At the end of January 1961 Lewis sent Brens the plan of a site which he thought suitable to accommodate both cottages³³⁸ - though which is not recorded. In May he wrote almost half-heartedly to remind Evans of the matter,³³⁹ and later in the month spoke to him about it, but remained unclear where the Council stood, or whether the

331 Brens to Lewis, 6 July 1960 [Lewis file 22].

332 Lewis to Brens, 8 July 1960 [Lewis file 22].

333 Lewis to Brens, 27 July 1960 [Lewis file 22].

334 Lewis to the Secretary, Deaf and Dumb Society of Victoria, 11 August 1960 [Lewis file 22].

335 Lewis to Brens, 3 October 1960 [Lewis file 22].

336 Lewis to Cr Bernard Evans. Lord Mayor, Melbourne, 12 October 1960 [Lewis file 22].

337 T McCaw, Secretary to the Lord Mayor, to Lewis, 14 October 1960 [Lewis file 22].

338 Lewis to Brens, 31 January 1961 [Lewis file 22].

339 Lewis to Evans, 9 May 1961 [Lewis file 22].

Observatory site had been irrevocably given to the Museum.³⁴⁰ In August Lewis wrote the Minister of Lands proposing a slight variation - a site near the north-west entrance to the Botanical Gardens, within the Government house fence but hidden from the main gardens.³⁴¹ He then had a meeting with the Assistant Secretary for Lands and the Minister, who seemed favourably disposed to the idea,³⁴² but was later informed that the site was considered unsuitable because of its proximity to Government House and the number of trees which would have to be sacrificed.³⁴³

In October 1961 it was reported that the City Council was to consider a recommendation from its Parks and Gardens Committee that no action be taken to preserve La Trobe's Cottage. Poor beleaguered Councillor Brens stated that a number of proposed sites had been inspected, but none proved acceptable both to the Trust and to the Council. The recommendation was criticised both by Lewis and by Councillor Bernard Evans (no longer lord mayor) who favoured a location in the Alexandra Gardens. There was one bright spot in all this, for Bedggoods, possibly unhappy with the adverse publicity they had previously received, stated 'So far as we are concerned, it can stay there [on their land] forever.' 'But,' according to the company secretary, 'we have asked that something be done about the cottage because in its present state it's just a question of time before it is blown down.'³⁴⁴

In February 1962 it was reported that two members of the Trust council were again negotiating with the Melbourne City Council about the site and the eventual administration of La Trobe's and Lonsdale's cottages (which were now being seen as a single project), but not upon the basis that the Trust would lose control of them. By the end of March 1962 it seems to have been assumed within the Trust that the present site north of Birdwood Avenue would be used.³⁴⁵ In April it was reported that this site, at the south entrance to Government House, would be available if and when the Governor, Sir Dallas Brooks, gave his consent,³⁴⁶ and on 9 May the site was inspected by Councillor Brens, Professor Lewis, and Colonel Richard Spraggett, the Governor's private secretary, who agreed to it on the

340 Lewis to Norman Slatterie, 30 May 1961 [Lewis file 22].

341 Lewis to the Minister for Lands, 30 August 1961 [Lewis file 22]

342 Lewis to L D Mercer, Assistant Secretary for Lands, 13 October 1961 [Lewis file 22].

343 Mercer to Lewis, 18 October 1961 [Lewis file 22].

344 *Herald*, 28 October 1961.

345 'Latrobe Cottage: Schedule of Materials and Labour' [unsigned typescript], 29 March 1962 [Lewis file 20]

346 Typescript memo 'Mr Richardson: re Cottages' containing extracts from minutes. National Trust file F.196.

Governor's behalf.³⁴⁷ What is not recorded officially, but was probably of critical importance, is that the Spraggett family and the Lewis family were close friends. On 11 June 1962 the Town Clerk wrote to say that as the Governor had agreed to the re-erection of both La Trobe's and Lonsdale's cottages on the Domain (presumably still at the south entrance to the Government House grounds), and as the City Council had already acceded to the proposal, it could now proceed.³⁴⁸ On 16 July the Town Clerk advised that there was no objection to the Trust charging for admission.³⁴⁹

It was almost another year before the present site was formally approved. After the cottage had been rebuilt on it the Council, as Committee of Management for the King's Domain, attempted to transfer the land to the National Trust. However, the *Lands Act* 1958 did not allow the Trust itself to be appointed as a committee of management, and instead the Secretary for Lands invited the Trust to nominate three representatives.³⁵⁰ The Trust wished to appoint the Chairman of Council, Honorary Treasurer, and Chairman of the La Trobe Cottage Management Committee, but as they had to be specified by name rather than by office, a reply was delayed until after the next elections. In November 1965 R D Davidson, W A K A'Beckett and M G Sloman were nominated.³⁵¹ After this the *Lands Act* appears to have been amended, and in 1969 the Trust itself, rather than a group of nominees, was appointed as the committee of management.³⁵²

In March 1963 Bedggoods issued an ultimatum. The Chairman, E L Bedggood wrote 'we have been forced to make a final decision regarding the demolition of Governor Latrobe's Cottage', and imposed a deadline of three months.³⁵³ It appears that the company had previously refused to have the cottage demolished unless it was to be re-erected immediately (and the subsequent fate of Lonsdale's cottage has shown how right they were). However in issuing the deadline they also withdrew this condition. When the three month deadline expired, and the cottage had still not been moved, the managing director wrote to give the Trust another two weeks before the company itself began the demolition.³⁵⁴ Professor Lewis was able to respond with an assurance that the move was in

347 'La Trobe's Cottage', typescript memo, undated but c March 1962 [Lewis file 20].

348 F H Rogan, Town Clerk, Melbourne, to Professor B B Lewis. 11 June 1962 [Lewis file 20].

349 Rogan to Professor, 16 July 1962.

350 R E Lawes, Secretary for Lands, to the Secretary of the National Trust, 24 June 1965.

351 J M Adamson, Secretary, National Trust, to the Secretary for Lands. 10 November 1965.

352 *Victorian Government Gazette*, 28 May 1969, p 1606.

353 E L Bedggood, Chairman. Bedggood & Company Pty Ltd. to Professor Lewis, 25 March 1963.

354 A V Dickenson, Managing Director, Bedggood Shoes Pty. Ltd., to Professor B B Lewis, National Trust, 1 July 1963 [Lewis file 20].

fact planned to take place in the week beginning 15 July.³⁵⁵

Thus the National Trust finally acquired what was left of the building, which was, as we have seen, only the dining room, verandah and butler's pantry.³⁵⁶ The only part of the panelised cottage remaining was the wall shared with the dining room, and perhaps one or two adjoining panels of the south facade. Now the cottage was moved by the National Trust to surroundings more like those amongst which it had originally been built - the present wooded site in Birdwood Avenue, to the south of the Botanic Gardens and Government House - and here it was reconstructed under the direction of the architects John and Phyllis Murphy.

355 Lewis to Dickinson [sic], 5 July 1963 [Lewis file 20].

356 'La Trobe's Cottage', *Trust*, November 1964, p 1.

The Reconstruction

John and Phyllis Murphy, honorary architects for the re-erection of the cottage, recalled their involvement as beginning with a telephone call in 1961 from Professor Brian Lewis, then Chairman of the Trust, proposing that the building should be removed from Jolimont, re-erected, repaired and completed 'in an authentic manner'.³⁵⁷ Early in 1962 the Murphys had obtained a price from a builder, based on a brief Schedule of Materials and Labour apparently prepared by John Murphy,³⁵⁸ though when the cottage was actually moved the contract cited plans and specifications prepared by 'the School of Architecture Melbourne University'.³⁵⁹

It was in fact to be another year before the present site in the Domain was made available, and the project could proceed. The bulk of the research had been done in the preceding period, and the reconstruction plan prepared by the students must have in effect formed a part of the Murphys' brief. More material kept emerging, as in 1963 when Frank Strahan, the Melbourne University Archivist, sent Lewis plans of the Jolimont estate from the papers of Graham Bros & Co, early Melbourne merchants.³⁶⁰ Tom Ramsay, Managing Director of Kiwi Boot Polish, seems to have been researching the property for his own interest,³⁶¹ but whether his conclusions were useful, or were transmitted to the Trust all at this stage, is unclear.

The remarkable thing about the project was the great respect paid by the honorary architects to the authentic fabric of the building. It would not be true to say that this was entirely novel in Victoria, for Cook's Cottage had been transported to Victoria piece by piece and almost reverentially in 1933-4, even down to the authentic ivy cuttings. But the fledgling National Trust had a more gung-ho approach, and the unqualified recommendation of the Trust experts who first looked at the cottage was, as has been discussed above, to build a replica incorporating the few 'worthwhile' elements of the surviving structure.

357 John and Phyllis Murphy Pty. Ltd., 'Latrobe Cottage' (typescript, April 1968), p 1.

358 There are three versions of this. (A) a manuscript of six quarto pages in Murphy's hand, headed 'Schedule of Materials', and dated 21 March 1962, containing 27 brief points; (B) a verbatim typed version which also occupies six pages, due to large spaces between each point; and (C) a two page version, also verbatim, headed 'Schedule of Materials & Labour' [John & Phyllis Murphy files; the two page version also on Trust files].

359 Conditions of Contract for Building Work, 'Removal and Re-erection of Cottage "Latrobe's Cottage"', National Trust of Australia (Victoria) (proprietor) and L T Glover & Co (builder), 18 June 1963 [John & Phyllis Murphy files].

360 Frank Strahan, University Archivist, to Professor B B Lewis, 6 August 1963 [Lewis file 20].

361 T M Ramsay to Lewis. 18 October 1963 [Lewis file 20].

Even this was an impossible goal, for the information upon which a replica could be based did not exist: the apparent authority of the reconstruction drawing was illusory, and there were serious gaps in the understanding of the house. First, the building was not identified as a work of Manning, and indeed nothing was then known in Victoria either of Manning or of his houses. This was perhaps the least of the problems, for the Murphys readily appreciated the basic system of construction, but aspects of the roof structure, and details of how the whole was held together (as described by Samuel Vaughan, above) were quite unknown. Secondly, the present building was at this stage believed to have begun with the dining room, erected while La Trobe was still awaiting the arrival of the prefabricated cottage³⁶² (which would seem to be inconsistent with the fact that the panelled system was used for the common wall). But this misunderstanding had little if any practical effect on the work done.

Thirdly, and much more seriously, J A Allan's account of the rooms in the cottage was not known at the time of the student reconstruction, and no account was taken of it. It is true that La Trobe's sketches seem to be definitive, but Allan's dimensions, taken on the spot, are inconsistent with these. It is also true that Allan was looking at the cottage as it then survived, whilst the Trust was looking at it as recorded by La Trobe in the first year or two. But Allan regarded it as being in authentic condition, and it seems to have been augmented over time rather than changed. Moreover Allan is a generally reliable historian, while La Trobe's sketches are very rudimentary.

Current philosophy is opposed to replication on the scale involved in the reconstruction of the cottage, even when it is soundly based. Dr E A Connolly, Director of the United States National Parks and Wildlife Service, who visited the cottage not long after the work was complete, had already introduced in his own department the principle that reconstruction should be used only to complete a depleted ensemble, and should never be the larger proportion of the building or site.³⁶³ Connolly commented immediately on the laying of brick paving at the cottage in a basketwork pattern, as being a current conservation cliché. More probably, if the Murphys found such paving at the Jolimont site, it was a piece of Edna Walling cottaginess, for it seems to have been she who replaced the west verandah floor in brick, and she is known to have favoured basketwork paving.³⁶⁴

362 Murphys, p 2.

363 Recollection of the writer, who was with Connolly on his visit to the cottage.

364 See the illustrations in Edna Walling, *Gardens in Australia* (2nd ed, Melbourne 1944 [1943]), p 113; *Cottage and Garden in Australia* (Melbourne 1947), p 136.

But Conolly, soon to become Secretary-General of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), was years ahead of thinking in Australia, and there was in any case little to which he could have objected in the way the authentic part of the structure was treated. The concern for authenticity which the Murphys evinced here, effectively for the first time in Victoria, was what Australia ICOMOS espoused more than a decade later: but it does not come naturally to most architects, and many projects still involve battles over this basic principle. Historians have as yet hardly even addressed the issue.

The client was for practical purposes the Cottages Committee of the National Trust, so-called because it was formed to deal with both La Trobe's and Lonsdale's cottages, but it was more a prestige committee than a working group. It consisted (in June 1962) of William A K a'Beckett (accountant), C Neville Hollinshed (architect), Professor Brian Lewis (Dean of Architecture. Melbourne University; President of the Trust), Sir Daryl Lindsay (artist; late Director of the National Gallery; late President of the Trust), Sir Kingsley Norris (distinguished physician, major-general, &c), J R W Purves (?businessman), G A Richardson (ex-diplomat, stockbroker, Chairman of the Trust, subsequently ABC Commissioner), G Sutherland Smith (accountant).³⁶⁵ A sub-committee consisting of Lewis (chairman), John Murphy, I Kitto, R Davis and Norman Slatterie³⁶⁶ appeared to be the active body.

By the time work began on shifting the cottage to a new concrete slab base in the Domain, the estimated cost had risen to £10,000.³⁶⁷ At the end of February 1962 two panels were removed from the Jolimont site to provide patterns for replication. These were said to be loose (presumably being the return south wall), and did entail other damage to the structure.³⁶⁸ The basis of planning seems to have been the 'schedule of materials and labour' of 29 March 1962, which was in effect an outline specification of only two quarto pages. The whole issue of the moving was covered by 'Remove and re-construct existing portion of Cottage from Agnes Street...' Another economical clause was 'Pour solid footings to two chimneys'.³⁶⁹

365 'Special Notice: Cottages Committee', 14 June 1962 [Lewis file 20] (my interpolations),

366 'Minutes of National Trust Sub-Committee ..', 12 June 1962 [Lewis file 20].

367 'Gov. Latrobe Left Sketches', unidentified press cutting, National Trust file F.196.

368 Prof B B Lewis to Sister Kirby, c/- Bedggood & Co Pty Ltd, 28 February 1962 [Lewis file 20]; K W Chandler, Secretary, Bedggoods. to Lewis, 5 March 1962 [Lewis file 20].

369 'Latrobe Cottage: Schedule of Materials and Labour' [unsigned typescript], 29 March 1962 [Lewis file 20].

On 10 April 1962 the builders L T Glover & Co had submitted a quotation for moving both cottages and leaving the original site clear, placing them on new concrete slabs, framing and full reinstatement of them as required, installing sprinklers &c. of £10,415 for La Trobe's Cottage and £3,925 for Lonsdale's.³⁷⁰ On 12 April the Murphys recommended acceptance of a quotation and were preparing a lump sum contract for the work.³⁷¹ On 2 July the Murphys prepared a revised estimate for La Trobe's Cottage, based on the previous figure but reduced by £684 for the omission of the nursery, an area of 171 square feet [15.9 m²]. Together with this they estimated a price for the kitchen block, an area of 780 square feet [72.5m²], at £3,120, with an extra £300 for sprinklers.³⁷² But the re-erection of Lonsdale's cottage never proceeded, and it was a year before La Trobe's Cottage was moved.

The delays and hesitations about La Trobe's Cottage on the Trust side (as distinct from the problems of determining the site, and other extrinsic considerations) can be understood in the context of the Trust's overall situation. The Trust had been formed essentially to save 'Como', and despite the favourable terms upon which it was offered by the Armytage family, had to raise a very considerable sum by the standards of the day. When La Trobe's Cottage and Lonsdale's Cottage became live issues, it was understood that they should not detract from the ongoing appeal for Como. It was thought, especially by Norman Slatterie, who was to become chairman of the Latrobe Cottage Sub-Committee, that there was a body of people who would support the cottages, but who were not interested in Como.³⁷³

On 11 June 1962 the Town Clerk advised of the Melbourne City Council's approval of the site for the cottages³⁷⁴ and on the same day that this news reached him Professor Lewis learned that Lonsdale's Cottage had actually been mounted on wheels and was required to be moved from its temporary site. 'The embarrassing thing,' wrote Lewis³⁷⁵

is that Lonsdale's Cottage has little public attraction, whilst La Trobe's should earn as much revenue as Cook's but would cost £10,000 to reinstate and should certainly be the first erected. I feel that Lonsdale's cottage (which will in total cost around £5,000) is something of an embarrassment, but that we are bound by moral obligations to preserve it.

370 Quotation of L T Glover & Co of 22 Margarita St. Hampton S7, 10 April 1962.

371 John & Phyllis Murphy to the Secretary, National Trust. 12 April 1962.

372 John & Phyllis Murphy. estimate of cost, 2 July 1962 [Lewis file 20].

373 Prof B B Lewis to Oswald Burt, 19 June 1962 [Lewis file 20].

374 F H Rogan, Town Clerk. Melbourne, to Professor B B Lewis, 11 June 1962 [Lewis file 20].

375 Prof B B Lewis to Oswald Burt, 19 June 1962 [Lewis file 20].

It seems to have been on grounds like these that the idea of rebuilding Lonsdale's cottage was put on hold, and that, instead, planning proceeded not only for La Trobe's cottage, but for the totally new structure imitating the kitchen block. It was possibly in about April 1963 that the present writer was asked to prepare a site plan, in which the outline of the cottage was overlaid on a tracing of the existing student survey of the Birdwood Avenue site, and an outline indication of the garden layout added.³⁷⁶ It appears (for I cannot claim that I remember it) that this layout was derived from the Counsel plan of 1853, of which Lewis had a copy.³⁷⁷ On the new drawing the kitchen block was not shown, for it was not intended to build it at this stage, but the linking fence appears. The garden layout shown in this drawing never eventuated.

Funding was a major problem. A public appeal sponsored by the *Herald* newspaper was not as successful as anticipated, and in June 1963 the La Trobe Cottage Sub-Committee was in a state approaching revolt. The sub-committee had been 'very ardent' to engage a professional fundraiser, the Wells Organisation, but this had been vetoed by Council: the sub-committee chairman, N Slatterie, wrote that 'unless this decision is reversed we find it impossible to carry on to a successful conclusion'.³⁷⁸ However, it continued to meet, and on 5 July 1963 discussed the final arrangements for moving the building. John Murphy advised that he would be on the site on 9 July, and called for five volunteers to be available to assist in three weeks time. It was resolved to form a Women's Sub-Committee to advise on the furnishings, and Professor Lewis was to approach the Trust Women's Committee to establish this.³⁷⁹

Lewis had written to the Timber Development Association of Victoria as early as October 1959, and that body had responded that it was impoverished but enthusiastic, and would therefore not make a donation, but approach its members to contribute if a list of requirements could be supplied.³⁸⁰ In July 1963 Lewis wrote again to the president, R I Parish, seeking the donation of specific timbers for the project. It appears that by this time the first of the original panels were being re-erected, and the weatherboard on them showed

376 Original drawing in the possession of the writer.

377 A dyeline print of a drawing apparently traced or copied from the Counsel plan survives in the Lewis papers, together with the typescript list of rooms referred to in the appendix [p.117], [Lewis file 21].

378 N Slatterie, Chairman. Latrobe Cottage Sub-Committee, to Secretary, National Trust, 19 June 1963.

379 Minutes of Latrobe Cottage Sub-Committee, 5 July 1963 [Lewis file 20].

380 J R Davidson, Director, TDAV, to Prof B B Lewis, 1 December 1959 [Lewis me 21].

only minor patches of decay despite, it was said, the lack of any attention or painting for at least sixty-three years. All the missing panels had already been reproduced in imported softwood, and the timber now sought was mainly boarding, joists, ties, rafters and shingles.³⁸¹ In August the Association acceded to this and, after discussions with builder and architect, agreed to supply the materials asked for with some variations as follows:

sought	substituted
900 super ft or 1200 lineal ft of 9" x 1" red deal or nearest equivalent, t & g optional	1350 lineal ft of 8" x 1" red deal t & g
1800 super feet roof shingles, local eucalypt	1800 square feet western red cedar shingles
40 no 3" x 2" x 12' rafters	40 no 3" x 2" x 12' hardwood rafters
13 no 3" x 1" x 13' collar ties	13 no 3" x 1½" x 20' collar ties
20 no 4" x 2" x 18' hardwood floor joists	40 no 2" x 1½" x 18' hardwood floor joists

In addition weatherboards were to be supplied in the original profile tapering from 1/2 to 3/8 inch [13 to 10 mm], but in western red cedar rather than Baltic pine.³⁸²

In October 1963 drawings were tabled at the Trust's Cottages Committee showing the entire building with stables, kitchen, butler's pantry, garden paths &c. This was probably the 1853 survey by Counsel which has been discussed above, but despite the new information the committee resolved that the building should be completed 'without extra rooms.'³⁸³ This, therefore, appears to have been the point when it was decided to omit not only the detached kitchen/stable block, but the butler's room to the north of the dining room. It was perhaps also at this time that the west verandah roof was simplified by omitting the return at its south end, contrary to the pictorial evidence, and that the adjoining flight of steps to the south verandah was also omitted.

It was reported that expenditure to date totalled £3,355, already slightly in excess of the

381 Lewis to R J Parish, President, Timber Development Association of Victoria. 31 July 1963.

382 Davidson to Lewis, 21 August 1963 [Lewis me 20].

383 Notes of a Meeting of the Cottages Committee, 25 October 1963.

amount allocated by Trust Council, and John Murphy reported that the building could be complete in two months at a minimum cost of £2,500, made up of:

Sprinkler fire protection system	£800
Interior paintwork (paint donated by Taubmans)	600
Internal plastering	500
Windows	300
Fences - 50' [15 m]	200
Sundries	<u>100</u>
	£2500

The original white wallpaper with blue floral pattern was to be matched as closely as possible, and the exterior would be painted white.³⁸⁴

By 10 December the estimated cost for completion was £1,475, including an allowance of £200 for internal painting, but with no provision for external painting, a sprinkler system, electrical work or completion of the fireplace.³⁸⁵ A surviving fragment of a letter from Rodney Davidson at this time indicates that there was some disagreement about costing. Apart from the builder's estimate of £1,475, and the £347 already owing to him, it seems that Lewis estimated the cost of other outstanding items at £1,500, including £300 for furnishing. He expected the sprinkler system to be donated. Davidson queried whether this donation was confirmed, and added the £800, plus a further £300 for furnishing, to get an estimate of £4,422.³⁸⁶

At this point the project was in the doldrums, and there was a general feeling that Lewis was not doing enough to get the cottage completed. G A Richardson, Chairman of Trust Council, called upon him to organise an early meeting of the Cottages Committee to establish the cost of completion to a point where it could be opened, the date when it would be ready, and the options for its subsequent administration. This was especially important for the morale the Women's Group and the Junior Group of the Trust, which were principally responsible for fund raising.³⁸⁷ Meanwhile J Owens, the Melbourne City Council's Superintendent of Parks and Gardens, expressed his concern at the lack of activity for, as he said, 'in its unfinished state the Cottage does nobody any credit'. Lewis rang him

384 Notes of a Meeting of the Cottages Committee, 25 October 1963.

385 L T Glover & Co to Professor B B Lewis, 10 December 1963.

386 R D Davidson to [?possibly G A Richardson, Chairman], page 2 only of letter, no date [Lewis file 21].

387 G A Richardson, Trust Chairman, to Lewis, 9 December 1963 [Lewis me 20].

early in January 1964 to say that work would resume in four weeks.³⁸⁸

When the Trust acquired the cottage the dining room, the adjoining butler's room, and a third of the panelised section survived.³⁸⁹ The butler's room was discarded, presumably because it was later than the date determined for the restoration. The prefabricated section was dismantled, and new panels made to exactly match the originals. The dining room was cut up at the corners, and the three external walls transported by truck as complete sections, so that about a third of the plaster surface of the room is still the original, and at first irregular brown stains appeared at the junction of the old and the new. The ceiling was divided into two parts, which were moved with boards still attached, and new material had to be introduced only at the lines of the cuts.³⁹⁰ It appears that the Trust found what was believed to be the original front door, in use in an outer suburb, but the records are silent as to whether this was either obtained or replicated.³⁹¹

All the old materials were re-used where possible, and the dining room floor was rebuilt with the old boards, though the other floors were of new timber, matched as closely as practicable.³⁹² The prefabricated panels were replicated in Australian timber.³⁹³ The new timber generally was donated by the Timber Development Association, as indicated above, and the hardwood shingles, which were rotten, were replaced with imported ones. The original verandah posts were re-used, but the rotted bases cut away and replaced in jarrah.³⁹⁴ The original bricks and chimney pot were reused, but most of the old brick paving had disappeared, so the remaining bricks were re-used and were supplemented by secondhand bricks of a similar character, but 13 mm thicker,³⁹⁵ doubtless including any which had been returned as a result of Adamson's public appeal.

Internally, the buff coloured oak graining of the panelling was able to be replicated by current tradesmen,³⁹⁶ but as the surviving panels were the south-east wall of the dining

388 Owens, Superintendent of Parks and Gardens, Melbourne, to Lewis, 17 December 1963, as annotated by Lewis 7 January 1964 [Lewis file 20].

389 Murphys, p 4.

390 Murphys, p 2.

391 [B B Lewis], untitled typescript [apparently an article designed for publication by the Royal Australian Institute of Architects, c 1962], p 2 [Lewis file 20].

392 Murphys, p 5.

393 'Gov. Latrobe Left Sketches', unidentified press cutting, National Trust file F.196.

394 'La Trobe's Cottage', *Trust*, November 1964, p 2.

395 'La Trobe's Cottage', *Trust*, November 1964, p 3; Murphys, p 6.

396 Murphys, p 5.

room it can have been no more than an assumption that the graining continued throughout the house. The fireplace from the bedroom had apparently been sold when that room was demolished at an earlier date, but the owner donated it back and the Murphys reinstated it together with a mantelpiece built out of old cedar.³⁹⁷ The rim lock for the door was donated by a second-hand dealer, and the builder himself donated a suitable knocker and bell pull.³⁹⁸ However, it was also reported that the original knocker had been discovered in a rubbish dump on the property, and this was certainly the one which was put on the door.³⁹⁹

The work on the cottage involved not only the builder, but the volunteer labour of the Junior Group of the Trust, the expertise of the Furnishing Committee, and finance raised by the Women's Committee. The Junior Group assisted with the demolition at Jolimont, undertook all the cleaning down of weatherboards and bricks, all of the external painting, all of the fixing of palings for fencing at the new site, and some of the brick paving.⁴⁰⁰ Functional requirements dictated installation of a fire sprinkler and burglar alarm system, as well as the protection of the floors with removable runners. The sprinkler system required space for a cabinet containing gauges to measure water pressure in the pipes feeding the sprinkler heads, and a hand pump with a rocker hand lever to prime the pump lines, as well as various stopcocks and other fittings. This was concealed by building a small false wall within the dining room, where it was slightly offset in plan from the panelised section.⁴⁰¹

The extent of the reconstruction involved in this project has today been largely forgotten, and it is thought of as just another authentic building. The Trust itself has at times been somewhat disingenuous, as in the early brochure which stated 'Fortunately the Trust had the original plans and specifications of the cottage, which enabled authentic re-erection and restoration, the missing and decayed sections being faithfully reproduced.'⁴⁰²

The kitchen block was quite a different proposition. It has been reconstructed to a supposed date of 1840 rather than 1839, which was the date for the house, and this was done on the basis only of a few sketched exterior views, no detailed plans, no authentic

397 Murphys, p 6.

398 'La Trobe's Cottage', *Trust*. November 1964. p 3.

399 *Age*, 22 March 1960.

400 'La Trobe's Cottage', *Trust*, November 1964. p 3; Eileen Berry, 'Link with La Trobe', *Walkabout*, February 1965. p 41.

401 Murphys, pp 7-8.

402 *An Introduction to the National Trust of Australia (Victoria)* [National Trust brochure] (Melbourne, no date (?c 1965)).

surviving fabric, and no information about the interior or about cooking appliances and other details. The sketches showed considerable detail of the south elevation, and the Murphys later said that they were able to work out correctly the form of the doors, windows and chimney, as well as their spacing.⁴⁰³ In fact this appears not to have been their work, for these details appear in the perspective discussed above, which is thought to have been done by architecture students, and then in the quarter inch scale working drawing by Brian Lewis. Both of these would seem to have preceded the involvement of the Murphys, and to have been used by them.

The substantial difference from the Lewis drawing was in the interiors. The eastern block had in the earlier reconstruction plan been labelled as a stable with two store rooms flanking the entranceway at the front. Lewis's drawing called it a stable but proposed no internal partitioning at all. Under the Murphys it was again partitioned, but now labelled as a large store room and two small servants' rooms. No interior detail of the kitchen was shown either in the early reconstruction plan or in Lewis's drawing, and the present brick stove was the creation of the Murphys. A photograph existed of now demolished kitchen which had been part of a prefabricated house of similar date in Darling Street, South Yarra, and this was used as a guide to the interior and the stove.

In February 1964 it was estimated that £3,085 was required for the kitchen block, consisting of £1,475 quoted by Glovers for the building work, and the balance for other items such as timber fencing, burglar alarm and sprinkler system.⁴⁰⁴ On 1 July 1964 Miss Joyce Adamson, Secretary of the Trust, made a public appeal for the return of the bricks from Jolimont which had been sold during World War II. There were enough bricks to complete the chimney and have the cottage open by spring, she said, but the Trust would like to add a kitchen later.⁴⁰⁵ In September John Murphy submitted an estimate from the builder for the provision of shutters to the cottage, and a signboard, at £400 and £100, and for the building of the kitchens, including paving, at £3,125, plus £150 for an alarm system. The Cottages Committee recommended to Council that this be accepted.⁴⁰⁶ In October the Murphys forwarded to the Trust a copy of the contract, signed by D Glover on

403 'La Trobe's Cottage', *Trust*, November 1964, p 3; Murphys, p 7. It appears that this was a house owned by the forbears of a Trust member, Squadron-Leader David Francis.

404 'Estimate of the Cost to Complete Latrobe Cottage', typescript, 24 February 1964. on Management Committee file.

405 *Sun*, 1 July 1964.

406 Notes of a Meeting of the Cottages Committee, 1 September 1964.

behalf of the firm of L T Glover & Co.⁴⁰⁷

In September 1963 there had been the first discussion with J Owens, the Melbourne City Council's Superintendent of Parks and Gardens, as to what the Council might do with the surrounds of the cottage, when it was suggested to him that the original garden be re-created.⁴⁰⁸ Early in 1964 R T M Pescott, head of the Botanic Gardens, was asked to strike a slip of an elm which La Trobe had planted there, to be used in future in the garden of the cottage.⁴⁰⁹ However, the question of the surrounds of the cottage really seems to have come to the fore late in 1965. The general feeling within the Trust, and that of John Murphy, was that the simple layout of 1840 should be recreated because this was the period to which the building was [allegedly] reconstructed. 'La Trobe's hyacinths' were available at any time for use in it; a cutting from 'one of La Trobe's grape vines' at McCrae Cottage had died, but could be replaced next season; and two cuttings had been struck successfully from a tree planted by La Trobe in the Botanic Gardens.⁴¹⁰

In September 1964 the Trust Chairman, G A ['Mick'] Richardson met with the Cottages Committee to discuss the completion and opening of the building, which eventually took place on 2 December 1864. It was decided that the Governor, Sir Rohan Delacombe, should be invited to perform the ceremony, and it was confirmed that four new committees were being established. These were Fundraising, chaired by A E Copland; Management, with no chairman specified, but apparently envisaged as Rodney Davidson (also to organise the opening ceremony); Publicity; and Furnishing. It seems to have been intended that the existing Cottages Committee would wind up, and that its functions would be taken over by the new management committee.⁴¹¹ A fortnight later, however, Richardson wrote 'that Rodney Davidson is not willing to take on the administration, and ... in any case he would not appear to have the full support of the committee'. A new La Trobe Administration Committee was nevertheless required, and Maurice Sloman was suggested as Chairman,⁴¹² which is what indeed appears to have eventuated. Again, in December

407 John & Phyllis Murphy Pty Ltd to William a'Beckett, 14 October 1964.

408 J Owens, Superintendent of Parks and Gardens, Melbourne, to Professor B B Lewis, President, 20 September 1963 [Lewis file 20].; Lewis to Owens, 23 September 1963 [Lewis file 20].

409 Professor B B Lewis to R T M Pescott, Botanic Gardens, 23 March 1964 [Lewis file 20].

410 Lewis to George McCrae, 23 August 1965 [Lewis file 20].; Lewis to F Keenan, MCC Superintendent of Parks and Gardens, 14 September 1965 [Lewis file 20].

411 Cottages Committee, 14 June 1973 [Lewis file 13].

412 G A Richardson, Chairman, National Trust, to Professor B B Lewis, President, 28 September 1964 [Lewis file 20].

1965 Professor Lewis wrote of the fact that there had been a new committee.⁴¹³

Maurice Sloman resigned as chairman of the Committee in February 1966,⁴¹⁴ and this approximately closed the really active phase of the project. No major work has been done to the house since the original building campaigns which reconstructed the house and constructed the kitchen block, but there have been maintenance problems from time to time, the need to provide a toilet and tea-making facilities for the commissionaire, and upgrading of the security provisions. In 1968 John & Phyllis Murphy arranged to have the level of the path raised, between the cottage and the kitchen block, as it was subject to flooding.⁴¹⁵ In 1969 the cottage was repainted by Buckle Bros.⁴¹⁶

It was also in 1969 that John Murphy resigned as chairman of the Trust's architects panel: he presumably thought that this would relieve him of anything to do with the cottage, for he returned an MMBW plan of the area to the Trust administration, though it proved to be not quite so simple. At this stage, however, the Administrator, Colonel Birch, advised Sid Franklin [?chairman of the Properties Committee] that Murphy was concentrating on the Castlemaine Market and McCrae's Cottage, and Franklin should look for another architect for the work required at the cottage, which was the provision of a toilet, sink &c.⁴¹⁷ Stuart Warmington, then of Meldrum & Partners, agreed to take on this task, but there was then a delay of almost a year before a scheme was finalised and approved by Trust Council.⁴¹⁸ The toilet and washroom, including teamaking facilities, was for the use of the commissionaire only, and was inserted into the rear building, which was thought acceptable despite the unavoidable vent pipe rising above roof level. It was presumably in connection with this project that in April 1972 Warmington reported that drainage work was about to begin at the cottage, and that it should be complete by the end of May.⁴¹⁹

Meanwhile John Murphy appears to have been sucked back into the project, as is so often the case with Trust advisors. As early as November 1965 Maurice Sloman had written to him that 'the brickwork on the corner of the Foundation stone at the Cottage appears to be

413 Lewis, President, to Mrs F P [Pamela] Boler, Paris [actually Brussels], 8 December 1965 [Lewis file 20].

414 [?R D Davidson] Chairman, National Trust, to Maurice Sloman, Toorak, 8 February 1966 [Lewis file 20].

415 John & Phyllis Murphy to Col S R Birch, Administrator, 26 June 1968.

416 S R Birch Administrator, to Buckle Bros Pty Ltd, 22 April 1969.

417 S R Birch, Administrator, to Sid Franklin, 9 September 1970.

418 National Trust Council minutes, 8 November 1971.

419 Stuart Warmington, of Meldrum & Partners, to Col S R Birch, 17 April 1872

deteriorating, and the fault may be in the concrete base.'⁴²⁰ In 1971 Murphy was experimenting with ways to arrest the deterioration of the brickwork, including a new waterproofing polymer, 'Hydro-Struct', which was also an anti-graffiti agent and had been used by Sir Roy Grounds on the Shrine of Remembrance. He tried it out on the chimney base at the east side of the cottage, and on his recommendation the whole was treated with three coats sprayed on, at a cost of \$468.⁴²¹ In 1973 the security provisions were reviewed, and the Australian Watching Company recommended that the existing radar system should be replaced, as it was inoperative, having well exceeded the average life of five years for such a system, and that a landline to AWC headquarters be installed.⁴²² Security provisions were again reviewed in 1980 by W L Meinhardt & Partners and, despite some defects, were found to be generally operational.⁴²³ In 1981 a new pump for fire protection was installed,⁴²⁴ and in 1982 there was a further upgrading of security following the theft of the Copeland statuette (discussed below).

When repainting of the cottage was required in 1974, quotations were obtained⁴²⁵ before the Administrator realised that the Trust now had a Technical Advisory Committee,⁴²⁶ one purpose of which was supposed to be to institute technically correct restoration procedures in place of the arbitrary decisions of the past. The result was a substantial delay while Peter Jones of that Committee got around to assessing the proposals.⁴²⁷ Ultimately appropriate colours were specified in terms of Munsell values (or what the Assistant Administrator, Miss E M Starke, called and insisted for many years on calling 'Maunsell' values). Armed with these scientific credentials the repainting proceeded, apparently just as originally proposed. There was, after all, little scope for rigorous scientific investigation of paint finishes on a building which was itself a simulacrum.

Visitors to the cottage generally assumed that it was more or less the real thing, but some

420 Maurice Sloman to John Murphy, 1 November 1965 [John & Phyllis Murphy files].

421 Colonel S R Birch (Administrator of the Trust) to W (Bill) Sutton, 27 November 1971, and quotation of \$468 from Hydro-Struct (Victoria) Pty Ltd of 63 Kingsway, South Melbourne, and 338 Separation St, Northcote.

422 File note by W F [Warwick Forge, Assistant Administrator], 16 January 1973.

423 W L Meinhardt & Partners, 'Brief Report of the Latrobe Cottage Security Alarm System on behalf of the National Trust of Australia', 13 May 1980.

424 Basil Dunne to David [Francis], 5 September 1981.

425 Quotation of McLagan & Giles Proprietary Limited, 14 March 1974, for repainting to existing colours including brown gloss to the shutters and re-staining under the eaves.

426 Administrator to [Sid] Franklin, 26 April 1974.

427 Technical Advisory Committee minutes, 4 June 1974.

were not fooled, like Mr A H Throop of Tasmania, who wrote in 1974:⁴²⁸

My visit to La Trobe Cottage last Sunday was a great disappointment ... it is a cheap replica rather than a restoration as widely advertised. No where [*sic*] in your literature have I found reference to the fact that the building is not even on the original site.

....

I do not consider a building of modern cut timber covered with an "antique" finish to be worthy of National Trust concern and money. Your image has dropped considerably in my estimation.

Technically Throop was wrong. It was clear enough in the literature that the cottage had been moved, and careful reading would have made clear that it was substantially a reconstruction. But nothing in the literature indicated how hypothetical the reconstruction was, and for practical purposes Throop was correct. By 1974, the year when the debate that led to the *Burra Charter* began, a building 'of modern cut timber covered with an "antique" finish' could no longer be thought worthy of National Trust concern and money. Today such a project would not be entertained at all, and that is why the cottage is now almost more significant as evidence of the conservation philosophy of the 1960s than it is as a memento of C J La Trobe.

428 A H Throop to the National Trust, 6 March 1974.

The Furnishing

The work of collecting furniture had begun in 1959, long before the building was actually moved. There is very little contemporary evidence of the furniture which was in the cottage, though we know that La Trobe bought a bath and a dumb waiter from the executors of Lyon Campbell in June 1844,⁴²⁹ and a sofa (of unspecified origin) in January 1844.⁴³⁰

Despite the dearth of contemporary data a surprising amount of La Trobe material could be traced because of the strength of the oral tradition attached to it. The first items were the remnants from a suite of eight rosewood drawing room chairs, sofa, two foot stools, and a piano stool with a music compartment and lidded seat, some of which were held by a Miss Doris Macfarlan of Sorrento, and apparently known to the architect Neville Hollinshed, who told Professor Lewis of them. Her father had bought them at a sale at Jolimont, and had subsequently brought them to Sorrento when he moved there in 1900. There they were used for a time and then stored for about thirty-five years, but for the piano stool which was burnt by mistake.

The purported connection with La Trobe was almost certainly spurious. Macfarlan *père* died in 1950, and even if he was then a hundred years old, he would have been too young to buy furniture at the clearing sale of 1862. If he bought it at a later sale at Jolimont, it is highly unlikely to have had anything to do with La Trobe. The fact that the furniture was a suite makes it even less likely, for the one sofa we do know about was bought singly in 1845, as discussed above. On Macfarlan's death the furniture was divided between his daughters Doris and Heather. Doris had four of the chairs, which had been reconditioned but lacked upholstery; one stool, reconditioned and upholstered; and the sofa, showing signs of age⁴³¹ but with its original brocade.⁴³²

Now things became a little more complicated. The sisters were not on speaking terms,⁴³³ and there was a little difficulty in contacting the other one, Hazel Macfarlan. She then replied to the effect that she had sold her chairs at the auctioneers, Decoration Co, as

429 Graham Brothers Account Current Book No 2, p 169.

430 Graham Brothers Account Current Book No 2, p 249.

431 Prof B B Lewis to Miss Doris Macfarlan, Sorrento, 6 April 1959, & subsequent correspondence [Lewis file 20].

432 *Age*, 22 March 1960.

433 Recollection of Hilary Lewis, 1993.

recently as the previous February, for £22.⁴³⁴ Sydney Darke, the proprietor of Decoration, told the Trust that the chairs were purchased at auction under the initials C A L, and paid for with cash, so that the name of the buyer was not known to him.⁴³⁵ By September the first sister, Doris, had come to the decision that she ought to donate her furniture, but it seems that Lewis and Hollinshed were doubtful whether she could afford the gesture, and encouraged her to reconsider, which she did, leaving it to Lewis to determine the actual payment. In the end she was paid £50, which seems less than lavish, since she had spent £32 simply on reconditioning the chairs.⁴³⁶

One of the next items to come to light was La Trobe's sideboard, in the possession of J A Howitt, a sales engineer of Ivanhoe, who offered to sell it to the Trust. He made a statutory declaration to the effect that the sideboard had been bought from a sale at Jolimont by his grandmother, Sarah Agnes Howitt, wife of Dr Godfrey Howitt. Since that time it had been in her possession, then in that of her son Alexander McCrae Howitt, and of J A Howitt himself.⁴³⁷ It was valued at £50 by Graham Joel, of Leonard Joel Pty Ltd,⁴³⁸ and the Trust bought it from Howitt at that price.⁴³⁹

Many people who owned items of furniture, or other effects which had belonged to the La Trobes, now donated these to the Trust, while other items had to be actively sought. By November 1959 it was announced the Trust had acquired the settee, four chairs, footstool and sideboard, and that a descendant had given two paintings that hung in the house, and some of La Trobe's personal possessions, including a sword belt.⁴⁴⁰ This was a reference to La Trobe's grandson, Captain Charles La Trobe of London, who donated some of the most valuable personal belongings, including La Trobe's sketchbooks, copies of his publications, and family portraits.⁴⁴¹ In 1961 he added two armchairs carved of Australian wood, which had been presented to La Trobe.⁴⁴²

Major Stanley Fox-Pollard of Maryborough heard of the Trust's appeal through a friend,

434 Prof B B Lewis to Miss Hazel Macfarlan. 5 June 1959; Macfarlan to Lewis. 21 June 1959 [Lewis file 20]

435 Sydney Darke, auctioneer, Decoration Co., to Prof B B Lewis, 24 June 1959 (Lewis file 21).

436 Doris Macfarlan to Lewis. 21 September 1959, and subsequent correspondence [Lewis file 20].

437 Statutory declaration of John Alexander Howitt, 20 July 1959.

438 Graham Joel, Managing Director, Leonard Joel Pty Ltd. to Prof B B Lewis, 4 22 July 1959 [Lewis file 21].

439 'La Trobe's Cottage', typescript memo, undated but c March 1962 [Lewis file 20].

440 *Age*, 17 November 1959.

441 Murphys, p 8.

442 W W Leggatt, Agent-General for Victoria, London, to the Hon H E Bolte. Premier. 18 October 1961. and subsequent correspondence.

and he and his wife donated La Trobe's bed, which he had apparently given to one of the Henty family before he left the colony. The Fox-Pollards had bought it in about 1946 from Young & Park, Collins Street antique dealers, who had unsuccessfully tried to sell it to the National Gallery.⁴⁴³ The brochure now on sale at the cottage promotes the myth that the carving contains a hiding place for sovereigns, whereas in fact it is a cover for a lock [?], but the brochure does not mention the (probably more genuine) rubbing marks caused by pulling a rope to rock a cradle.⁴⁴⁴

Lucy L Hickenbotham of East Kew rang Como because she had a statuette belonging to La Trobe which she wished to donate, but the response was a note from Rodney Davidson inviting her to join the Junior Group, and enclosing the form. She was, as she said 'not eligible owing to age' (one judges by rather a large margin), but after writing to clarify the matter⁴⁴⁵ she was permitted to make her donation. The statuette had been bought at a sale at 'Ascot', the house of [John] Thomas Smith, Mayor of Melbourne, and at that sale had been catalogued as part of the collection of La Trobe.⁴⁴⁶ The heading of her note appeared to read 'Statuette of Woodcutter Copeland', and was transcribed by the Trust as 'Statute of Ford Cutter Copeland': in due course Miss Hickenbotham received a letter from Sir Daryl Lindsay solemnly acknowledging her gift of the 'Copeland statuette'.⁴⁴⁷ Only when it was stolen from the cottage in 1982 did any proper information emerge about this piece. Maxwell Grant, the attendant on duty at the cottage, noted its absence when he went to close up on 5 April, and it was reported to the police to be of white Parian marble, and about twelve inches [300 mm] high.⁴⁴⁸ The press report of the theft gave its date as about 1820, and its title as 'The Woodcutters', describing it as showing two men sitting on a log which they had just cut.⁴⁴⁹

According to Jacques Petitpierre of Switzerland, who was preparing a biography of La Trobe, the Baronne de Blonay, a La Trobe relative [grand-daughter], still held a 'grand surtout d'argent massif' or solid silver centrepiece, which La Trobe was alleged to have received from the English court, and which Petitpierre had illustrated in his publication

443 Major Stanley Fox-Pollard to Marc Cohn, 15 March and 28 March 1960; Marc Cohn to the Secretary, National Trust, 1 April 1960.

444 *Advertiser* (Maryborough), 23 May 1960.

445 Miss Lucy L Hickenbotham, East Kew, to R D Davidson, Chairman, Junior Group, 13 December 1959 [Lewis file 21].

446 'Statuette of Woodcutter Copeland', undated ms note by Lucy L Hickenbotham, and typed transcript

447 Sir Daryl Lindsay, President, National Trust, to Hickenbotham, 28 April 1960.

448 Criminal Offence and Modus Operandi Report, 8 April 1982: affidavit of Maxwell Grant

449 *Age*, 7 April 1982.

Patrie Neuchâteloise. He thought that the Baronne might be prepared to sell - and asserted that she would certainly have been happy to do so a few years earlier.⁴⁵⁰ Lewis asked Petitpierre to sound her out,⁴⁵¹ but it seems that nothing came of it. Nor is any response recorded from a Mrs Birt of Lilydale, who was said to have owned a chair belonging to La Trobe.⁴⁵²

In 1962 Miss E Orbell-Jones, of 'Springfield', The Patch, donated on behalf of her sister, her brother and herself, a medicine chest stated to have belonged to La Trobe and to have been presented by him to their great grandfather, a Mr McCallum.⁴⁵³ It was also in 1962 the Trust got to hear through an antique dealer that a Mr Bloxom of Traralgon had a biscuit barrel formerly owned by La Trobe.⁴⁵⁴ He was approached, but he sought too high a price for it and it was not acquired. Bloxom apparently approached the Trust again in 1970 to buy the barrel, and was told that the Trust lacked the money, but would be glad to have it as a gift.⁴⁵⁵ The hint was not taken. Other items were bought, and the furnishing was completed with material which, if not authentic to the house, was considered appropriate to the period.

In August 1963 it seems that Mrs W H Lempriere accepted the task of completing the furnishing.⁴⁵⁶ The Trust at this time held only the Howitt sideboard for the dining room, and considered that a carpet, curtains, table and chairs (possibly twelve) were required. There was the Fox-Pollard bed for the bedroom, but a carpet, curtains, chairs, dressing table and a bedspread, possibly patchwork, were needed. For the sitting room there was a settee, six chairs, as yet not upholstered (possibly the four from Macfarlan and the two from Captain La Trobe), and a footstool: a carpet, curtains, and possibly a side table were wanted. It had been learnt that the Warrnambool Council held a piano believed to have been La Trobe's, and the Trust held the Copeland statuette, the supposed La Trobe medicine chest, and the portraits and other La Trobe relics.⁴⁵⁷

When Miss E Ledlie Wilson of Mooroolbark offered a sofa she was told in the most tactful possible way that her donation might be used at another Trust property, as La Trobe's own

450 Jacques Petitpierre, Neuchâtel. to Prof B B Lewis, 14 July 1960 [Lewis file 21]. The illustration was on p 157 of *Patrie Neuchâteloise*, IV.

451 Lewis to Petitpierre, 18 August 1960 [Lewis file 21].

452 Lewis to Mrs Birt, Lilydale, 13 April 1960.

453 J M Adamson, Secretary, National Trust, to Miss E Orbell-Jones. 12 July 1962.

454 J M Adamson, Secretary, National Trust, to Mr Bloxom. Traralgon 27 March 1962.

455 S R Birch to L J Bloxom, 2 July 1970.

456 Brian B Lewis, President, to Mrs W H Lempriere, 13 August 1963.

457 'La Trobe Furniture', typescript statement enclosed with the Lempriere letter.

sofa was already held:⁴⁵⁸ presumably this was what ultimately occurred. The curtain problem was solved summarily when Lewis wrote to Barbara Gilruth, Secretary of the Lyceum Club, which had moved into its own new building, and invited the club to lend or donate the curtains from its former premises in the old E S & A Bank building in Collins Street.⁴⁵⁹ The Club was happy to donate them. They were brown and blue velvet curtains, and were believed to be the original ones used in Sir George Verdon's premises in the old bank.⁴⁶⁰

By October 1963 there was reported to be a good collection of items, but no floor coverings, dining room table or chairs, and it was suggested that Mrs Joshua McClelland be asked to watch for suitable pieces.⁴⁶¹ In March 1964 a Furnishing Sub-Committee was set up, convened by Mrs Lempriere, with Mrs Goss as a member, and, it seems, the intention of co-opting Mrs McClelland, Mrs Burnside and Mr [David] Francis.⁴⁶² A list of donations published in 1964 (see appendix [not digitised]) does not include some of the more important items that were donated or acquired later, but it does indicate some of the problems. It clearly includes material which was quite unsuitable, but presumably could not be rejected outright for fear of causing offence. Other material probably could not be authenticated as La Trobe's, and the list is quite neutral on this aspect, though a number of items are followed by 'for La Trobe's Cottage' which may be an elliptical indication that they were not believed to have ever have belonged to La Trobe.

Some pieces of furniture were transferred from Como. In 1963, for example, Mrs E R D Eves of Glen Waverley had offered a child's bed of about 1820, which had belonged to her great aunt, 'as a gift to Como'. Mrs Goss and Mrs Lempriere had come to inspect it, and apparently had taken it away with them. Over a year later Mrs Eves still had received no written acknowledgement of her gift, and when she enquired she was told that it was on display not at Como but at La Trobe's Cottage.⁴⁶³

One major item with a purported association with La Trobe was the piano. This seems to come to Lewis's attention in 1960, when he must have made informal contact with Frank

458 Brian B Lewis, President. to Mrs E L Wilson, Mooroolbark, 25 September 1963 [Lewis file 20].

459 Brian B Lewis, President. to Miss Barbara Gilruth, Secretary, Lyceum Club, 13 August 1963.

460 Gilruth to Lewis, 3 September 1963 [Lewis file 20].

461 Notes of a Meeting of the Cottages Committee, 25 October 1963.

462 Notes of a Meeting of the Cottages Committee, 20 March 1964.

463 Mrs L C Eves to G A Richardson, undated; Richardson to Eves, 14 December 1964.

Kellaway, then the Warrnambool Librarian. Kellaway was already quite a prominent writer of children's books, and was a man after Lewis's own heart. In an early letter he said 'I am very sorry your librarian has been so ill. However if she does decide to give the job up I should be pleased of [sic] the opportunity to work with you'.⁴⁶⁴ Not long afterwards Kellaway was indeed appointed as architecture branch librarian at the university, while later he was to be an abalone diver, a poet and an artist. In this first letter Kellaway reported that the town clerk emphatically denied that the piano was La Trobe's. However, a few days later he told Lewis that he had spoken to the previous librarian, Pattinson, who asserted that the piano had definitely been La Trobe's, even though he (Pattinson) could neither find the card describing it nor suggest how it had come into the collection of what had been at that time the Mechanics Institute.⁴⁶⁵ This was enough for Lewis to write to the Warrnambool town clerk asking that the council lend the piano when the restoration of the cottage was completed.⁴⁶⁶

In May 1963 Mrs Mary Baird, who was now Librarian of the Warrnambool Public Library, wrote to say that there was 'no record of how it came here and therefore its authenticity is in doubt'.⁴⁶⁷ She enquired whether the Trust had any proof that it was La Trobe's, and the Secretary blandly replied that 'Professor Lewis, President of the Trust, feels confident that this information is correct but has no actual proof'.⁴⁶⁸ Enclosed with this reply was an extract from Marnie Bassett's *The Hentys*,⁴⁶⁹ which had possibly been the source of the rumour in the first place. The maker was identified by his plate on the piano, as James Wansell, No. 20 Howland Street, Fitzroy Square, London,⁴⁷⁰ and this was as much as the Trust knew of the instrument when it arrived at Como in October 1963 on indefinite loan from the Warrnambool Council.⁴⁷¹

In December 1964 and January 1965 there was detailed correspondence with H H G McKern, Deputy Director of the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences, Sydney, about the

464 Frank Kellaway, City Library, Warrnambool. to Prof B B Lewis, 26 October 1960 [Lewis file 21].

465 Kellaway to Lewis, 31 October 1960 [Lewis file 22].

466 Lewis to Town Clerk. Shire [sic] of Warrnambool, 2 November 1960.

467 Mary J Baird, Librarian, Public Library, Warrnambool, to the Secretary, Latrobe Cottage Trust, 24 May 1963.

468 J M Adamson, Secretary, National Trust. to Mrs Baird, Librarian, Warrnambool, 5 June 1963.

469 According to Bassett, Jane Henty's piano was in the Warrnambool Museum.. 'back to back with a similar one formerly belonging to Governor La Trobe': Marnie Bassett, *The Hentys* (2nd ed, Melbourne 1955 [1954], p 429, note 1.

470 Mary J Baird to Miss J M Adamson, 5 August 1963.

471 K L Ariell, Town Clerk. Warrnambool, to Miss Adamson, Secretary, National Trust, 31 October 1963.

piano. McKern relayed the comments of H L Brown, Keeper of Exhibits, who had studied a photograph of the instrument, and professed himself very impressed. He placed its date at 1835-45, but was unable to find any documentary reference to the alleged maker, whose name had apparently been conveyed to him as 'James Mansell' of London, and thought he might have been a distributor rather than a manufacturer. He queried why the white keys had been removed, hoping that it was not for the purpose of bleaching, and expressed the view that the upper panel would have been dressed in crimson silk with vertical pleatings.⁴⁷²

The reply, by Noel Goss, indicated that the keys had been missing when the instrument came to the Trust; that traces of a red cloth had indeed been found in the frame, but the Furnishing Committee had been unable to find a satisfactory red fabric and had sought a less assertive colour, and therefore had already installed a vertically pleated old gold silk screen, and had gilded the frame. He confirmed that James Mansell of No. 20, Howland Street, Fitzroy Square, London, appeared to be the manufacturer⁴⁷³ (though in fact the name was Wansell, which is no doubt why McKern had been unable to find reference to him). This closed the issue for the present, but there was to be a new twist, as we shall see, when *another* La Trobe piano appeared.

In 1965 Leslie V van der Sluys of Balwyn apparently donated or lent a portrait which was thought to be that of La Trobe. He had bought it in about 1961 from an antique dealer who had since moved but who had at the time asserted that it came from a very old estate, the name of which he would not divulge.⁴⁷⁴ Later in 1965 Paul Dwyer, a new member of the Trust Council, reported that he had seen in an antique shop a 'single inlaid bed' reputed to have come from the cottage, and Rodney Davidson referred the matter to Professor Lewis, Mrs Goss and Mrs McClelland.⁴⁷⁵ However, it is not clear whether anything came of it, and the same is true also of the Trust's most complex international exercise in furniture acquisition, which took place at about this time.

Over 1965-6 negotiations took place to acquire what was said to be La Trobe's desk

472 H H G McKern. Deputy Director, Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences, Sydney. to Noel Goss. Chairman, Publicity Committee, National Trust, 5 January 1965.

473 Noel Goss to H H G McKern, 13 January 1965.

474 Leslie V van der Sluys, Balwyn, to Professor B B Lewis. 18 February 1965; Lewis to van der Sluys, 24 February 1965 [Lewis file 20].

475 R D Davidson. Chairman. to Professor B B Lewis. 5 October 1965 [Lewis file 20].

from Mrs F P [Pamela] Boler of Paris, who was the daughter of a Mrs Falkiner, one of the leading Trust ladies.⁴⁷⁶ Boler had apparently offered some time previously to donate the desk, but because the La Trobe Cottage Committee had been replaced the matter had not been taken up. Lewis wrote to her on 8 December 1965 to reactivate the matter,⁴⁷⁷ and asked his nephew in the Australian Embassy, Paris, to help by sending the desk in a diplomatic bag.⁴⁷⁸ Graeme Lewis reported that Mrs Boler had moved to Brussels, and that diplomatic bags were used only for official mail, and in any case had to be paid for.⁴⁷⁹ The Department of External Affairs was happy that the Embassy in Brussels should help with shipping the desk, but the Trust must bear all costs.⁴⁸⁰ Lewis advised Rodney Davidson, the Chairman, that 'The desk is of the correct period and has an almost certain documentation': his daughter [Clare Lewis, now Atkins] had gone from London to investigate it, though he did not say what were her qualifications for so specialised a task, and indeed she had none.⁴⁸¹ Rodney Davidson expressed his full support for any reasonable expenditure to transport the desk to Australia, 'As long as you are convinced that the desk in question is authentic'.⁴⁸² Nothing further, however, is on record.

In 1966 Trust had a valuation of the contents done by S S Smith, of E H Smith & Son, antique dealers, and this is important as the first really objective inventory of the contents, although it gives very little descriptive detail.⁴⁸³ As the furnishing became more complete it was possible to become more discriminating, and more owners of authentic material were convinced that it was worth donating it. In 1975 K R Bernard-Smith of Point Piper, New South Wales (a member of council of the New South Wales National Trust), wrote to offer a piano formerly owned by La Trobe. This seemed to be even *more* authentic than the Warrnambool La Trobe piano (especially since the Trust had added spurious gilding to the latter).

Smith's piano had been manufactured by Broadwood, about the period 1830-1840, and Smith had acquired it from the Sydney dealer W F Bradshaw, who had found two inscriptions inside the instrument, 'Mr. La Trobe' and 'Mr. La Trobe, crimson pleated'.

476 Mrs F P [Pamela] Boler to Lewis, 26 December 1865 [Lewis file 20].

477 Lewis to Boler, 8 December 1965 [Lewis file 20].

478 B B Lewis to Graeme C Lewis, Australian Embassy, Paris, 7 December 1965 [Lewis file 20].

479 G C Lewis to B B Lewis, 22 December 1965 [Lewis file 20].

480 R D Starkey, Department of External Affairs, Canberra. to Lewis, 17 January 1966 [Lewis file 20].

481 Lewis, to R D Davidson, Trust Chairman, 21 January 1966 [Lewis file 20].

482 Davidson to Lewis, 24 January 1966 [Lewis file 20].

483 S S Smith, 'Valuation of Contents of Latrobe Cottage, Domain, Melbourne' [as on 21 May 1966], June 1966.

Some crimson threads remained, though most had rotted away. Smith had had the piano restored by Clive Drummond, and completely re-silked in new crimson material⁴⁸⁴ (which was probably fortunate, as the Trust might otherwise have put in gold). Smith was willing to donate it, provided that the Trust would pay the cost of the restoration, \$500, and it was readily accepted on the basis of the Trust paying both this and the cost of transport. Meanwhile the Trust's Acquisitions Committee enquired whether it was the same instrument as an upright piano which had been illustrated in the *Australian Antique Collector*.⁴⁸⁵

Extraordinarily enough, the Wansell piano on loan from Warrnambool, which has no documented connection with La Trobe, remains in the cottage. The Broadwood, which has an authentic La Trobe connection and was donated on this account, has been housed ever since at Parliament Place. A third, walnut piano, of 1876, was donated for the cottage by 1964,⁴⁸⁶ but seems, mercifully, to have been removed.

Visitors to the cottage inevitably provided a stream of criticism, information, and pseudo-information. One perceptive visitor queried the authenticity of the pine cones in the fireplace, given that introduced plants would not have reached maturity at the relevant date. Rodney Davidson, Chairman of the Trust, instructed that the matter should be checked and the pine cones possibly replaced with 'rough sawnoff wood'.⁴⁸⁷ A visiting American woman, who claimed to have seen 'similar' governors' houses elsewhere, pointed out there was always a writing desk for the governor's use, and this matter was duly referred to Elizabeth Goss.⁴⁸⁸

Donations naturally tailed off after the first furnishing campaign, but occasional items arrived, including more from La Trobe's descendants. In February 1968 Mrs Carlotta Blake wrote to advise Professor Lewis of the death of her father. Captain Charles La Trobe, and offered two new items for the cottage, a chamois leather case containing the letter of administration which he brought to the colony, and a bible inscribed to him by [Bishop] Charles and Fanny Perry on 5 May 1854,⁴⁸⁹ doubtless a farewell present.

484 K R Bernard-Smith to Col S R Birch, Administrator, 6 May 1975.

485 Col S R Birch, Administrator, to K R Bernard-Smith. 21 May 1975. The reference is to the *Australian Antique Collector*, vol IX, p 76.

486 *Trust*, November 1964, p 4.

487 R D Davidson to Administrator, 5 June 1972.

488 Administrator to Mrs Goss. 11 January 1973.

489 Mrs Carlotta Blake. Colchester, to Professor B B Lewis, 13 February 1968 [Lewis me 20].

Lewis replied that he had himself withdrawn from the Trust but retained a deep interest in the cottage,⁴⁹⁰ and passed her letter on to the current administration.

In 1971 two books which had been owned by La Trobe and had been in the Mollison Library at Trinity College. Bishop James Grant was thanked for them, but had to gently remind the Administrator that they had been offered on permanent loan, not as a donation.⁴⁹¹ It was also in 1971 that a kitchen table, alleged to have been La Trobe's, was offered to the Trust. Whether it was acquired, however, is not clear from the records examined so far.⁴⁹² The curtains in the cottage have never had any great pretensions to authenticity, since initially Sir George Verdon's curtains of the 1880s were roped in for the purpose. In 1980-81, when those in the bedroom required replacement. Elizabeth Goss found a suitable cotton fabric at Georges, and had the shop make curtains up to order.⁴⁹³

A puzzling episode in 1981 was the purchase by the Tasma Terrace Antique Furnishing Committee of the 'authenticated Governor Latrobe's [*sic*] couch for retention as a part of the antique furnishing of Tasma Terrace'.⁴⁹⁴ Presumably this was a way of rationalising the use of Tasma funds for a La Trobe's Cottage purchase, for the Trust Council minute recorded that 'consideration should ultimately be given to the location of the chaise lounge [*sic*] at La Trobe's Cottage'.⁴⁹⁵ If so, the master plan seems to have been forgotten, for the sofa remains at Tasma to this day. Thus the authenticated La Trobe piano and the supposedly authentic La Trobe sofa are both in the Board Room at Parliament Place, while - for no apparent reason - a spurious piano and sofa are at the cottage.

The contents of the cottage has remained largely static for the last quarter century, and its integrity is threatened by the lapse of time, the deaths and departures of most of those originally involved, fading memories, and the lack of any systematic accessioning and recording system. Some items which are at the cottage are on loan, but nobody in the Trust is aware that they are not Trust property. Many items donated for the cottage are now not there, and while a few have been stolen, many may be at other Trust properties: the dolls,

490 Lewis to Blake. 22 February 1968 [Lewis file 20].

491 James Grant, Bishop Coadjutor of Melbourne, to Col S R Birch, 1 July 1971.

492 Attendance memo signed 'Di', 15 December 1971: Mrs Elizabeth Goss was to visit Mrs Strom to inspect the table.

493 Elizabeth Goss to Administrator, 14 December 1980; Georges Australia Limited to Mrs Goss, National Trust, 11 February 1981 [quotation for curtains for four bedroom windows].

494 Royce R Pepin, Chairman. Tasma Terrace Antique Furnishing Committee, to Col S R Birch, Administrator, 1 July 1981.

495 Trust Council minutes, 3 August 1981.

one surmises, may well have gone to Como. Likewise, some furnishings have been brought to the cottage from other Trust properties. But it is unclear what if any responsibility the Trust feels to the donors who specified the intended destination, and whose wishes have been ignored.

A number of documentary and other items have been lodged in the State Library because they are unsuitable for display, are unique, or are otherwise too valuable to expose to the risk of theft or fire. La Trobe's sword appears to have been donated at an early stage by a Mr Colin McKinley Kitchen,⁴⁹⁶ and was subsequently lodged in the La Trobe Library,⁴⁹⁷ but the Library did not accession it at the time. It was found in the Head Librarian's office in 1966, and was then accessioned as if it were Library property,⁴⁹⁸ so that there is now no record of it as being on loan from the Trust. How would Mr Kitchen feel about this, and how much encouragement does it give to other potential donors?

The preceding account is very far from being a comprehensive one, because it has not even broached the files of the Furnishing Committee. A comprehensive analysis of the contents of the cottage is most urgently required.

496 *Trust*, November 1964, p 4.

497 *Victoria's First Government House*.

498 Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria, accession no H28526.

Comparative Analysis

There are five sorts of comparison which might be relevant to an assessment of this building:

- with other governors' or official residences;
- with other panelised prefabricated buildings by Manning of London:
- with other examples of early timber building as potential sources of information on aspects like jointing, nails &c as used in the port Phillip District prior to Separation;
- with early conservation projects, in which the principles and philosophy of conservation began to evolve; and
- with other collections of furniture linked by association, but that is beyond the scope of this analysis.

None of these avenues is really very productive or enlightening, and none produces an example which might be seriously compared with the cottage in overall terms. A comparison with other governors' residences would involve so diverse a range of buildings and historical circumstances that nothing could be gained from it.

The second comparison is with houses by Manning, of which a number survive in some form. The value of such a comparison is limited by the fact that we are dealing with what is largely a replica. There are various fragments of Manning buildings surviving in South Australia, and probably others elsewhere. There are only two in reasonably intact condition, the Quaker Meeting house in North Adelaide and the cottage at Ringmer Drive, Burnside, South Australia. The Meeting House is quite atypical, and of no real relevance to La Trobe's Cottage, but the Burnside building is very relevant because it is almost contemporary, and the panelling is substantially intact. It is the most authentic specimen yet identified anywhere. The house at Mercer Street, Queenscliff, although a later and much more altered building, is of special interest because of the detailed supporting information contained in Vaughan's journal. La Trobe's cottage - considered as a specimen of Manning's work - compares with neither of these examples.

In principle any early timber structure might produce information on technical aspects of early building practices in Victoria, such as timber jointing techniques. In practice it is not so easy to find promising buildings from the period. Only fragments of Lonsdale's Cottage

survive, though they are certainly of some interest as far as they go. The rear pan of Mills Cottage, Port Fairy, has yielded some interesting data, but most of it relates to the base which is substantially rotted, and is therefore not definitive. I have not examined the old Geelong Customs House, but it is very small, and has been moved, and I would not expect a lot from it. The earliest buildings at Warrock homestead are very interesting, and they tell us a lot about the *ad hoc* practices of a Scottish cabinetmaker, but nothing about the normal local building practice of the day. Most of the early examples, including Warrock, have already been studied in some detail by Tony Billman of Deakin University, but I can think of none that promise to give such detail of standard local carpentry practice at an early date as does La Trobe's dining room. In particular it would shed light on the evolution of the stud frame, and whether it was to some extent locally developed, rather than imported from the United States.

A comparison with other early conservation projects, is unlikely to be informative because they are all quite unlike La Trobe's Cottage. Cooks' Cottage is the first significant one, but the circumstances are entirely different - the importation of a masonry structure from England, funding by a philanthropist, the reliance on an English architect's survey drawings, and so on. It is probably fair to say, however, that after 'Como' there is no project which sheds more light upon the early operations of the National Trust, and the implicit conservation assumptions of the day.

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Appendix: Vaughan's inventory

Inventory from the back of S B Vaughan's journal of 1853, State Library of Victoria:

"Particulars of Packages of Wooden House as they are marked & numbered.

S V	Vaughan	Rough House			
1	1 Package containing				
	1 Sash Door - Glass 10 x 8	6.8	2.9	-.6	
	2. 4 Panel doors for Kitchen + Store Room				
2	1 Packages	4.6	3.8	-.7	
	2 Pair Folding Cottage Windows				
3	1 Package - 12 Posts	7.-	1.0	-.10	
4	1 Package - 9. do.	7.-	1.-	-.9	
	4. Door Posts				
5	1 Packages 4 comer Posts - 2 Door Posts 2 filling in Posts - 2 Window Posts.	7.8	-.10	-.10	
6	1 Packages 10 Rafters	7.8	1.1	-.10	
7	1 do. 2 Cross Partition Plates 2 Gable Posts. 2 Window Sills. 2 Door Heads	5.6	-. 10	-. 10	
8	1 Package - 1 Ridge. 2 Bottom Plates 2 Top Plates - 2 Partition Plates	19.9	1.2	-.7	
9	1 Package - 2 Bottom End Plates	18.6	-.9	-.6	
	2 Top do. do.				
10	1 do. ? Roof Boards	19.-	-.11	-.6	
11	1 do. 10 Joists for flat of Store	6.2	-.11	-.8	
Panelled House					
12	1 do. 2 Bead + Butt Framings	7.8	3.-	1.4	
	8 Square Panell'd do.				
13	1 do. 8 Square do. 2 Bead + Butt do.	7.8	3.-	1.4	
14	1 do. 10 Bead + Butt do.	7.8	3.-	1.4	
15	1 do. 6 do. do. do.	7.8	3.-	1.4	
	4 Sash Framings.				
16	1 Package 6 Bead + Butt Framings	7.8	3.-	1.4	
	4 Square Panel do.				
17	1 Package 8 Doors + Grounds	7.8	3.-	1.4	
	2 Square Panelled framings				
18	1 do. 4 Comer Posts	8.7	1.4	-.9	
	5.3 Grooved Posts 6.2 Grooved Posts with Iron ties.				
19	1 do. 12 2 Grooved Posts	8.7	1.-	-.9	
20	1 do. 2 Top + 2 Bottom long Plates	20.11	1.-	-.6	
21	1 do. 2 Top + 2 Bottom Plates to connect with Plates no.20	15.-	-.9	-.6	
22	1 do. 9 Joists	21.7	-.9	-.9	
23	1 do. 9 do.	21.7	-.9	-.9	
24	1 do. 9.2 Grooved Posts	7.11	-.9	-.9	
25	1 Case Floor Cloth for Roofing				
26 [deleted]	Not Sent				
27	1 Package - 18.2 Grooved Posts	7.10	1.2	1.-	
	2.3 groove posts for Partitions				
28	1 do. 2 Gable Posts 24 Gable Muntins	7.8	1.-	-.8	
29	1 do. Gable Ends	7.3	1.4	-.8	
30	1 do. 2 Top Cross Partition Plates (in pencil - 2 Bottom Do.)	16.-	-.9	-.6	

31	1 do.	4 Top Plates	20.11	-.9	-.6
32	1 do.	4 Bottom do.	20.11	-.9	-.6
33	1 do.	14 Rafters	13.1	-.11	-.11
34	1 do.	14 do.	13.1	-.11	-.11
35	1 do.	12 do.	13.1	-.11	-.9
36	1 do.	12 do.	13.1	-.11	-.9
37	1 do.	17 Roof Boards	23.-	-.11	-.10
38	1 do.	17 do. do.	23.-	-.11	-.10
39	1 do.	17 Floor do.	15.4	1.4	-.11
40	1 Package	17 Floor do.	15.4	1.4	-.11
41	1 do.	17 do. do.	15.4	1.4	-.11
42	1 do.	25 do. do.	3.1	1.10	-.11
43	1 do.	20 Roof Boards	10.6	1.-	-.11
44	1 do.	20 do. do.	10.6	1.-	-.11
45	1 do.	4 Rafters for Gable Ends	13.-	-.6	-.5
46	1 Case - 6 Locks for doors of the Pannel'd House - 6 Iron braces to connect bottom and Top Plates - 3 Locks for Rough House - 1 Doz Brass Bolts + Screws - 6 Brass Nobs - 6 Brass Buttons - 6 Iron Ties - 6 Iron Bolts.				
47	1 Package	1 Cottage Window	4.6	3.7	-.4
*22	1 Do.	2 Framings	6.8	4.-	-.6
		Seat - Riser + Roof			
*23	1 Do	1 Door + Frame + 1 Framing for do.	7.2	3.-	-.5
		For W.C.			

Total measurement

in. Tons. feet
Feet - 592.3 - or 14. 32

Appendix: Rate book entries

Abstracted from searches by Maree Hayes.

Year	No	Ratepayer	Situation	Description	Ann Val £
JOLIMONT PROPER					
1845*	310	C J La Trobe	37 Hinders St	Wood house 9 rms kitch 3 rms & yard, stables & gn	110
1848*	515		Flinders St	Wood house 6 rms. kitchen. [store], stable, [laundry] & garden	140
1850	574	"	"	Wood house 12 rms. kitchen, stables, coach hse, gdn	160
1851	700	"	"	Wood house 12 rms. kitch. 2rms, stable, cch hse. gdn	180
1853	901	"	East Melbourne	Wood hse 12 rms. kitch, pntry, 2 servants' rms, coach hse, gdn	800
1854	1110	"	"	Wood house, 11 rms &c	1500
1855	1201	Capt Wallace King †	Wellington Pde	Wood house, esx 7 rooms & offices	400
	1202	Sir Robert Nickle †	Wellington Pde	Wood house 7 rms. offices & land	600
1856	1201	Aide-de-Camp to Lt Govnr	off Wellington Parade	Wood house 7 rooms, kitchen & offices	200
	1202	Adjutant General	off Wellington Parade	Wood house & land	300
1857	1228	H M Govt	Wellington Pde	Wooden house	200
	1229	"	"	"	300
1858	1261	"	"	[no description]	[nil]
	1262	"	"	"	"
1859	1311	empty	Wellington Pde	Wood house 10 rooms, pantry	250
1860	1342	[?Drawbree]	off Jolimont Square	Small portion of Latrobe house 6 wood rooms	50
	1343	[?Bartmore]	"	Larger portion of Latrobe house. Kitchen, outhouses & grounds	140
1861	1355	Horatio Paton	Jolimont	Wooden cottage ≠	40
	1356	[illegible]	"	[....] wood buildings	100
1862	1359	A W Paton	"	Wood cottage of ... & shed ≠	30
	1360	R W Birkington	"	Wood cottage, large ... of wood & stabling ≠	90
1863	1367	A W Patten	"	Wood house 2 rooms	30
	1368	M Littleton	Jolimont Sq	Wood house 9 rooms & stable	70
			[in 1863 Dickson & White (agents) appear in the owner column]		
1864	1403	A W Patten	Jolimont	Wood house 5 rooms & grounds	30
	1404	Inspector Lyttleton	"	Wood house 9 rooms, stabling & grounds	70
1865	1410	A W Patton	Jolimont Sq	Wood house 5 rooms & gardens	30
	1411	Inspector Lyttleton	"	Wood house 9 rooms, stabling & gardens	70
			[from 1866 John Lupton is listed as owner, except that in 1867 the larger house is shown as 'Graham Agt']		
1866	1431	W W Patton	"	135 x 141 wood house 5 rooms & garden	30
	1432	John Lupton	"	½ acre wood & brick house 10 rooms, stabling grounds.	150
1867	1456	H W Patten	"	Wood house 5 rooms	30
	1457	J Lupton	?l Jolimont Sq	1½ acres, wood & brick house 10 rooms, stabling	150
1868	1482	John Lupton	Jolimont Square	Wood house 4 rooms & stable	30
	1483	"	"	Wood house 9 rooms & servants' rooms	140
1869	1498	"	"	Wood house 4 rooms & stable	30
	1499	"	"	Wood house 9 rooms, outhouses & gardens	140

1870	435	"	"	Wood house 4 rooms & stable	30
	436	"	"	Wood house 9 rooms, outhouses & garden	140
1871	483	Jas Lupton	Jolimont Square	Jolimont House, wood buildings 13 rooms, stable gardens &c 141 x 323	150
1872	497	John Lupton	"	Wood house 13 rooms, stables &c, 141 x 323	150
1873	564	Jn Lupton	"	Wood house 13 rooms, 141 x 323	150
1874	600	Mrs Lupton	Agnes St	Wood house 10 rooms, 141 x 323	100
1875	604	Mrs Lupton	"	Wood house 10 rooms, 141 x 323	100
		[Mrs Lupton listed as owner from 1875]			
1876	618	A Topp	"	Wood house 10 rooms, 141 x 323	100
1877	639	A Topp	"	Wood house 10 rooms, 141 x 323	100
1878	728	A M Topp	"	Wood house 10 rooms, 141 x 323	70
1879	735	A M Topp	"	Wood house 10 rooms, 141 x 323	90
1880	742	[blank]	"	Wood house [?] rooms, 141 x 323	90
1881	756	Mrs Kerr	"	Wood house 10 rooms, 141 x 323	90
1882	836	Mrs Kerr	"	Wood house 10 rooms, 141 x 323	90
1883	841	Mrs Kerr	"	Wood house 10 rooms, 141 x 323	90
1884	835	Mrs Kerr	"	Wood house 10 rooms, 141 x 323	90
1885	836	Mrs Kerr	"	Wood house 10 rooms, 141 x 323	90
1886	843	Mrs Kerr	"	Wood house 10 rooms, 141 x 323	90
1887	848	Alfred Fenton & Co	"	Brick store, 3 stories & wood house 10 rooms, 141 x 323	400
UPPER JOLIMONT					
1845*	311	Arch McLachlan	39 Finders St	Wood house 4 rms, kitchen, stables and yard	75
1848*	516	"	Flinders St	Wood house 6 rms, kitchen, off 2 rooms, wash ho, offices, stable, garden, yard.	100
1850	575	Charles Perry	"	Wood house 8 rms, kitchen, stabling &c, garden	120
1851	801	"	"	Wood house 8 rms, kitch, pantry, stables, coach hse, garden	140
1853	823	[blank] of Melbourne	East Melbourne	Large wood hse 7 rms, kitchen pantry, stables, coach hse, garden	600
1854	1111	HE Childers	"	Wood house (?11 rms]. &c	800
1855	1203	Colonel Valiant t	"	Wood house, 8 rooms & offices	500
1856	1203	Colonel Valiant	"	Wood house 8 rooms	250
1857	1230	"	"	Wooden house	250
1858	1263	"	"	[no description]	[nil]
1859	1310	Capt Bagot	Wellington Pde	Wood house 8 rms, pantry, sheds	150
1860	1338	Robertson	off Wellington	Wood, 7 rms, stables	120
		[unclear whether the preceding is the relevant entry]			
1861	1351	Belinfante	Jolimont	Wooden cottage ≠	40
1862	1355	Belinfante	"	Wood house 8 rooms	90
1863	1363	Solomon Belinfanti	"	Wood house 7 rooms	90
		[in 1863-6 Dickson & White (agents) & later Dickson, appear in the owner column]			
1864	1399	Solomon Bellinfant	"	Land 170 x 198, wood house 10 rooms, shed, grounds	90
1865	1406	Solomon Bilingfants	"	170 x 195 wood house 10 rooms & gardens	90
1866	1427	Solomon Bellingforth	"	170 x 195 wood house 10 rooms [?] garden & shed	90
1867	1452	S Belinfante	Jolimont	Wood house 10 rooms & shed	90
1868	1478	Belinfante	"	Wood house 8 rooms & grounds	70
1869	1494	occupier	"	Wood house 8 rooms & grounds [Graham Bros agents]	70
1870	431	Mrs Sharp	"	Wood house 8 rooms & grounds	70

[John sharp listed as owner from 1870]					
1871	479	Mrs Sharp	Jolimont Terrace	Wood hse 8 rms & grounds 90 x 80	70
1872	493	John Sharp	"	Wood house 7 rooms &c. 90 x 82	70
1873	518	"	"	Wood house 8 rooms &c. 90 x 82	70
1874	537	"	"	Wood house 8 rooms &c. 90 x 82	70
1875	542	"	"	Wood house 8 rooms &c. 90 x 82	70
1876	555	"	"	Wood house 8 rooms. 90 x 82	70
1877	542	"	"	Wood house 8 rooms, 90 x 82	70
1878	659	"	Jolimont Pde	Brick house 14 rooms	200
1879	662	"	Jolimont Terrace	Brick house 14 rooms. 90 x 82	200
[henceforward unchanged to at least 1887]					

* The 1845 & 1848 ratebooks also contain a column listing C J La Trobe under owner or agent.

≠ From 1861 an owner column is reintroduced, and this is normally La Trobe except as indicated. In those entries marked ≠ Sir James Palmer is listed, erroneously.

† In 1855 it is impossible to tell which building is which. Although Nickle is reported to have died at Upper Jolimont, it seems likely that he lived at Jolimont proper, firstly because it was the more important house, secondly because the rate book entry specifies his house as having land attached, and thirdly because his successor, Macarthur, is known to have lived there. As three wooden houses occupied by the military are rated consecutively, it appears that the detached cottage may have been treated as a separate property, in which case it is likely to be the one of the lowest value. This is consistent with the fact that in 1856, when Macarthur was the Acting Governor, the low value house was occupied by his ADC, whom one would expect to be housed nearby.

Appendix: The Bateman drawings

Pencil and sepia wash drawing by Edward La Trobe Bateman, 1853,¹ donated to the State Library of Victoria by Mrs Shea-Simonds and Captain La Trobe, 1924. Caroline Clemente surmises that the series, together with a similar series of the Plenty Station (held by the National Gallery of Victoria), were amongst those intended by Bateman for a proposed publication, *Bush Homes of Australia*, and were those lent by Mrs Godfrey Howitt for display at the Melbourne Exhibition of 1854.² A study for one of them, 'View of the Larger Nursery, Jolimont' is held by the National Gallery of Victoria, presented by a descendant of the Howitt family. Unfortunately the drawings are not assigned unique numbers by the Library (there are 15 numbers for 22 drawings), which is especially confusing when two similarly numbered drawings also have the same subject matter. The drawings have been mounted, and no original captions are visible. Some of the Library's captions contain material in quotation marks, presumably transcribed from the drawing, while other material appears to be the Library's own description. Any further clarification of my own appears in square brackets. Illustrations reproduced in this report are in bold type. Locations of reproductions are cited for the convenience of users, and MUAS numbers refer to the Melbourne University Architecture School slide library. [State Library numbers provide access to digitised versions.]

M4334 'Governor La Trobe's dining room windows'. [view from west of the dining room and the added room at the south-west corner]. MUAS 6989, SLV H98.135/2.

M4334 'Door of Governor La Trobe's dressing room and window of smaller nursery' [the hipped roof wing occupies only the right half of the picture, with La Trobe's door recognisable from M4345, and the shuttered window further to the right]. SLV H98.135/1.

M4335 'Front view of Jolimont' [south front]. Reproduced in Winston Burchett East Melbourne 1837-1977 (Hawthorn [Victoria] 1978), p 22. SLV H98.135/19.

M4336 f2 'The detached Cottage, Jolimont' [A. elevation]. MUAS 7001, SLV H98.135/4.

M4336 f2 'The detached Cottage, Jolimont' [B. angle view, showing standard angled verandah brackets]. MUAS 6998, SLV H98.135/3.

M4337 f3 'Front view of Jolimont' [south front]. Reproduced in L J Blake, Letters of Charles Joseph La Trobe (Melbourne 1975), p 12. SLV H98.135/22.

M4338 'Upper Jolimont, occupied for three years by Bishop Perry'. SLV H98.135/17.

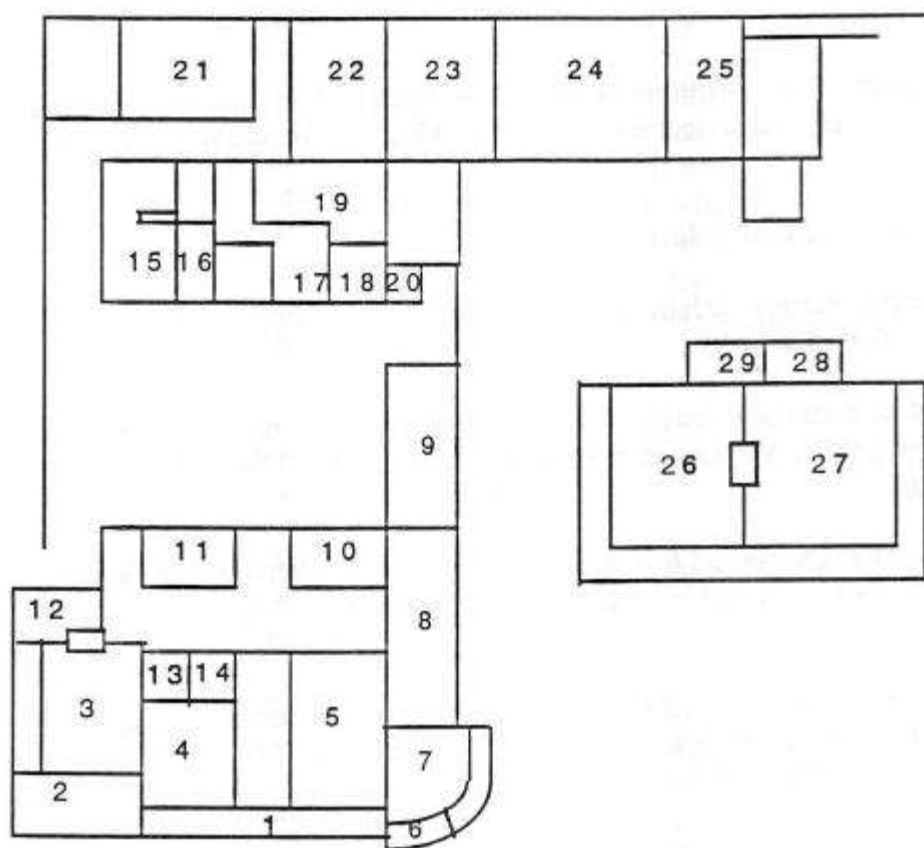
1 Edward La Trobe Bateman, receipt for £50 received from La Trobe per McArthur, 11 June 1857, 'on account of drawings made in the year 1853: Graham La Trobe Papers LS2I30/5 box 1.

2 Caroline Clemente. 'Artists in Society: A Melbourne Circle, 1850s-1880s', *Art Bulletin of Victoria*, 30 (1989), pp 40.42, ref *Official Catalogue of the Melbourne Exhibition, 1854, in Connexion with the Paris Exhibition, 1855* (Melbourne 1854). p 30.

- M4339 f5 Back verandah in interior courtyard.** MUAS 7000, SLV H98.135/6.
- M4339 f5 Kitchen and store in interior courtyard.** Reproduced in *Historic Houses of Australia*, p 93; also MUAS 6990, SLV H98.135/5.
- M4340 f15 'The Water Shed' [Outbuilding with watercart in front]. SLV H98.135/13.
- M4340 f15 'The Tool Shed' [Skillion building with wheelbarrow in front]. SLV H98.135/14.
- M4341 f6 Lower rockery. SLV H98.135/15.
- M4342 f7 Stables at Jolimont (with hay house)** [the 'hay house' is a freestanding octagonal structure]. SLV H98.135/16.
- M4343 f8 '**Front view of Jolimont**' MUAS 6987. SLV H98.135/18.
- M4344 f9 'Larger Nursery at Jolimont' [upright view with conifer at centre and shuttered windows to its left]. SLV H98.135/7.
- M4344 f9 'End of detached Cottage at Jolimont' [upright view of the corner of the cottage with a verandah post and tree branch bracket, and trelliswork with creeper (?wisteria)]. SLV H98.135/8.
- M4345 f10 'The Green house and front entrance of Jolimont'. Reproduced in Jennifer Phipps (ed), *La Trobe and his Circle* [exhibition catalogue] (Melbourne 1989), p 10. SLV H98.135/10.
- M4345 f10 'Governor La Trobe's Dressing Room' [shows the end of the polygonal wing]. Reproduced in Jennifer Phipps (ed), *La Trobe and his Circle* [exhibition catalogue] (Melbourne 1989), p 21. SLV H98.135/9.
- M4346 f11 'View of the Larger Rockery at Jolimont' [A. the rockery, with a length of fence in front]. SLV H98.135/11.
- M4346 f11 'View of the Larger Rockery at Jolimont' [B. the rockery, with the entrance to a grotto]. Reproduced in Jennifer Phipps (ed), *La Trobe and his Circle* [exhibition catalogue] (Melbourne 1989), p 11. SLV H98.135/12.
- M4347 'Jolimont, from the hill beyond the Yarra Yarra'** [view from the south bank of the Yarra - the buildings of Jolimont proper are invisible, but there is a pair of buildings near the river bank] Reproduced in Winston Burchett *East Melbourne 1837-1977* (Hawthorn [Victoria] 1978), p 27; also MUAS 6986, SLV H98.135/20.
- M4348 'Haystack behind the Stables at Jolimont'. SLV H98.135/21.

Appendix: Rooms surveyed by Counsel

'Map of Jolimont Melbourne the property of His Excellency Chas. Joseph La Trobe Esqr. Lieutenant Governor Victoria 1840-1853' surveyed by R Counsel in 1853. La Trobe papers, Manuscript Collection, State Library of Victoria, H18199. In square brackets, dimensions from a modern list³ compiled possibly from a more legible or corrected version of the plan, or from some associated document



No	Room	imperial	metric
JOLIMONT HOUSE			
1	Verandah	38'0" x 8'0"	11.2 x 2.4
2	Drawing Room [i.e. Library]	18'6" x 10'0"	5.5 x 3.0
3	Dining Room	14'0" x 15'0"	4.2 x 4.5
		[14'0" x ?18'0"]	[4.2 x 5.4]
4	Drawing Room	15'0" x 12'0"	4.5 x 3.6
5	Bed Room	18'0" x 15'0"	5.4 x 4.5
6	Green House	8'0" broad	2.4

3 Untitled typescript list [Lewis file 21].

7	Drawing [i.e.Dressing] Room	12'8"	x	12'0"	3.85 x 3.6
8	Nursery	17'0"	x	? 0"	5.1 x ?
		[18'9"	x	9'0"	5.65 x 2.7]
9	Nursery	17'0"	x	? 0"	5.1 x ?
		[17'0"	x	9'0"	5.1 x 2.7]
10	Servants Room	6'9"	x	13'6"	2.0 x 4.15
11	Butler's Pantry	6'9"	x	13'6"	2.0 x 4.15
12	Butler's Room	13'0"	x	8'0"	3.9 x 2.4
13	Closet	9'0"	x	6'0"	2.7 x 1.8
14	Closet	9'0"	x	6'0"	2.7 x 1.8
15	Kitchen	17'0"	x	20' 0"	5.1 x 6.0
16	Servants Room	8'0"	x	7'0"	2.4 x 2.1
17	Shoe Room			-	-
18	Servants Room	8'0"	x	7'0"	2.4 x 2.1
19	Store	18'0"	x	11'0"	5.4 x 3.3
20	Cellar	7'0"	x	7' 0"	2.1 x 2.1
21	Laundry	31'0"	x	10'6"	9.3 x 3.15
22	Gig House	9'0"	x	-	2.7 -
23	Coach House	16'0"	x	14'0"	4.8 x 4.2
24	Stable	31'0"	x	14'6"	11.1 x 4.35
		[31' 0"	x	14'0"	9.3 x 4.2]
25	Saddle Room	16'0"	x	14'0"	4.8 x 4.2
		[14'0"	x	14'0"	4.2 x 4.2]

DETACHED COITAGE

26	Bed Room	15'0"	x	14'0"	4.5 x 4.2
27	Bed Room	18'0"	x	14'0"	5.4 x 4.2
28	Bed Room	10'6"	x	8'0"	3.15 x 2.4
29	Corridor	10'6"	x	8.0"	3.15 x 2.4

UPPER HOUSE

36	Verandah			-	-
37	Dining Room	14'0"	x	16'0"	4.2 x 4.8
32	Drawing Room	21'0"	x	16'0"	8.1 x 4.8
33	Nursery	23'0"	x	16'0"	6.9 x 4.8
34	Study	16'0"	x	10'0"	4.8 x 3.0
35	Bed Room	10'0"	x	10'0"	3.0 x 3.0
36	Butler's Pantry	9'0"	x	10'0"	2.7 x 3.0
37	Bed Room	12'0"	x	14'0"	3.6 x 4.2
38	Servants Room	10'0"	x	14'0"	3.0 x 4.2

39	Kitchen	21'0" x 16'0"	6.3 x 4.8
40	Store	7'0" x 16'0"	2.1 x 4.8
41	Coach House	8'0" x 16'0"	2.4 x 4.8
42	Stables	14'0" x 16'0"	4.2 x 4.8

Appendix: Sales of the Jolimont Estate⁴**1857 SUBDIVISION**

1	unsold, resubdivided & sold in 1869	
2-4	26 March 1857	J F Palmer 3,300.0.0
5 & 6	19 May 1857	J F Palmer 2,200.0.0
	[part sold back to La Trobe for £1,136.10 in November 1858]	
7	29 December 1857	Robert Huckson 2,000.0.0
8-12	unsold: resubdivided & sold in 1863-4	
13, pt 14	unsold: resubdivided & sold from 1867	
pt 14, 15	5 November 1864: £100 G A Mauritz, J Bruce, deposits [£50+25+25] C Hetherington	1,300.0.0
16	?1865	C Ebden 1,300.0.0
17	unsold: resubdivided & sold in 1868	

1863-4 RESUBDIVISION

Note that some figures are made up of deposit and balance, the latter with interest added. and some are payments in bills at discount, so the total does not always represent the exact price at sale.

Between the government road (Jolimont Rd) and Agnes St:

1	31 December 1863	Canterbury	99.0.0
2	31 December 1863	McKenna	99.0.0
3	31 December 1863	Scurry	99.0.0
4	31 December 1863	Patterson	99.0.0
16 & 17	5 January 1864	R Morton	205.8.4
5	7 January 1864	McKenna/Scurry/Patterson	99.0.0
18	7 January 1864	Monichon	102.14.2
19	11 February 1864	Watts	100.19.2
6 & 7	24 February 1864	R Crofts	204.7.6
8	April 1864	R Crofts	100.12.0
9	2 May 1864	R Crofts	114.17.0
20 & 21	27 May 1864	W Peebles	205.8.4
11&12	6 June 1864	J Morton	209.17.6
22	29 June 1864	W ?Klaus	99.0.0
10	6 September 1864	R Crofts	104.18.9
15	8 & 15 September 1864	T Card	99.12.0
13	9 September 1864	Ferris	99.0.0
14	16 September 1864	B French	100.19.6
29 & 30	30 Sep & 7 Oct 1864	J Sinclair	180.07.0

4 Principally from (A) Thomas Stubbs, Account Current on Sale of Jolimont Allotments, nos 1- 14, 22 February 1864- 15 June 1871 (missing no 4. c 23 December 1864 - 20 December 1865): Graham La Trobe Papers LS2/30/5 box 1; (B) 'Memo Land sold at Jolimont up to 30th Sept/69', ibid box 2; (C) for an account of Palmer's purchases, Palmer to Graham, 5 October 1869, in ibid, box 2 (he gives La Trobe's re-purchase as £1,182); (D) La Trobe to Huckson, Agreement for sale of land, 29 December 1857, in ibid, box 2. The balance on Huckson's payment was probably due in twelve months. and La Trobe himself refers to Huckson's anticipated payment of this in La Trobe to D C Macarthur, 16 January 1860, in L J Blake (ed), *Letters of Charles Joseph La Trobe* (Melbourne 1975), p 53.

23	27 October 1864	Mrs S Chalker	100.19.9
24 & 25	27 November 1864	F Jeffries	198.9.0
26	5 & 24 December 1864	G Dean	103.16.9
28	7 December 1864	H Willoughby	103.8.9
27	9 December 1864	H Newell	99.19.0

Jolimont Terrace blocks between Agnes and Charles streets:

39	9 August 1865	W Stokes	165.0.0
38	18 September 1865	W Stokes	165.0.0
40	18 September 1865	Geo Wragge	313.10.0
37	12 August 1866	Henry Apperley	165.0.0
35	24 November 1866	Niven	165.0.0
36	24 November 1866	W Treacey	165.0.0
33 & 34	11 December 1866	John Lupton	478.10.0

The site of the Jolimont proper and its outbuildings:

31	[?February] 1866	John Lupton	900.0.0
32 House + land occupied by Mr Patten	2 March 1866	John Lupton	689.0.0

Land between Charles Street & La Trobe Parade / Jolimant Terrace

44	27 November 1867	Mrs Lush	350.0.0
46	27 January 1868	Mr Leslie	350.0.0
47	27 May 1868	Mrs Maria Eliz Q'Mullane	350.0.0
45	11 August 1868	David Gibson	371.0.0
[?43]	11 September 1868	Geo Chambers	350.0.0
48	September 1869	James Leggat	680.0.0
49 land & bldgs	16 August 1869	John Sharp	900.0.0
41 & 42	15 June 1871	Robt Harper	1,386.0.0

1964 Special Meeting⁵

NATIONAL TRUST OF AUSTRALIA (VICTORIA)

SPECIAL MEETING MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14th. 1964. 8pm. BOARDROOM AT COMO: ON PROPOSED NEW WORKS FOR LA TROBE'S COTTAGE, CALLED BY THE CHAIRMAN OF COUNCIL

Circulated to -	Professor Mesdames Miss	Lewis Goss Murphy Patterson Lempriere Devine	Messrs. Kitto	Richardson Copland Corr Francis Goss Goss	Davidson Murphy Van Doorn a'Beckett *. Brett * (* by invitation)
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LA TROBE'S COTTAGE

BACKGROUND NOTE: In June 1963 movement of the Cottage from its site in Jolimont to its site in the Domain became urgent because of the desire of the Bedggood Shoe Company to be rid of it.

JULY 1st 1963: Council approved "that £3000 be allowed for the immediate removal and initial re-erection of La Trobe's Cottage on the site in the Domain kindly provided by the City Council."

Feb. 3rd. 1964: Council resolved that the Chairman should call a meeting of the Cottages Committee to get builders' specifications, confer with the finance Committee and report back to Council.

Mar 3rd 1964: Builders' specifications totalling £3085 were presented at a meeting called under the resolution of 3/2/64.

April 6th. 1964: The Finance Committee recommended to Council acceptance of the estimated £3085; also that the Trust make available £2000 from internal funds, this amount to be reduced by the amount of further fund-raising by the Junior Group and Women's Committee as it was made available.

It was resolved that the Cottages Committee be authorised to expend £3085 to complete erection of the Cottage on its site.

May 1964: After the Chairman had conferred with Mrs. Lempriere it was decided that the Women's Committee's fund-raising be diverted to furnishing the Cottage.

At this stage no estimates had been submitted for the addition of shutters or erection of the Kitchen wing because the Cottages Committee had not itself decided whether the Kitchen wing should be added immediately, later, or not at all.

COSTS of La Trobe Cottage

Project to date:-

Removal from Jolimont to the Domain	£		
and part erection to March 1964 -	3,361		
Completion to present stage			
March 1964/September 1964.	<u>3,085</u>		£6,446

5 Lewis file 13.

Proposed Works submitted to Council 7/9/64 -		
Shutters to Cottage	400	
Kitchens including paving	3,125	
Permanent sign	100	
Alarm system extended to kitchen	<u>150</u>	<u>3,775</u>
		<u>£11,221</u>

METHODS OF FINANCE to date:

Of the £6446 actual cost. £4500 has come from appeals and £1946 from funds of the Trust.

FINANCE available for the proposed works:

Cash balances 9/9/64	£3,283	
Subscriptions outstanding, allowing for non-renewals	1,000	
Invested reserves at market	<u>4,000</u>	8,283

Approximate cost of running Trust

September 1964/March 1965 when the Government grant comes in		<u>4,750</u>
	<u>Estimated Funds</u>	<u>£3,533</u>

I wish to emphasise that Council has made one grant of £3000 to the Cottages Committee in July 1963 for removal of the Cottage and erection as far as possible on site.

The second grant of £2000 was made when Mr. John Murphy submitted specifications in April 1964, which was designed to take the Cottage to its present stage.

The latest recommendation of the Cottages Committee to add the Kitchen wing and Shutters was not contemplated by Council in April 1964, and to complete the works now proposed will squeeze the Trust's liquid position severely; and unless there are substantial Appeal results, will make the final payment to the vendors of Como this year unlikely.

I am exploring alternative methods of finance, which can be discussed by representatives of the Committees for Cottage, Finance, Women's and Junior Groups, next Monday.

G.A. Richardson
CHAIRMAN OF COUNCIL.

September 9th, 1964.

Appendix: Furniture and La Trobeiana

Pages 124-150 have not been digitised. Refer to the paper edition (1994), or for more current information to the Curator, National Trust of Australia (Victoria) email: conservation@nattrust.com.au.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

LA TROBE

C J La Trobe, a portrait by Sir Francis Grant, donated to the National Trust by Captain Charles La Trobe of London.

MANNING

Manning's system, isometric view. J C Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture* (London 1833).

Captain Hall's house at Wargrave, near Henley-upon-Thames, by Manning c 1833. J C Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture* (London 1833).

Details of Manning's system, after Loudon. Gilbert Herbert, *Pioneers of Prefabrication* (Baltimore [Maryland] 1978), p 11.

JOLIMONT: LANDSCAPE

Sketch of Jolimont (presumably Lonsdale's Cottage in left middle ground), by E L Bateman, Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria.

JOLIMONT: LA TROBE'S WATERCOLOURS

Watercolours owned by the Trust and lodged at the State Library of Victoria, self-numbered.

28. '1852. Group of Gumtrees in the hollow below Jolimont Gate' (in pencil 'below our gate').
31. 'Door of Papas Dressing room Jolimont. 1849'. Reproduced in Jennifer Phipps (ed), *La Trobe and his Circle* [exhibition catalogue] (Melbourne 1989), p 20.
32. 'Frontdoor. sep. 1853'
33. 'Oct. 23. 1853. end of cottage Madde's room.' Perhaps *Madame* [Beguine]'s room.
34. 'Angle of the cottage - Oct. 1853'. Shows forked verandah posts and rafters under the verandah. Probably the detached cottage, which has angled verandah brackets in Bateman's view, though not later.
35. Untitled. Shows view along ?front side of main cottage with panels of trellis and steps.
47. 'From above Cap. Lonsdales fence 1853' (pencil note '1852'). View up the valley, showing the trees below the Jolimont estate, but the house not visible.
48. 'From Lonsdale's Fence.' A similar, but more distant and less informative view.

JOLIMONT: GENERAL MAPS

Hoddle's plan of Melbourne, 1838 (with additions), detail, reproduced in Winston Burchett *East Melbourne 1837-1977* (Hawthorn [Victoria] 1978), p 6.

Hoddle map with additions to 1846, detail as reproduced in *Trust News*, 1 (June 1959), p 2 possibly from Isaac Selby, *The Old Pioneers' Memorial History of Melbourne* (Melbourne 1924), p 331.

'Map of Jolimont Melbourne. Containing Twelve Acres Three Roods. The property of His Excellency Chas. Joseph La Trobe Esqr. Lieutenant Governor, Victoria 1840, 1853' surveyed by R Counsel in 1853. 2 inches = 1 chain [1:792]. La Trobe papers, Manuscript Collection, State Library of Victoria, H18199.

James Kearney, 'Melbourne and its Suburbs, compiled by James Kearney; Capt A. Clark, S.G., 1855', Map Collection, State Library of Victoria, detail, reproduced in Mary Sheehan, 'Jolimont Square Archaeological Project: Historical Report' (typescript, November 1989), p 27.

Henry L Cox 'Hobson's Bay and the River Yarra leading to Melbourne, 1864-1866' 1:73,000. Map Collection, State Library of Victoria, detail, reproduced in Mary Sheehan, 'Jolimont Square Archaeological Project: Historical Report' (typescript, November 1989), p 29.

THE JOLIMONT ESTATE SUBDIVISION

Sketch plan of subdivision of the part of the Jolimont Estate, on headed paper of the Superintendent's Office, Bank of Australasia, suggesting a connection with D C McArthur, c 1857. Graham La Trobe Papers LS2/30/5 box 2, Melbourne University Archives.

The 1857 plan of the Jolimont Estate, reconstructed from documentary evidence: author.

The 1863-4 plan of the Jolimont Estate, reconstructed from documentary evidence: author.

The 1865-71 plan of the Jolimont Estate, reconstructed principally after Bagot: author.

'Plan of Subdivision of Part of the Jolimont Estate, scale 40'0" = 1" [480:1] [1863], from 'Land Subdivisions of Melbourne and Suburbs', p 27, Map Collection, State Library of Victoria.

'Sketch of Land Jolimont 25th Nov. 1864', including the new subdivision on the west side, the old subdivision on the east side, with the names of Mouritz &c added, but not that of Ebdon. Graham La Trobe Papers LS2/30/5 box 2, Melbourne University Archives.

'Plan of the Jolimont Estate. The Property of C.J. La Trobe Esqre.', by R C Bagot, surveyor (1865. with additions to 1868]. Land sold up to the end of 1864 is shaded, land sold up to the end of 1868 is marked sold. Graham papers, Melbourne University Archives.

Detail of the Bagot plan showing the house on lot 31 and the second dwelling and eastern outbuildings on lot 32 with Palmer Lane as the south boundary, reproduced in Susan Adams (ed Weston Bate). *Liarder's Water-Colours of Early Melbourne* (Melbourne 1972), p 54.

Detail of the Bagot plan [SLV version?], suggesting that the rear bedroom is a smaller square structure than in the MU Archives version, reproduced in *Trust*, November 1964. p 3.

Jolimont subdivision plan, no date, State Library of Victoria, reproduced in Winston Burchett *East Melbourne 1837-1977* (Hawthorn [Victoria] 1978), p 16. *Same as the Bagot plan?*

MMBW MAPS

Detail of Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works Plan No 27 'East Melbourne', M/387(27),6 copyrighted 14 January 1895, lithograph LE 19 September 1894, reprinted March 1898 No 50.

Detail of Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works drainage plan [property service cover] no 24795, litho no 95, detail plan no 878, 10 June 1901 to 11 September 1901, with additional work of 2 May 1903 and 8 September 1909 to 22 September 1911.

Detail of Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works drainage plan [property service cover] no 24795, litho no 95, detail plan no 878, 22 November 1934 to 29 October 1935.

Detail of Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works drainage plan [property service cover] no 24795, litho no 95, detail plan no 878, 23 July 1937 to 14 January 1938, with additional work of 10 January 1942.

Detail of Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works drainage plan [property service cover] no 24795, litho no 95, detail plan no 878, 17 April 1945 to 18 March 1946.

JOLIMONT: MAIN HOUSE

'Jolimont in early times as first erected. 1839,' pen and ink sketch by C J La Trobe, reproduced in *Victoria's First Government House* (5th ed. Melbourne 1979), p 6.

'Jolimont en Mars 1840', sketch plan by C J La Trobe [redrawn by Sir Thomas Ramsay]. National Trust file F.196.

Jolimont, watercolour sketch by La Trobe. 1840. National Trust file F.196; also MUAS 6992.9155.

Jolimont, watercolour sketch by Mrs Hanmer Bunbury, July 1842.

Jolimont: anonymous painting [pastel by G. A. Gilbert] of 1842-3 with Mme La Trobe and Agnes towards the right, reproduced in *Trust Newsletter* no 1 (June 1959). p 4, and *Victoria's First Government House* (5th ed, Melbourne 1979), front cover.

View from Jolimont: anonymous painting [pastel by G. A. Gilbert] of ?1842-3 with La Trobe seated and Agnes, next to the corner of the house at the right, reproduced in *Victoria's First Government House* (5th ed, Melbourne 1979), p 3.

Jolimont, south front by E L Bateman, 1853. Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria.

Jolimont, south front by E L Bateman [similar to previous but a slightly higher viewpoint]. Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria.

Jolimont, south front from south-west by E L Bateman. Pictures Collection, State Library.

Jolimont, west front showing dining room and added room at south-west corner, by E L Bateman. Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria.

Jolimont, the courtyard, showing the rear of the panelled house, as extended, and the nursery wing, by E L Bateman. Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria.

Jolimont, by Liardet, from Susan Adams (ed Weston Bate). *Liardet's Water-Colours of Early Melbourne* (Melbourne 1972), p 55.

'Gov Latrobe's Cottage Jolimont'. 'Garryowen' [Edmund Finn], *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne* (2 vols, Melbourne 1888), I, p 22.

Jolimont, elevational photo from south ?c 1880/90, unsourced. MUAS 7004.

'West end view of Governor Latrobe's House built in 1839 at Jolimont - first Governor of Victoria'. Photograph of 3 April 1914. Collection of Ian M L Armstrong; copy in National Trust file F.196.

La Trobe's Cottage, view from the west, probably before 1920. One of five views from the papers of Henry Gyles Turner (d 1920). State Library of Victoria, Manuscripts Collection MS 12989, Box 3703.

'Latrobe's House at Jolimont', from Isaac Selby, *The Old Pioneers' Memorial History of Melbourne* (Melbourne 1924), p 89.

'Historic Vice-Regal Patronge', view of the cottage from the north-west, 1930, immediately prior to the Edna Walling landscaping. *Herald*, 6 May 1930; cutting in measured drawing notes. John & Phyllis Murphy files.

La Trobe's Cottage. Panoramic photograph from the west, c 1930, signed 'Walker', reverse inscribed 'Property of T.A.Hazell', held at National Trust headquarters [too horizontal and narrow in format for useful reproduction].

'Jolimont', drawing by Herbert Moore, 1931 [from the Bedggood dodger] Reproduced in *Trust News*, 1 (June 1959), p 2.

View from the west, with an extensive view of the Edna Walling Garden. *Argus*, 10 September 1932, p 9.

La Trobe's Cottage, Jolimont, 1930s view from the west with the Edna Walling garden. Photo in the possession of Alec Petrie [?c 1960], copied by Brian L Hatfield, ref no T3.317.06. National Trust file F.196. Note that the c 1940 building is not yet visible in the background.

La Trobe's Cottage, Jolimont, view from the west with the Edna Walling garden. Donated by Sir John Reid, 290 Cotham Rd, Kew May 1981, copied by Brian L Hatfield, ref no 587-43. National Trust file F.196.

La Trobe's Cottage, Jolimont, view from the west, from Maie Casey et al, *Early Melbourne Architecture* (Melbourne 1953), p 128.

La Trobe's Cottage, colour slide under dining room verandah, looking towards door of butler's room, c 1959. MUAS 6996.

THE COTTAGE RECONSTRUCTION

'Latrobe's Cottage (Reconstruction Preliminary Plan)', presumably by Melbourne University architecture students. 196/38.

'Reconstruction Preliminary Plan for Latrobe's Cottage', presumably by Melbourne University architecture students, scale 1/4 in = 1 ft [1:480]. Held by the writer, originally from Brian Lewis.

La Trobe's Cottage. Reconstruction plan as in ?1840, by Melbourne University architecture students. From a slide, MUAS 6994.

La Trobe's Cottage. Perspective reconstruction as in ?1840, by Melbourne University architecture students. From a slide, MUAS 6993.

'Reconstruction - Sections of Latrobe Cottage - Jolimont - Victoria', Sheet 1, scale 1/4" = 1'0" [1:480]. Dyeline print from pencil original. Section AA, longitudinal, and BB, transverse, the latter showing the projection of the butler's room in elevation. John & Phyllis Murphy files.

'Reconstruction - Elevations of Latrobe Cottage - Jolimont - Victoria', Sheet 2, scale 1/4" = 1'0" [1:480]. Pencil on tracing paper. South and north elevations, including the nursery wing and the butler's room, but no west verandah. John & Phyllis Murphy files.

'Reconstruction - Elevations of Latrobe Cottage - Jolimont - Victoria', Sheet 3, scale 1/4" = 1'0" [1:480]. Pencil on tracing paper. East and west elevations, including the nursery wing and the butler's room, with the west verandah, and a lightly drawn proposal for a very deep porch at the entrance. John & Phyllis Murphy files.

La Trobe's Cottage, proposed layout with garden on the Birdwood Avenue site, drawn by Miles Lewis, ?c March 1963. Held by the writer.

La Trobe's Cottage, proposed layout on the Birdwood Avenue site with, in broken line, 'future kitchen' at the rear and 'Lonsdale's cottage' on the north-east side, and with the house itself including the butler's room. Dyeline, onto which are roughly sketched in blue pencil proposed fence lines, and, added to the house, the small room formerly in front of the dining room. John & Phyllis Murphy files.

La Trobe's Cottage, plan as now existing, from *Victoria's First Government House* (5th ed, Melbourne 1979), inside rear cover.

[Stuart Warmington] Meldrum & Partners, drawn Eng Loh, 'Latrobe Cottage Site Plan: Proposed Toilet Facilities: Latrobe Cottage, $\frac{1}{8}" = 1'0"$ [1:96]. Dyeline print. National Trust file F.196.

La Trobe's Cottage. Detail of deteriorated brickwork in the plinth, December 1971, prior to treatment by Hydro-Struct Pty Ltd. MPI no CH 5229-7, Metlab Photographic Illustrators. John & Phyllis Murphy files.

JOLIMONT: KITCHEN WING

The kitchen wing, sketch by E La T Bateman, 1854. Pictures Collection, State Library.

JOLIMONT: DETACHED COTTAGE & EASTERN BUILDINGS

Detail of Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works drainage plan [property service cover] no 25092, litho no 95, detail plan no 878, 27 July 1901 to 2 October 1901.

Detail of Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works drainage plan [property service cover] no 25092, litho no 95, detail plan no 878, 6 September 1937 to 19 January 1939.

The detached cottage, south-east view, sketch by E La T Bateman, 1854. Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria.

The detached cottage, south elevation, sketch by E La T Bateman, 1854. Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria.

'First Government House Jolimont built for Capt La Trobe 1st Gov of Victoria'. Photograph of 1896. Collection of Alan Grant; copy in National Trust file F.196. Grant recognises that this is not La Trobe's Cottage, and suggests that, though the message on the postcard dates from 1903, the illustration is copied from an older one of 1896, as are others in the same series. Alan Grant to Mrs [Shirley] Hawker, National Trust, 29 March 1982.

'Sleeping quarters of Governor Latrobe's - first Governor of Victoria built at Jolimont 1839'. Photograph of 3 April 1914. Collection of Ian M L Armstrong; copy in National Trust file F.196. Appears to show the detached cottage.

Detached cottage, similar view to previous, unsourced. MUAS 7003.

Jolimont stables, by E L Bateman. Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria.

UPPER JOLIMONT

Upper Jolimont, by E L Bateman. Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria.

Upper Jolimont, by Liardet, from Susan Adams (ed Weston Bate). *Liardet's Water-Colours of Early Melbourne* (Melbourne 1972), p 57.

Detail of the Bagot plan, c 1866, showing the buildings of Upper Jolimont, labelled as 'stable', 'out buildings', 'house'.

"Jolimont Cottage", formerly on the site of Inveresk, Jolimont. Demolished c. 1872', photograph, Telecom Australia neg no VH 481/2.

'Bishop Perry's Cottage Jolimont'. 'Garryowen' [Edmund Finn], *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne* (2 vols, Melbourne 1888), I, P 22.

Upper Jolimont, incorrectly titled 'Our First Government House', from Herbert Moore, *Links With Other Days* (Melbourne 1927. unpaginated).

FEEDBACK:

Letter of A H Throop, 6 March 1974.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Most of the illustration pages have not been digitised. Only the following pages are included: 159-161, 177-179, 182, 184 and 191.

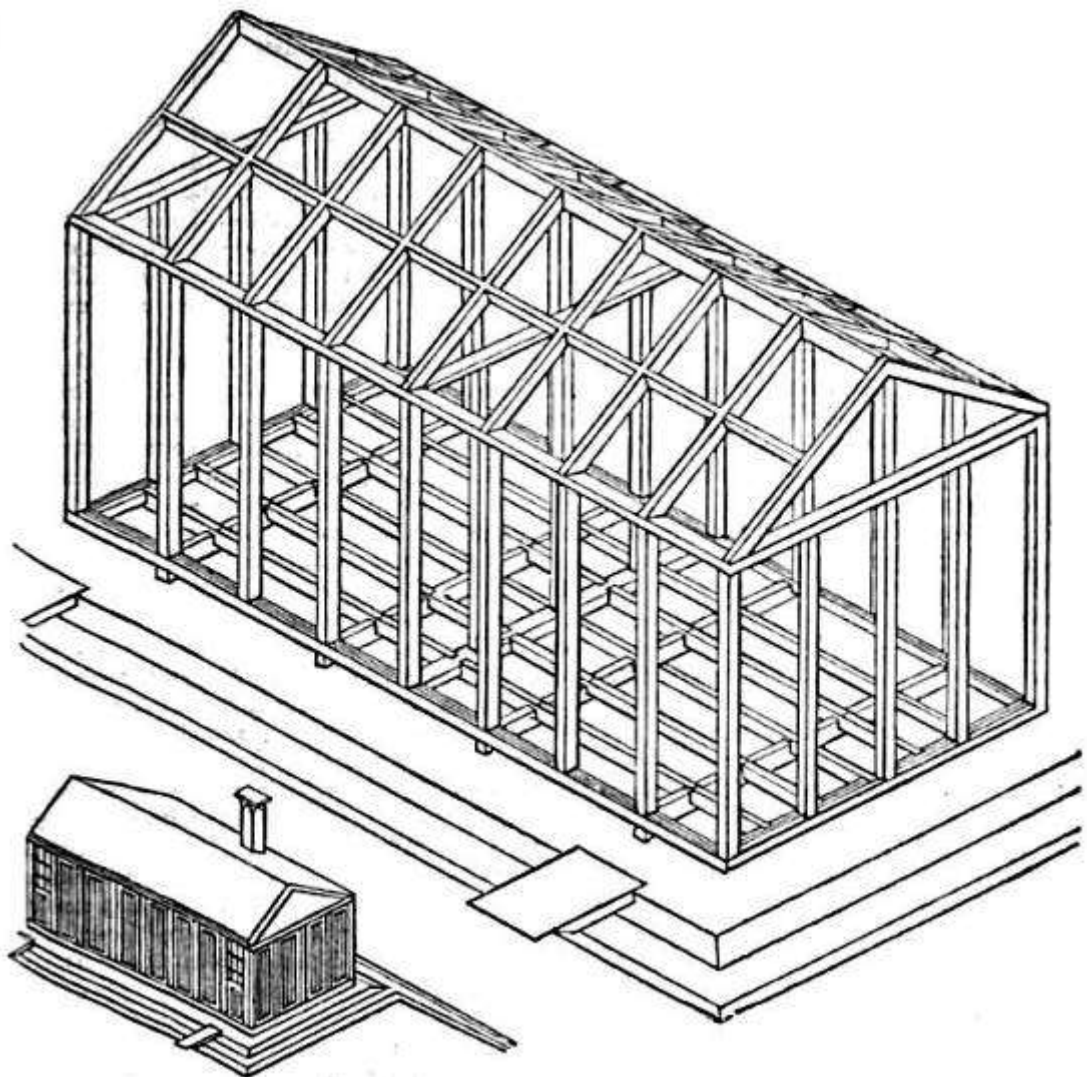
For other illustrations, refer to the paper edition (1994), and/or

Helen Botham *La Trobe's Jolimont: a walk round my garden* (2006)

Friends of La Trobe's Cottage website, www.foltc.latrobesociety.org.au

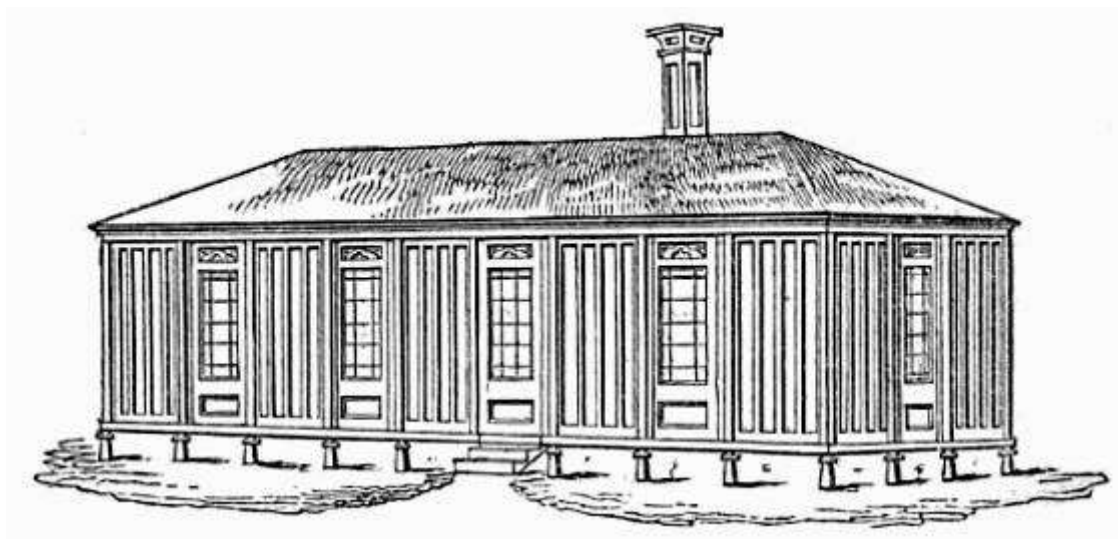
State Library of Victoria catalogue, www.slv.vic.gov.au

Manning's system, isometric view. J C Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture* (London 1833)

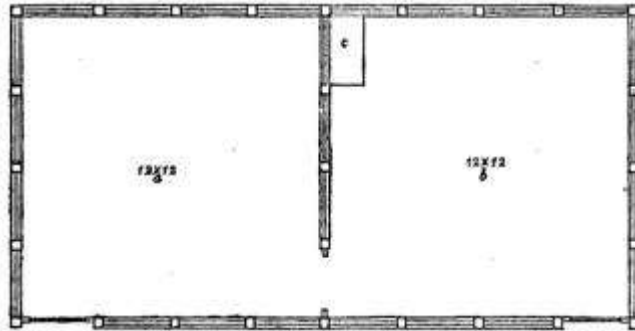


A.

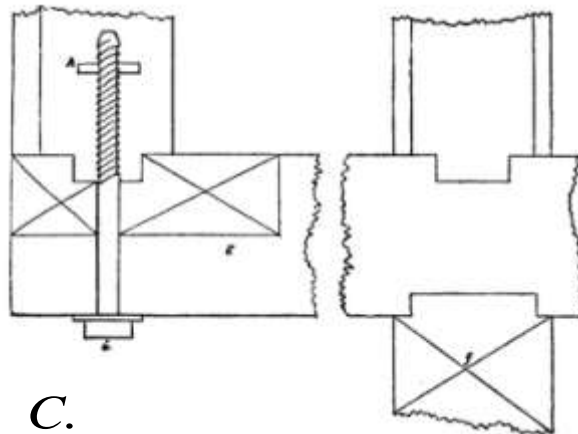
Captain Hall's house at Wargrave, near Henley-upon-Tames, by Manning c 1833. J C Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture* (London 1833)



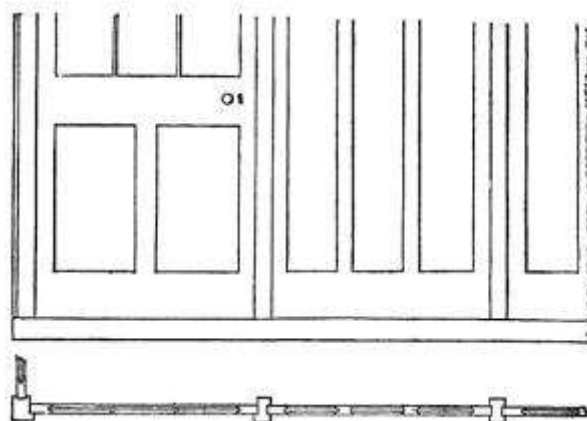
Details of Manning's system, after Loudon. Gilbert Herbert, *Pioneers of prefabrication* (Baltimore [Maryland] 1978), p 11.



B.

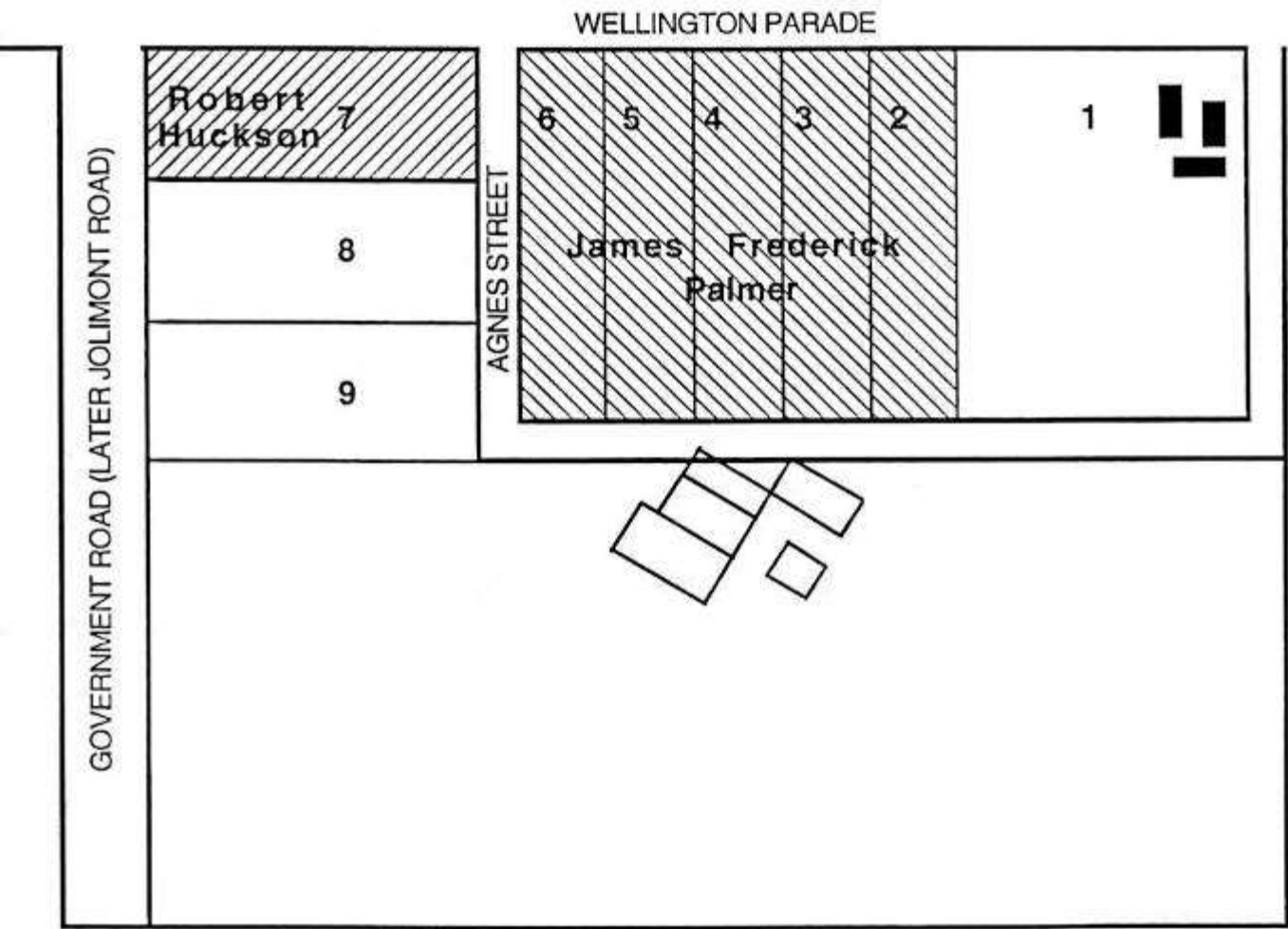


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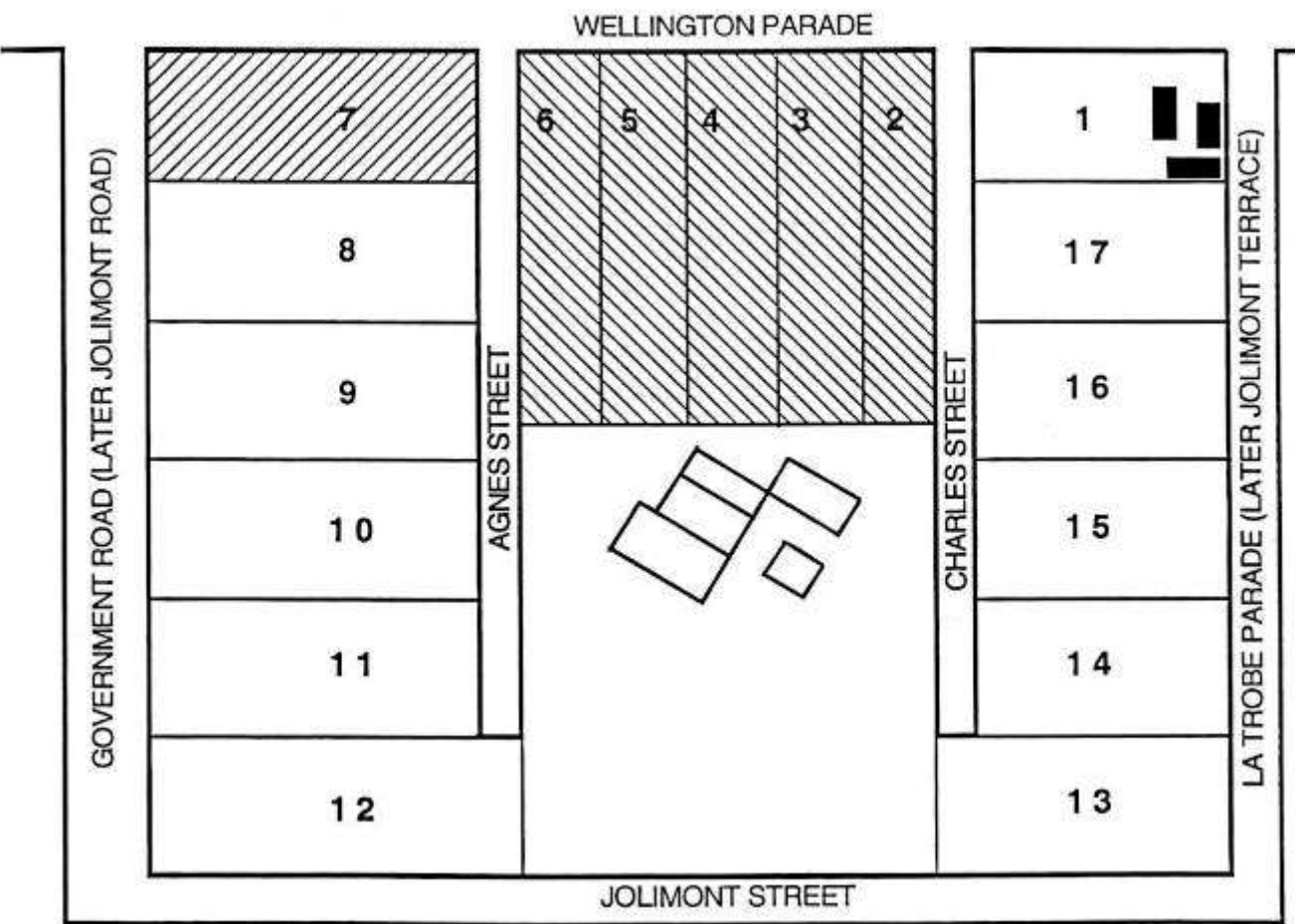


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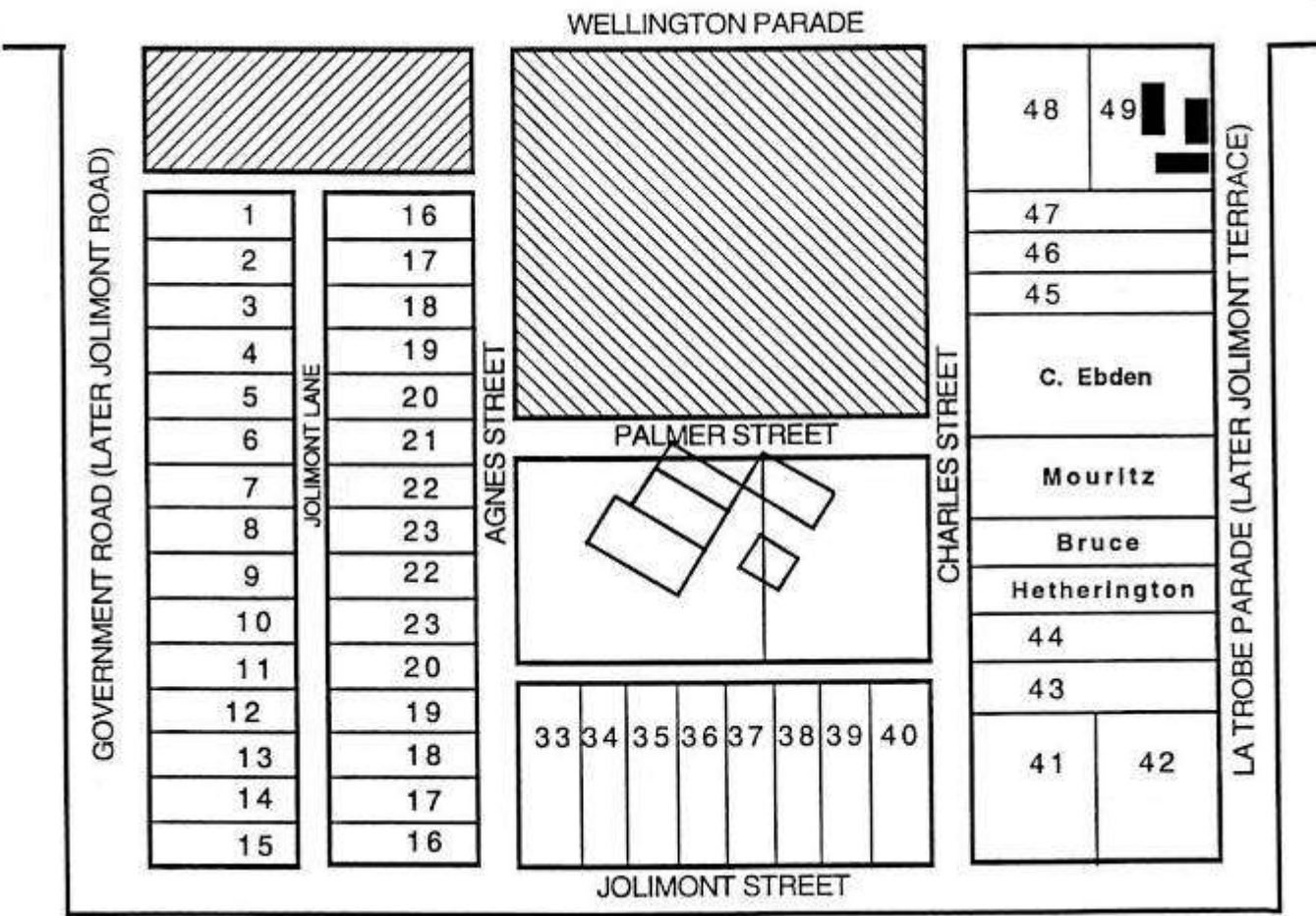
The 1857 plan of the Jolimont Estate, reconstructed from documentary evidence: author



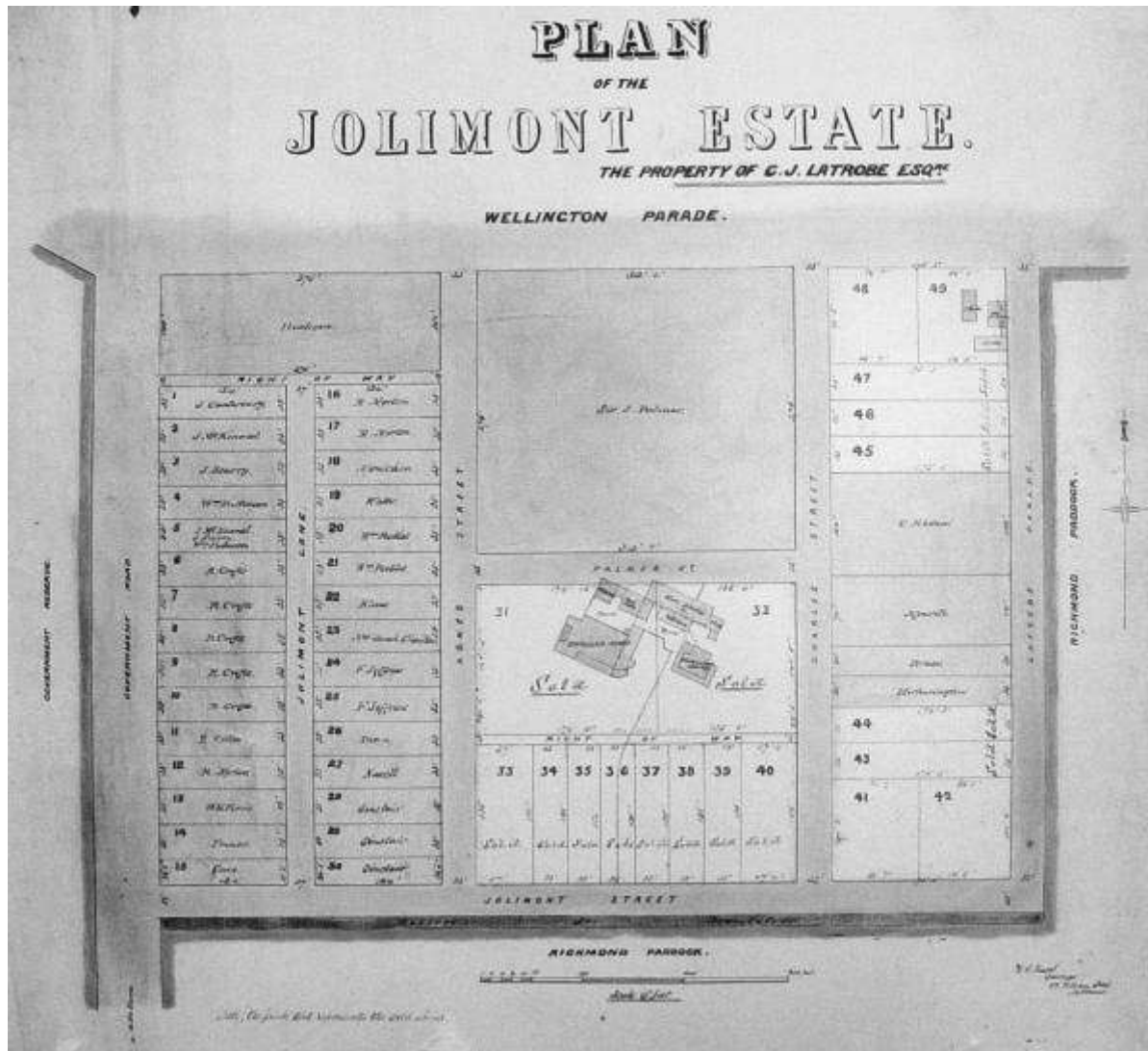
The 1863-4 plan of the Jolimont Estate, reconstructed from documentary evidence: author



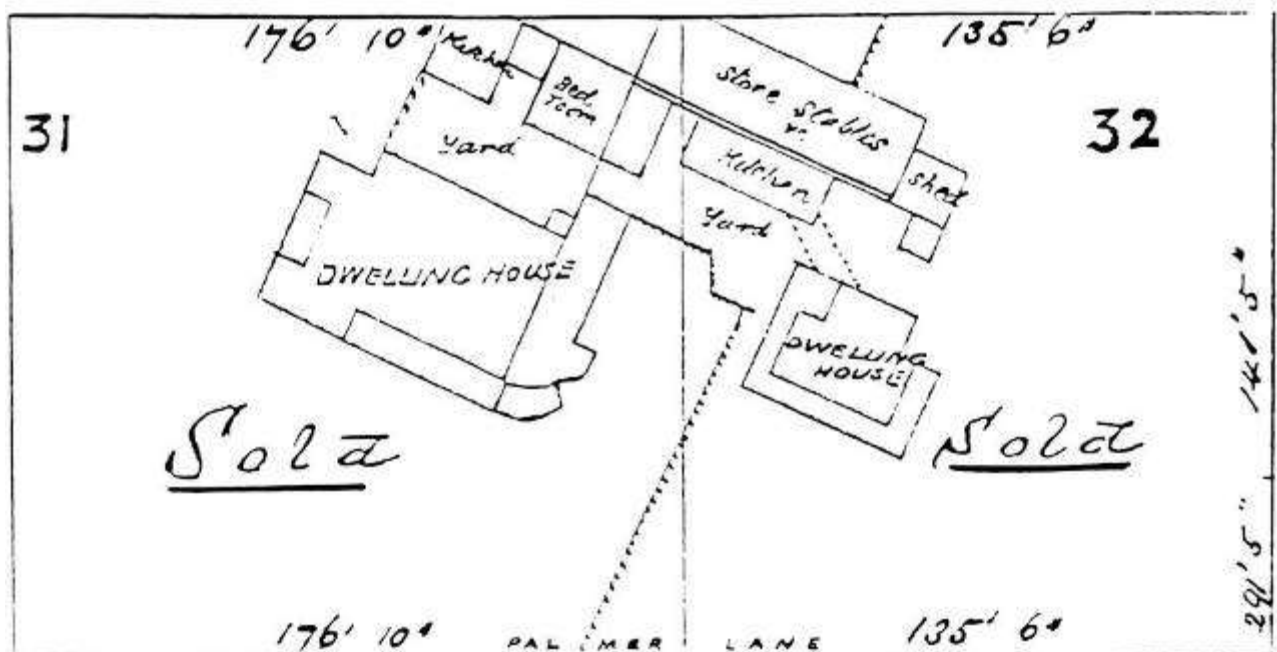
The 1865-7 plan of the Jolimont Estate, reconstructed from documentary evidence: author



‘Plan of the Jolimont Estate, The property of C.J. La Trobe Esqre’, by R C Bagot, surveyor [1865, with additions to 1868]. Land sold up to the end of 1864 is shaded, land sold up to the end of 1868 is marked sold. Graham papers, Melbourne University Archives.



Detail of the Bagot plan [SLV version?], suggesting that the rear bedroom is a smaller square structure than in the MU Archives version, reproduced in *Trust*, November 1964, p 3.



‘Jolimont in early times as first erected. 1939,’ pen and ink sketch by C J La Trobe reproduced in *Victoria’s First Government House* (5th ed, Melbourne 1979), p 6.

