LA TROBEANA

FRONT COVER
Thomas Woolner, 1825-1892, sculptor
Charles Joseph La Trobe, 1853
Bronze portrait medallion showing the left profile of Charles Joseph La Trobe, diam. 24cm.
Signature and date incised in bronze l.r.: T. Woolner Sc. 1853: / M
La Trobe, Charles Joseph, 1801–1875. Accessioned 1894
Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H5489

Contents

A Word from the President

I am sure you will agree that the highlight of 2019 for the La Trobe Society was the La Trobe Oration held at the Old Treasury Building, Melbourne on 22 October 2019 to commemorate 180 years since the arrival of Charles Joseph La Trobe in the Port Phillip District of New South Wales in 1839. We were privileged that the La Trobe Society's Patron, Her Excellency the Honourable Linda Dessau AC, accepted our invitation to deliver this occasional address, her chosen subject being 'La Trobe: Then and Now'. You may read this stimulating and thought-provoking lecture at your leisure in this edition of our journal.

Former La Trobe University administrator Leon J. Lyell, who was a strong advocate for the University's early engagement with the La Trobe Society, has contributed a well-researched paper on a little-known aspect of the La Trobe era, the role of Freemasonry. 'Absent from the Ceremony: Freemasons and the founding of the University of Melbourne' provides detailed information about the prominent role played by its members on important civic occasions.

Dr Andrew Lemon AM, award-winning Australian historian, best known for his three-volume *History of Australian Thoroughbred Racing* (joint winner of the 2009 Australian Society for Sports History biennial book prize), spoke at last year's Annual General Meeting about early racing in the Port Phillip District. Andrew has written biographies, local, company and school histories, and co-authored *Poor Souls, They Perished* about the wreck of the *Cataraqui* on the west coast of King Island in 1845. The theme of his witty and informative presentation is elaborated in his article, 'The La Trobe Era Origins of Flemington Racecourse'.

Lorraine Finlay, well-known La Trobe Society member and former Volunteer Property Manager of La Trobe's Cottage, has given us a fascinating account of the arrival in Melbourne of some of her forebears in her article, 'The Reynolds Family: Cornish Bounty Emigrants of 1849'. This wonderful story is the result of painstaking research and great attention to detail about the bounty or assisted immigrants' scheme which gave so many of Australia's early settlers a fresh and more hopeful start in life.

Helen Botham, foundation chair of the Friends of La Trobe's Cottage, and author of the important book, *La Trobe's Jolimont: A walk round my garden*, has given us an account of the importance of music in the La Trobe family, in 'The La Trobes' Music'. The article emerged from a rather wet Sunday afternoon event at the Cottage when Helen, with the assistance of La Trobe Society member Dr Rosemary Richards, had organised a delightful musical program in the drawing room. This item creates something of the ambience of relaxation in the La Trobe household.

It was with great pleasure that members of the committee welcomed to Melbourne in October 2019 James Richard (Jim) La Trobe of the New Zealand branch of the La Trobe family, and his wife Raewyn, for an extended tour of La Trobe's Cottage. Helen Armstrong, Editor of *La Trobeana*, has provided an illuminating account of the arrival of the migrant James La Trobe, firstly to Melbourne in September 1852 to visit his cousin Charles Joseph La Trobe, before going on to New Zealand in March 1856, and details of the ancestry of the New Zealand La Trobes.

As a delightful way to start the year, I know you will all join me in congratulating a very supportive friend and La Trobe Society member Murray Thompson who received the award of Medal of the Order of Australia (OAM) 'For service to the people and Parliament of Victoria' in the Australia Day Honours.

I hope that 2020 will be a successful and healthy year for us all.

Diane Gardiner AM
Hon. President
C J La Trobe Society

La Trobe: then and now
The La Trobe Oration

By The Honourable Linda Dessau AC

The La Trobe Oration is an occasional address delivered by invitation from time to time by distinguished Victorians. Its purpose is to honour the contribution made to the development of this state by Charles Joseph La Trobe, Superintendent from 1839 and then the first Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria from 1851 to 1854. Previous La Trobe Orations were presented in 1975 by distinguished historians Dr Kathleen Fitzpatrick AO and Dr Geoffrey Serle AO, in 1980 by Governor-General Sir Zelman Cowan AK, and in 1989 by esteemed historian Professor A G L Shaw AO.

The La Trobe Society's Patron, Her Excellency the Honourable Linda Dessau AC, delivered the La Trobe Oration at the Old Treasury Building, Melbourne on 22 October 2019 to commemorate 180 years since the arrival of Charles Joseph La Trobe in the Port Phillip District of New South Wales in 1839.

L et me start by telling you that I have never accepted an invitation to deliver an Oration without mixed emotions. On the one hand, the honour of being invited is never lost on me. I look at the previous La Trobe orators, their expertise and the erudite topics that they have chosen, and I am truly honoured to be amongst them. At the same time, I look at the previous orators, their expertise and the erudite topics that they have chosen, and my heart sinks. Then, if that were not challenging enough, on this occasion there is the additional problem that so much – so very much – has already been written about the namesake of this Oration, Charles Joseph La Trobe.

It is of course little wonder, given the pivotal role that he played early in the modern history of our State, after arriving here on 3 October 1839,

as Superintendent of the Port Phillip District of the Colony of New South Wales. The challenge is even more profound with an audience of many people far more knowledgeable than me on the topic. There are, I am sure you will agree, certain 'givens' when we talk of La Trobe. You know what they are. I shall not linger upon them. But they do set the scene for what I do want to talk about in a moment.

What has been said and written about La Trobe invariably starts with his background and his lack of direct experience to equip him for the difficult task of superintending a fledgling settlement. As a thirty-eight year old man he had, until then, little managerial or administrative experience, mostly having travelled, climbed mountains and written books about those adventures.

It is inevitable to deal then with just what faced him as he set out on this particular adventure. First, there was the long and arduous journey. The long voyage by ship. The wait in Sydney. The stormy weather in the last part of the trip. Some six months in total. Although the land was ancient, and the culture of the Indigenous people was rich, the newly-formed Port Phillip District into which he and his young wife, Sophie, arrived was just a smelly village: unmade streets, no drainage, no proper water supply and very bad health conditions. The leadership challenge for the new Superintendent was compounded in that he himself had little direct power, having to refer decisions to the Colonial Office via Governor Sir George Gipps in New South Wales. And then the goldrush came, increasing the social unrest, emptying much of the talent from Melbourne and causing enormous problems in managing the goldfields and goldfield revenues.

What stands out about La Trobe though, is that there is never an historical account of his time here without recognition of the vision that he brought to his role: his civic mindedness; all that he imagined for our future; all that he built. In short, his legacies. And they are manifold.

As the Governor of Victoria for more than four years now – our State's twenty-ninth – I have a privileged perspective from which to talk of how the legacies of our first Lieutenant-

Governor, as he became, manifest themselves today. It is one thing that La Trobe was able to take the rudimentary village of Melbourne and set in train some of the cornerstone buildings and organisations of a grand city. It is quite another that what he helped to build has not only stood the test of time, but has been part of the fabric of our State for some 180 years. Part of the solid foundations that underpin our contemporary character, our success and our growth.

It was during his watch that, amongst other things, we saw the foundation of the University of Melbourne, the Royal Melbourne Hospital, our State Library, the Melbourne Cricket Ground, the Royal Melbourne Philharmonic Orchestra and the Royal Botanic Gardens. I want to consider what La Trobe's nineteenth-century contributions have spawned in the twenty-first century life of our city and State.

In 1850, the colony of New South Wales had established a university. In the following year, when Victoria had separated from New South Wales, it was deemed fitting by leaders in our community, such as lawyer, Solicitor-General and later judge and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Victoria, Sir Redmond Barry KCMG QC, that Melbourne should have its own university.

The University of Melbourne was formally established by the University Act (Vic)

1853, signed into existence by Lieutenant-Governor La Trobe on 22 January that year. The central site of the University, applauded by future generations, was thanks to the foresight and support of La Trobe. Teaching initially began in the building subsequently occupied by the Mint, opposite where the Federal Court building now stands in William Street, until the Quadrangle was completed during 1855.

Construction of that quadrangle, the first purpose-built university building commenced in Australia, had started in 1854. When it opened, it was the place in which all of the teaching was done, and in which the professors lived. I should add that I had the great joy this year of opening the refurbished Old Quad, again home to key cultural, civic and ceremonial activities – as it had been right back at the start.

On a personal note, the quadrangle was also the centre of my own university experience some 115 years after it was built. The Law Library was then housed there. I would like you to think that it was at the centre of my time at the University of Melbourne because I was so studious. The fact is that the Law Library was absolutely at the heart of the social life in my days in the Law School.

One word about the Law School, if you will forgive me. It was founded in 1857, when the colony of Victoria was only six years old. In fact, Victoria was one of the first places in the common law world where all lawyers had to do part of their training at university. I note that today, the Law School is not only ranked first in Australia, it is also ranked within the top ten law schools in the world, according to both the Times Higher Education and the QS (Quacquarelli Symonds Limited) World University Rankings.

The University of Melbourne itself is Australia's highest ranked university. It also ranks thirty-second in the world overall, sixth in the world for graduate employability, and the QS World University Rankings place it in the top twenty in fourteen subject areas across the world. When we talk of foundations in our community, this, our oldest university, has laid the strongest foundations for the Victorian universities that have followed. Today we are blessed with ten excellent universities. Again, according to the QS University Rankings, we have two universities in the top 100 and six in the top 500. That, combined with our high standard and quality of living, vibrant multicultural society and social inclusion, has attracted record numbers of students, with some 230,000 international students from over 170 countries now choosing to study in our State each year.

Victoria is known as a 'Knowledge State', with specialities including biotechnology, information and communications technology, medical research, advanced manufacturing, water management, food and agriculture, and environmental and energy technologies. We can be proud that Melbourne was last year named in the world's top three best student cities, alongside London and Tokyo, by the prestigious

QS Best Student Cities 2018. And that we have received a perfect score in education, according to The Economist Intelligence Unit's Liveability Ranking.

In 1841, while he was still the Superintendent of the Port Phillip District of New South Wales, La Trobe gathered a group of influential citizens to discuss the urgent need for a public hospital in Melbourne. The Government provided a grant of land and £1,000. A committee was formed to raise the further and not inconsiderable sum of £800. Philanthropy, we can see, has been at the heart of our public life and institutions from our early days. Only a decade after Melbourne was first settled, and still some years before separation, the Hospital's foundation stone was laid with much fanfare, including a public procession, on 20 March 1846. The Hospital opened two years later, with three physicians and three surgeons. In its first year, it saw eighty-nine patients admitted, and a further ninety-eight outpatients treated. Its budget was a little over £1,000.

Today, over 170 years later, the Royal Melbourne Hospital has more than 9,000 staff employed across thirty-two sites, including more than 1,100 doctors, 2,000 nurses and 500 other allied health professionals. It admits some 100,000 patients annually, sees over 76,000 people in its Emergency Department and almost 200,000 outpatients each year. The RMH now manages a budget of more than a billion dollars. The Hospital has always been an active and respected centre for training. Today, for example, it trains around 80 medical interns and 120 graduate nurses. The RMH is viewed by Victorians with deep gratitude for its excellent clinical care. It has also developed into a leading centre for research and innovation.

It is renowned in the field of neurology, and has been developing ground-breaking medication to combat the effects of stroke. It is helping to develop the world's first coeliac disease vaccine, has performed Australia's first blood incompatible kidney transplant and was one of the first hospitals in the world to introduce wireless 'Pill Cam' endoscopy. These are, of course, no more than examples of its many achievements.

Importantly, what has grown from and around the Royal Melbourne Hospital sees Victoria as one of the world leaders in healthcare and medical research We are now fortunate to be home to two major biomedical precincts in Melbourne – one in Parkville and one in Clayton – nestled around two major universities that, by the way, see Melbourne as one of only three cities in the world with two universities within the global top twenty biomedical rankings. When it comes to Parkville, the Melbourne Biomedical Precinct has developed around the University of Melbourne and the Royal Melbourne Hospital. We have 650 global and local medtech, pharma and biotech businesses, and a cluster of hospitals (including the nation's only fully dedicated public cancer hospital in 'Peter Mac'), medical research institutes, and biotechnology organisations. It speaks volumes that Victoria attracts more than 40% of NHMRC funds, and that over 40% of the ASX life science companies are based in Melbourne – all supported by a skilled workforce of 23,000 and 20,000 researchers. It is no surprise that the national Medtech Actuator recently chose Melbourne as its home, for innovators and entrepreneurs to work on medtech devices and diagnostics. We are, after all, the source of many medtech advances, including the Cochlear implant, and work is now proceeding apace on
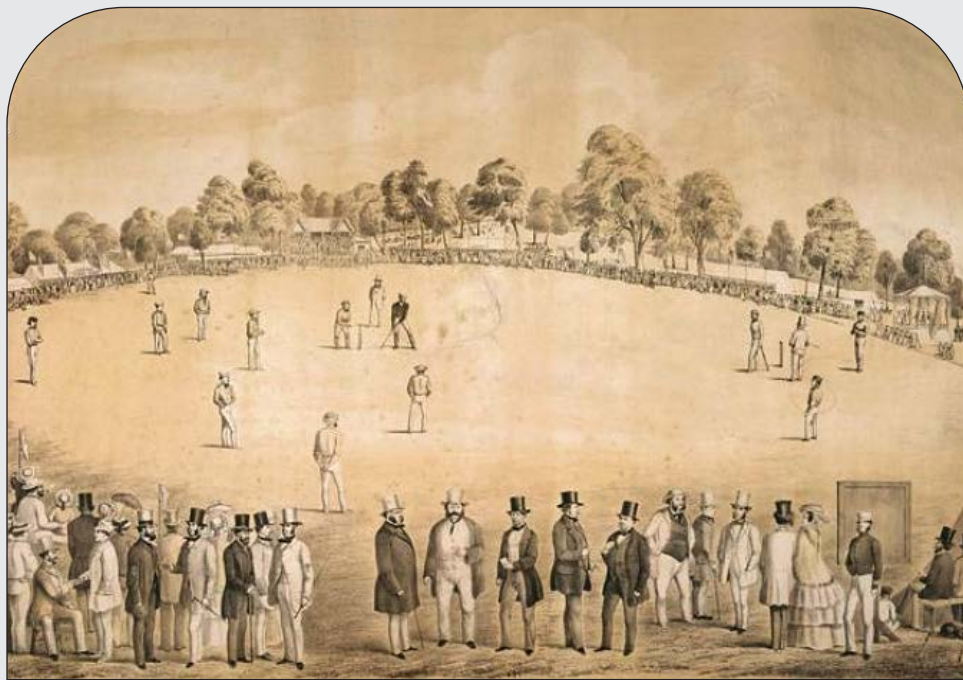
the development of a bionic eye; as it is on the 'Stentrode' – a brain device out of the University of Melbourne, Florey Institute, and Royal Melbourne Hospital – that can direct brain signals without invasive surgery. The Economist Intelligence Unit Ranking gives Melbourne a perfect score in the area of healthcare. I wish Charles La Trobe could see us now!

The State Library of Victoria was built during the early 1850s. La Trobe had joined Sir Redmond Barry in his plans for a library. The sum of £10,000 was appropriated for the building and the purchase of books, and a two-acre block of land was set aside with its frontage on Swanston Street. The first stage of the Melbourne Public library (as it was then known) opened in 1856, with a collection of 3,800 books. The idea was novel. Previously, libraries had most often housed private collections and been quite exclusive. Ours was one of the first public libraries in the world. If you were over the age of fourteen – and could demonstrate that you had clean hands – you could enter! Although it remains on the same site as when it first opened, over the past 160 years our Library has constantly adapted its spaces and services to meet the changing needs of the community that it serves.

At first, the building comprised only the central portion of its current frontage.

There have been many additions since. The famous domed Reading Room was opened in November 1913. The Library's current CEO, Kate Torney, suggests that it is probably the most photographed room in Melbourne. It is of course named for La Trobe, who is also memorialised at the Library with a statue at the northern end of the lawn outside, depicting him in an historic pose, reading the proclamation of Victoria's separation from New South Wales.

There is so much that Lieutenant-Governor La Trobe and other civic leaders could never have envisaged when they put in place the steps to create this public library for the people of the young colony. First, that the library collection would later comprise some more than five million items, including one of Australia's largest newspaper collections, and hundreds of thousands of pictures, maps, manuscripts, artefacts and materials. They could not have envisaged rare and fragile items held in 'stacks', comprised of eleven kilometres of shelving housed beneath the Domed Reading Room, galleries and other public areas. And they could never have imagined that the Library would house an information centre, reading rooms, conference centre, galleries and media space for visitors to interact with the latest technology. It certainly would have been an inconceivable thought that today this library would be the fourth most visited library in the world,

François Cogné, 1829-1883, lithographer
Botanic Gardens, c.1863
Tinted lithograph with hand colouring
Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H15462

attracting more daily visitors than the British Library in London or the Library of Congress in Washington. A remarkable achievement. In the 2017/18 year, nearly two million people attended the Library. A further four-and-a-half million made website visits. And 685,000 people visited exhibitions held there.

There is no question that our Library, located in the heart of the city, is an inseparable part of the liveability for which Melbourne has become well-known. And it has made its contribution to Melbourne's designation as a UNESCO City of Literature – an acknowledgement of the breadth, depth and vibrancy of our literary culture. But the story of our Library will not stop here. Vision 2020, a redevelopment project, is well underway. The oldest part of the State Library, The Ian Potter Queen's Hall, is being restored into a public reading room and first-class event space. New spaces are being created. And new technologies will ensure that Victorians will enjoy even greater access to the collections and library services.

Today, Victoria is Australia's cultural and sporting capital. La Trobe's influence can be felt in both spheres. When it comes to the arts, his vision for the colony was of a '…highly educated community well versed in the arts and sciences.' With a group of civic leaders and music lovers, he aspired to bring musical culture of a high standard to the early colony of Victoria. In 1853, the Royal Melbourne Philharmonic Society was founded. It then performed at many important events in the history of Melbourne, including the Melbourne International Exhibition of 1880, the Great Centennial Exhibition of 1888, the Opening of the First Australian Parliament in 1901 and the 1956 Olympic Games. Today, it has a choir and an orchestra, continues to present

critically acclaimed performances and remains committed to fostering the interest and talent of young musicians.

But La Trobe's commitment to culture provided a solid foundation from which a bounty of culture and creativity has grown. The Melbourne Symphony Orchestra, now more than 110 years old, is Australia's oldest professional orchestra. Each year it engages more than three-and-a-half million people through some 160 live performances, recordings, and television/radio broadcasts. And what an Ambassador for our State. The MSO engages with audiences in many different countries. I was proud recently, as the Orchestra's Patron, to collect a prize on the Orchestra's behalf for Business Innovation, Creative Industries and the Digital Economy, whilst on an official visit to China. Our cultural offerings extend well beyond classical music, of course. Victorians have developed an insatiable appetite for theatre, music, dance, literature, film and visual arts. Think of our calendar of Festivals alone. Each year we stage a major Melbourne International Arts Festival. The Melbourne International Film Festival, heading to seventy years old, is one of the oldest in the world. Our Melbourne International Comedy Festival, with more than 300 shows, is one of the biggest. And our reputation for jazz meant that this year, in addition to our annual Jazz Festival, Melbourne was chosen to host UNESCO's International Jazz Day. That omits reference to all the other major festivals in fashion, literature and the performing arts, but also all the local arts festivals across our State. Musical theatre is thriving. There is no finer example than the spectacular *Harry Potter and the Cursed Child*, being staged in Melbourne, as the first place outside the West End and Broadway.

When it comes to the visual arts, we could not be better served than by the National Gallery of Victoria: Australia's oldest and busiest gallery. The NGV holds the most significant collection of art in the region. Seventy thousand works that span thousands of years and a wealth of disciplines, ideas and styles. I am unabashedly proud of our NGV, having served as a Trustee in the past. I am proud that, in our Victorian community – with its hallmark of diversity – the Gallery is consciously collecting and showing a broad range of work. It certainly covers the field from major international historic exhibitions to contemporary art, fashion and design, architecture, sound and dance. The calibre of exhibitions and programs, including the Winter Masterpieces and summer contemporary shows, resonates deeply with audiences. In 2017/18 more than three-and-a-quarter million visitors attended the NGV. The National Gallery of Victoria is the world's seventeenth most visited gallery.

But to understand the long-term impact of La Trobe's leadership on our cultural landscape, we cannot look at just the arts. There are twin pillars to our cultural success and events prowess. The other pillar, of course, is sport. Again, La Trobe played a direct role in its foundations. The Melbourne Cricket Club was founded by five of our prominent citizens in November 1838, when the population of the Port Phillip District was only around 2,000 people. The first cricket match was played on the Old Mint site in William Street, Melbourne. The MCC then moved around until, in 1848, La Trobe granted it permission to fence the club's reserve, then on the south side of the Yarra, opposite King Street. In 1853, after the Melbourne Cricket Club had been advised that the route of Australia's first steam train to Sandridge (Port Melbourne) would pass through its ground, Lieutenant-Governor La Trobe granted the Club the permissive occupancy of nine acres, and the Richmond Cricket Club six acres, in the Government Paddock (Yarra Park). And the Melbourne Cricket Ground was built there. What can I choose to highlight from such a marvellous history? From such an iconic landmark? From such a variety of events dear to the hearts of Victorians?

In 2003, the Hon. John Landy AC CVO MBE, then Governor of Victoria – and, as a medallist in the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games at the MCG, particularly well qualified to speak – said that the MCG was 'the city's greatest institution' and that 'the exceptional foresight of Lieutenant-Governor Charles La Trobe has left Melbourne a rich legacy' – rich legacy indeed. The MCG has hosted plenty of international cricket, countless VFL/AFL Grand Finals, an Olympic Games, a Commonwealth Games, international Rugby Union clashes, Australian World Cup soccer qualifiers and Rugby League's State of Origin. In fact, the first Australian Rules game (between Melbourne and Carlton) in 1871 was played there, as was what was regarded as the first Test cricket match between Australia and England in 1877 and the first night football game under electric lights in 1879. It has seen and sees crowds that place it in the top echelons of sporting stadiums around the world. A crowd of 107,700 attending the Opening Ceremony of the Olympic Games in 1956, or 115,800 watching the VFL final that year. In 2012, the 100-millionth patron attended a VFL/AFL match at the MCG. Last year, AFL football alone had close to three million people attend the 'G'. I should add that, in addition to these fantastic sporting events, the MCG has also witnessed many spectacular music concerts. (Like many others, I have seen the Rolling Stones there). Even Pope John Paul II held an ecumenical service there when he visited Melbourne in 1986. A fun fact: a 'Moonlight Concert' was held on the ground for the first time – in 1878.

The capacity of that sporting stadium so early in our history helped to foster the passion for sports and major events that has been a hallmark of our State. Of course, the passion was fed on many levels. Around the same time as a group had become interested in a sporting stadium, some were agitating for land for horseracing. In 1840, La Trobe set land aside. It became the Flemington Racecourse. By 1861, it was staging the Melbourne Cup: the race that continues to stop a nation. Indeed it stops many a person in many a place overseas as well. Today, sports-mad Melbourne is the only city in the world that hosts both a Grand Slam tennis event and a Formula One grand prix.

From those humble beginnings in the mid-nineteenth century, our sporting infrastructure has grown. Our inner-city precinct that includes the MCG, Marvel Stadium, AAMI Park and Melbourne Park, with the Melbourne Sports and Aquatic Centre nearby, gives us unique opportunities to host the world's major sporting events. Indeed, we have won many awards for our event prowess. Notably, just a few years ago, Melbourne was crowned the SportBusiness Ultimate Sport City of the Decade at the Ten Year Anniversary Awards in Switzerland. Importantly, our love of elite sports translates into high participation rates, with three-and-a-quarter million Victorians aged fifteen and over playing sport or engaged in regular physical activity. It translates too economically. Victoria has world-class expertise in high performance and community participation programs,

Percival Skelton, artist
William Frederick Measom,
1813–c.1887, engraver
Government House,
Melbourne, c.1885
Wood engraving
Howard Willoughby, Australian
Pictures, drawn with pen and
pencil, London: Religious Tract
Society, 1886, p.[37]
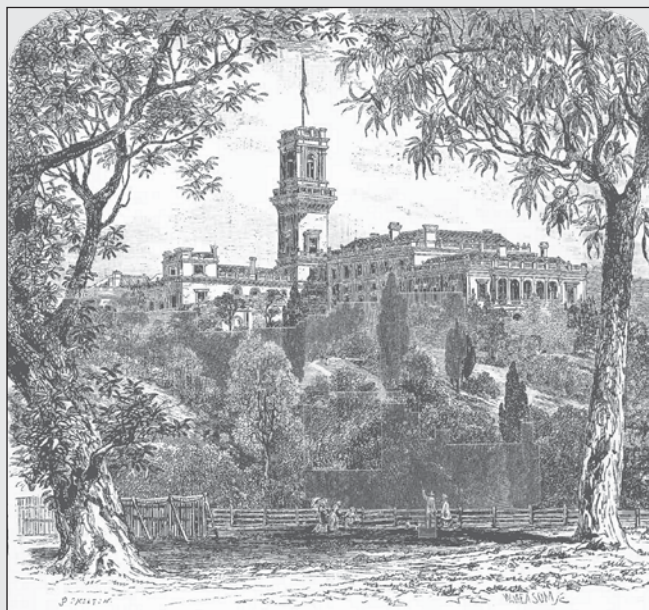
coaching services, sports analytics, governance, sponsorship, media, broadcasting, professional and educational services, and facility and event management. Sport contributes an estimated eight-and-a-half billion dollars to the Victorian economy, and accounts for the equivalent of 65,000 jobs. Given our infrastructure, calendar of events and leadership in sports technology (the Australian Sports Technologies Network estimates that 65% of the Australian sports technologies industries are based in Victoria), we are well poised for further growth in our sports sector, and to contribute to Australia's Sports Diplomacy Strategy announced earlier this year.

By setting aside very large areas for parklands, public purposes and recreation, La Trobe was largely responsible for the appearance of Melbourne today. His great interest in the natural world, and his past experience of open spaces for healthy exercise and relaxation, had an enormous influence on the layout of our city. La Trobe's vision enabled what became the gardens to embrace the Hoddle grid, as well as others further afield. Interestingly, in 1846, La Trobe had personally stepped out the site for the Botanic Gardens. The Gardens caught on quite quickly as a meeting place and 'the place to be' for socialising, for example at picnics, promenades and concerts. La Trobe also had the vision to appoint Dr Ferdinand Mueller, Victoria's first Government Botanist, in 1853. After some twenty years, the then Baron von Mueller was succeeded by William Guilfoyle, often described as 'the master of landscaping'. His vision shaped the gardens. He was inspired by sub-tropical plants and used many of them in his landscapes. Between von Mueller and

Guilfoyle, the swampy site was transformed into the magnificent landscape of our Royal Botanic Gardens. As an aside, I note that both Directors were also instrumental in the design of our gardens at Government House. We are reminded of that on a daily basis as we look out across the Western Lawn, a trademark of Guilfoyle's affection for scenic panoramas and sweeping views.

Today, the Royal Botanic Gardens are an historical, architectural, scientific, aesthetic and socially significant feature of our State. They are heritage listed, cover over thirty-eight hectares, house a collection of more than 8,500 species of plants from around the world, host nearly two-and-a-half million local, national and international guests each year, and give us so much pleasure – whether we simply stroll through, picnic, laze around on the grass, sit in the restaurants on site, or attend lectures or botanical exhibitions. The RBG now also host an exciting range of sell-out public performances and concerts. Last year, a collaboration between the Melbourne International Arts Festival and the Royal Botanic Gardens saw a French company of luminary alchemists transform the gardens with mammoth spheres of leaping flames and fiery sculptures. And importantly, people are now able to attend an Aboriginal Heritage walk there, to learn more about the indigenous heritage and culture of the land.

The Gardens are also home to the historic Melbourne Observatory, constructed in 1860. And the Herbarium, founded in 1853, which hosts one of the most historically significant collections in the world. With its over one-and-

a-half million specimens of plants, fungi and algae from around Australia and the world, it is used for scientific research in plant identification, collection and classification. Of course, since 1970, the Cranbourne Royal Botanic Gardens have been established, and have grown to cover over 360 hectares of Victoria's most remnant native bushland. It is recognised as a site of significance for flora and fauna conservation, with over twenty-five species listed as endangered, threatened or at risk of extinction. It now features approximately 170,000 different plants from 1,700 varieties. And La Trobe's vision has been realised in spades.

Being fortunate enough to be the current temporary custodians of our Government House, we are appreciative of the foresight that La Trobe showed in setting aside the land on the Domain Hill for its building. Throughout history, leaders have often been criticised for decisions from which they profit directly or indirectly, whether financially or via some other sort of advantage. No such criticism could be levelled at La Trobe for his decision to build a grand Government House. He never benefitted from it. The La Trobes of course arrived here with just a small prefabricated wooden house to be erected on 'a suitable spot in the Government paddock', as he put it. With some small additions, it is where the expanding La Trobe family lived across their fourteen years here.

The design process for Government House did start in La Trobe's time though. The initial winning design, in 1853, was for an Elizabethan-style building. However, it was ultimately considered too costly to build. The design finally adopted in 1871 was the design of William Wardell. Wardell also designed St Patrick's Catholic Cathedral, St John's Church of England Toorak and the Gothic Bank on the corner of Collins and Queen Streets. In fact, history now suggests that much of the design work for Government House was done by J.J. Clark, a young architect in the Public Works Department. Clark also designed the Old Treasury Building, amongst other landmarks. It is no coincidence that the room we meet in today is named in his honour. In any event, in 1872, construction of Government House was commenced. It was completed in 1876. Much is written about the grandeur of the building and the beauty of the garden. Even today, Government House Victoria is the biggest residential building in Australia. The State Ballroom is larger than the ballroom at Buckingham Palace, the State Dining Room table is almost the length of a cricket pitch, and the tower – a Melbourne landmark and currently in the process of a long-awaited conservation program – is forty-four metres high.

The role of the modern Governor differs from the role undertaken by Superintendent, later Lieutenant-Governor La Trobe, who bore much of the day-to-day responsibility for governance of the new colony. Since Federation, the Governor's role has generally been described in three main parts: constitutional, ceremonial and community engagement. In modern times, there is a fourth and significant part of the role. That is, promoting Victoria's international engagement. Victoria simply could not flourish economically, socially or culturally if isolated from trade, investment, innovation and collaboration with the wider world. Although the building of our beautiful house for the people of Victoria was only realised after La Trobe's time here and, sadly, after he had passed away, I have no doubt that he understood the significance of a Government House and what could be achieved within its walls. What La Trobe could not have envisaged is just how it would be used today. I am convinced that it is what takes place inside that is the greatest legacy of his vision for this House.

The busy agenda of events held at Government House includes award and investiture ceremonies, community celebrations, State dinners and diplomatic meetings. But it goes far beyond that. We have held Red Cross blood banks in our Ballroom, had children learning about a healthy lifestyle camping out on the Western Lawn, welcomed socially isolated migrant and refugee women to come together in our kitchen garden, and entertained vulnerable teens with a rock concert under the chandeliers in the Ballroom. Our State Dining table has hosted a multi-cultural youth Iftar (breaking of the fast during Ramadan) dinner, and young school captains and volunteers who give their time to help others on Christmas Day. We hold breakfasts to discuss physical and mental health, welcome hundreds of students from our sister Jiangsu Province in China and will shortly hold a hackathon (collaborative software development event) to encourage more young girls into science. To know more, you can visit our website and follow us on Twitter or Instagram. (And that is a sentence that I am certain would never have been contemplated by Charles La Trobe.)

Let me finish then with the words of La Trobe himself. In his first speech following his arrival in Melbourne, Superintendent Charles Joseph La Trobe declared that: 'It is not by individual aggrandisement, by the possession of numerous flocks or herds, or by costly acres, that the people shall secure for the country enduring prosperity and happiness….'. He dedicated himself to what he called '…the acquisition and maintenance of sound religious

and moral institutions without which no country can become truly great.' That personal ethos, combined with his many interests – as is well known, he loved botany, geology, music, sketching, sport and travel – leaves us with no surprise that he was a man of vision, and someone with the capacity to bring to life that vision for the fledgling colony.

If only he could see how his original vision has grown and flourished into a legacy for which we as a State can be grateful. Grateful too for the contribution of his wife, Sophie. But I have decided to stop there, because I am profoundly conscious that the gratitude we should have for the spouses of our Governors is the material for a whole different occasion.

The Honourable Linda Dessau AC

Absent from the Ceremony: Freemasons and the founding of the University of Melbourne

By Leon J Lyell

Leon J. Lyell is a former university administrator with an abiding interest in history. Leon studied at La Trobe University where he joined the administration in 1979. His career included managing international postgraduate enrolments, the Secretariat and finally international relations. He was a founding committee member of the University's Alumni Association and supporter of the University's early engagement with the C J La Trobe Society. He is enrolled at the Australian Catholic University researching Alonzo Marion Poe (1826-1866), an early settler in the Oregon Territory.

The foundation stone of the University of Melbourne was laid on Monday 3 July 1854 by the recently arrived Lieutenant-Governor Charles Hotham. Redmond Barry, resplendent in his immaculate chancellerian robes, was master of ceremonies. In *The Shop,* Richard Selleck writes that the ceremony began with a procession from the city to the muddy paddock where the University was to be built. It was intended, he imagined, to follow a familiar pattern with a prominent role for Freemasons.[1] Selleck's assumption about the Freemasons was reasonable, but it was not correct. Soon after the ceremony, a Freemason calling himself 'Hiram' wrote to the *Argus*, the most-read paper in the city, complaining that the Freemasons had in effect been uninvited. He asserted that this would not have happened if La Trobe had still been Lieutenant-Governor and he wanted an explanation.[2]

This minor controversy came to light while preparing a review of John Barnes' 2017 biography, *La Trobe: Traveller, Writer, Governor.*[3] It had not been noticed previously and Selleck's assumption was a common one. The story suggests that the Masonic presence in Melbourne's early history has been somewhat neglected and that further research on this theme is likely to yield a better understanding of a forgotten dimension of social and political relationships in the period. Masonic author Peter Thornton's work, based on an extensive knowledge of Victoria's Masonic archives, describes these relationships**.** He reveals some well-known characters such as Thomas McCombie, John Stephen and George Coppin in a new light.[4] In contrast with the present time, Freemasonry in this period should not be regarded as simply a prominent fraternal organisation. As Richard Berman notes: 'It should also be considered as a force that helped to shape the structure and development of the social, economic and political evolution that was then in progress'.[5]

Redmond Barry was an Irish aristocrat whose ancestors became Protestants in the time of Cromwell. Their English allegiance was central to their identity but they were Irish nonetheless. They were Conservative and 'High Tory' in their politics and wedded to the property interests of the landed gentry. The Barrys also played a leading role in local Freemasonry.[6] Barry was born in 1813 in County Cork, graduated from Trinity College Dublin in 1837 and was admitted to the Irish Bar. He then emigrated to Australia, landing in Sydney before settling in Melbourne in 1839 and establishing a practice in the minor courts. He became the Standing Council for Aborigines in 1841**,** advocating that they be tried before a jury which included Aboriginal people, an approach consistent with the values of eighteenth-century Freemasons. He was Victoria's first solicitor-general in 1851**,** then elevated to the Supreme Court of Victoria in 1852. He was involved in almost every social, cultural and philanthropic activity in Victoria at the time of his death in 1880.[7] Barry, together with Charles La Trobe and Hugh Childers,[8] was a founder of the University of Melbourne and the Public Library, placing his personal stamp on both. He proposed that there would be no contemporary fiction in the Library but that working men could come and freely learn and there would be no religious test at the University for the all-male students. Professors could not be in holy orders, nor could they lecture

on religious topics, including outside of the University.[9] La Trobe supported the institution and provided funding for it, wishing to avoid the interdenominational rivalry which plagued the University of Sydney.[10]

Barry had become a Freemason in Dublin, following his family custom. In Melbourne he affiliated with Australia Felix Lodge of Hiram No 349 in the Irish Constitution (later No 4 in the Victorian Constitution) on 30 April 1847 (eight years after his arrival), remaining a quiet member.[11] Barry's reputation has undergone a revision, highlighted by the current University of Melbourne Chancellor, Allan Myers AC QC, who presented the 2016 Redmond Barry Lecture. As Myers writes: 'I have called Barry cruel, pessimistic, fearful, hypocritical, vain and impetuous. Barry's social views and political philosophies have little, if any, importance for Australian society in 2016. But an energetic devotion to the advancement of institutions which promote education, scientific knowledge and access to the arts is as important today as it was 150 years ago.'[12] Myers' call is to both acknowledge Barry's weaknesses and celebrate his achievements. Freemasonry remembers his philanthropy as being informed by Masonic values.

La Trobe was not a Freemason, but he was certainly a friend of the Masonic bodies and the Churches which he saw as civilising forces. The Freemasons' formal welcome to La Trobe's replacement, Sir Charles Hotham, emphasises this fact:

We had not the honor to number your predecessor amongst our ranks, and we do not know whether we have the good fortune to count your Excellency among those who range under our banners. His Excellency Lieutenant Governor La Trobe, however, was pleased on several occasions to express himself very favorably disposed towards our body, and has more than once honored us by his presence at such festivities as may be partaken by those who are strangers to our Order.[13]

The laying of foundation stones were popular events and were opportunities for everyone to dress in whatever organisational garments they possessed and to carry any tools of trade. In 1854, the largest events in living memory were the laying of the Prince's Bridge foundation stone in 1846 and the subsequent opening of the Bridge in 1850. These events were reported in the press and described by Garryowen in *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne*.[14]

The need for a permanent bridge across the Yarra River compelled the Government of New South Wales to commit funds. The bridge was begun on the same day and with the same ceremony as the much-needed Melbourne Hospital. After the Masonic Brotherhood and other societies settled, proceedings began with Rev. A.C. Thomson, Masonic Chaplain, offering a prayer and concluding with the following invocation: 'May the great Architect

of the Universe permit this work to be carried on successfully to its completion'. The Masonic response came from the crowd, 'So Mote it be'.

The stone was then partly lowered, and Brother Frederick Lord Clay, as 'Junior Worshipful Master',[15] having received a bottle containing various coins of the realm from His Honor the Superintendent, deposited it in the stone. The brass plate's inscription was read by Brother John Stephen (1798-1854),[16] as Director of Ceremonies:

<div align="center">

The
FOUNDATION STONE
of this Bridge over the
Yarra Yarra River at Melbourne
was laid on the Twentieth day of
MARCH AD 1846
by
His Honor Charles Joseph La Trobe Esqr
assisted by the Ancient & Honorable
Fraternity of FREE MASONS
[etc.]

</div>

A silver trowel was handed by 'Senior Worshipful Master' A.H. Hart to His Honor, who spread the mortar, after which some verses of a psalm were sung.[17] The corn was then scattered, some oil and wine poured on the stone, and another invocation was offered by the Chaplain, followed by 'So Mote it be'. Three cheers were given for the Queen and three for La Trobe. The National Anthem was then 'chanted' by all present, and everyone

moved on to the laying of the foundation stone of the Hospital.[18] Freemasons acted as officiating assistants and formal prayers were read by the Masonic Chaplain, but Foresters, Druids and Oddfellows also paraded, as was common practice. There were no angry letters to the press afterwards asking how the Freemasons came to be so favoured. Broad customary practice was probably the basis of the ritual at such events.[19]

Garryowen's account concludes with a reference to the formal opening on 15 November 1850 as the 'grandest processional display witnessed in the colony'.[20] The celebrations joined three events, the opening of the Bridge and the Hospital, and separation from New South Wales. The *Melbourne Daily News* recorded the various community bodies and their banners at the Bridge. The procession having arrived at the crown of the centre of the bridge, the Australia Felix Lodge of Freemasons formed a lane through which the procession passed, until the arrival of La Trobe when the cavalcade halted. John Stephen as senior Past Master of the Lodge addressed His Honor, thanking him for inviting Freemasons to officiate at the completion of 'a great national monument'. After wishing His Honor long life and happiness, he called for three cheers for La Trobe, 'which were but faintly given'.[21] The *Argus* version consistently referred to La Trobe as 'the hat and feathers.' Their reporter also had difficulty hearing what La Trobe said, though his hearing improved when there was an opportunity to make an

Botterill, John, 1817–1881, artist
Charles Joseph La Trobe, 1866 (detail)
Watercolour and gouache and gum arabic over
albumen silver photograph
Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H2
Based on portrait by Sir Francis Grant RA, 1855

uncomplimentary comment.[22] The Freemasons had an organising role for the procession, but there were no Masonic rituals performed and no formal prayers offered. La Trobe continued south across the Bridge and made his famous formal announcement under the Separation Tree in the Botanic Gardens at 10.30 a.m.

In 1853, La Trobe made plans to return to England; his wife, Sophie, who was in ill health, left before him. The foundation stone events at the University and the Library would have been an appropriate way to conclude his service in Victoria. On his arrival in Melbourne La Trobe had declared: 'It is not by individual aggrandisement, by the possession of numerous flocks or herds, or by costly acres, that the people shall secure for the country enduring prosperity and happiness, but by the acquisition and maintenance of sound religious and moral institutions without which no country can become truly great'.[23] The establishment of the University and the Library were clearly consistent with this philosophy. On 27 April 1854, La Trobe read the *Morning Post* of 4 February which had just arrived from England. He was stunned to see the death notice for his wife Sophie.[24] The foundation stone ceremony had already been postponed to 1 May; it now had to be postponed again.[25] As La Trobe was leaving the colony on 6 May, this second postponement meant that the incoming Governor would have to officiate.

Following the announcement that the event would be postponed, the four Masters of Melbourne's lodges wrote to Barry through Robert Levick, Worshipful Master (WM) of the Australia Felix Lodge 697 (English Constitution). As there is no record of discussion about this in the Australia Felix minutes it is likely that the Masters met informally. The other Masters involved were M. Hall, Lodge of Australiana No 773 (English Constitution), Henry T. Shaw, Lodge of Australasian Kilwinning 337 (Scottish Constitution), and J. Elliott, Lodge of Hiram No 349 (Irish Constitution). Levick was one of a number of experienced Freemasons 'fully conversant with the various rituals', attracted to Melbourne after 1851.[26] He was established in the Lodge of Australia Felix by 1853, and because of his past Masonic advancement was quickly elevated to Master of that Lodge.[27] Widely respected for his efforts to develop Freemasonry, in December 1855 he was presented with a silver snuffbox engraved 'in testimony of the valuable services rendered to his younger brethren as their masonic instructor during the years 1854 and 1855'.[28]

Levick's letter to Barry has not survived;[29] however, a copy of Barry's response is held in the University of Melbourne Archives. He wrote on 29 April 1854:

> I have the honor to inform you that it was proposed to adopt, on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the University, the arrangement & order of procession observed on the 15th of November 1850, when the separation of the Colony of Victoria from the Colony of New South Wales was celebrated by a procession to open the Prince's Bridge. His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor would have laid the stone. No form of prayer would have been read. The members of the various Lodges of Free and accepted Masons took their place on the 15th of November 1850 after the Grand United order of Odd Fellows and before the general body of inhabitants who joined the procession. If it be the wish of you, Gentlemen, & the members of your Lodges to do honor to the procession by giving your attendance, timely notice will be published of the day on which the Ceremony now proposed will take place.[30]

Unlike the celebrations of 15 November 1850, Barry had not included the Freemasons in his plans for 1 May, except to be part of the procession. Invoking the Bridge opening as a precedent was a convenient way to avoid the question of Masonic ceremony and was perhaps a deliberate obfuscation. The precedent should

Botterill, John, 1817–1881, artist
Portrait of Sir Redmond Barry, KCMG, c.1860
Oil on canvas
Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H5193

have been the foundation stone ceremony for the Bridge, but that would not have suited Barry's purpose which seems to have been that 'No form of prayer would have been read'. Masonic involvement would have necessitated a Masonic prayer, formally read with a public response. The Bridge event is not invoked for this sentence and he is talking about what had been proposed for 1 May. The next sentence invokes the Bridge opening again on the subject of where the Freemasons would appear in the procession. Freemasons could take part in the procession and witness the event along with everyone else if they wished but nothing more. There is no suggestion that they would officiate in setting the foundation stone, and no formal prayers of any sort were to be read. The Masters understood this clearly, though the communication seems to have been entirely by correspondence.

Shortly after noon on 3 July 1854, Hotham's carriage led the procession to the untidy paddock one mile north of the city. There was no formal representation of either Freemasons or Oddfellows, whose leaders appear to have boycotted the event. Raised seats surrounded three sides of the place where the stone was to be laid. Barry, wearing 'the very handsome robes' of the Chancellor's office, conducted Lady Hotham to her seat under a canopy. She and her husband inspected the plans of the building and expressed themselves satisfied. The *Argus* was not satisfied with the attendance: the spectators were fewer than expected, and 'ladies were not numerous'.[31]

The Melbourne correspondent of the *Sydney Morning Herald* wrote an entertaining account which included the following:

a very noticeable feature in the affair was the military aspect it presented to an onlooker, not only were the whole of the soldiers there under arms, but there was a strong detachment of dragoons with drawn sabres present. …a friend… said it was 'the way they managed these things in Ireland.' But however well it chimed in with the military notions of the Irish Chancellor of the University, and acting Chief Justice of Victoria, Englishmen generally felt it to be out of place, and thought it smelt too much of continental despotism. I may remark that there is a hankering after military display in some quarters here, for I saw it noticed in the *Argus*, the other day, that on the opening of a new church by the Bishop, on Sunday last, 'a detachment of soldiers was present'. Probably we shall hear next of 'strong detachments' being present at missionary and prayer meetings.[32]

Barry gave a protracted speech, and the *Argus* reported that 'when the learned gentleman desired to be most impressive, he became the least audible.' Full details of the event have been preserved in a publication prepared by the University of Melbourne's Convocation.[33] We learn that the foundation stone was actually two stones: one in the ground and the other suspended above it from cross-trees. After Hotham had replied to Barry's speech, some coins and the constitution of the University were placed in a cavity in the lower stone. The cavity was covered with a brass plate carrying a Latin inscription composed by Barry. The plate pronounced that the university had been 'instituted in honour of God, for establishing young men in philosophy, literature and piety, cultivating the talent of youth, fostering the arts, and extending the bounds of science'. Hotham spread mortar with a silver trowel (inscribed with La Trobe's name), the upper stone was lowered, and, tapping it with a mallet 'in Masonic fashion three several times', he declared it well laid. Although the *Argus* describes the tapping as being 'in Masonic fashion' it was not in any sense a Masonic ceremony. Barry apparently offered a prayer in silence. In both cases these actions seem to have been customary practice.

Following these events 'Hiram' made his complaint:[34]

Sir – I regret that the ceremony of laying the foundation stones of the two public buildings by His Excellency Lieutenant-Governor Sir Charles Hotham yesterday, was not attended by

any of the various public bodies who at the similar ceremonies of laying the foundation stones of the bridge and hospital by His Honor Mr La Trobe, on the 20th March, 1846, joined and contributed to enliven the procession; but more particularly regret the non-attendance of the Freemasons.

Hiram explained he was a Freemason and had understood that the arrangements put in place for the 1 May 1850 event were not to be followed as anticipated on 3 July. They were invited to attend but not to take any specific place in the ceremony. He was clear that, in La Trobe's absence, the expectation of any ceremonial involvement by the Freemasons was no longer desired.

The *Argus* editor could not resist the opportunity to comment:[35]

We do not pretend to interfere with the motives or decisions of the mysterious race of WMs, PGs, &c.; but we confess that we think the foundation stones in question are quite firmly enough laid as they are. Why the Freemasons did not attend, or were not invited, we are not in the position to say. Possibly the world is getting old enough to think that it can begin to do without the pretty babyisms of the blue apron. Ed. A.

The story of Hiram is well-known to all Masonic constitutions. In the story, Hiram is murdered in Solomon's Temple by three ruffians as they attempt to force him to divulge the Master Masons' secrets. The parable stresses fidelity and the certainty of death, but the letter-writer may be also suggesting that he felt persecuted.[36] The letter refers to supposed customs 'in England' suggesting the writer was English and thus not necessarily a member of the Irish Constitution Lodge of Hiram. A response came swiftly. Mr M. Hall wrote to the Editor of the *Argus* which was published on 7 July. It stated that the previous invitation to participate in the foundation stone laying ceremony had not been renewed for the 3 July ceremony for two reasons. Firstly, it was not contemplated that the stone should be laid, or assisted to be laid, by a Freemason. Secondly, the customary masonic ceremonies were to be neglected; and, above all, no form of prayer was to be observed.[37]

He then offered the Editor of the *Argus* some advice which included his attendance at one of the city lodges. In response, the Editor could not resist the opportunity to repeat his views in more detail concluding that 'we hope

Botterill, John, 1817–1881, artist
Sir Charles Hotham, 1866 (detail)
Watercolour and gouache over albumen silver photograph
Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H4
Based on portrait (c.1846) by George Richmond RA

the day is fast coming when a body of worthy and intelligent men shall be able to go about a grave undertaking sensibly and in plain clothing' which was criticism not only of Freemasons, but all those who enjoyed dressing up to elevate themselves above their peers – 'judges, mayors and a Chancellor'.[38]

There was clearly an initial general expectation that Freemasons would take part, though Hall thinks that this was also planned for 1 May. The Freemasons were not uninvited. Rather, the lodge Masters declined the invitation. The Masters apparently did not ask Barry why the foundation stone laying for the Prince's Bridge was not a better precedent. Levick was probably aware of the facts but seems not to have raised it. After some months a formal report was published in England in 1855 in *The Freemasons' Monthly Magazine,* which provides a considered reflection:

A correspondence, involving an important Masonic principle, took place during the past year. The Chancellor of the Melbourne University, the Acting Chief Justice, Judge Barry, solicited the Masonic Lodges to attend a procession for the laying of the foundation stone of the University. But as prayer was not to be offered up on the occasion, or the Masons either to lay the foundation stone, or, after its being laid by a civilian [i.e. Hotham who was not a Mason], to adjust it with the usual

Masonic observations, they declined to attend, to the general satisfaction of the Craft.[39]

There is one more thread in the tapestry which may explain why the Masonic leadership did not wish to press the case. The lodges were collectively becoming better educated, due to the efforts of experienced Masons such as Levick, and were focussed on growth and development. Hall did not address Hiram's assertion of the Masonic 'right' to take part in such events in England. The Lodge of Hiram was just being brought out of its goldrush slump by the efforts of Thomas McCombie, who had probably been elected Master of the Lodge in April, replacing 'J. Elliot'.[40] The Lodge formed a committee on 4 July 1854 to take 'all steps necessary' for the formation of a Provincial Grand Lodge and by 8 August John Thomas Smith had been recruited to lead the effort.[41]

However, an unnamed 'eminent member of the Craft' provided a somewhat clumsily worded insight four years later.[42] It suggests another issue which the change of lieutenant-governor provided the opportunity to resolve quietly. It may also be the other unmentioned issue which Hall referred to. Barry's insistence on 'no formal prayer' and dismissal by silence of the idea of a Masonic 'right' to conduct such ceremonies, may have been a convenient way to change what seems to have been the Melbourne custom of 'assisting' the Governor in foundation stone laying ceremonies. Barry may well have been in silent agreement with the change, and following La Trobe's departure, governors were not 'assisted by Freemasons' in laying foundation stones. In 1859 William Fairfax in his *Handbook to Australasia* wrote:

> Contrary, however, to prescriptive right, to take a secondary part in such ceremonies, the brethren assisted Charles J. LaTrobe [*sic*], Esq., Superintendent of Port Phillip, and in his subsequent position as Lieutenant Governor of Victoria, to lay the foundation stones of several public structures, namely, the Supreme Court in July, 1842; Prince's Bridge and the Hospital in March, 1846; and the Benevolent Asylum in June, 1850. The R[ight] W[orshipful] Master of the Australasian Kilwinning Lodge, with the Masters of the other lodges, laid the foundation-stone of the Temperance Hall, Russell-street, in December, 1846.[43]

By contrast, the foundation stone ceremony at the Gas Works in December 1854 was explicitly a Masonic ceremony. The stone was laid by 'Brother J.T. Smith' who in his address said: 'Gentlemen – in compliance with your request to the Freemasons to lay with masonic honors the foundation stone of the Melbourne Gas Works… I have had the honor of performing this interesting ceremony'. Smith was a Freemason, a member of Parliament and the Mayor. The event, which was well-attended, included both military and musical entertainment, perhaps organised in part by McCombie, who was a shareholder. Hotham was toasted – in his absence.[44]

The second example is the foundation stone ceremony for Collingwood Bridge on 7 November 1856. The entire ceremony was a Masonic one, although there was support from the Oddfellows and a military band. The guest of honour was the Mayor of Melbourne who made clear he was a Freemason. Although not named he was probably John Thomas Smith.[45] Finally, when the foundation stone of the Freemasons' Almshouses was laid on 17 July 1867 the ceremony was conducted entirely by Freemasons. The Governor, Sir John Manners-Sutton, who was not a Freemason, was present as a witness and spoke after the ceremony.[46] The 'eminent member of the Craft' suggests that what occurred in La Trobe's tenure was unusual. It may have been one of the things corrected with the arrival of Freemasons, such as Levick, who were 'fully conversant' with the various rituals. Barry who had grown up with Freemasonry may well have had the same view.

The laying of the foundation stone of the University of Melbourne had led to friction within Melbourne Freemasonry. The Lodge of Australia Felix No 697 met on Friday 7 July 1854 with Brother Robert Levick, WM, in the Chair. After regular business Levick brought before the notice of the Lodge the (unspecified) conduct of the WM of the Australasia Lodge, Brother M. Hall. Brother J.W. Hill proposed that 'the members of this Lodge express in the strongest terms their disapprobation of the Conduct of the WM of the Lodge of Australasia, and at the same time they would wish to express the fullest confidence in the WM of their own Lodge believing him to be quite capable of Carrying [*sic*] out the onerous duties entrusted to him. The proposal was carried unanimously.'[47] The issue is not stated but involved some kind of joint activity between the Lodges. There were only two such activities at the time: one, the arrangements to meet the new Governor which Hall took the lead in and seemed to go well; and, two, the non-participation at the University where Hall responded to 'Hiram'. The duty of the Worshipful Master of a lodge is very broad: 'If lodge functions go awry, it is the Master who bears the blame.'[48] If 'Hiram' was a member of
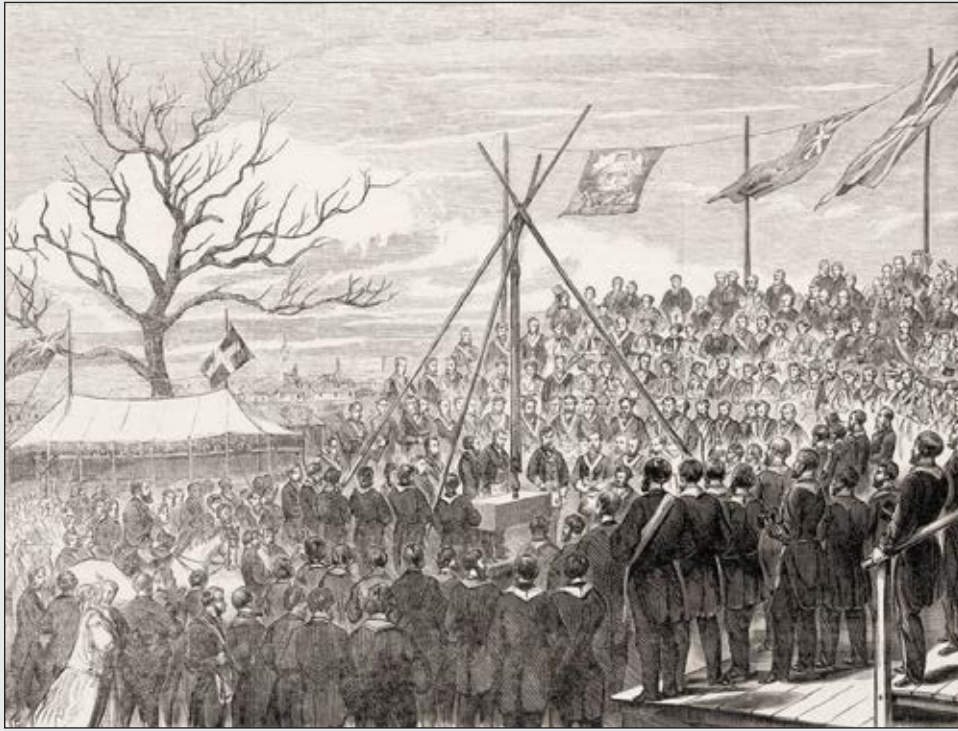
Oswald Rose Campbell,
1820–1887, artist
The Freemasons' Almshouses – laying of the foundation stone, 1867
Wood engraving
Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, IAN27/07/67/5
Published in the Illustrated Australian News for Home Readers, 20 July 20, 1867
Almshouses located Punt Road, Prahran.

Hall's lodge, Hall could be held responsible for his public outburst. Levick and the other WMs had successfully managed their memberships in not making a fuss.

The *Argus* comment, that 'the foundation stones in question are quite firmly enough laid… without the help of the Freemasons', has proved to be all too accurate. The building was finished within two years, but the foundation stones and plate are now regarded as missing. Probably they lie buried on the location of the wing of the original building (now known as 'The Old Quad') which did not go ahead. As the building and its surrounds are heritage listed, excavation is not an option. As a result, the stones were too firmly laid to be found.

Endnotes

1 R. J. W. Selleck, *The Shop: the University of Melbourne, 1850-1939*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003, pp.1–2.

2 *Argus*, 6 July 1854, p.5. Neither W.J. Ingram, *The First Hundred Years of the Lodge of Australia Felix no. 1, United Grand Lodge of Victoria*, nor Dorothy Wickham, *Freemasons on the Goldfields: Ballarat and district 1853-2013*, discuss this issue.

3 John Barnes, *La Trobe: Traveller, Writer, Governor*, Canberra: Halstead Press in association with State Library Victoria [and] La Trobe University, 2017.

4 P.T. Thornton, *A Century of Union: the United Grand Lodge of Victoria*, East Melbourne: United Grand Lodge of Victoria, 1989; and *The History of Freemasonry in Victoria*, Shepparton Newspapers, 1978. Thornton's weakness is that he does not include references for his observations, though he does include a bibliography. The Archive itself is now, unfortunately, practically inaccessible following his death and its relocation into storage.

5 Richard Andrew Berman, 'The Architects of Eighteenth-Century English Freemasonry, 1720-1740', Thesis (PhD) University of Exeter, 2010, p.306.

6 Ann Galbally, *Redmond Barry: an Anglo-Irish Australian*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995, p.5.

7 Peter Ryan, 'Barry, Sir Redmond (1813–1880)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (accessed online 4 June 2019).

8 Geoffrey Blainey, *Centenary History of the University of Melbourne,* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1957, p.209.

9 Galbally, p.89.

10 Blainey, p.6. Blainey includes unreferenced details not mentioned in other secondary works.

11 Lodge Devotion 723, 'Brother Sir Redmond Barry (1813-1880)', http://www.lodgedevotion.net/devotionnews/famous-australian-freemasons/large-list-of-notable-and-famous-australian-freemasons/biographies-and-articles-on-famous-australian-freemasons/brother-sir-redmond-barry-2017-07 (accessed 3 June 2019).

12 'Victorian Optimism: Does it Persist Today?', Redmond Barry Lecture 2016, https://about.unimelb.edu.au/leadership/chancellor/speeches/victorian-optimism-does-it-persist-today (accessed 4 June 2019).

13 *Victorian Government Gazette*, No.59, July 7, 1854, p.1513. This quote illustrates the potential for a more detailed study to refine conclusions about the relationship between British imperialism and Freemasonry, and local press lampooning of both, outlined in Jessica L. Harland-Jacobs, *Builders of Empire: Freemasons and British Imperialism*, 1717-1927. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007.

14 Garryowen, *Chronicles of Early Melbourne, 1835 to 1852: historical, anecdotal and personal*, Melbourne: Fergusson and Mitchell, 1888, pp.501-513.

15 This phrase and 'Senior Worshipful Master' were used by Garryowen. He was not a Freemason though is a usually reliable observer.

16 'Stephen, John (1798–1854)', *Obituaries Australia*, http://oa.anu.edu.au/obituary/stephen-john-22093/text32033 (accessed 28 June 2019). Note: The plaque, on long-term loan to Melbourne Museum from the City of Melbourne Art and Heritage Collection, may be viewed at http://www.latrobesociety.org.au/LaTrobe-sites.html#Melbourne. (Ed.)

17 The trowel was one owned by the Australia Felix Lodge rather than that made for the occasion. It remains in the care of the Lodge, see https://victoriancollections.net.au/items/5503a0092162f11a6c8d1d95 (accessed 5 July 2019).

18 Garryowen, p.502.

19 This is an area worth further research. In Australia, a beginning has been made by Masonic writer Bob James, *They Call Each Other Brother: the strange, slow death of mateship in Australia, 1788-2010, the authentic history*, Tighes Hill, N.S.W.: Bob James, 2010.

20 Garryowen, p.503.

21 *Melbourne Daily News*, 19 November 1850, p.1.

22 *Argus,* 19 November 1850, p.1.

23 *Port Phillip Patriot,* 7 October 1839, p.2, quoted in Dianne Reilly Drury, *La Trobe: the Making of a Governor,* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2006, p.146.

24 Barnes, p.322.

25 Blainey, p.8, claims it was 'postponed thrice'.

26 William Fairfax, *Handbook to Australasia: being a brief historical and descriptive account of Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, New South Wales, Western Australia, and New Zealand*, Melbourne: W. Fairfax and Co., 1859, p. cvii. The section on Freemasonry was written by an 'eminent member of the Craft'.

27 Fairfax, p. cvii.

28 *Age*, 8 December 1855, p.6.

29 Sophie Garrett, University of Melbourne Archives, to Leon Lyell, email 30 November 2018.

30 Chancellor to Worshipful Masters of Masonic Lodges, 29 April 1854, Council Letter Book 1854-1871, p.8, Universityof Melbourne Archives.

31 *Argus*, 4 July 1854, p.4.

32 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 July 1854, p.2.

33 *The Foundation Stone of the University of Melbourne: a re-creation of the foundation plate presented by the Committee of Convocation, 21 November 2007*, Melbourne: Committee of Convocation, University of Melbourne, 2007.

34 *Argus*, 6 July 1854, p.5.

35 Ibid.

36 William Morgan, *Illustrations of Masonry*, by one of the Fraternity, Rochester [New York: Printed for the author], 1827, pp.77-93.

37 *Argus,* 7 July 1854, p.5.

38 Ibid.

39 *The Freemasons' Monthly Magazine*, 1 April 1855, p.258.

40 Thomas McCombie (1819-1869), journalist, merchant and politician, born in Scotland, was founding Master of the Lodge of Hiram. His Masonic career is covered in Thornton.

41 Thornton, pp.10-11.

42 Possibly Thomas McCombie.

43 Fairfax, p. cvi.

44 *Argus*, 2 December 1854, p.5.

45 *Age*, 8 November 1856, p. 5.

46 *Argus*, 18 June 1867, p.6.

47 Minute Book, Lodge of Australia Felix No.697, Meeting of 7 July 1854, pp. 444-445. Rare Archives Box No.5, 'Australia Felix No.697, 23 December 1839 to 25 May1855, Grand Library, Freemasons Victoria.

48 'Lodge Officer Duties', Masonic Lodge of Education, https://www.masonic-lodge-of-education.com/lodge-officer-duties.html (accessed 14 June 2019).

Robert Hoddle, 1794–1881, artist
Melbourne, Port Phillip, Racecourse and Survey Office, 1840
Watercolour
Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H259

The La Trobe era origins of Flemington Racecourse

By Dr Andrew Lemon AM

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It was Brindled Jamie Watson who came up with the name of Flemington, not Bob Fleming the Butcher. Historians have argued over the point for a century. For years the Victoria Racing Club maintained that early settler Robert Fleming gave the racecourse its name; then in 2009 librarian and La Trobe Society member Judy McDonald pulled together primary source evidence that came down on the side of James Watson.[1] After much more examination her version stands scrutiny as the correct one. Watson's young Scottish squatter mates, the Hunter brothers, a bunch of larrikins but amazing horsemen, mocked him gently with the nickname. We do not have any photographs or paintings so can only imagine brindled brown or ginger grey-streaked hair and beard, and a face prematurely lined.[2]

Watson's love was Miss Elizabeth Rose, 'second daughter of the late Mr James Rose of Flemington, Morayshire'. That is how their wedding notice described her.[3] You can still find this country estate near Loch Flemington just beyond the outskirts of the Scottish city of Inverness. Brindled Jamie originally had to leave Elizabeth Rose at home while he tried his fortunes in Australia in the 1830s. The pastoral partnership Watson and Hunter was among the first to bring cattle and horses overland to the

Port Phillip District. Watson took up a strategic lease at Keilor on the Salt Water or Maribyrnong River. He sent the Hunter boys with cattle up Mansfield way.

December 1840 was a month to remember for Jamie Watson. Melbourne as a township was just five years old. Alex Hunter wrote in his diary, 'Went in to Melbourne and saw Watson who is living at the Club. He has just gone down to meet Miss Rose, his future wife, who arrived last night on the *Midlothian*.'[4] The lovers were soon married, on the last day of the year. While waiting in town, Watson bought a major piece of land at the first government land sale in the newly surveyed parish of Doutta Galla. It was half a square mile (130 hectares), bordering the Moonee Ponds Creek on the main road leading north-west from Melbourne.[5]

Marriage and land purchase occurred in the same month. He called his new property *Flemington*, in honour of his bride. The furthest boundary corner of his land came to a high point where today's Epsom Road meets Ascot Vale and Racecourse Roads. If Jamie took Elizabeth to that romantic spot, they could have gazed south-west over river flats of the Maribyrnong – and that broad tract of crown land over which they looked had already been used for the first time as the Melbourne Racecourse, earlier that year. Fifteen years more would pass before the name of Watson's *Flemington* began to migrate and attach itself to the neighbouring racecourse. By that time Elizabeth had died, childless and too young, while Brindled Jamie had lost everything and left the district.[6]

In those earliest years the only wheeled track from Melbourne to the racecourse led through James Watson's *Flemington* land. The first possible crossing place for vehicles over the Moonee Ponds Creek took the traveller into his property. It is the point where Flemington Road becomes Mt Alexander Road, where today the elevated freeway vaults over the roads and railway lines.

This crossing point over the creek was the original road access from Melbourne to Geelong and Ballarat (the West Melbourne swamp and Maribyrnong River being impediments to reaching Footscray directly) as well as to Mount Macedon and Bendigo. For travellers heading north it was also the preferred road via Essendon and Broadmeadows towards Kilmore until the boggy Sydney Road beyond Coburg became passable.

Brindled Jamie Watson set about establishing what our age might call service providers on his side of the creek: in particular a blacksmith and a Flemington Hotel with livery, or horse stables. For himself and Elizabeth he began a homestead on a hill above Mt Alexander Road and he called this *Flemington House*. When he finally cut up and sold the estate, his homestead passed into the hands of Hugh Glass who briefly enjoyed a fortune made from land deals and pastoral pursuits. Glass built Melbourne's most magnificent mansion on the spot, retaining Watson's name of *Flemington House*.[7] Later owners called it *Travancore* instead. Now only the name survives.

Robert Fleming, the butcher, never owned, lived on or leased land at the racecourse, nor on Watson's *Flemington* estate. He was one of the first to bring sheep from Van Diemen's Land, or Tasmania, across Bass Strait and it is possible he could have grazed them on the river flats. The land he acquired was many miles up country on the Plenty River, and he bought a large allotment for a town villa for his wife and family in what became West Brunswick. This is on the Melbourne side of the Moonee Ponds Creek, nearly opposite but a little upstream of Watson's *Flemington House*.[8]

I will not expand here on the process by which family history shaggy-dog-ism within three generations transferred original ownership of the racecourse to Robert Fleming but alas the story is not true.[9] Watson's superior claim to originating the Flemington name was supported by historians more than a century ago, and the explanation made at that time is close to the truth.[10]

The best guess is that the Scottish *Flemington* estate was either owned or managed by Elizabeth Rose's father. If we carefully trace the origins of the Fleming story we can see how it became heated and got away like wildfire as one generation succeeded the next. Jamie Watson lost his fortune and properties; he and his wife Elizabeth Rose of *Flemington* had no descendants so there was no-one to carry the flame.

Three of those Hunter brothers were among the first to ride their horses around the river flats of the Melbourne Racecourse. They were typical of the generation of predominantly young males who daily risked their lives and tried their luck in the new Port Phillip District. Historians speak of this as the pastoral age lasting about sixteen years until the gold rushes began in 1851, the year when Victoria separated as a new colony from New South Wales. Pastoral perhaps in terms of sheep and cattle, but there was nothing tranquil about those early years as settlers competed among themselves for the best land and forced Aboriginal people off their traditional hunting grounds. Combative, aggressive and abrasive personalities predominated. Riding against each other in horse races, jumping their horses over hurdles and fallen logs where necessary, pitting against each other their skills and daring, and betting heavily on the outcome – all of this was an inseparable part of their frontier mentality.

The first races in Melbourne, 1837

Dr Barry Cotter, Melbourne's first practising medical practitioner, arrived in 1835 from Van Diemen's Land as part of a group associated with John Batman. A quarrelsome man with old-fashioned notions of duty and honour, within the first five years of the new settlement he traded in property, set up a chemist shop, got involved in hotels, helped establish the Melbourne Club and fought a duel with pistols against a newspaper editor, fortunately without fatal consequences.[11] Barry Cotter also participated in the earliest recorded horse race in Melbourne.

The details are very spare so, regardless of later guesses, we have no idea how many races they ran, or if there were spectators, barracking or bets. Melbourne did not yet have a newspaper, but *The Tasmanian* in Launceston on 10 March 1837 briefly reported the event. Here is the report in full:

> The first Race was run on a beautiful Race Course, on the 8th February [1837]. The only match which was well contested and which afforded interest was between horses the property of Dr Cotter and Mr Brown – which was won by the horse of the latter gentleman.

The word *match* means two horses competing in each race. We do not know where the 'beautiful Race Course' was, what distance the races were, whether Cotter and Brown rode their own horses or not, and who else – if anyone – was involved. Nor do we know for sure who Mr Brown was, probably the Van Demonian, John 'Bagdad' Brown.[12]

The first race meeting in Melbourne, 1838

If a race meeting means entries, rules, prizes, a marked course, starters and officials, some anticipation and speculation, genuine competition, spectators, food and drink and a good time, then Melbourne's first meeting was the one held the following year over two days, 6 and 7 March 1838.

It is an effort of imagination to go back to that time and place. Batman's Hill near the Yarra River was never a high eminence and there is no sign of it at all today. In time it was levelled, its soil used as landfill; Southern Cross station, on Spencer Street, more or less occupies the site. From here to the north, curving towards North Melbourne, the ground is still slightly higher than the plain below, to the west, which today is occupied by roads and railway lines, the buildings of Docklands including the arena, and the harbour area itself which is a man-made construction off the river Yarra. This was Batman's Swamp. Around it the races were run, Batman's Hill used as a vantage point.

John Pascoe Fawkner always countered John Batman's claims to the title of founder of Melbourne. Fawkner established the town's first newspaper, *The Melbourne Advertiser*, its first few issues consisting of a few pages copied out by hand. This new weekly paper gives the most complete surviving description of the 1838 race meeting.[13] A Launceston paper, the *Cornwall Chronicle* carried a shorter first-hand report a few weeks later. Other accounts, such as the one written years later by the journalist Edmund Finn, who called himself 'Garryowen', are based on Fawkner's paper and the memories of old timers. Garryowen's version is colourful but not reliable.[14]

An ad-hoc committee – one brought together unplanned, just for this occasion – used Fawkner's Hotel in Collins Street as its depot and canvassed subscribers to supply funds for some enticing prizes. Messrs Morley, F. Nodin, William D.G. Wood and Henry Arthur were the organising stewards. As expatriates of Van Diemen's Land, they copied the formula used in that colony, and the main race at the big meetings in those days was always called the Town Plate. The committee set out a simple scale of weights to be carried by the horses according to their age and sex. It cost one pound to enter a horse. The race demanded 'two mile heats'. This meant winning two out of three races over two miles during the afternoon – though if one horse won the first two heats, the third heat was dropped.[15]

Jockeys could ride in this race on behalf of the owners, but we have no idea of their names. In the foundation years of racing, newspapers more often than not completely ignored the identity of the jockeys. Some events were restricted to

'gentleman riders', with a higher weight scale of up to 12 stone (76.2 kilograms). At the 1838 meeting, gentlemen rode in the Ladies' Purse and the Hunter Stakes (meaning horses jumping, not the Hunter brothers: it involved clearing five fences). Finally a 'Beaten Horses Stakes' offered a ten sovereign consolation prize open to competitors who missed winning during the meeting.

'Disputes if any' – they were optimistic – 'will be settled on the course' by the stewards appointed for the occasion. A tongue-in-cheek notice advised that 'the Melbourne Race Club will dine at Fawkner's Hotel on the last day of the Races', so some writers describe 'the Melbourne Race Club' as the first racing club in the colony: but, as explained, it was a one-off committee, had no members beyond subscribers to the fund, did not continue after the races, and was not a club in any normal sense.

Proving this point, the following year a public meeting at the *Lamb Inn* in Collins Street a month before the races elected an entirely new committee to arrange the races, with only one of the first stewards returning from 1838, the chairman William Wood.[16]

Fawkner and Batman both raced horses at the 1838 meeting. Fawkner's mare Yarro Lass was simply outclassed in her events but Batman had better luck.

It would take a longer treatise to explain all the jargon, practices and rules surrounding race meetings at the time. At the earliest annual Melbourne races there was a hint of irony in the naming of races, a sense of risk and danger, and some gruesome accidents to horses and riders. It provided Port Phillip with a three-day autumn holiday. The day after the meeting was given over to traditional holiday events: 'men ran or jumped in sacks, chased pigs with their tails greased, dipped for oranges, climbed a greasy pole with a joint of mutton placed on the top of it, and in sundry other ways, kept up the old English fashion of plebeian sporting.'[17]

Many familiar elements of a race meeting were there from the first: certainly there were bets (although these were 'few and not heavy') and on the slopes of Batman's Hill 'numerous groups enjoyed the sports of the day' while 'several booths of capacious size, and teeming with the usual refreshment, ornamented the course and diversified the scene.' The *Melbourne Advertiser* expressed concern about 'the policy of tempting people to intoxication' because 'the heat and the excitement hastens this consummation.' It continued, 'If drunkenness is to be abolished, sports should be more frequently encouraged, and would then have a beneficial effect.'[18]

This racecourse seemed ideal for its purpose, right on the edge of the fledgling city: 'A level plain of large extent' with a gentle slope for spectators to gain 'a clear open view of the whole race'.[19] The problem was that no-one could guarantee its future.

A few months after the 1839 autumn races at Batman's Swamp, the racing enthusiasts in Melbourne began to take the development of the sport a lot more seriously. John Wood, William's brother, called a public meeting at the *Lamb Inn* as early as October to make preliminary arrangements for the next race week planned for March 1840. Dr Cotter found himself elected secretary and treasurer, and the eldest of the Hunter brothers, John, was one of the committee to act as the stewards. Their first job was to find a new site for racing – quite a challenge when the official surveyor, Robert Hoddle, was busily preparing for sale all remaining land within easy reach of Melbourne town.[20]

The first race meeting at the Melbourne Racecourse (Flemington) 1840

The committee's choice of the river flats on the Maribyrnong made sense except for the long detour by road to reach the course via the Flemington ford across the Moonee Ponds creek.[21] The racecourse site was flood prone but this made the ground softer at the end of summer than many other places. It was not heavily treed, though the organisers had to clear logs and debris washed down from upstream: The place felt expansive, but the presence of one steep hill near the river dictated at least one sharp turn on the running track. In time this hill would become Flemington's greatest asset, but to begin with it was seen as a problem.

The stewards were only just in time to prevent the land from being sold off in small farm lots. The surveyor had already set out several allotments of fifty to one hundred acres (twenty to forty hectares), each a furlong (201 metres) wide, with river frontages extending to what we now know as Epsom Road. Charles La Trobe in charge of the settlement agreed that five of these blocks (Lots 24 to 28) could be kept aside for the time being and used as a racecourse. It was the flat land he exempted from sale, so the course included just the edge of the hill.[22] The stewards decided that the finishing straight would run parallel to the river, with sufficient room for spectators, tents and temporary stands between the track and the water. This configuration remained for the next twenty years.

None of this happened without argument. Some complained about the distance of the course from the town and about 'the want of a
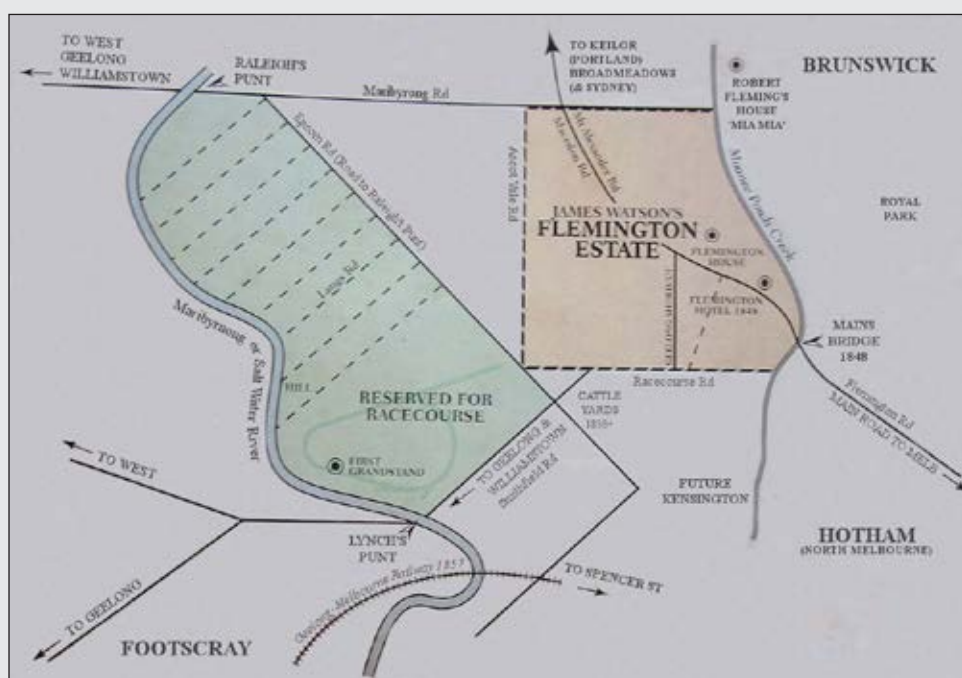
Andrew Lemon, illustrator
Map of Watson's Flemington Estate and adjacent Racecourse
From Stephen Howell (ed.), *The Story of the Melbourne Cup,*
Melbourne: Slattery Media Group, 2010, p.31

favourable declivity' as a vantage point.[23] They grumbled about the rules and conditions, but the first race meeting won them over with fair weather and good sport. The stewards devised a punctual program over three days, with races starting at half-hour intervals, based on rules of the Jockey Club in England. Names of jockeys and the colours they were wearing had to be notified at the time of entry. In fairness to all, no owner was allowed to gallop his horses on the track in the week leading up to the races, and all horses had to be paraded for the public at Batman's Hill on the Saturday beforehand.[24] The three-day meeting began on Tuesday 4 March 1840.[25] This was the first race meeting ever to be held at Flemington, known for the next fifteen years or so simply as the Melbourne Racecourse.

In this way a tradition was born, and never a year has passed from 1840 to the present without a race meeting at Flemington. Never war nor economic depression, flood, drought, fires, nor reconstruction of the racetrack itself were ever enough to see Flemington miss a year. Of Australian racecourses in modern use, only Randwick in Sydney can claim to be older. However, Randwick, known then as the Sandy Race Course, remained virtually unused for racing for a period of twenty years in this era and realistically dates its modern history from 1860 when the Australian Jockey Club shifted there

from Homebush.[26] Flemington has the longer history as a continually used racecourse. Almost contemporaneous with great international courses such as England's Goodwood and France's Chantilly, Flemington predates Longchamp, Churchill Downs, Toronto's original Woodbine and many other famous racecourses of the world.[27]

As a side point, not a year passed from 1840 without a steeplechase at Flemington until 2007. 'Jumps racing', the subject of fierce local controversy in recent years, has lingered longest in Victoria and South Australia. The defence of jumping by its admirers and advocates gives us an insight into the attitudes to all forms of racing in the earliest colonial days. Jockeys and gentlemen riders cared little for personal safety in the heat of the contest in this extreme sport. Riding a racehorse was the fastest, most exhilarating and dangerous thing you could do in Australia in the 1840s: it attracted young men yearning for excitement and reputation. Often big money hung on the result.

As it does today, race riding required skill, courage, athleticism and judgement, but there was little help when things went wrong. Today if accidents occur the results can still be drastic, life changing, even fatal. However, today there are ambulances, veterinarians, doctors and counsellors, pain killers and antibiotics,

insurance policies, rehabilitation, compensation as some form of rescue or consolation when the worst happens. In 1840 there was the gun and Dr Cotter, little more.

The *Port Phillip Gazette*, rival paper to Fawkner's *Advertiser*, gave a famous description of the Melbourne Racecourse for that first meeting in March 1840:

> The position of the scene, swept on one side by the river, on the other by a low ridge of undulating green hills, was particularly well chosen. The little plain itself was studded by tents and stands, above which floated the gay embroidery of a hundred flags.

It spoke of a band of musicians and the excited shouting of the crowd; 'a thousand voices' was the very rough estimate of the attendance, and it noted that the streets of the town were deserted for the festivities. Plenty of racegoers decided it was simplest to make the voyage by way of the Yarra and Maribyrnong Rivers. 'Boats with their white sails and sweeping oars, were scudding along the low banks of the river, dipping around the steamer as she threw her jet of vapour into the air, while the booths were overflowing the newspaper spoke of horses, mules and bullocks 'mingled together in exquisite confusion'.[28]

Somewhere at the back of this story was the first Lieutenant-Governor of the colony, Charles Joseph La Trobe, who had arrived as Superintendent in 1839. We see his hand in the important 1840 initiative of putting the Saltwater River flats aside for racing purposes. In 1848 at his suggestion the Governor of New South Wales, Sir Charles FitzRoy, approved a three-year lease to the stewards of the annual race meetings, and in 1850 the *Government Gazette* announced a ten-year lease of the 352 acre site to trustees 'for a public racecourse' – three nominated by the government, three by racing stewards.[29] From 1864 the newly-formed Victoria Racing Club took over this role, formalised seven years later by an Act of Parliament. The administration of racing in this State has evolved dramatically since that time but the VRC remains the trustee of Flemington Racecourse today, a place proudly included on Australia's National Heritage Register.

Many of La Trobe's successors in office as governor of Victoria relished attending the annual races at Flemington in style, especially when the Melbourne Cup began to reign supreme. Charles La Trobe was in person known to be a fine horseman, and once attended the Victorian Border Games at the Melbourne Racecourse.[30] He was not a betting man, nor did he ever own racehorses. In his time in office, the Melbourne races evolved from a pioneer settlement entertainment to a major annual holiday for the populace. The 1854 autumn races, the last in his long term in office, were widely reported as 'one of the best conducted races ever witnessed upon the Melbourne Course'.[31] Later that year a Flemington spring race meeting was added to the calendar for the very first time. Yet, not surprisingly and so far as the public record shows, in his fifteen years as Superintendent and Lieutenant-Governor, La Trobe never once went to the races at the great racecourse that he set aside for posterity.

Endnotes

1 John Pacini, *A Century Galloped By*, Melbourne: Victoria Racing Club, 1988; Judy Macdonald, 'James Watson and Flemington: a gentleman's estate', *La Trobeana*, vol. 8, no. 3, November 2009. See also Judy Macdonald, 'John "Howqua" Hunter and the China connection', *La Trobeana*, vol. 15, no.3, November 2016.

2 Diary quoted in J.D. MacInnes, 'The Hunter Brothers at Devil's River', *Victorian Historical Magazine*, vol. 14, 1931, pp. 56–71.

3 *Port Phillip Herald*, 26 January 1841.

4 MacInnes, p.65.

5 Ray Gibb, 'Early Landowners Parish of Doutta Galla', 2001 (file in Sam Merrifield Library, Moonee Ponds, Moonee Valley Libraries).

6 Details of Watson's Flemington Estate appear in sales advertisements for the subdivision, *Port Phillip Gazette*, 23 October 1849. Elizabeth died 1846. James ('commission agent, Flemington') was declared insolvent for a final time in January 1851.

7 J.E. Senyard, 'Glass, Hugh (1817-1871)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 4, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1972, p.254. Watson's sale of homestead, *Port Phillip Gazette*, 30 October 1849.

8 A properly researched family history of Robert Fleming is in Bill Fleming, 'Descendants of Robert Fleming', 2009, private circulation.

9 The Fleming myth was given currency by the memoir of racehorse trainer Samuel Griffiths, *Turf and Health: Australian racing reminiscences*, Melbourne: Massina and Co., 1906.

10 Thomas O'Callaghan, 'Australian Place Names', *Victorian Historical Magazine*, vol. 8, 1920-21, p.28.

11 Paul de Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980, p.108.

12 John Brown was licensee of the Crown Inn, Bagdad, Van Diemen's Land, and took horses to Victoria. Nearly seventy years later, one allegedly first-hand account of 'the first race' emerged, but this refers to the first races at the Flemington course. In a letter to the *Argus*, P. Reid of Bairnsdale claimed to be 'the sole survivor of the little company (about half a dozen) who were present at the first race on the Flemington course', a 'private match' between William Highett and James Bagdad Brown. Both Highett and Brown did race horses at the 1840 meeting, but a match between them was not reported, *Port Phillip Gazette*, 7 March 1840.

13 *Melbourne Advertiser*, 12 March 1838.

14 *Cornwall Chronicle*, 14 April 1838. Garryowen (Edmund Finn), *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne 1835 to 1852*, Melbourne: Fergusson and Mitchell, 1888, pp.[711]-712.

15 *Melbourne Advertise*r, 5 March 1838.

16 *Port Phillip Patriot*, 6 February and 13 March 1838.

17 *Melbourne Advertiser*, 12 March 1838.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 *Port Phillip Patrio*t, 30 September 1839, *Port Phillip Gazette*, 26 October 1839.

21 The timber bridge depicted in the William H. Jarrett drawing was new in 1851, the year of the drawing. It replaced an earlier structure known as 'Main's Bridge' – dated on my map as 1848 but in fact it was in place as early as 1845. 'Main' was Patrick Main, an early builder in Melbourne, who owned land on the Moonee Ponds Creek from 1843 (presumably acquired from Watson's Flemington estate) which he used for quarrying.

22 *Plan of the Parish of Doutta Galla*, Melbourne: Surveyor General's Office, 1856. La Trobe's authorisation for this reservation is assumed. In the 1880s portions of Lot 29 were acquired freehold by the Victoria Racing Club and incorporated into the racecourse.

23 *Port Phillip Gazette*, 18 February 1840.

24 Ibid, 17 and 18 February and 2 March 1840.

25 Ibid, 5 and 9 March 1840.

26 For details see Andrew Lemon, *The History of Australian Thoroughbred Racing*, Vol. 1, Melbourne: Hardie Grant, (1987), 2007.

27 Longchamp 1857, Churchill Downs 1875, the original Woodbine on Lake Ontario 1881. Goodwood's first public meeting was 1802, Chantilly 1834.

28 *Port Phillip Gazette*, 7 March 1840.

29 Ibid, 29 March 1848, Argus 29 March 1850.

30 *Melbourne Daily News*, 13 August 1850. In these Games events were: 'standing jumps, three rising jumps in length, putting the stone, throwing the light hammer, hurdle race, 100 yards, quoits'.

31 *Argus*, 27 March 1854.

The Reynolds Family: Cornish bounty emigrants of 1849

By Lorraine Finlay

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William and Susan Reynolds and their five children, Eliza, Richard, William, Thomas and Henry, sailed from Plymouth, Devon on 11 May 1849 on the barque *Elizabeth* bound for Melbourne. Their sixth child Elizabeth was born at sea on 14 June 1849 while the ship was sailing off the coast of South Africa.[1] The Reynolds family were among the 23,666 bounty or assisted immigrants who arrived in the Port Phillip District between the years 1838 and 1851.[2] The *Elizabeth* left London on the 25 March 1849, then called at Deal in Kent on 28 March and finally Plymouth on or about 11 May 1849. The ship's captain was Master Alexander Ferguson Morris and the surgeon superintendent Dr Edmonds. The voyage took 102 days and the Reynolds arrived in Melbourne on 23 July 1849. On board the ship in steerage at the time of its arrival were 236 bounty emigrants, comprising 41 married couples, 34 single men, 47 single women, 33 boys, 33 girls, five male infants and two female infants.[3] William Reynolds did not have a sponsor in the colony with the assurance of future employment, therefore the family had to seek shelter at Superintendent Charles Joseph La Trobe's newly erected immigration barrack.

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William Reynolds was born in Lostwithiel, Cornwall in 1805 and Susan Carter was born in 1807 in Port Issac, North Cornwall. They married in St Issey in 1833. William,

a stonemason, was described as a sojourner (temporary resident) in the parish at the time of their marriage.[4] Their children were born in various small towns between Port Issac and Padstow. William's occupation as a stonemason and at times a plasterer may account for their peripatetic existence moving between these different locations at the time of the children's births. At some stage the family applied to emigrate. The principal emigration agents for Cornwall at that time were A.B. Duckham of Falmouth and J.B. Wilcocks, the agent for Plymouth and West Cornwall.[5] There were also many sub–agents reporting to J.B. Wilcocks; one of these agents may have processed the Reynolds' application.[6] It is probable the family was still living in a village close to Padstow which was situated within the registration district of Bodmin before their departure. Padstow is approximately fifty miles (eighty kilometres) by road to Plymouth. They could have travelled either by coastal steamer or some form of road transport to reach the emigration depot in Plymouth prior to sailing.

Cornwall: the hungry forties

When William and Susan applied to emigrate they were both in their early forties and were leaving with a young family to embark on a potentially dangerous journey to the other side of the world and to an uncertain future. They may have been left with no other option but to emigrate. Cornwall had been suffering

James Clarke Hook RA (1819–1907), artist
The Emigration Depot at Plymouth
(Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser, 17 January 1885, p.111.)

an agricultural depression since the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The situation became worse with the failure of the potato crop between 1845 and 1847.[7] This caused widespread hardship and distress not only in Cornwall but throughout the British Isles and especially in Ireland. The potato had become a staple part of the diet and was favoured because it was easy to grow and could be stored in winter. Emigration often became a means of avoiding starvation. Adding to the problem in Cornwall was a decline in copper and tin mining. Mines, a major source of employment, were now extremely deep and costly to work. More accessible copper ore was being discovered overseas. During the 1840s many Cornish miners emigrated to South Australia to work in the copper mines at Kapunda and Burra. During this period depopulation in agricultural and mining areas occurred throughout Cornwall.[8]

Assisted migration

Assisted migration to New South Wales had begun in the early 1830s. The convict assignment system was being phased out during the 1830s and the agitation for the cessation of transportation of convicts from the United Kingdom was gaining momentum. Colonial settlers began requesting the government that it encourage migration from Britain to fill the shortfall no longer provided by convict labour. The most urgent need at the time was for agricultural labourers and domestic servants. By 1837 two schemes were in operation. Both assisted migration schemes were to be paid for

from the sale of crown land in the colonies. The Bounty emigrant scheme was conducted by private shipping companies. These operators and the ships' employees, such as surgeons, could then claim a bounty from colonial governments for each emigrant upon arrival at their destination. The Assisted emigrant scheme was operated directly by the British government which chartered ships to convey emigrants to the colonies. Individuals, philanthropic and religious organisations could also apply to the colonial and British government to convey emigrants from Britain and claim a bounty upon their arrival.

In 1840 the British government in London established a branch within the Colonial Office entitled the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission to take control of the two emigration schemes. The Commission's board designed selection criteria and set up an application and interview process to find suitable applicants. The Commission also provided detailed instructions to the owners of British merchant vessels who were required by the Passengers Act to regulate the conditions of the carriage of passengers. A significant instruction in accordance with the Act was the requirement to hire the services of a surgeon superintendent. Following recommendations by colonial governments, preference was to be given to 'healthy and able-bodied emigrants, capable of field labour and of the labouring classes going out to work for wages in the colony'.[9] Amongst those of the labouring classes were specific occupations: shepherds, carpenters, smiths, wheelwrights, bricklayers and masons.

Robert Russell, 1808–1900, draughtsman
Plan shewing the situation of the buildings on the Government Reserve, Melbourne, Port Phillip, June 1838
Map Collection, State Library Victoria, H24529
Temporary hospital and Temporary prisoners' barrack are shown on the eastern side. The Surveyor's Office, south-west corner, became the site of the Immigration Barrack in 1848. This reserve was also known as the Government Block. Map may be viewed via the Library's website
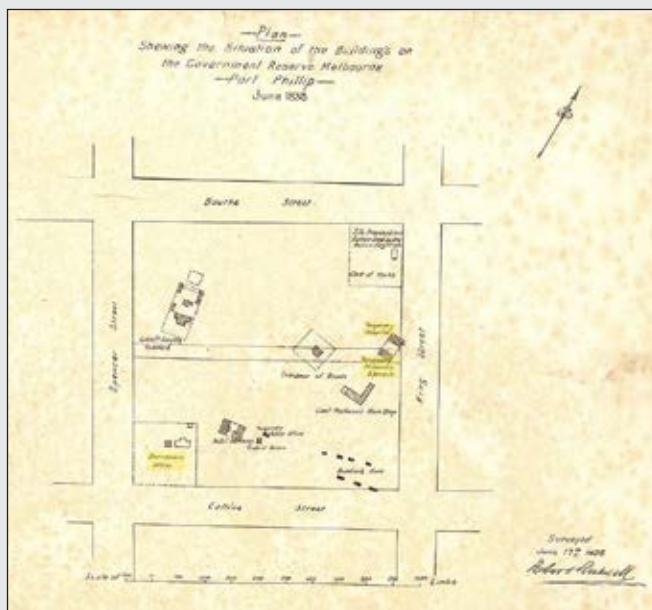
Certificates were required as to the moral character of the applicant.[10] Emigration agents were located throughout Britain and Ireland and their role during the 1840s was to make the initial selection based on the Commission's criteria. The *Argus* newspaper printed a list of emigration agents employed by the Commission in Britain in 1849 for 'those desirous of getting friends and relations from the mother country'.[11] If the applicants were approved, the candidate would pay a deposit for each individual or family member and the agent would receive a fee; in 1847 the agent's fee was 30 shillings for married couples, 15 shillings for single women and 10 shillings for single men.[12] After receiving the deposit in London the Commission's board would send the successful applicants an embarkation order and grant access to a depot to await a sailing date.[13]

The Commission, in association with provincial authorities, shipping companies and civic groups, operated a number of emigration depots at the British ports of Plymouth, Deptford (London), Southampton, Birkenhead (Liverpool) and Bristol. (A number of ships also sailed directly to Port Phillip from ports in Scotland and Ireland.) Each of the depots was contracted by the Board to take in all selected emigrants and to provide them with adequate facilities and diets as set down by detailed regulations. The depots could accommodate up to 2,500 emigrants awaiting embarkation.[14] William and Susan as bounty emigrants would have paid a deposit towards their passage at the rate set in 1849. This would have been £5 for each adult and also £5 for Eliza who was aged 15. The four boys may have qualified for a free passage.[15]

After landing, immigrants were required to stay for four years and if they left within that period would have to repay the colonial government a proportion of their passage money at the rate of £3 per adult for each year.[16]

Plymouth emigrant depot

An article published in the *Geelong Advertiser* in May 1849 gave a glowing report on the conditions in the Plymouth depot. It was published just after the Reynolds left Plymouth in May 1849, but it can be assumed that they would have experienced similar arrangements. The unknown author wrote about the emigrants on the *Thetis* that had left Plymouth in October 1848 for Melbourne. The majority came from Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and Dorset; they comprised married couples with children, single men and women. The emigrants, it was claimed, were provided with abundant food and ample clean bedding and also washing facilities for their clothes: all of this charged to the government. They were examined by a government inspector as to how they had represented themselves on their certificates and obliged to 'lay before the official decisive certificates of unsullied character and competency to work on a farm or at some calling useful in the colony'.[17] The government agent on this occasion was J.B. Wilcocks Esq. of Plymouth. The surgeon then inspected each family member and they were all provided with a stout canvas bag to hold a supply of clothes for the first month at sea, plus knife and fork, tin plate, tin basin, drinking cup and other articles. He conversed with some emigrants who said that they were leaving England because work was scarce and poorly remunerated.
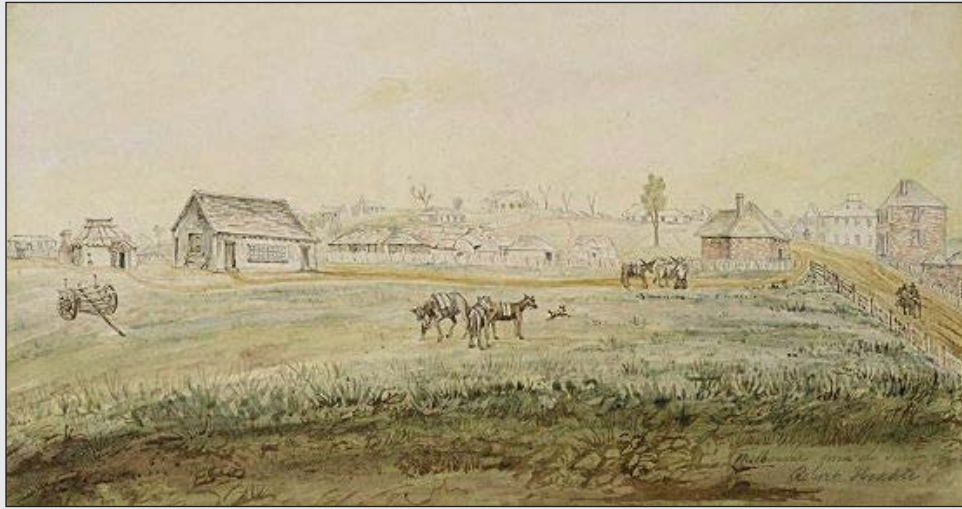
Robert Hoddle, 1794–1881, artist
Melbourne from the Survey Office, 1840
Watercolour and pencil
Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H260
View from Collins Street to the east.

He concluded that 'there was not a sorrowful regretful face to be seen, though the voyage of 16,000 miles lay between the expectants and the land of promise'.[18] During the late 1840s most of the emigrants were rowed out into Plymouth Sound where the ships were anchored waiting to set sail.

Melbourne immigrant barrack

By 1837 Captain Lonsdale, Police Magistrate of the Port Phillip District of New South Wales, had sited all rudimentary government buildings in Melbourne within a block of land known as the Government Reserve. The reserve had been set aside by surveyor Robert Hoddle while laying out the plan for the future township. The block was bounded by Collins, King, Bourke and Spencer Streets. The State Library Victoria holds an 1838 map prepared by Robert Russell, originally a surveyor but Clerk of Works in 1838, which shows the different buildings located within this designated area.[19] Over the next thirty years the land contained a variety of buildings used by police, the military, a gaol, stores, hospital, administrative offices and eventually a purpose-built barrack for assisted migrants.[20]

In May 1837, the Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, had sent a directive to Governor Bourke in Sydney that the proceeds of crown land should be applied in the introduction of free settlers to Port Phillip.[21] As a consequence the emigrant ship the *Hope* arrived in 1838 and the *John Barry* in April 1839, both redirected from Sydney. An article in the *Port Phillip Gazette*

in June 1839 expressed concern that there were no immigration barracks to accommodate these new arrivals. Charles Joseph La Trobe arrived in Melbourne on 1 October 1839 to take up his appointment as Superintendent of the Port Phillip District and would have been faced with the dilemma of how to provide shelter for newly-arrived emigrants. Between 1838 and October 1841, seventy-two bounty and assisted emigrant ships arrived at Port Phillip.[22] The *David Clark* was the first ship to sail directly from Greenock in Scotland; it arrived on 27 October 1839.[23] The township of Melbourne founded in 1835 lacked the infrastructure and resources to provide adequate housing for so many new arrivals. Temporary measures were taken, including a canvas town on the south side of the Yarra River. Governor Gipps who had replaced Bourke as governor of New South Wales allowed La Trobe to acquire tents for assisted immigrants, but cautioned him to avoid the erection of any permanent buildings.[24] Charles La Trobe wrote in December 1841: 'continued influx of Immigrants – Necessity of providing for their protection and maintenance. A Committee formed for the care & charge of the unmarried females.'[25] He then began moving immigrants who were still camping in tents on the south bank, often awaiting employment, to the government block and utilised the hospital and prisoners' barrack for their use.[26]

The *Port Phillip Gazette* reported in 1842 that a sum of money had been appropriated on the estimates for that year for the establishment of immigrant barracks, and that building should commence immediately as a large number of

Wilbraham Frederick Evelyn Liardet, 1799–1878, artist
The landing-place and market reserve in 1839 [1875]
Watercolour, pencil, pen and ink
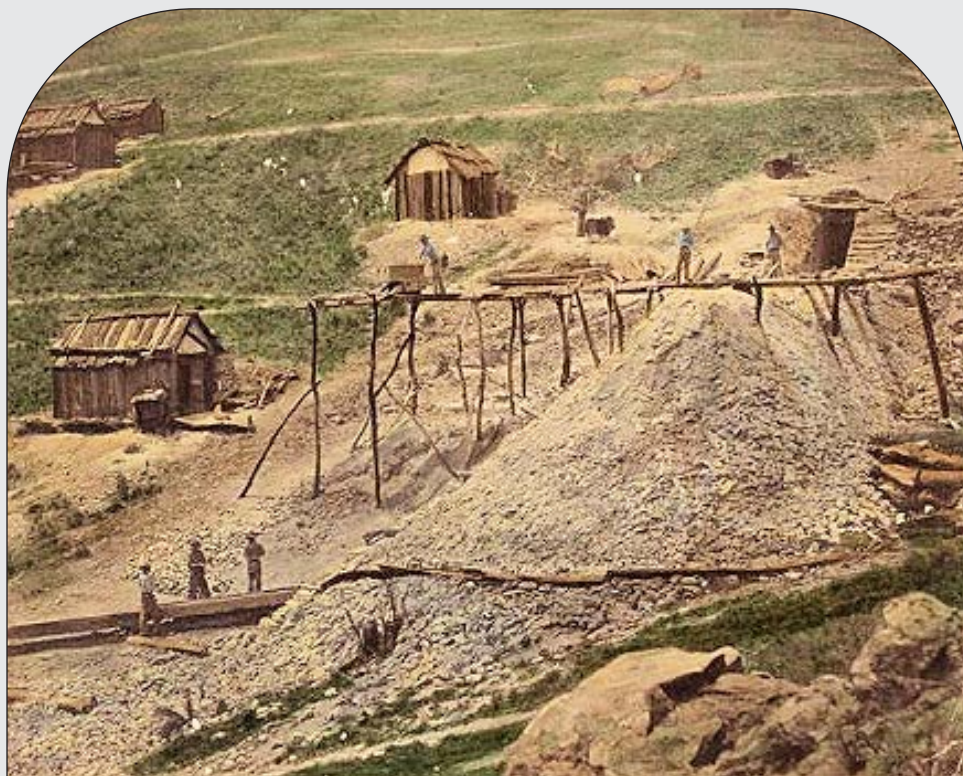Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H28250/5.

people were still without adequate shelter and some had been 'lying down beside their fires in the open night air'.[27] However building did not commence, for during the recession of 1842–1845 emigration was largely suspended; only a few ships arrived over the next five years. As the economic situation improved, in October 1847 Charles La Trobe received a petition from the Melbourne committee calling for 'abundant emigration' to be resumed from the United Kingdom to Port Phillip.[28] The full petition was reported in the *Geelong Advertiser* which noted that the famine was making alarming strides in the United Kingdom and that the Port Phillip District desired to give ample food and wages to the thousands of starving people.[29] With the resumption of emigration La Trobe authorised a notice in the *Government Gazette* in February 1848 calling for tenders 'for the erection of a wooden building for the use of emigrants'.[30] The old prisoners' barrack and hospital building still being used for migrant accommodation were sold at auction and then work began on the construction of a permanent immigrant barrack.[31]

The new barrack was located at the western end of the government block. It was a gabled weatherboard building about thirty by eighteen feet (9.1 x 5.5 metres). Inside, screens divided the total area into small compartments, each furnished with bedsteads. The barrack was equipped with pannikins, pots, baking dishes and washbasins. Three cedar noticeboards displayed rules and regulations which inmates had to comply with or face expulsion. Two brick cookhouses, privies and washing sheds were added by 1850. A broad paling fence was erected around the whole establishment: an area of about two acres contained within Collins,

Spencer and Little Collins Streets. By 1850 the barrack could provide basic accommodation for about 120 assisted migrant families and single males. Single females were housed in a separate building.[32] A number of people were employed to administer and run the barrack and the female depot, including a clerk and an overseer of the married couples' building and a master and matron for the single women's depot. Purpose-built government immigrant depots were also built in Geelong, Portland and Port Albert, and philanthropic immigrant shelters were established in Melbourne and country areas.[33]

Arrival

The Reynolds arrived in Melbourne on 23 July, 1849 and were recorded on the ship's passenger list as William Reynolds, mason age 39, Susan Reynolds 39, Eliza 15, Richard 13, William 12, Thomas 9, Henry 7 and the infant Elizabeth. Their religion was stated as Church of England; both adults and children were said to be literate.[34] This may not have been accurate. On their marriage certificate in 1833 Susan had signed her name, but William only made a mark. William and Susan were born in 1805 and 1807 so it would appear they had misrepresented their age. In fact, they were forty-four and forty-two. Earlier regulations stated that emigrants should not be above forty years of age. However, by 1849 bounties had been extended to cover married couples over forty years of age, but not more than fifty, provided they were accompanied by a child over ten years of age. Did they understate their ages, concerned that they might not meet with regulations, to avoid possible rejection? Or, it may have been the cost of the deposit. The rates in 1849 were considerably higher over the age of forty,

Richard Daintree, 1832–1878 photographer
George Alexander Gilbert, 1815–1877, colourist
Swiss tunnel at Jim Crow diggings, Daylesford, c.1859–c.1863
Photograph, albumen silver with hand colouring
Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H7683

which may have been difficult for them to raise. The amount charged for a deposit in 1849 for over forty to fifty years of age was £7.[35] Upon arrival and after an inspection by appointed members of La Trobe's Immigration Board, the *Elizabeth's* surgeon superintendent and other officers were paid combined bounty gratuities of £187 and 16 shillings. (The total amount of the deposit paid in Britain by all the adults for their passage on the *Elizabeth* was £106 and 10 shillings.)[36]

The dispersal list of newly-arrived immigrants states that William Reynolds and his wife Susan, daughter Eliza, four male children 7 to 14 years and one female under one year spent sixty-three days in the 'Melbourne Immigrant Depot'. The list then records that they left the depot and were 'disengaged' and now residing in Great Bourke-street east, Melbourne.[37] The conditions applying to immigrants were that upon arrival they could accept whatever employment was available; however, those not immediately employed could live only for a short period in the immigrant barrack.[38] The Reynolds may have been given special dispensation to stay for such a long period of time, as they had the five-week-old baby, Elizabeth, and four young boys. The family, as with all assisted immigrants, had

endured a long voyage in cramped conditions in steerage. Despite the austerity of the married couples' barrack, the Reynolds may have appreciated a refuge whilst they adjusted to their new environment. It took William almost nine weeks to find employment. William Reynolds' name appears in an 1851 Melbourne directory as working as a plasterer off Russell-street south and an address is given as a boarding house at 23 Bourke-street west.[39]

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The Reynolds remained in Melbourne for the first few years, but by 1852 had joined the exodus to the goldfields of central Victoria. The family spent a brief period in Creswick.[40] and possibly a temporary stay on Captain John Stuart Hepburn's *Smeaton* estate before settling in Jim Crow (later renamed Daylesford).[41] William and Susan eventually built a cottage on Table Hill overlooking the diggings. William and his sons were prospecting for gold in the Sailors Creek area. By the 1860s Richard, Thomas and Henry were all described on marriage and birth documents as miners. By that stage alluvial gold was largely depleted in Daylesford and large-scale deep underground mining had commenced. Presumably they

began working for one of the large mining companies in the area. William and Susan died in Daylesford in 1866 and 1869. Later birth registration records of Richard and Henry's children reveal that they had changed their occupations from miners and both had become opticians. Their brother, Thomas Reynolds (1841-1912), became a very successful business man. He invested in a mining company and other businesses in Daylesford, and was also an auctioneer and a borough councillor. He moved to Melbourne in about 1887 and re-established his well-known macaroni company now named Rinoldi.[42] Thomas was a friend of the Pozzi family in Daylesford. Perhaps this inspired him to Italianise the name Reynolds for his new pasta-making venture.

William and Susan's family prospered during the steady economic growth of the post-gold rush years.[43] The newly created Colony of Victoria offered opportunities, none of which would have been possible in Cornwall in the mid-nineteenth century.

Unknown photographer
Thomas Carter Reynolds, c.1884
Photograph
Daylesford Historical Society

Endnotes

1 Baby Elizabeth's full name was Susan Elizabeth Morris Reynolds. Family history relates that she was named after the ship and in honour of Master Morris, the captain. Archive at the Daylesford & District Historical Society.

2 *Immigration: return to address – Mr O'Shanassy, 25th November 1852* [i.e. 1851], laid upon the Council table by the Colonial Secretary, Melbourne: Government Printer, 1852, (Victoria, Parliamentary paper, 1852-53, Vol. 2, https://www.parliament.vic.gov.au/papers/govpub/VPARL1852-53Vol2p103-177.pdf). Table 1 (pp.5-7).
This report was largely prepared by Hugh Childers, Immigration Agent, in 1852. It comprises tables of statistics listing the name of ships, ports of departures, number of immigrants, their origin and the costs relating to the administration of the bounty and assisted emigrant scheme to the Port Phillip District from 1838 to 1851, prior to becoming the Colony of Victoria. It also contains the regulations relating to the passage of emigrants as sent by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission in London.

3 Passengers to Port Phillip from Southern England and Ireland 1849-1851, www.portphillipdistrict.info/SE_and_I_Passenger Lists_1.htm (accessed 20 September 2019).

4 William Reynolds' and Susan Carter's marriage record of 31 December 1833 (Cornish Marriage Index 1812-1837, Parish Register for St Issey, Entry No. 99, p.33.)

5 *Argus*, 16 January 1849, p.2.

6 Robin F. Haines, *Emigration and the Labouring Poor: Australian recruitment in Britain and Ireland 1831-60*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1997, pp.107-109. Emigration agents were responsible for distributing application forms, emigrant guides, handbills and other forms of advertising. Sub-agents would receive a pro-rata fee from the principal agents such as J.B. Wilcocks. He was an emigrant agent from 1830s to1860s and had an office on the quayside in Plymouth.

7 Philip Payton, *Cornwall: a history*, Fowey, Cornwall: Cornwall Editions, 2004, p.214. (Philip Payton is Emeritus Professor of Cornish and Australian Studies at the University of Exeter.)

8 Ibid.

9 *Immigration: return*, Item 12.IV (p.51).

10 *Immigration: return*, Item 12.II (p.34).

11 *Argus*, 16 January 1849 p.2.

12 Haines, p.105.

13 Keith Pescod, *Good Food, Bright Fires & Civility: British emigrant depots of the nineteenth century*, Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2001, pp.122-123.

14 Ibid p.x.

15 *Immigration: return*, Item 12.IV (p.51).

16 *Immigration: return*, Table 12.III, (p.49).

17 *Geelong Advertiser*, 3 May 1849, p.4.

18 Ibid.

19 Robert Russell, *Plan shewing the situation of the buildings on the Government Reserve, Melbourne, Port Phillip, June 1838*, Map Collection, State Library Victoria, H24529. (This was Block No. 16 in Russell's survey of Melbourne, 1837.)

20 Keith Pescod, *A Place to Lay My Head: immigrant shelters of nineteenth century Victoria*, Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2003, p.4.

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21 *Historical Records of Victoria*, Vol. 1: *Beginnings of Permanent Government*, ed. by Michael Cannon and Pauline Jones, Melbourne: Victorian Government Printing Office, 1981, p.63.

22 *Immigration: return*, Table 1 (pp.5-6).

23 Irene Kearsey, 'La Trobe's First Immigrants: passengers from the David Clark 1839', *La Trobeana*, vol. 17, no.2, July 2018, p.16. This article gives a detailed account of the lives of many of the passengers after their arrival in Port Phillip.

24 *Historical Records of Victoria*, Vol. 4: *Communications, Trade and Transport 1836-1839*, ed. by Michael Cannon and Ian MacFarlane, Melbourne: Victorian Government Printing Office, 1985, p.311.

25 Dianne Reilly (ed.), *Charles Joseph La Trobe: Australian Notes 1839-1854*, Yarra Glen, Vic: Tarcoola Press, State Library of Victoria and Boz Publishing, 2006, p.261.

26 Pescod, *A Place to Lay My Head*, p.14.

27 *Port Phillip Gazette*, 2 March 1842, p.3.

28 *Australian Notes*, p.316.

29 *Geelong Advertiser and Squatters' Advocate*, 1 October 1847, p.1.

30 *Port Phillip Government Gazette*, 16 February 1848, p.74.

31 Pescod, *A Place to Lay My Head*, p.17. Note: Married couples' and families' accommodation is referred to as a 'barrack'. The female building is referred to as a 'depot'. However, the words are used interchangeably on official documents.

32 Ibid, pp.24-25.

33 Ibid. pp.48-70.

34 *Assisted Immigrants to Port Phillip, 1839-51*, Sydney: Archives Authority of New South Wales, 1986, microfilm reel 2. (Alternative title: *Immigration, persons on bounty ships arriving at Port Phillip*.)

35 *Immigration: return*, Item 12.IV (p.51). Fifty to sixty years of age, £9; sixty and upwards £14.

36 *Immigration: return*, Table 4 (p.16).

37 Aileen Trinder, *Employment and Dispersal Lists: assisted passengers 1848-1854*, [NSW, VIC, QLD], Gymea, N.S.W.: Pastkeys, 2015, (CD-ROM, record no.11030.)

38 Pescod, *A Place to Lay My Head*, pp.18-19.

39 *Directory, Melbourne and its Neighbourhood*, [Melbourne: Daniel Harrison] 1851, p.59 (*Port Phillip/Victoria Directories*, 1839-1867, Melbourne: Library Council of Victoria, 1984, Box 40, microfiche 10.)

40 *Ballarat Star*, 27 May 1908, p.6, Obituary, Richard Reynolds, which records a short stay in Creswick.

41 *Daylesford Advocate*, 11 June, 1918, p.2. Obituary, Mrs McKirdy, the married name of Elizabeth Reynolds born at sea in 1849. The obituary mentions that the family had lived on Captain Hepburn's pastoral estate, 'which embraced a big scope of the surrounding district of this locality', before settling on Table Hill, Daylesford. An article in the *Argus*, 31 December, 1938, p.10, contains a quote from Hepburn's diary: 'Many thousands of men passing during this week to the gold diggings of Mt Alexander... counted... 59 carts and 1,149 men between Mr Campbell's station and this'. Captain Hepburn's *Smeaton* estate could have provided a temporary camping spot for the Reynolds family as they looked for a claim in the Jim Crow area.

42 *Malvern Standard*, 27 July 1912, p.3, Obituary, Thomas Reynolds.

43 No documentation has been found at this stage on the second son, William Reynolds, who was aged twelve in 1849. Eliza, Richard, Thomas, Henry and Elizabeth all married and there are hundreds of descendants today. Henry Carter Reynolds, aged seven in 1849, was my great-great grandfather.

John Botham, photographer
Mia Robinson and Bruce Macrae
performing 'Das Gewitter'

Title page of Christian Ignatius La Trobe's
Three Sonatas for the Pianoforte
London, Printed for the Author by J. Bland, 1791
'Composed & dedicated by permission to Mr Haydn'
Courtesy The British Library

The La Trobes' Music

By Helen Botham

Helen Botham was foundation chair of the Friends of La Trobe's Cottage and is a pivotal member of the Cottage Management Team. She is the author of La Trobe's Jolimont: A Walk Round My Garden, published in 2006. Helen maintains a deep interest in the life of C J La Trobe and his family, which has included visits to La Trobe sites in England.

On Sunday 1 December 2019 grey skies and constant rain at La Trobe's Cottage did not dampen the pleasure of those listening to a performance in the drawing room of music likely to have been heard at *Jolimont* during the La Trobes' time. Musician Bruce Macrae, who is a guide at Rippon Lea, played the piano sonatas composed by Christian Ignatius La Trobe and dedicated to his friend Haydn. Bruce accompanied Mia Robinson, a student at the Victorian College of the Arts Secondary School, sing some beautiful songs likely to have been heard in the drawing room. Bruce also played some organ preludes by Christian Ignatius La Trobe. Cottage guide David Woods and his family played folk songs of the era, initially outside welcoming the visitors, and then in the drawing room. Volunteers and visitors alike enjoyed hearing the lovely music through the cottage. It brought the cottage to life and gave a feel for what it would have been like in the La Trobes' time.

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Music was an important part in the life of the La Trobe family at *Jolimont*. All the family could play the piano, although Sophie spent time trying to find a suitable piano teacher for her children. In a letter to Susan Meade (Mrs Norton) on 15 September 1848 she wrote: 'There are a great number at Mrs Conolly's and I do not think that is at all fit for Eleanor, she improved more in three months with you than in 6 at Mrs Conolly's'.[1]

And to daughter Agnes she wrote in January 1848: 'Eleanor seems to be very earnest in her wish of learning & is very zealous in practising the premier exercise, which she does very well with both hands'.[2] Then, Charles wrote to Agnes on 12 November 1852: '… I write this early before breakfast, I hear Nelly at her music lesson in the little drawing room'.[3]

According to Fanny Moore, daughter of Georgiana McCrae, 'Mr La Trobe… was a frequent visitor, and, often, stretching his long legs under the keyboard, played away in a right masterful fashion, while his wife sang French and Swiss chansonettes very sweetly.'[4] The La Trobes enjoyed musical gatherings: Sophie would accompany the family singing. La Trobe himself had a 'fine bass voice'.[5]

The La Trobes' piano, still in the Cottage drawing room, was manufactured by John Broadwood and Sons, Manufacturers to Her Majesty, at Pulteney Street, Golden Square London. The six-octave piano dates from 1837.

Sadly, it is now no longer playable. Agnes later wrote to the granddaughter of the family's beloved housekeeper, Charlotte Pellet: 'We are sure that our Father never would have had a piano that was not a Broadwood'.[6]

La Trobe's father, Christian Ignatius La Trobe (1758–1836), was a musical genius, playing not only the organ and piano, but in his youth a total of ten other instruments (violin, viola, cello, double-bass, oboe, clarinet, French horn, trumpet, trombone and bassoon).[7] He possessed a deep knowledge of European composers' music, and is credited with influencing English tastes in sacred music.[8] In the portrait at the Cottage, he is painted with organ pipes in the background, signifying his profound influence on church music.[9] A prolific composer of hymns, in addition to a small amount of secular music, he felt constrained in the latter field by the 'checks and regulations' of the Moravian Church and destroyed a number of those compositions.

Program
Pianists: Bruce Macrae, Elizabeth Woods
Singer: Mia Robinson
Violinists: David Woods, Rebecca Collins

Piano Sonatas, Christian Ignatius La Trobe
The piano sonatas of Christian Ignatius La Trobe, Opus 111, were composed around 1791 and were dedicated to Franz Joseph Haydn, of whom he was a fervent admirer. Haydn heard these sonatas on a visit to London when C.I. La Trobe requested Haydn's permission to dedicate them to him – a request which was granted. It was thanks to Haydn's encouragement that these piano sonatas were published. Characteristics of Haydn's style are heard in these works.[10]

Drawing Room songs
Das Gewitter (The Thunderstorm), transcribed by Georgiana McCrae while staying at *Jolimont* in November 1850.[11]
Dans un bois solitaire (In the Forest), Mozart
Va tacito e nascosto (Silently and Stealthily), Handel
Auf dem wasser zu singen (To Sing on the Water), Schubert
Selve amiche (Friendly Woods), Caldara

Traditional British Folk Songs
All through the night	My bonnie lies over the ocean
The Ashgrove	The noble Duke of York
Loch Lomond	Rule Britannia

Endnotes

1 Letters of Sophie La Trobe to Susan Meade (Norton), 1844–1848, Manuscripts Collection, State Library Victoria, MS1138 (accessible http://www.latrobesociety.org.au/documents/SophieLetters.pdf).

2 Letters of Charles and Sophie La Trobe to their daughter Agnes, 1845–1853, La Trobe Neuchâtel Archive, Manuscripts Collection, State Library Victoria, MS13354/folder 27 (extracts accessible http://www.foltc.latrobesociety.org.au/documents/LettersToAgnesJolimont.pdf).

3 Ibid, folder 28.

4 Frances Octavia McCrae, *The Old Piano's Story* [Frances G. Moore, 1907, edited by Bruce Steele, McCrae, Vic.]: Mornington Peninsula Branch, National Trust of Australia (Victoria), 2006, p.[1].

5 Joan M. Ritchie, 'The La Trobe–Amiet Letters, 1853–1934'. *The La Trobe Journal*, No.15, April 1975, p.72, citing George Cavenagh, early settler and editor of *The Port Phillip Herald*, to George Belcher, 13 December 1901.

6 Ritchie, citing Agnes de Salis to Charlotte McCallum (Amiet), 17 August 1912.

7 'Christian Ignatius LaTrobe (1758-1836)', *This Month in Moravian History*. Issue 64, May 2011.

8 John Barnes, *La Trobe: Traveller, Writer, Governor*, Canberra: Halstead Press, in association with State Library Victoria and La Trobe University, 2017 (Chapter 1, A Family of Christians), pp.26-27.

9 Thomas Barber (1771-1843), artist, *Christian Ignatius La Trobe*, National Trust of Australia (Victoria), oil on canvas presented by Captain Charles La Trobe, 1960.

10 Charles Edgar Stevens, 'The Musical Works of Christian Ignatius Latrobe', Thesis (PhD), University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1971.

11 Rosemary Jean Richards, 'Georgiana McCrae's Manuscript Music Collections: A life in music', Thesis (PhD), University of Melbourne, 2017, p.223, citing Georgiana McCrae, 'Chaplin Music Book', RB 1164.9, p.102, McCrae papers, Harry F. Chaplin Collection, Rare Books and Special Collection, University of Sydney Library.

The La Trobe family in New Zealand

By Helen Armstrong

Helen Armstrong is co-editor of La Trobeana and a volunteer guide at Government House and La Trobe's Cottage. She has developed a deep interest in the life and times of Charles Joseph La Trobe and of his family.

On 11 October 2019 James La Trobe, known as Jim, visited La Trobe's Cottage, with his wife Raewyn. They were greeted by La Trobe Society committee members, Helen Armstrong, John Drury and Dianne Reilly, before being given an extended tour of the Cottage.

James Richard (Jim) La Trobe is the great-great-grandson of James La Trobe (1834-1914) who migrated to New Zealand in the 1850s. 'Migrant' James was a second-cousin of Charles Joseph La Trobe. Their grandfathers, Rev. James Gottlieb La Trobe (1750-1836) and Rev. Benjamin La Trobe (1728-1786), were half-brothers: sons of James La Trobe (1702-1752) of Dublin. Although many years younger than Benjamin, James Gottlieb eventually also had a career in the Moravian Church. He was born in Dublin, experienced a difficult upbringing after his father's bankruptcy, and as an adult entered the Moravian settlement at Fulneck where he trained for foreign missionary work before spending six years in India and then forty-four years as a minister in several British congregations.

James Gottlieb's son, Rev. James La Trobe (1802-1897), after a short period in the wilderness returned to the fold of the Moravian Church at Fulneck, served as a minister in several congregations and in due course, after 1865, played a very significant role in the work

of the Leper Asylum in Jerusalem. He carried the title of Bishop, a spiritual role rather than an administrative one. (This title was also bestowed upon his uncle, Rev. Benjamin La Trobe.)

'Migrant' James La Trobe, second son of Rev. James, was born in London on 9 June 1834, educated at Fulneck and at the age of just eighteen sailed on the *Bangalore* for Melbourne, arriving on 4 September 1852 after a journey of eighty-seven days. He visited his cousin Charles Joseph La Trobe (whom in view of their relative ages he called 'uncle') and within a week or so went to the goldfields at Ballarat. Then, on 7 December, he was appointed Clerk in the Commissioner's Camp at May Day Hills (Beechworth).[1] On 26 March 1856 he arrived in New Zealand on the *Southern Cross*. He then moved to Waitetune (now Te Uku), adjoining the Raglan district on the west coast of the North Island in 1857, and in 1860 married Maria Kescel, who like her sisters received a dowry of land from her father, Abraham Kescel.

James engaged in a number of occupations; he was a farmer, sawmiller, storekeeper, flaxmiller and roads board agent. He then entered the service of the Education Department in 1872, taught at Tauranga on the east coast for three years and by 1875 was back in Waitetune (Te Uku), teaching in a number of places before being appointed to Raglan and becoming its headmaster, a position he held for

Unknown photographer
The La Trobe Family of
New Zealand, c.1903
Back: Pascoe Manukau (Manukau, 'Manie'),
James Abraham (Jim), Richard Essex (Dick)
Middle: Annie Masters, James and Maria
Front: Mary Joanna Hill

twenty-four years. A former pupil paid tribute to his kindly disposition and gentlemanly conduct and to the very sound education that the students received. He was a registered lay reader in the Anglican Church and conducted services in other churches.

James and Maria had three sons and two daughters and therefore there are many descendants in New Zealand carrying the La Trobe surname. The second son, Pascoe Manukau (1863-1942), was Jim's great-grandfather. He was given his second name, by which he was known, from the harbour on which he was born as his mother sailed away from the 'Maori troubles' inland from Raglan. A descendant of James' and Maria's eldest son, James Abraham (1861-1941), holds the family records. He is David James La Trobe, retired mathematics teacher, of Waiuku College near Auckland.

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Versailles: Association Latrobe International Symposium, 1998.

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[Whangarei, N.Z., James R. La Trobe, 2018?]. Extracts from the symposium volume, with additions by James R. La Trobe.

Local histories by Robert Thomas Vernon: *Te Uku* (Hamilton, N.Z., 1975),
Around Raglan [Hamilton, N.Z., 1981] and *Raglan* [Auckland, 1984?].

1 Jacquie Durrant, 'Life on Spring Creek', https://lifeonspringcreek.com/2018/04/06/the-commissioners-camp (date from PROV VPRS 1189, P000, unit 83).

Forthcoming events

JULY

Thursday 2

    Melbourne Rare Book Week Lecture
    Time: 6.30–8.00 pm
    Venue: Tonic House,
    386 Flinders Lane, Melbourne, tbc
    Guest Speaker: tba
    No charge. Bookings essential ★

AUGUST

Wednesday 5

    La Trobe Society
    Annual General Meeting and Dinner
    Time: 6.30 pm
    Venue: Lyceum Club, Ridgway Place,
    Melbourne
    Guest Speaker: Michael Veitch, Author,
    actor, broadcaster
    Topic: Hell Ship 'Ticonderoga'
    Invitations will be sent to members

SEPTEMBER

Sunday 13

    **Sunday Talk for Members and
    Friends**
    Time: 2.30-4.00 pm
    (doors open 2.00 pm)
    Venue: Mueller Hall,
    Royal Botanic Gardens,
    Birdwood Avenue, Melbourne
    Speaker: Greg Hill, Collector of
    Australian pottery
    Topic: Victoria's Earliest Potteries
    Refreshments
    Admission: $10 per person
    Bookings essential ★

OCTOBER

    **La Trobe Society History Month
    Lecture**
    Details to be advised

NOVEMBER

Friday 27 tbc

    Christmas Cocktails
    Details to be advised

Sunday 29

    **Anniversary of the Death of
    C J La Trobe**
    Sunday Service
    Time: 11.00 am
    Venue: St Peter's Eastern Hill,
    15 Gisborne Street, Melbourne

    ★ Bookings
    secretary@latrobsociety.org.au, or
    phone 9646 2112 (please leave a message)

**For the latest information on
upcoming events, please refer
to the Society's events page
www.latrobesociety.org.au/events.html**

Back Issues

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

Contributions welcome

**The Editorial Committee welcomes
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www.latrobesociety.org.au/LaTrobeana.html
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BACK COVER
La Trobe Family coat of arms

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

"Qui la cerca, la trova"