

LA TROBEANA



Journal of the C. J. La Trobe Society Inc.

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

La Trobeana is published three times a year: in March, July and November. The journal publishes peer-reviewed articles, as well as other written contributions, that explore themes in the life and times of Charles Joseph La Trobe, aspects of the colonial period of Victoria's history, and the wider La Trobe family.



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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

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A Word from the President

How fortunate we have been to manage to squeeze in the obligatory Annual General Meeting at the Lyceum Club on 4 August in the midst of so much Covid chaos. Since then, we had a brief respite when our Friends of La Trobe's Cottage annual lecture was held as a zoom meeting in September with Helen Botham presenting detailed and fascinating research on La Trobe as plantsman. It even had live input from a botanist in Switzerland who is researching La Trobe's specimens in their collections.

An interesting and significant date on the calendar is 13 November. It was on this date in 1851, 170 years ago, that the Legislative Council met for the first time at St Patrick's Hall in Bourke Street, Melbourne with Dr James Palmer elected as Speaker. The author 'Garryowen' reported La Trobe's stylish arrival for the opening session: 'His Excellency was dressed in full uniform, and wore the "hat and feathers..."'. It was not until five years later, on 21 November 1856, that the reconstituted Legislative Council moved its activities to the new Parliament of Victoria building in Spring Street.

This edition of the Society's journal is packed with impressive articles from excellent writers, which expand further our knowledge of Charles La Trobe and his administration in Port Phillip and Victoria.

The first is Megan Anderson's splendid report of her La Trobe Society's 2019 Fellowship at State Library Victoria in 'Extravagance, Tradition and Power: an exploration of Lieutenant-Governor Charles Joseph La Trobe's uniform'. She has been meticulous in her research of every aspect of the history and fabrication of official uniforms, allowing her to begin to re-create La Trobe's missing Lieutenant-Governor's regalia.

Walter Heale has probed the archives at Public Record Office Victoria and analysed correspondence to and from Superintendent La Trobe in the last week of September 1850. This was a key week of government business only seven weeks after the House of Commons passed legislation creating the new Colony of Victoria.

'Riding with the Superintendent: a second Mrs McCrae', by Douglas Wilkie, unravels fascinating details from the same period of separation of Port Phillip from New South Wales and its attendant celebrations, as well as revealing 'a second Mrs McCrae', a sister-in-law of Georgiana McCrae.

Robert Christie has used his family history research visits to Ireland in pursuit of an interesting history of 'The Moravian Village of Gracehill, Northern Ireland: the La Trobes and an Australian connection'. While Moravian settlements in England are well-documented, until now little research has been forthcoming on Gracehill.

Our Editor, Helen Armstrong, has effectively unravelled in 'Georgiana's Journal: a research note' the confusion many readers feel in their efforts to sort facts from fiction when faced with various editions and commentaries on the Journal.

Enjoy your new issue of *La Trobeana*, and with any luck, we will meet again in person at the La Trobe Society's Christmas Cocktails on 3 December.

Diane Gardiner AM
Hon. President
C J La Trobe Society

Extravagance, Tradition and Power: an exploration of Lieutenant-Governor Charles Joseph La Trobe's Uniform

By Megan Anderson

After completing a Bachelor of Design (Fashion) and working predominantly in the fast-paced world of runway shows, Megan has repositioned her career to combine a profound interest in history and art with garment construction, using both traditional and contemporary techniques. In 2015, Megan began work as Production Assistant at Sovereign Hill, researching and producing historically accurate reproduction clothing for use as interpretive and educational tools within the Living History Museum. After returning to study in 2019 at Deakin University her intention is to pursue a career in history with a focus on fashion history.

This paper is an edited version of her 2019 La Trobe Society Fellowship presentation to members at the Royal Historical Society of Victoria on 23 June 2021.

Much has been written about Charles Joseph La Trobe, Victoria's first Lieutenant-Governor. His appointment and subsequent actions have been scrutinised since the beginning of his tenure as Superintendent of the Port Phillip District in 1839. The purpose of this study was to uncover in specific detail the civil uniform worn by La Trobe throughout his time in Victoria.

Since the fate of the physical uniform is unknown, supplementary research sources were required and relied upon throughout this investigation. The journey to uncover these secrets has led me down every conceivable rabbit hole, in both this former colony and in the motherland; trawling State Library Victoria's archives for a letter that could alter previous assumptions about when La Trobe first wore this uniform in Australia; making contact with the Historic Royal Palaces in the United Kingdom; engaging with a plumage expert who alerted me to the illegality of importing swan feathers; and most significantly finally locating a uniform of the same rank and era as La Trobe's in the

National Maritime Museum of London. The frustration and joy that came with each new clue and piece of the puzzle contributed to a considerably satisfying research project.

In collaboration with historians, curators, tailors, embroiderers and other experts I sought to define the distinguishing features of Charles Joseph La Trobe's uniform, as represented in the portrait by Sir Francis Grant (1855, picture p.12).¹ 'Extravagance, Tradition & Power: an exploration of Lieutenant-Governor Charles Joseph La Trobe's Uniform' is the comprehensive outcome of a fellowship at State Library Victoria, made possible through the generous support of the La Trobe Society, under the mentorship of Dr Dianne Reilly.

Clothing studies

The study of clothing, whether object-based or through the eyes of an artist, is a powerful analytical tool that has the ability to communicate considerable evidence of history. It can be easy to disregard clothing as a significant tool for fundamental research: fashion

can too easily be perceived to be frivolous, superficial and frequently disposable. But there is no doubt that exploring the significance, history, tradition and symbolism encompassed in the uniform of Victoria's first Lieutenant-Governor demonstrates the pinnacle of asserting power through clothing. Some observations by previous scholars have particular pertinence:

It is indisputable that the function of clothes is not only to clothe their wearer but also to say something about his or her aspirations or attitudes. (Philip Mansel, 1982)²

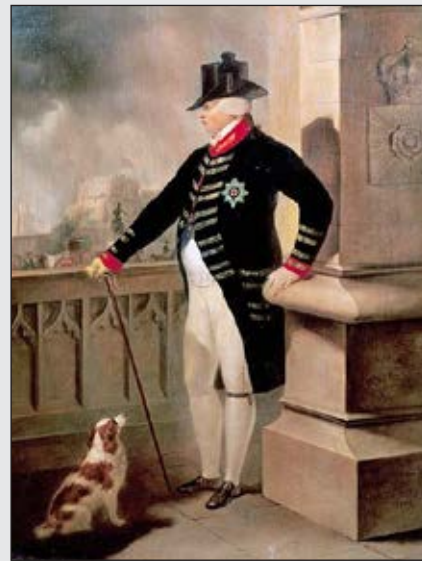
For men in public life, elegant dress (not just decent clothes) was necessary to sustain rank and dignity. One owed it to the audience not to masquerade as poor if one were rich, not to violate degree in outward appearance and upset social morality. (Anne Hollander, 1978)³

Given that they are nonverbal forms of communication, fashion and clothing may be treated as being in some way analogous to spoken or written language. (Malcolm Barnard, 2002)⁴

Uniforms are authority's signature, its sartorial sound bite, speaking to a local community, a city or state, sometimes the entire world. And like any language, they reveal origins, status, aspirations and insecurities. (Craig Wilcox, 2017)⁵

Uniforms worn only during the subject's tenure in a position are specifically designed and constructed to mould and display the wearer as the ultimate specimen of authority. In the garment industry tailoring is extensively revered as the highest point of garment construction, with ultimate quality achieved in each item. Ceremonial uniforms like that worn by La Trobe are from an even higher echelon, encompassing detailing and embellishments reserved exclusively for members of the British Royal Household. Every element of this uniform is designed to impress, emphasise and enhance the wearer in both status and physical stature.

As holder of the highest office in the Port Phillip District, La Trobe required a distinguished uniform in order to assert position, power and authority. Arriving at Port Phillip from Sydney on 3 October 1839, La Trobe found himself in an unsophisticated place with barely a suitable dwelling or likeminded associate. To the inexperienced newcomer, the safety and security of this firmly-fitted wool uniform, adorned with



Peter Edward Stroehling, 1768–c.1826, artist
George III (1738–1820), 1807
Oil on copper
Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 404865

authoritative embellishments, may have been a comfort and physical instrument to adjust to the mindset necessary for a Superintendent. This significant posting put him on a new career trajectory, his uniform being an instant and recognisable symbol of colonial authority in the district of Port Phillip.

Uniform history

The late eighteenth century was an era of asserting dominance and power through the medium of uniform, as an instant symbol of allegiance to monarchs that commanded respect: 'The adoption of official uniform, in England and on the Continent, was not only a sign of respect for monarchies, but also a reflection of the belief that... outward signs show[ed] the nature of the authority they possessed'.⁶

In 1777 King George III designed the 'Windsor uniform' to be worn at Windsor Castle which was to become his primary residence. Specifications for this new attire were: navy blue coat (in the popular or fashionable style of the period), red collar and cuffs with gold trim. Initially the uniform was decidedly unpopular, predominantly for its resemblance to servants' livery, which was viewed as a form of public degradation. Once it was recognised that it was based on military styling, the Windsor uniform became the precursor to subsequent civil uniforms, including that of La Trobe, whose 1839 appointment was eighteen months after Queen Victoria came to the throne.



Boggett & Reynolds, London
Sir John Franklin Lieutenant-Governor uniform, 1837
 Wool, silk thread and metal

Collection: Hopton Hall Derbyshire, on loan to Royal Museums Greenwich, UNI6979

A uniform and its allegiance are immediately identifiable, making it the ideal symbol of authority; drawing such attention, however, may evoke either sympathy or satire depending on the zeitgeist of the time. Both George III and La Trobe were unfortunate victims of mockery, King George in the form of unfavourable and unflattering caricatures and La Trobe branded with the moniker 'hat and feathers' imposed on him by Edward Wilson as editor and part-proprietor of the *Argus* newspaper from 1848.⁷

Military and civil uniforms have a long history in Australia, utilised for the primary purpose of asserting authority since the First Fleet landed in 1788. Utilising clothing as an instrument for maintaining the balance of power and affirming dominance is a principal tactic employed when that balance is threatened or disproportionate: 'The right dress – court dress, national dress, military or civil uniform, or something simpler – was believed to encourage loyalty, satisfy vanity, impress the outside world and help local industries'.⁸ Upon arrival in Port Phillip and throughout his tenure, it is almost certain that La Trobe would have exploited to the best of his ability the power expressed by that uniform to draw the strength and confidence demanded by such remarkable attire.

Uniform classification

Historically, civil uniforms were fashioned on those worn by officers of the Royal Navy, which

is evident in style, cut and embellishment.⁹ A number of La Trobe's counterparts were naval officers posted to a civil service position. These included John Franklin (Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land, 1837-1843) and Charles Hotham (Governor of Victoria, 1854-1855). The version of civil uniform identified in Grant's portrait of La Trobe is classified as levee dress,¹⁰ as opposed to full court dress, with the significant differences being:

Levee dress requires trousers with 2½ inch silver acorn and oak leaf lace on the outer side seam. Breeches with silk stockings are worn on occasions where full dress is required.

Only the collar, cuffs and back pocket flaps are embroidered on levee dress, which is significantly less decoration than on full court dress.¹¹

Tradition, significance and the elaborate nature of these uniforms has meant that every detail has been outlined and documented. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the office of the Lord Chamberlain issued a series of concise documents on the garment and uniform specifications relating to civil positions, both in England and the colonies.¹² Although these documents were utilised as preliminary research for this project, La Trobe's uniform significantly pre-dates this information, requiring sources preceding his 1839 appointment as Superintendent. Knowing



Gillott, London
Epaulettes, Sir John Franklin
Lieutenant-Governor uniform,
1837
 Wool, silk thread and metal
 Collection: Hopton Hall
 Derbyshire, on loan to Royal
 Museums Greenwich, UNI6979

Unknown maker
Vice-Regal cocked hat, Sir
Roden Cutler, VC, c.1970
 Beaver, cotton lace, feathers,
 leather, silk, metal
 Australian War Memorial,
 Canberra, REL/18662.006

Firmin & Sons, London
Button, Uniform of Edward
Deas Thomson, c.1837
 Metal
 Museum of Applied Arts &
 Sciences, Sydney

where to look in order to discover the accurate specifications for the uniform belonging to La Trobe required a considerable depth of analysis, which proved to be both challenging and rewarding. An informative document for the identification of this uniform is the *Rules and Regulations* for the Colonial Service, 1837. It states that for Governors of Colonies, the uniform is 'the same as the present lord lieutenants of counties in England, only in blue with silver embroidery and scarlet collar and cuffs'.¹³

That confirmed the basic uniform colours but not the intricate details required to accurately reproduce this garment, which was the ultimate aim of the project. Nevertheless the document was fundamental to broadening the

lines of enquiry, with the evident next step being to navigate the particulars of a uniform for a lord lieutenant of an English county.

Five classes of uniform were detailed in the *Rules and Regulations* text. That La Trobe was considered in the second class is manifest in the width of collar and cuffs (four inches) and silver trouser lace (two and a half inches).¹⁴ Lower classes of civil servants were identified with smaller collar and cuffs, which translates to less embroidery detail. These uniforms were designed specifically for official occasions, not necessarily to be worn on a daily basis; a high standing collar four inches wide from the base of the neck would certainly be remarkably uncomfortable.

Elements of the uniform

Coatee design and style

The detailed elements in this uniform are designed for immediate rank identification of the wearer. The size of collar and cuffs on La Trobe's uniform enables his rank to be immediately identified as of the second class. The corresponding insignia for a civil servant of Queen Victoria in a British colony is an English rose.¹⁵

A crucial indication linking civil uniform to that of the Royal Navy is the adoption of the mariner cuff, a non-functioning three-pointed vertical facing cuff synonymous with navy attire. The most recognisable and significant reference dating back to the original Windsor uniform of 1777 is evident in the scarlet collar and cuffs, indicating that the wearer is a member of the British Royal Household.

Arguably the most impressive component of the uniform is the highly decorated jacket. This particular style of jacket is referred to as a coatee, which indicates a form-fitting tailcoat, waist length at the front with tails at the back of the garment only. A seam down the centre front implies the coat is double breasted; however, this is a false double breast with the corresponding buttons forming no function other than decoration.¹⁶ Unlike contemporary tailoring where the shoulders are squared and padded, nineteenth-century tailoring focussed on a natural rounded shoulder which, in the case of most civil uniforms including La Trobe's, was ornamented with large silver bullion epaulettes.

Cloth

These uniforms are considered exceptional masterworks commissioned from the most accomplished tailors. For a garment of this calibre only the finest materials are utilised, superfine broadcloth wool being the material of choice. The attribute of superfine broadcloth rendering it ideal for this purpose is its stout, heavily-milled, plain weave body, making it both strong and lightweight enough to drape handsomely. Superfine was made from the highest quality wool imported from Spain, spun finer than common broadcloth and finely finished. The other significant quality of superfine is the tight weave allowing the cloth to maintain a raw edge without loss of quality or fraying. Raw edges in nineteenth-century tailored uniforms were specifically utilised to reduce bulk.¹⁷

As laid down in the *Rules and Regulations* for the Colonial Service, the foundation cloth of La Trobe's uniform is blue, which is complemented with cream facing on the tails; Grant's portrait gives the viewer only the slightest hint of this facing. As mentioned, the collar and

cuffs are scarlet as opposed to madder red – the primary distinction being the expense of the dye. Traditionally scarlet cloth is dyed through costly processing of cochineal beetles; madder is created using common perennial madder root.

Tails

Length and shape of tails varied according to the fashion of the period. In La Trobe's uniform the tails are relatively long; approximately knee-length with a narrowing silhouette at the hem. The tails slightly overlap (one inch) at the centre back of the waist point, left over right. The cream facing is complete with an embroidered badge of insignia symbolic of the wearer's position, depending on allegiance; La Trobe's badge is that of an English rose. An unexpected feature of tail coats is a hidden glove pocket, which either appears in the silk lining or in the base wool cloth.

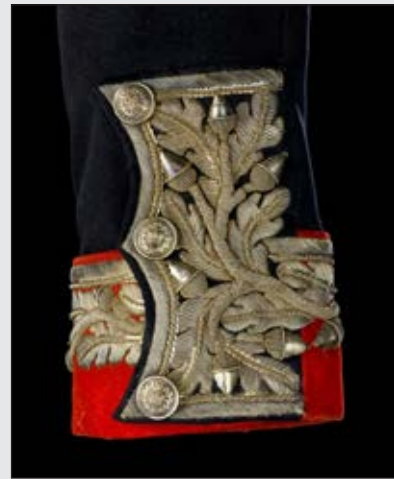
Bicorn

Another indication linking civil and naval uniform is the use of the bicorn hat for high-ranking positions. During the nineteenth century the bicorn was predominantly constructed from beaver skin, chosen for its soft and resilient pelt. Bicornes for civil uniforms have an additional element of decoration, in the form of a feathered plume. *Dress and Insignia Worn at Court* specifies: 'Plume – White swan feathers, drooping outwards, 10 inches long, with red feathers under them long enough to reach the end of the white ones. Feathered stem 3 inches long.'¹⁸

Grant's portrait of La Trobe portrays the weightlessness and movement of the feathered plume as well as a sense of opulence from the proportion of feathers. The viewer can see a slight hint of bullion tassel at the base of the hat and when the image is enlarged, an indication of black acorn and oak leaf lace. Also visible on the bicorn is a pointed star-shaped device, painted to give a metallic impression as it catches the light.¹⁹

While researching this project, it was ascertained that obtaining swan feathers for the purpose of constructing a replica uniform would be practically impossible; importing swan feathers is illegal in most countries, including Australia. Additionally swans are a protected species in the United Kingdom, with plumes available only as required for Royal uniforms, when they are obtained via private Crown estates exclusively for that specific use.²⁰

Arguably, the bicorn could be deemed most emblematic of Charles Joseph La Trobe. It was often referred to as 'spicy' in the local newspapers, while derisive mockery of the 'hat and feathers' in the *Argus* was intended to reduce La Trobe to the sum of this elaborate headpiece.



Top left: Unknown maker
Collar, Uniform of Edward Deas Thomson,
c.1837
 Wool, silk, cotton, leather and metal
 Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences, Sydney

Top right: Boggett & Reynolds, London
Cuff, Sir John Franklin Lieutenant-Governor
uniform, 1837
 Wool, silk thread and metal
 Collection: Hopton Hall Derbyshire, on loan to
 Royal Museums Greenwich, UNI6979

Left: Hand & Lock, London
Repeat pattern Oak Leaf with large Acorn motif
 Machine made

Epaulettes

Each component of this uniform contributes to the overall grandeur, but its most impressive elements are arguably the prominent silver bullion epaulettes. Traditionally in garment design, enlarged broad shoulders are symbolic of power and authority, which is certainly the intention of these dramatic epaulettes.

Due to the weight and delicate nature of bullion epaulettes they are designed to be effortlessly removed from the garment when not in use. The epaulette foundation structure remains the same for various civil positions; only the insignia badge central to the top differs according to allegiance. In the case of La Trobe his epaulettes were adorned with an English rose.

Buttons

Buttons can be an indicator of rank, regiment or allegiance. As monarchs change so does the corresponding button – specifically the crown; a Queen's crown is very different from that of a King. The silver-plated button used for La Trobe's uniform has insignia relating to Queen Victoria – the Queen's crown encased in laurel wreath. The front of the coat is ornamented with twenty silver-plated buttons, but with the false double breast only ten are functional, the

remaining ten being purely decorative. They are positioned down the front of the garment in five pairs on each side of the centre front. Twenty silver-plated metal buttons would contribute considerable weight to this garment.

Embroidery

Historically goldwork has been known as the most regal and luxurious embroidery technique, only available to the most affluent members of society. Regardless of the colour – silver, gold or bronze – the method is referred to as goldwork. It is treasured for the way it captures light, creating an eye-catching effect. The technique developed in Asia has been adopted in Western society and become synonymous with military and civil uniforms for its elaborate decorative characteristics.

The extravagant detail exemplified in the embroidery on this uniform is an oak leaf and acorn pattern, with three-dimensional texture created using varying silver threads, made with a component of real silver coating silk thread. The intricate patterns are achieved with layers of padding beneath the surface. A quotation was obtained from Hand & Lock²¹ in 2018 to undertake the embroidery work for a replica uniform currently being constructed and which

was on view at the talk. One collar, one pair cuffs, one pair back-pocket flaps, one pair tail device and epaulettes was quoted at A\$13,575. In the age of modern technology, this specialised technique is still created by hand, taking hundreds of hours.

Historical tailoring

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was recognised that 'however a man was really built, his tailor replaced his old short-legged pear-shaped body with a lean well-muscled and very sexy body with long legs.'²² Nineteenth-century tailoring is notable for its concentration on fit, achieved through the assistance of wool cloth, which can be stretched and moulded to the body with an ease not afforded by other materials. A skilled tailor can manipulate the pliable cloth to get the desired outcome of perfecting the imperfect human form. Uniforms of this calibre were individually tailored and constructed by hand (even after the invention of the modern sewing machine in 1851), a tradition that is maintained to some degree within contemporary tailoring establishments.

A component of my research involved contacting a number of existing British tailors in the hope of securing a record of La Trobe's uniform or perhaps an account. Many contemporary Savile Row²³ enterprises have long histories dating back generations. Unfortunately, to date this pursuit has been unsuccessful; many long-standing establishments lost the majority of their records during the London Blitz of World War II, including Hand & Lock embroidery specialists.

As suggested by Breward, the proficiency of custom tailoring is essentially invisible, hidden between layers of outer cloth and silk lining; 'The alchemical role of the tailor in translating paper, chalk, tacking thread, pins and cloth into a suit of clothes fitted to the frame of the customer represented a magical form of skill, but one that generally remained invisible.'²⁴ The invisibility of this internal structure, utilised to support as well as refine any bodily imperfections, such as hunched or uneven shoulders, proves the consummate skill of a master tailor.

Suppositions and uncertainties

Embellishment colour

Throughout the course of this research some uncertainties were conclusively resolved, while others were raised and currently remain undefined. An initial line of enquiry was to establish the colour of the embellishments (embroidery, epaulettes, buttons), since there was uncertainty as to whether these were silver or gold. The specifications outlined in the *Rules*

and *Regulations* for the Colonial Service showed convincingly that silver was the colour used for this particular uniform of Lieutenant-Governor Charles Joseph La Trobe.

Boyhood memories of George Gordon McCrae, eldest son of Andrew and Georgiana McCrae, confirm that 'Mr La Trobe's [uniform]... was of dark blue with scarlet collar and cuffs, these facings thickly overlaid with silver oak leaves and acorns, and set off by a heavy pair of epaulettes in silver; the hat with white and scarlet feathers'.²⁵ After Separation, Legislative Councillors appointed as ministers in the new Victorian government also adopted a uniform in 'blue and scarlet and silver... with oak leaves and acorns'.

Mr La Trobe, who made your uniform?

An initial reservation plaguing the research was the appointment of La Trobe as Superintendent in 1839. If he travelled from England with his uniform for the position of Superintendent packed in his trunk, how would he be in possession of a Lieutenant-Governor's uniform eleven years later? In a letter dated 11 September 1839 from Colonial Secretary Edward Deas Thomson, on behalf of Governor George Gipps in Sydney, La Trobe is clearly instructed that he would exercise the powers of a Lieutenant-Governor:

Within these [geographic] limits, you will exercise the powers of a Lieutenant Governor, and will stand in the same position in respect to the Governor of New South Wales, as the Governor himself stands in with respect to the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.²⁶

Prior to La Trobe's appointment, it had been recommended that the Port Phillip district should have a 'commandant' with a military background and considerable proficiency. It is conceivable that, given the nominal population combined with La Trobe's inexperience, there was significant justification for the lower position of Superintendent. Thorough research into diverse civil uniforms and classifications has been unsuccessful in finding any evidence relating to a uniform appropriate for a Superintendent. A feature of these uniforms, possibly for economic reasons, is that the variations between ranks are signified in details that can be altered without damaging the entire garment; elements including collar, cuffs and pocket flaps can be constructed separately and retrofitted onto the existing uniform.

There is speculation that La Trobe wore this uniform for the first time in November

1850 at the event celebrating both Separation from New South Wales and the opening of the Prince's Bridge. However, convincing evidence in contradiction of that is a letter to La Trobe from Governor Gipps in 1839, stating:²⁷

My dear Sir,

You will of course do right to wear the uniform & I hope to see you look well in it.

George Gipps.
Thursday 5th September 1839.

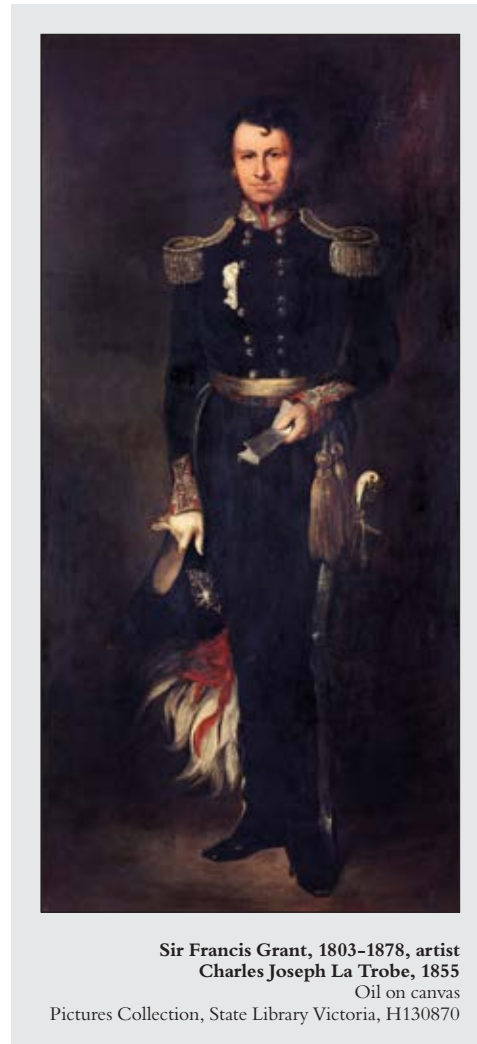
With mention of La Trobe in uniform dating back to 1839,²⁸ it is conceivable he arrived in New South Wales with this garment, rather than having it tailored in the colony. Being a requirement of the position, made at the expense of the appointee, the commissioning date of the uniform must have been between La Trobe's appointment as Superintendent (4 February 1839)²⁹ and his departure from England bound for Sydney (25 March 1839).³⁰ That does not leave much time to organise, measure, construct, fit, assemble and embellish this remarkable garment. Having no previous requirement for a uniform such as this, it is conceivable that the tailoring experience benefitted La Trobe in highlighting the significance and authority of this promotion.

Sense of security (real or imagined)

In his biography of La Trobe, John Barnes remarked: 'He was obviously conscientious and reliable, personable, had a good grasp of practicalities; and as a traveller with frontier experience he was already familiar with the comparatively primitive conditions of a new settlement'.³¹ Nevertheless, being a well-travelled, conscientious and accomplished young man would not have been sufficient preparation for what La Trobe would experience in Melbourne and the Port Phillip District as a whole. Nineteenth-century uniforms were tailored to fit the body firmly, almost to the exact measurement of the wearer with maximum quarter-inch in ease. The snug fit combined with the authority associated with this uniform may have provided La Trobe with a sense of security and confidence not part of his natural disposition.

What happened to it, Mr La Trobe?

One perturbing matter in this project and remaining at the conclusion is the lack of La Trobe's physical uniform. Such clothing pre-dating the twentieth century was considered valuable; it was treasured and expensive and passed down through legal inheritance. One can



only imagine the value of a uniform such as this if it had been collected and appreciated in any gallery or museum worldwide.

The subject is only authorised to wear a specific uniform during their tenure in office, unless given special permission by the monarch. Since La Trobe did not receive another posting and lost favour with the Colonial Office, he would not have felt disposed to keep a reminder of a difficult time in his career. What became of La Trobe's uniform remains unclear; there was a second-hand market in London for clothing, including civil uniforms. La Trobe struggled financially for the remainder of his life, being granted his pension only after eleven years of retirement, so perhaps he sold the surplus uniform. In recent years, the Privy Council uniform of Australia's first Prime Minister Edmund Barton was donated to the Museum of Australian Democracy in Canberra, having remained in the family for over one hundred years. Perhaps in the future La Trobe's uniform might also reappear unexpectedly.

As observed in the 1993 study of *Victoria's Colonial Governors*:

Perhaps the most surprising thing about La Trobe's 'governorship' is that he should have been appointed. When the Governor of New South Wales, Sir Richard Bourke, after an extensive visit to the Port Phillip District in the early months of 1837, wrote on 14 June to Lord Glenelg, he recommended 'the appointment of a military officer as Lieutenant-Governor or Commandant with Civil as well as Military Authority'.³²

La Trobe's appointment as Superintendent in 1839 did not fit the profile recommended by Bourke, which could indicate he was not favoured for the position of Lieutenant-Governor. Nevertheless ironically, he was required to wear the uniform specified for the superior position. His initial salary of £800 was indicative of a lower station, yet he was sanctioned with the authority and powers of Lieutenant-Governor. Known and recognised

throughout the colony for wearing his official uniform on public occasions, it is possible that due to his initial inexperience he found a sense of security in the authority this uniform provided. Embellished with silver-plated buttons, large bullion epaulettes and metal embroidery, such uniforms are remarkably heavy; perhaps La Trobe felt the weight of authority and power metaphorically and literally on his shoulders.

As holder of the highest office in the Port Phillip District and subsequent new colony of Victoria, La Trobe required a distinguished uniform to establish his authority in that role. What could be more impressive than an impeccably tailored suit with accents of silver and gold shimmering in the antipodean sun?

Uncovering the specific elements that make up this uniform involved comprehensive research and assistance from an extensive number of sources. The generosity of curators, historians, museum volunteers and other specialists has all contributed to my research on the long-lost uniform worn by Lieutenant-Governor Charles Joseph La Trobe.

Endnotes

- 1 Sir Francis Grant (1803–1878) painted Queen Victoria, and many portraits of distinguished aristocratic and political figures, such as Prime Ministers Benjamin Disraeli and Henry Palmerston. There are three Grant paintings of La Trobe: the official portrait and two painted for the family. The official portrait, sadly shortened after a fire at the Town Hall in 1925, is in the City of Melbourne Arts and Heritage Collection and hangs in the Lord Mayor's office; it was very valuable in providing intricate detail at eye level. The State Library Victoria's portrait is on display in the entrance to the La Trobe Reading Room. The National Trust of Australia (Victoria) portrait hangs in the Executive Council Chamber at the Old Treasury Building.
- 2 Philip Mansel, 'Monarchy, Uniform and the Rise of the Frac, 1760–1830', *Past and Present*, Vol.96, 1982, p.103.
- 3 Anne Hollander, *Seeing through Clothes*, New York: Viking, 1978, p.362.
- 4 Malcolm Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*, London: Routledge, 2002, p.29.
- 5 Craig Wilcox, *Badge, Boot, Button: the story of Australian uniforms*, Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2017, p.1.
- 6 Mansel (1982), p.125.
- 7 Geoffrey Serle, 'Wilson, Edward (1813–1878)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 6, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1976, pp.412–415.
- 8 Philip Mansel, *Dressed to Rule: royal and court costume from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005, p. xiv.
- 9 Amy Miller, *Dressed to Kill: British naval uniform, masculinity and contemporary fashions, 1748–1857*, London: National Maritime Museums, 2007.
- 10 Levee refers to ceremonial gatherings and events expected to be hosted by the regal representatives of the Crown.
- 11 Alan Mansfield, *Ceremonial Costume: court, civil and civic costume from 1660 to the present day*, London: Black, 1980, p.174.
- 12 Herbert A.P. Trendell (ed.), *Dress and Insignia Worn at His Majesty's Court, issued with the authority of the Lord Chamberlain*, London: Harrison, 1921.
- 13 Great Britain, Colonial Office, *Rules and Regulations for the Information and Guidance of the Principal Officers and Others in His Majesty's Colonial Possessions*, London: Clowes, 1837, p.27. (New edition, *Rules and Regulations for Her Majesty's Colonial Service*, 1843, p.36.)
- 14 Lace is a military term referencing trim, used in both an historical and contemporary context.
- 15 Welsh Lord Lieutenant's badge features the Prince of Wales feathers, Scottish a thistle and Irish the shamrock.
- 16 The purpose of the false double breast is still to be determined. However the author questions whether this technique was generally used as an adaptation to a single-breasted coat as the wearer's rank changed.
- 17 Contemporary fabrics are no longer made with comparable quality; finding modern cloth that is capable of maintaining a raw edge can be challenging.
- 18 Trendell, p.50.
- 19 At the time of writing, the author is seeking the exact details of this device and has chosen not to elaborate until the historically accurate details can be specified to a comprehensive standard.
- 20 This information was generously shared by plumage expert Louis Chalmers (www.theplumery.co.uk).

- 21 Established in 1767 Hand & Lock embroidery specialists are recognised for extravagant work. It is possible the embroidery on La Trobe's uniform could be credited to them; however, the majority of their records were destroyed during World War II.
- 22 Paul Fussell, *Uniform: why we are what we wear*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2002, p.15.
- 23 From the nineteenth century to the present day, Savile Row is renowned for its luxury tailoring including uniforms such as Charles Joseph La Trobe's.
- 24 Christopher Breward, *The Suit: form, function and style*, London; Reaktion Books, 2016, p.25.
- 25 George Gordon McCrae, 'Some Recollections of Melbourne in the 'Forties'', *Victorian Historical Magazine*, vol.2, 1912, p.124.
- 26 E. Deas Thomson, General Instructions to the Superintendent of Port Phillip, 10 September 1839, Public Record Office Victoria, VPRS 19/p, Unit 1, File 39/3.
- 27 George Gipps, Personal correspondence to La Trobe, 5 September 1839, State Library Victoria, H7376. (La Trobe's diary for 5 September records: 'I dine on board the "Alligator" with the Governor & divers. and then go to Government House', *Charles Joseph La Trobe: Australian Notes, 1839-1854*, [edited by Dianne Reilly], Yarra Glen, Vic: Tarcoola Press, State Library of Victoria and Boz Publishing, 2006, p.68.)
- 28 See also, *Port Phillip Patriot and Melbourne Advertiser*, 27 September 1841, p.2, 'His Honor the Superintendent left town yesterday on a tour to the interior... We observe that on such occasions latterly His Honor has assumed his official uniform'. (La Trobe's purpose was to inspect the proposed Mount Macedon Aboriginal station, *Australian Notes*, p.106.)
- 29 John Barnes, *La Trobe: Traveller Writer Governor*, Canberra: Halstead Press, in association with State Library Victoria and La Trobe University, 2017, p.142.
- 30 *Australian Notes*, p.61.
- 31 Barnes.
- 32 Davis McCaughey, Naomi Perkins, Angus Trumble, *Victoria's Colonial Governors, 1839-1900*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press at the Miegunyah Press, 1993, p.13.

Separation on the Horizon: the correspondence of Superintendent C J La Trobe in the last week in September 1850

By Dr Walter Heale

Walter Heale is a retired renal physician with an interest in the history of organisational structures and quality assurance. Over the last decade he has been a member of the Heritage and Archives Committee of the A.M.A. Victoria involving the digitisation of the minutes of the Port Phillip Medical Association, the Victoria Medical Association, and the Victorian Medical Society over the period from 1846 to 1856. He participated in the digitisation of the Inward Correspondence to Superintendent Charles La Trobe at Public Record Office Victoria.

The last week in September 1850 commemorated two significant anniversaries and was the occasion of two important events in the life of Melbourne. Readers may not be aware of these events and anniversaries. The last week of September 1850 marked fifteen years since the settlement of Melbourne and eleven years after the arrival of Superintendent La Trobe. It was seven weeks after the passage by the House of Commons of the law creating the new Colony of Victoria and would be seven weeks before the arrival of the *Lysander* in Melbourne. On board this vessel were the papers bearing the news of the Separation of the Port Phillip District from the Colony of New South Wales. The anticipated news of the Separation set off a round of bonfires and balls, a series of church services, a grand procession to witness the opening of Prince's Bridge and a sporting tournament.¹ This tournament included an early form of local football,² which these days culminates in the game we cherish in 'the last Saturday in September'.

Correspondence in the last week in September 1850

The Register of the Inward Correspondence to La Trobe, located at Public Record Office Victoria, contains forty-one letters for the week 24-30 September, including seven from the Colonial Secretary in Sydney. The forty-one incoming letters are linked to a further thirty-three letters found in thirteen different folders. The Register notes important details: the author of the letter, the topic and the action taken. This information was recorded diagonally on the lower right turned-back corner of the letter, together with detailed comments by La Trobe and others. Topics of letters received from 24 September 1850, included for instance: customs duty payable on perfumed spirits; career advice to a young surveyor; and the construction of the Benevolent Asylum.

The Local Outward Correspondence for the week, totalling seventeen letters, is bound as one volume. A separate category, the Outward



Andrew Robertson, artist
Melbourne from the Flagstaff Hill, 1853

Watercolour on buff paper
 Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria H273
 St Peter's Eastern Hill, top left, and the Dandenongs on the horizon. On left, La Trobe Street, with St John's School House (partly visible) at Elizabeth Street corner. The tall buildings further to the right are on Queen Street. In November 1850 Separation celebrations commenced on the Flagstaff Hill.

Correspondence to the Colonial Secretary in Sydney, totals thirteen letters. In all, there were 104 Inward and Outward letters for the week. This article examines the contents of these letters and, in some cases, drafts of La Trobe's responses.

The letters, which are listed below in a file number sequence on page 22, involved personnel management including those seeking appointments; general administration; major capital works; mail, customs and the Harbour Master; the courts, police and prisons; and governance. Governance matters included finalising the detailed establishment of the Geelong Council, the initial steps to establish Collingwood as a ward and the involvement of the Mayor and City Council of Melbourne in the Separation process.

Staffing and government appointments

Mr F.W.R. Wright of the Survey Camp wrote to La Trobe to apply for an appointment in the Native Police 'if a position became available'. He had discussed his current workload with Robert Hoddle, who had tried to convince him to remain as a surveyor. Wright, unhappy with Hoddle's advice, in turn wrote to La Trobe to seek the advice of the Superintendent. When he replied to Wright, La Trobe's recommendation was that he 'remain steady in the employment which you are at present engaged'.³

On salary matters, the Colonial Secretary, Edward Deas Thomson, wrote approving the half-yearly salary of £50 for the Reverend W. Wilson of Portland, while the Sub-Treasurer, William Lonsdale, recommended an increase in salary to £100 per annum for Mr Charles Norton who had been appointed in April as an Audit Clerk. The Catholic Bishop of Melbourne, James Alipius Goold, notified the appointment of the Reverend Gerard Ward as Chaplain of St Patrick's, and the Reverend John Fitzpatrick as Chaplain to Her Majesty's Gaol.

Dr Hope submitted his resignation as Geelong District Coroner, and supported Dr Foster Shaw's expression of interest as his replacement. The supporting recommendation to Sydney suggested the inclusion of Dr Shaw's name on the Commission of Peace for the Territory. Mr Thomas Breen, in applying for appointment as Chief Constable, pointed to his seven years' police experience in Ireland and his current position as a constable in Geelong as evidence of his suitability for the job. His folder included correspondence over some months, and his name was added to the list of applicants.

Mr J. I. Simpson, who had previously met with La Trobe, wrote in search of work: 'I beg to recall myself to your remembrance as an applicant for a Government situation either in the Town or Bush'.⁴ La Trobe replied that 'under the budget for Separation', he would be



Henry Samuel Sadd, c.1811–1893, engraver
 John Noone, active 1855–1888, photographer
 Augustus Frederick Adolphus Greeves, c.1855
 Mezzotint
 Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H90.159/8
 Mayor of Melbourne 1849/50

‘unable to make new appointments’. By contrast, Mr John B. Stair of Geelong, also applied for a Government position but he had already been interviewed by La Trobe. Recommended by La Trobe’s brother, the Reverend Peter La Trobe in London, Stair had worked in printing for the London Missionary Society Missions. In a long and courteous letter Stair sought appointment as a printer, and if such a position was not available, he was seeking any other appointment. This letter was answered privately.

General administration

Mr Henry Elms of Geelong applied for approval from La Trobe to renew a theatrical licence and enclosed a draft letter to be forwarded with a Minute to the Colonial Secretary. On receipt of a letter from La Trobe enclosing a despatch from the Secretary of State, Mr Charles Griffith, President of the Victoria Industrial Society, undertook to convey to his members news of the 1851 London Exhibition of All Nations. Another administrative matter was raised by the Mayor of Melbourne, Dr Augustus Greeves, who was an inaugural surgeon at the Melbourne Hospital. He asked about lands to be set apart as places of public recreation – this was of particular interest to La Trobe, as we know.

William Redmond Belcher, a clerk of the Petty Sessions Police Office, wrote seeking clarification of reporting requirements issued by George Frederick Belcher of Treasury.

The immediate issue was the work involved in providing, in triplicate, the list of fines paid to the Police Office from January to May 1850 for budgetary income review. This was, in essence, a tedious squabble between two brothers over courtesy in communication and of no real concern to La Trobe.

Major capital works

The Chairman of the Denominational School Board applied for access to the Reserve fund of the Board, for an Educational Grant to purchase schoolbooks. The Colonial Secretary had agreed to a grant of £138 in 1849, and a reserve of £169 had been made for 1850. The books had arrived from the Commission of National Education and had already been allocated to the various denominations. On La Trobe’s instruction, Robert Pohlman, Chairman of the Board and a public servant, asked the Sub-Treasurer to expedite payment. Later in the year the Board asked that a further £48 be allocated.⁵

The establishment of a Benevolent Asylum in Melbourne was an important public facility ‘to relieve the aged, infirm, disabled or destitute of all creeds and nations’ in the town’s early years. The government granted the land and provided funds to match private subscriptions.⁶ The Trustees of the Asylum requested a survey of the initial building works. An architect’s certificate and a builder’s invoice for £200 were provided to authorise payment. Over the next six months three further payments were made for a total of £1,700.⁷ The last survey of work was requested by Augustus Greeves, Chairman of the Building Committee.

In the absence of the Bishop of Melbourne, the Archdeacon of Geelong, the eminent Reverend Hussey Burgh Macartney (later Anglican Dean of Melbourne), noted the grant of £1,000 that had been made by the Governor to complete the construction of the Brighton church. With approval of the Brighton Board of Trustees, £400 was transferred to complete the construction of St Paul’s Church and parsonage in Geelong, in the belief that private donors in Brighton would fill the gap.

Road construction in the outlying regions was an important part of the District’s capital works. Mr Alfred Hurley wrote complaining about the state of the road from Warrnambool to Port Fairy, and the difficulty farmers were having in moving produce to market. In reply, La Trobe wrote that a survey had been completed, and Hoddle expected Mr Skene’s report would be ready within a few days to send to Sydney for proclamation.

Mail, Customs and the Harbour Master

The Colonial Secretary transmitted a letter to Thomas Watson Esq., Surveyor, which was forwarded to him. No information was available for Mr David Murdock relating to his brother James. A more complex matter arose with the proposed transfer of a letter addressed to Mr Charles Brooks, to the official assignee of Brooks's insolvent estates. It was unknown whether Mr Brooks was still in the District, and if he was disposed to dispute the assignee's right to the letter. In an attached letter, the Crown Law Officer in Sydney had been unable to give an opinion and the letter was returned to the Melbourne Post Office until the insolvent had been informed.

The local identity, hotelier and artist, Wilbraham Frederick Evelyn Liardet of The Beach, Sandridge (Port Melbourne) wrote proposing a public service concerning outward mail from the District. He proposed giving notice to the Post Office of sailing times from Williamstown, to avoid mail missing the next available boat. Liardet ran a 'mail cart' business to the city centre and suggested departure times be transmitted 'from Williamstown to the Signal Station at Flagstaff Hill and thence to the Post Office'. We can only imagine La Trobe found this to be an excellent idea and he referred the suggestion to the Chief Post Master, Mr Henry Kemp, who penned an extended response on the back of the letter. He wrote that 'it certainly would be of great convenience to the Post Office, being put in possession of positive information respecting vessels, from time to time during the course of the day... perhaps His Honor would be good enough to give instruction at Flag Staff to keep the Post Office informed of departure of Vessels'.⁸ The matter was then referred to the Clerk of Works.

The Colonial Secretary forwarded twenty-five printed copies of an *Act to regulate the amount of Import Duty to be paid upon Perfumed Spirits 14 Victoria Number 8*, to be distributed amongst Custom Department staff. The rate was three shillings and six pence for each imperial gallon of perfumery either imported or manufactured locally and entered into a bonded warehouse. The Harbour Master reported that Master Pilot McPherson, as required, was now a resident of Williamstown on completion of repairs to his rental property. Meanwhile, the Harbour Master's clerk wrote protesting against a decision to institute a new way of collecting Emergency Inward Pilotage. The issue had been discussed at length, and La Trobe declined to reopen the matter.

Courts, police and prisons

Courts

Over the week, three court cases were reported to La Trobe. The Colonial Secretary on the recommendation of the Visiting Justice to Melbourne Gaol, William à Beckett – on petition by prisoner John Simpson – remitted one of his two-year sentence for forgery. James Welch had been convicted as an idle and disorderly person under the *Vagrancy Act*. His behavior in Melbourne Gaol had improved, but his petition against a twelve-month sentence was rejected. The Superintendent of Police, Evelyn Percy Shirley Sturt, wrote seeking legal advice regarding a fine of five shillings for every ounce of underweight loaves imposed on George Harris, baker of Little Bourke Street.

A substantial number of administrative matters had to be dealt with. The Crown Commissioner of the Murray District, Henry Wilson Hutchinson Smythe, requested the withdrawal of his letter of 4 September for the nomination of an additional Magistrate. He had stated that substituting as a Magistrate was interfering with his work as a Land Commissioner. However, other arrangements were since made involving magistrates presiding at Hughes Creek, Goulburn, Upper Goulburn, Devil's Creek, Four Mile Creek, and Creighton's Creek Sydney Road. Mr Edward Broderick wrote with reference to his previous complaints against the Police Magistrate and the Chief Constable at Alberton. In reply, the Colonial Secretary wrote the charges were not sustained.⁹ A Mr Kerr asserted that Mr Henry Moor JP, a former Mayor of Melbourne, was unable to sit as a Commissioner of the Peace as he was an Attorney sitting as a Magistrate in the Police Court. After consultation with the Attorney General, the Colonial Secretary wrote 'His Excellency considers Mr Moor's explanation of the matter to be quite satisfactory'.¹⁰

Police

The Colonial Secretary copied La Trobe into his reply to a letter from Captain Henry Edward Pulteney Dana, Commandant of the Native Police. The letter reported the death of 'Sir Robert Peel', an Aboriginal man. In the process of a warrant being issued against Peel for threats to kill another, a Native Policeman fired killing Peel. The Attorney General deemed the action was in self defence and perfectly justified. Dana had recently made a trip to Broken River in response to a request by La Trobe. Dana reported that in the absence of a local prosecutor, two bushrangers had already been sent to Melbourne, and current prisoners were being escorted there by Native Police for trial. Warrants had been issued for five Aboriginal



Samuel Bellin, 1799–1893, engraver
Sir Francis Grant, 1803–1878, artist
Charles Joseph La Trobe, 1855 (detail)
Mezzotint

Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H15575

men who had robbed a woman in the service of a Mr Kirkland; they had fled across the Murray and Dana felt they were not worth pursuing. Dana also reported that the settlers in Seymour and the Bench of Magistrates in Benalla were anxious to have local Native Police. Dana concluded 'The arrangements can be effected at the beginning of the New Year if Your Honor considers it necessary'.¹¹

The Bench of Magistrates at The Grange (Hamilton) wrote to La Trobe to enquire about the rules and regulations of the *Police Reward Fund Act*. They wished to reward their Chief Constable Bloomfield but were in ignorance of how to proceed. The reply from La Trobe was simple: the fund was not yet in place, therefore they could do nothing. On another matter the Sub-Treasurer, William Lonsdale, enquired about the forage allowance of £31.30 for two police horses at Flooding Creek (Sale) from January to August. He noted that the amount cited was 'a much larger expenditure than is incurred by any other Police Stations beyond the settled Districts'.¹² Furthermore, he added: 'this Bench was informed by Circular on 7 December 1849, that £10 annually was allowed for forage for this Department for the current year'.¹³

Prisons

The Deputy Sheriff, J. Mackenzie, forwarded a petition 'from certain prisoners sentenced to hard labor, praying to be removed to some place where the sentences can be carried into

effect'.¹⁴ Of the forty-three petitioners fifteen were illiterate signing with a cross, and all had been sentenced since August 1849. The petition became part of a folder containing seven letters dating back to November 1849 describing the evolution of plans to house long-term prisoners. It was written in a lucid fashion by Mr Mackenzie and Captain Dana. The outcome was that the sentences were to be worked either in the gaol and stockade at Melbourne or in the new stockade at Pentridge.

Governance

Inwards correspondence to La Trobe in the last week in September 1850 was associated with the parallel processes of local, city, and colonial governance, these being the concluding phase in the formation of the Geelong Council, the initiation of the process to form Collingwood Ward in the City of Melbourne, and the administration re-assigning the Port Phillip District to the new Colony of Victoria. La Trobe was required to fulfil these processes against a demonstrable capacity to run each level of government in an appropriate manner.

Geelong Council

Mr James Croke, Crown Prosecutor at Melbourne, reported on the extensive bylaws 2, 3 and 4 recently passed by the Mayor and Town Council of Geelong. There had been discussion and written communication over the preceding months, signed off by 'Your dedicated and obedient servant, A. Thomson Mayor'.¹⁵ Thomson had settled in Melbourne in 1836, was briefly the first formal doctor in the District, then became a pastoralist and magistrate in Geelong. With bylaw 4, Croke suggested that there was room for improvement in the language of the bylaw. Foster Fyans, the Geelong Police Magistrate, specifically drew La Trobe's attention to the cost of £115.6.1 in conducting the recent first elections to the Geelong Corporation. This information was forwarded to the Colonial Secretary, seeking recompense under sections 6 and 13 of *Act Victoria 40*.

Collingwood Ward

On 6 September La Trobe issued a proclamation establishing Collingwood as a new Melbourne City ward. The Mayor, Augustus Greeves, wrote that under the Acts of Council 6 Vic. nos. 7 and 8, it would be necessary to appoint *pro tem* an alderman and two assessors to revise the citizens list. The Mayor suggested this process be brought forward so as to not disenfranchise those currently in Gipps Ward. Mr Croke as Crown Prosecutor made a detailed response to His Honor's minute of 25 September: 'The enrolment of Burgesses, and the first election of Aldermen, Councillors and Assessors of



Wilbraham Frederick Evelyn Liardet, 1799–1878, artist
Separation celebrations on Flagstaff Hill (1850), 1875
 Watercolour with pen and ink, gouache and pencil
 Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H28250/37

such additional Wards shall be conducted in the same manner as is prescribed in and by the said recited Act'.¹⁶

The appointment of an alderman, two assessors and a collector were later recorded in four letters sent to the Mayor. The Colonial Secretary was informed of progress with the added suggestion the new ward might be called FitzRoy.

Separation of Port Phillip

On 27 September 1850 the Mayor of Melbourne on behalf of the Council, wrote to La Trobe respecting 'Separation rejoicings' on Port Phillip at last becoming a distinct and independent colony. This correspondence extended over nine letters in a folder beginning in November 1849 and concluding in February 1851.¹⁷ Three supporting petitions from the City Council of Geelong, the Port Phillip members of the New South Wales Legislative Council, and the City of Melbourne had been presented. The emphatic full-page Melbourne Council petition from the Mayor, Augustus Greeves, was attached to a letter sent to La Trobe on 18 December 1849. The letter concludes:

I have the honor by instruction of the Council of this City to request that your Honor will transmit to its destination by an early opportunity the enclosed Petition from that body to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty with respect to the delay which has taken place in the promised Separation of Port Phillip from New South Wales and its erection into a distinct and independent Colony.¹⁸

The petition was forwarded to the Colonial Secretary on 20 December; he then dispatched it to London in January 1850. In response, the Secretary of State wrote that 'Her Majesty was pleased to receive the same very graciously'.¹⁹ Greeves later became a Victorian parliamentarian and Minister of Lands.

Separation and creation of an independent colony

The Separation Act, entitled *An Act for the better Government of Her Majesty's Australian Colonies*, was passed by the British Parliament on 5 August 1850 and signed by Queen Victoria on 9 August. As noted, on 27 September the Mayor of Melbourne wrote respecting Separation rejoicings:

I have the honor on behalf of the Committee appointed to make the necessary preparations for hailing the receipt of intelligence of Separation by Public Rejoicings... with thanks for the kind assistance that you were pleased to convey opening of Prince's Bridge... that you will do the Committee the further kindness of permitting them to take dead timber from the Crown Lands as may be necessary for the supply of Beacon Fires around Melbourne.²⁰

La Trobe replied that he had 'communicated with the Officer commanding the Detachment stationed here on the subject of firing a Royal Salute on the arrival of the looked-for intelligence according to your desire'.²¹

The news reached Melbourne on the *Lysander* on 11 November, setting off a round of bonfires, balls and sporting events. The New South Wales Legislative Council on 1 May 1851 passed *The Victorian Electoral Act of 1851*,

establishing a Legislative Council in Victoria, consisting of thirty members: twenty elected and the remainder the Lieutenant-Governor's appointees.²² In June 1851 La Trobe's position as Lieutenant-Governor was affirmed.²³

Government House
Sydney 5 June 1851

Sir,

I have the honor to forward herewith to Your Excellency a Commission under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, by which Her Majesty has been pleased to appoint me to be Captain General and Governor in Chief of Victoria, in conjunction with the other Australian Colonies, together with an instrument under the Royal Sign Manual appointing your Excellency to be Lieutenant Governor thereof.

2— I also enclose a Warrant delegating to you the power of appointing a certain number of the members of the Legislative Council.

3— The Dispatch in which these documents were transmitted to me by Her Majesty's Secretary of State has been already communicated to you direct by His Lordship

4— I beg to assure you that as Governor General of the Australian Colonies I shall at all times have much pleasure in cooperating with Your Excellency in all measures which may tend to their mutual advantage.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your Excellency's
Most obedient Servant
CHAS. A. FITZ ROY

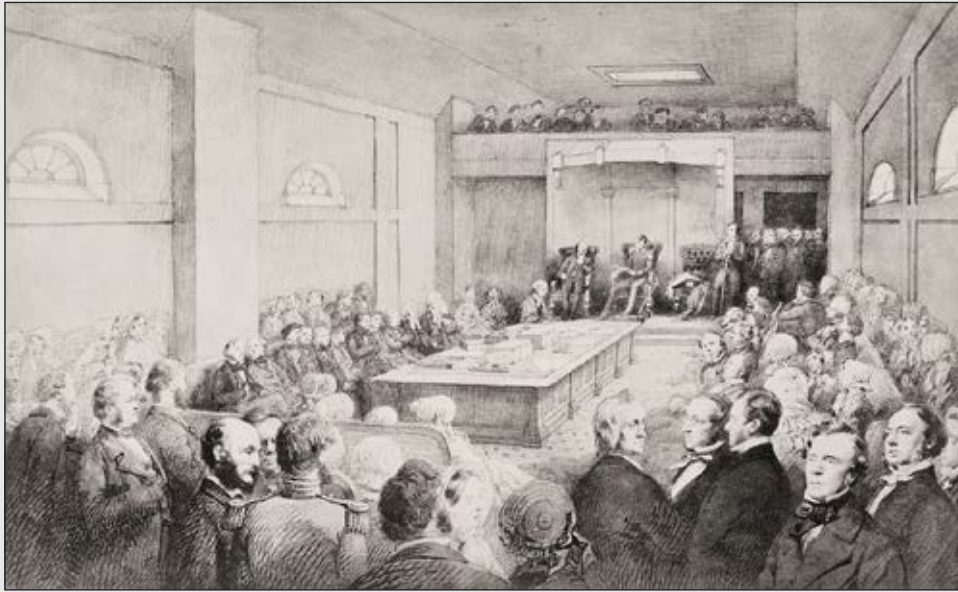
His Excellency
Charles Joseph La Trobe

On 1 July 1851 the writs for the Legislative Council were issued. On 13 November the first Council session was opened by Lieutenant-Governor La Trobe at St Patrick's Hall, Bourke Street West, Melbourne.

As readers will have become aware throughout this article, the correspondence to arrive on La Trobe's desk within the space of one week was considerable. I have noted already that in total 104 letters were received or despatched. Out of a total seventy-four inward and thirty outward letters, seven were from and thirteen to the Colonial Secretary. This confirms that, in addition to his other duties, La Trobe's workload was extensive, requiring considerable

political expertise and sophisticated handling of the more delicate matters. After eleven years in the job, his political acumen would have been more acute than when he first arrived in Port Phillip. Of greatest importance to the District was the Separation from New South Wales. While only some of the matters he dealt with in the last week of September directly related to Separation, they would eventually have an impact on the new regime which was poised to take over the administration nine months later.

cont. >>



John Noone, 1820-1893, lithographer
William Strutt, 1825-1915, artist

Opening of the First Legislative Council of Victoria, by Governor Charles Joseph La Trobe, at St Patrick's Hall,
Bourke Street West, Melbourne, November 13th 1851 (1883)

Photolithograph

National Portrait Gallery, Canberra, 2013.87

From a watercolour sketch taken at the time by William Strutt

Acknowledgement

The help and support of the staff at PROV is acknowledged.

La Trobe correspondence in PROV files, 24-30 September 1850

VPRS 19 Inward correspondence to La Trobe, Units 139 and 140 (*italics below*), file 50

1634	Colonial Secretary	Remitting the sentence passed on John Simpson
1635	Colonial Secretary	Death of 'Sir Robert Peel', an Aboriginal man
1636	Colonial Secretary	Import duty to be paid on perfumed spirits, 25 copies of the Act
1637	Colonial Secretary	Transmitting letter to Thomas Watson Esq., Surveyor
1638	Murray District	Withdrawal nomination by H.W.H. Smythe of additional Magistrate
1639	Mr E. Broderick	Complaint against the Police Magistrate / Constable at Alberton
1640	Mr F.W.R. Wright	Applying for appointment in the Native Police
1641	Police Magistrate	Claims on the first election of the Geelong Corporation
1642	School Board	Applying for the Educational Grant to purchase schoolbooks
1643	Benevolent Asylum	Trustees requesting a survey of building work
1644	Deputy Sheriff	Petition from prisoners sentenced to hard labour seeking work
1645	Petty Sessions	Meaning of memorandum addressed to the Sub-Treasurers
1646	Crown Prosecutor	Suggesting changes in Geelong Council bylaws 2, 3, & 4
1647	Melbourne Mayor	Constitution of Collingwood as a separate ward
1648	Mr David Murdock	Enquiring news of his brother James Murdock
1649	Colonial Secretary	Confirms Mr H. Moor as a Commissioner of the Peace
1650	Colonial Secretary	Payment of a £50 six monthly salary to the Rev. W. Wilson
1651	Colonial Secretary	Delivery of mail to the insolvent estate of Mr Charles Brooks
1652	Mr Alfred Hurley	Respecting the road from Warrnambool to Port Fairy
1653	Mr Henry Elms	Applying to Sydney for renewal of theatrical licence at Geelong
1654	Grange Magistrates	Requesting regulations under the Police Reward Fund Act
1655	Dr Foster Shaw	Applying for appointment as Coroner for the Geelong District
1656	Mr Thos. Breen	Applying for appointment as Chief Constable
1657	Mr J. I. Simpson	Applying for a Government situation
1658	Charles Griffith	Victoria Industrial Society and the 1851 London Exhibition
1659	Native Police	Report of Commandant Dana on return from Broken River
1660	Sub Treasurer	Forage allowance to the Police at Flooding Creek
1661	Melbourne Mayor	Permission to collect dead wood for Separation bonfires
1662	Melbourne Mayor	Lands to be set apart as places of public recreation
1663	Crown Prosecutor	His opinion respecting the election for Collingwood
1664	Sub Treasurer	Recommending Mr Charles Norton for an increase of salary
1665	Mr John B. Stair	Applying for appointment as a Government printer
1666	Dr Hope	Resigning his appointment of Coroner for Geelong District

1667	Deputy Sheriff	Petition from James Welch, a prisoner H.M. Gaol Melbourne
1668	Police Office	Seeking an opinion of law officers in the case of George Harris
1669	St Paul's Geelong	Grant to Brighton Church transferred to St Paul's Geelong
1670	Mr Evelyn Liardet	Giving notice to Post Office of sailing times of mail vessels
1671	Catholic Bishop	Appointment Rev. Gerard Ward as Chaplain of St Patrick's
1672	Catholic Bishop	Appointment Rev. Mr John Fitzpatrick as Gaol Chaplain
1673	Harbour Master	Master Pilot McPherson becoming a resident of Williamstown
1674	Harbour Master	Respecting His Honor's decision on the emergency pilotage.

VPRS 16 Selected Local outward correspondence, Unit 9, file 50

580	Geelong Mayor	Crown Law Department suggested adjustments to bylaws
581	F.W.R. Wright	Keep steady in current surveying role
584	J. I. Simpson	Unable to employ new staff under Separation
587	Thos. Breen	On short list for appointment as Chief Constable
591-4	Melbourne Mayor	Collingwood Ward: nominee alderman, assessors, collector
595	Melbourne Mayor	Firing of Royal Salute on receipt of desired Separation news.

VPRS 16 Selected Outward correspondence to the Colonial Secretary, Unit 20, file 50

436	Submitting weekly returns from Sub Treasurer
439	Geelong Magistrate request for £115.6.1 to cover cost of local elections
440	Forwarding fortnightly return of spirits and tobacco
443	Dr Shaw as new Geelong District Coroner
444	Collingwood Ward: reporting proclamation and FitzRoy as possible name.

Endnotes

- 1 *Argus*, 19 November 1850, 'Supplement: Separation Rejoicings'; Garryowen, *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne 1835 to 1852: historical, anecdotal and personal*, Melbourne: Fergusson & Mitchell, 1888, pp.911-921. ('Amongst the sermons preached the most effective were those of Dr Perry, the Episcopalian Bishop, at St James' Cathedral, and the Rev. Rabbi Rintel, at the Synagogue', p.913.)
- 2 Ibid, *Argus*: 'A match at foot-ball between two sides of twelve each concluded the sports. The game was all on one side from the beginning, and won easily by Mr Barry and his eleven'.
- 3 VPRS 16 Unit 9, 50/581, *op. cit.*
- 4 VPRS 19 Unit 140, 50/1657, *op. cit.*
- 5 VPRS 19 Unit 142, 50/2193, Applying for £48 for further book purchases.
- 6 Mary Kehoe, 'Benevolent Asylum', *The Encyclopedia of Melbourne*, edited by Andrew Brown-May and Shurlee Swain, Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p.69.
- 7 VPRS 19 Unit 146, 51/595, Applying for survey of building works.
- 8 VPRS 19 Unit 140, 50/1670, *op. cit.*
- 9 VPRS 19 Unit 141, 50/1946, In reply to Mr Edward Broderick.
- 10 VPRS 19 Unit 139, 50/1649, *op. cit.*
- 11 VPRS 19 Unit 140, 50/1659, *op. cit.*
- 12 VPRS 19 Unit 140, 50/1660, *op. cit.*
- 13 VPRS 19 Unit 141, 50/1804, Explanation of documents related to purchase of forage.
- 14 VPRS 19 Unit 139, 50/1644, *op. cit.*
- 15 VPRS 19 Unit 139, 50/1609, Submitting bylaws 2, 3, & 4.
- 16 VPRS 19 Unit 140, 50/1663, *op. cit.*
- 17 VPRS 19 Unit 126, 49/2080 (to Unit 146, 51/410), Reply to memorial from Geelong Town Council, [etc.]
- 18 VPRS 19 Unit 128, 49/2444, Enclosing Melbourne City Council's petition to the Queen as to Separation.
- 19 VPRS 19 Unit 143, 50/2376, Stating that the Secretary of State had laid Melbourne's petition before the Queen.
- 20 VPRS 19 Unit 140, 50/1661, *op. cit.*
- 21 VPRS 16 Unit 9, 50/595, *op. cit.*
- 22 Ray Wright. *The Blended House: the Legislative Council of Victoria, 1851-1856*. Melbourne: Department of the Legislative Council, Parliament of Victoria, 2001, p.8; *The Parliament of Victoria and Parliament House*, prepared by direction of Clerk of the Parliaments, 13th ed., [Melbourne: Government Printer], 1980, p.3.
- 23 VPRS 19 Unit 150, 51/1115a, The Governor General transmits warrant to appoint members of the Legislative Council.

Georgiana McCrae, 1804-1890, artist
Miss Agnes Morison, c.1830
Oil on canvas
National Gallery of Australia, 2003.435
Agnes married Farquhar McCrae in
Edinburgh on 8 November 1836



Riding with the Superintendent: a second Mrs McCrae

By Dr Douglas Wilkie

Douglas Wilkie is an Honorary Fellow in the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies at the University of Melbourne. His PhD thesis at the University of Melbourne was entitled '1849, The Rush that Never Started: Forgotten Origins of the Victorian Gold Rushes of 1851'. He has written widely on subjects related to the history of Port Phillip, the origins of the Victorian gold rushes and the convicts of Van Diemen's Land. In this article he writes about Mrs Farquhar McCrae and her attendance at the Separation celebrations in November 1850.

The life of Georgiana McCrae has had an enormous following since the publication of her *Journal*, initially produced in 1934 by her grandson, writer Hugh McCrae. Subsequent interest was fostered by reprints and new editions, as well as by the acclaimed 1994 biography of Georgiana by Brenda Niall. However, it has long been recognised that not only did Georgiana substantially rewrite and edit her journal during the 1880s, but also that it had been significantly altered, with some 'imaginative' passages added by Hugh McCrae in his 1934 edition.

Marguerite Hancock drew the reader's attention to these shortcomings in the 2013 edition of *Georgiana's Journal*.¹ More relevant to this discussion, Thérèse Weber's PhD thesis of 2001 made a forensic analysis of the various extant versions of the journal manuscripts with the result that Georgiana's 1884 manuscript can now be read as a document that distinctly differs from the print versions. Quotations in this

article are from Weber's transcription.² Weber also cautioned about the possibility of errors of memory being introduced in the 1884 revision.

This article is a by-product of research I undertook into the life of Georgiana McCrae's brother-in-law, Dr Farquhar McCrae. Previous sweeping generalisations and assumptions about his life are investigated and corrected in my recent book *Farquhar McCrae and The Burning of Troy*.³ His wife Agnes, née Morison, and her association with pre-gold Victoria is the focus of this article.

Agnes McCrae: after the death of Farquhar

Farquhar McCrae and his family emigrated from Scotland to Melbourne in 1839. Farquhar's brother, Andrew Murison McCrae, arrived in Melbourne via Sydney late in the same year. Then, in 1841, Georgiana McCrae and children came to join Andrew, and over the next few



years, as Georgiana's journal records, she spent much time with Farquhar's wife Agnes, whom she knew well from their common family connections in Edinburgh. Georgiana had spent much time with the Morison family as a young woman. Agnes's father, solicitor John Morison, was legal advisor to Georgiana's grandfather, Alexander, Fifth Duke of Gordon, and she came to regard Agnes's uncle, Sir Alexander Morison (1779–1866), affectionately as 'Uncle Sandy'. During the 1830s Sir Alexander, a pioneer in psychiatry, lived in London's Cavendish Square, from where he and his wife provided moral support for Georgiana while she awaited the call to join Andrew in Melbourne.⁴

By 1843, professional and family circumstances saw Farquhar McCrae take his family to live in Sydney where, after a slow start, he established a successful medical practice. However, he had suffered poor health for many years and, expecting the worst, on 18 April 1850, he drew up his Will.⁵ News of his failing health had been sent to Melbourne and his brother-in-law, Dr David Thomas, hurriedly arranged to travel to Sydney on the steamer *Shamrock*.⁶ Unfortunately, Farquhar died on 20 April 1850, aged just forty-three.⁷ David Thomas arrived five days later.

Early in May, McCrae's body was shipped to Thomas's address in Melbourne.⁸ A funeral notice, placed in the Melbourne press only a few hours before the funeral was to take place on Monday 13 May, announced that the cortege would leave from Dr Thomas's Bourke Street residence at 4pm.⁹ However, neither David Thomas nor Agnes McCrae were in Melbourne

for the funeral. They remained in Sydney while Agnes settled Probate matters and arranged to sell most of the household furniture and dispose of some artworks inherited by her husband.¹⁰

While attendees at the funeral are not mentioned in newspapers, it is likely that his brothers Andrew and Alexander were there and possibly his sisters, Margaret Thomas and Thomas Ann Cole, and sister-in-law Georgiana. Georgiana's journal does not mention the funeral as it has a gap between January and September 1850.

After settling matters in Sydney, on Saturday 1 June David Thomas, Agnes McCrae and the two McCrae children, five-year-old Farquhar and six-year-old Mary Amelia, left Sydney for Melbourne on the *Shamrock*.¹¹ They arrived in Melbourne on 6 June, along with '17 packages furniture' in the name of 'McCrae'.¹² Agnes had taken the three older children, Jane, Margaret, and William, back to Edinburgh for their education in 1848 and arrived back in Sydney two months before Farquhar's death.¹³

Agnes, like Georgiana, was undoubtedly a reluctant emigrant from the beginning, and planned to return to Scotland as soon as possible. However, legal and real estate matters had to be attended to before she was able to leave Port Phillip on the *Northumberland* in mid-January 1851.¹⁴ During the six months spent in Melbourne, it seems probable that Agnes and the children lived with the Thomas family, while also enjoying the company of her life-long friend and confidante, Georgiana.

Anticipating Separation

Despite the inconsistencies in Georgiana's journal, we are fortunate that it mentions Agnes on several occasions. As is well known, Georgiana became a close friend of Superintendent Charles La Trobe's wife, Sophie, and in November 1850 it seems possible that both Agnes and Georgiana were at the La Trobe home, *Jolimont*, when news of Port Phillip's imminent separation from New South Wales arrived.

Even before Governor Richard Bourke declared Port Phillip an official settlement in 1837 a determined attitude of self-reliance had developed among the settlers of Port Phillip. Calls for independence from New South Wales grew,¹⁵ and both Farquhar and Andrew McCrae became active among the predominantly Scottish members of the Separation Committee formed in 1840 to petition the government in London asking that Port Phillip to be given the status of an independent colony.¹⁶ By early 1850 it was known that the British Parliament

was about to debate a *Bill for the better regulation of the Australian Colonies*, more commonly known in Melbourne as the Separation Bill because it would bring separation from New South Wales.

News of the outcome of the debate was eagerly awaited and on 7 September 1850 the *Argus* called for preparations to be made to mark the occasion.¹⁷ Supported by Melbourne's businessmen, Mayor Augustus Greeves convened a public meeting on 16 September to arrange an elaborate programme of events to celebrate the 'Separation of Port Phillip'.¹⁸ By the end of the month, a programme of 'Celebration Rejoicings' had been devised and John C. King, Melbourne's Town Clerk and secretary of the Celebrations Committee, posted a 'widely distributed' circular to inform the residents of Port Phillip. Details were subsequently published in the press. Residents in the country were just as excited as those in Melbourne, with the *Geelong Advertiser* reporting news from Buninyong:

The meetings which have been held in Melbourne and Geelong, regarding the celebration of 'Separation', whenever the news arrives, has been read here with interest, and it is the intention of the inhabitants to have rejoicings also, by keeping the day as a strict holiday, and in the evening to have a large bonfire on one of the adjacent hills.¹⁹

The *Port Phillip Gazette* set out details of the 'Separation Rejoicings' that would occur once news was received. It was proposed that:

[T]he Union Jack be hoisted at the Signal Station... and a Royal Salute fired, the same to be responded to by the shipping in the harbour. [I]n the evening... beacon fires be kindled on the hill tops around Melbourne and throughout the interior. The first fire to be lighted on the flag staff hill at sunset—in presence of his Worship the Mayor, and to be followed by the discharge of six rockets with an interval of five minutes between each, which will be a signal for the lighting of all the other beacons, so as... to spread the joyful intelligence simultaneously over the entire district...

The locations of the sixty-nine beacon fires were published, along with details of other celebrations:

The fourth day... exclusive of either Saturday or Sunday, to be proclaimed as a general holiday and occasion of public rejoicing... commence[d]

by the inhabitants assembling at their respective places of worship for the purpose of thanksgiving at nine o'clock... At eleven o'clock, a procession to be formed on the vacant ground in front of the Government Offices of the constituted authorities, associated bodies, public schools, &c., for the purpose of opening the Prince's Bridge. At twelve o'clock the games and sports to commence at the cricket ground, between the Yarra and the Beach, refreshments being at the same time furnished to the children on the hill above the Botanic Garden. In the evening... [there will be] a display of fire works.

On successive days thereafter, a public dinner was to be held 'the terms of admission being such as will insure the attendance of the inhabitants', with an equally appealing fancy dress ball.²⁰

Sometimes London news arrived informally; in October 1850, the Learmonth brothers near Buninyong received a letter from a Major Cotton at Madras, informing them that the Separation Act had been passed. Although unofficial, this news was published in the *Geelong Intelligencer* on 26 October, reprinted in the *Hobart Courier* on 6 November, and in Launceston's *Cornwall Chronicle* the next day.²¹

Verification would finally reach Melbourne on 11 November 1850 through newspapers carried on board the *Lysander* from Adelaide. The long-anticipated English news had arrived at Adelaide on board the *Delta* which left Plymouth on 4 August, just after the Bill received assent from both House of Commons and Lords and reached Adelaide on 31 October.²² Most of Adelaide's newspapers summarised the English news over the following days but saw no reason for excitement. South Australia was already self-governing.²³

Monday 11 November 1850

Port Phillip's long-awaited news left Adelaide on the *Lysander* on 7 November, and arrived at Melbourne on the evening of Monday 11 November 1850.²⁴ By coincidence, on that same evening, Charles La Trobe and his wife Sophie were entertaining guests for dinner at their home *Jolimont*. Among the guests was Georgiana McCrae, who recorded the evening in her journal:

Jolimont – 12th November 1850

Yesterday Sunday [*sic*]²⁵ – before we had risen from table, the sound of



Edward La Trobe Bateman, 1816–1897, artist
Jolimont, front, c.1852

Pencil and Chinese white on brown paper
 Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H98.135/18
 Depicts Charley, Cécile and Nelly La Trobe

carriage wheels grating on the gravelled way – and a loud ring of the door bell made us all start!²⁶

La Trobe, with his characteristic sense of humour, suggested that the commotion might be ‘the arrival of the said-to-be coming new governor – in want of a night’s lodging’.²⁷ Speculation about who might be appointed governor after separation had been a regular item in Melbourne’s press for several years.²⁸ Edward Wilson at the *Argus* who had long called for La Trobe’s replacement as Superintendent was firmly opposed to him receiving the higher office. However, others were more positive, as indicated by a comment in the Separation editorial of the *Melbourne Morning Herald* of 12 November: ‘It will be gratifying to His Honor and to his numerous friends to know that he has been selected to be the first *Governor of Victoria*’.²⁹

In the meantime, the noisy arrival at La Trobe’s door on the night of 11 November was not a new governor, but Melbourne’s new mayor, William Nicholson, accompanied by former mayor Augustus Greeves.³⁰ Nicholson had been alerted to the news carried on the *Lysander* by Edmund Finn, editor of the *Melbourne Morning Herald*.³¹ Georgiana summarised:

Enter the Mayor, (Nicholson the Grocer³²) and the ex-Mayor with a Newspaper (from Adelaide) containing the account of the Separation Bill having passed both Houses – The Mayor said ‘He could not restrain the

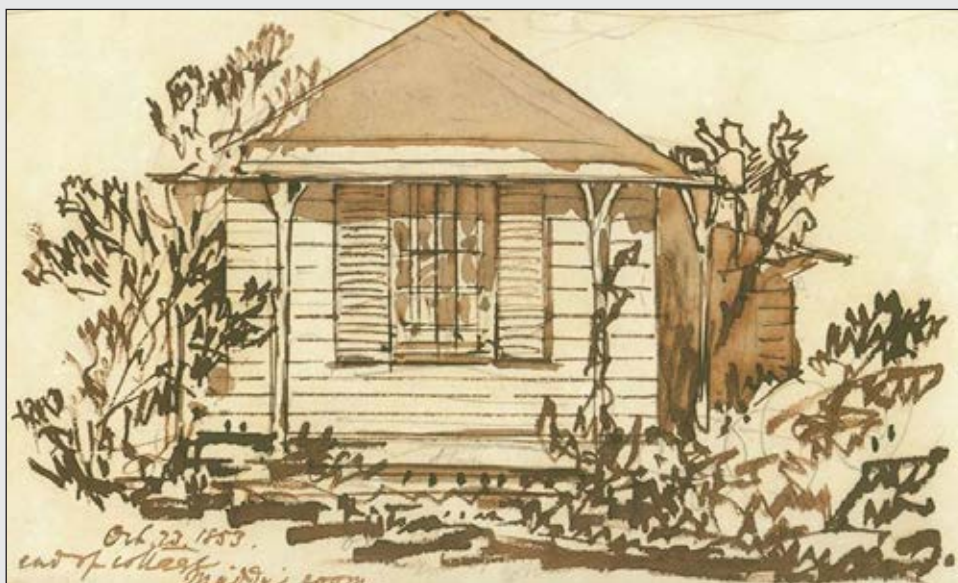
people,’ – and, – at last, – though His Honour reminded the Mayor that ‘the Bill is incomplete until it has the Royal Sign Manual’³³ – It was agreed – to allow rejoicings to begin by Bonfires to-night...³⁴

Nicholson’s observation that ‘he could not restrain the people’ was undoubtedly an accurate assessment of the reaction in Melbourne.³⁵ Thursday, Friday and Saturday of that week were proclaimed public holidays for all the inhabitants of Melbourne,³⁶ with the celebrations to include opening the new Prince’s Bridge, effectively a continuation of Melbourne’s Swanston Street that would dramatically improve traffic between the north and south banks of the river.

The *Melbourne Daily News* on 12 November typified public reaction:

Separation at Last

After years of patient, though unceasing, exertions, this national concession has at length been made. The fears entertained of further postponement have been dispelled by the arrival of the gratifying intelligence, via Adelaide, where English News, to the 4th August, has been received, that the Australian Colonies Bill, with the amendments of the Lords, has finally passed the House of Commons, and at the date mentioned only waited for the formality of the Royal assent.³⁷



Charles Joseph La Trobe, 1801–1875, artist
End of cottage, Maddy's room, 1853

Ink and sepia wash on paper

Collection: National Trust of Australia (Victoria) on long-term loan to Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria

The detached cottage at Jolimont provided additional accommodation and a school-room. Governess Madeline Béguine was known in the La Trobe family as Maddy

Melbourne Morning Herald's editor Edmund Finn, later known as 'Garryowen', organised an 'Extraordinary' edition to be distributed to every 'residence or business place of any notability'. He also printed a celebratory poster for distribution throughout Melbourne.³⁸ On Thursday 14 November the *Argus* detailed the following day's 'Programme of the Procession for the Opening of the Princes Bridge and the Advent of Separation'.³⁹

Georgiana McCrae's journal does not have entries for every day during November 1850, and after 18 November there is a gap of seven months until June 1851. She was at Arthur's Seat on 30 October. The next entry, dated Tuesday 12 November, describes the events of the previous evening at *Jolimont*. Georgiana may have spent a whole week at the La Trobe residence while working on portraits of the La Trobe children. The entry for Wednesday 13 November refers to 'a sitting of Charley', the La Trobes' son, Charles Albert (also referred to as Charley or Charlie), who would turn five on Christmas Day:

A sitting of Charley – most unsatisfactory – The excitement of the 'Separation doings' – very detrimental for me – At one o'clock today a Royal Salute is to inform the people far and near of the great event – & Master Charley is all agog to go with his papa 'to see the Smoke!' – Preparations

for Illumination are being made – & here stands, – and a Hundred weight of Candles have been ordered from Jackson and Raes – for the especial purpose – and it has been whispered, that one of the Bishop's men servants is composing an Ode – or Address for the Congratulation of 'The first Governor of Victoria' – though 'Nothing official has yet arrived'.⁴⁰

On Thursday 14 November, there was another 'sitting of Charley – he tells me he had luncheon at the Club with his Papa yesterday and that 'he was allowed to eat the Mustard Mr Bell had put on his plate – after this, he'll expect to be allowed mustard at Home!'⁴¹

Friday 15 November 1850

The following entry, dated 'Jolimont 16th November', is a detailed description of the previous day's public celebrations. Georgiana clearly found the day exhausting:

I am quite 'done up', with the extraordinary doings of today & the long fast (from 9 a.m to 5 p.m) – we were startled out of our sleep at 6 a.m by a Reveillee performed by the Saxa Horn Band & some singers, who gave us – 'Hark! the lark at Heav'ns gate sings', *Ciascun lo dice ciascun lo sa*

[Everyone says it, everyone knows it] – The National Anthem – & some stirring Polka Tunes to one of which the Band marched away – poor Madame – who is suffering from Neuralgic headache – would gladly have foregone the well meant compliment – Mr La Trobe went out & thanked the party.⁴²

Suffering from her headache, Sophie La Trobe asked Georgiana to take her place in La Trobe's carriage during the celebration:

Wishing to give all the servants a whole Holiday Madame asked me to take her place in the carriage & to do the Bowing for her – while she should stay at home, away from the cannonading – so – I – equipped in Madame's black satin Polka jacket trimmed with Australian swandown (this a present from Mr Cowper of Sydney) & my own Grey silk bonnet, like madame's – started at eleven with – Agnes, Nelly, Cecile, Charley & Mademoiselle Beguine, – Adolphe de Meuron, Madame's nephew lately arrived from – Neuchatel, on the Box with Mr Edwd Bell, who drove us up to the Treasury – where from the window of Mr La Trobe's room, we had a good view of the processions as they formed.⁴³

Clearly identified in the party are the La Trobe children: Nelly (Eleanora Sophia, born 30 March 1842), Cécile (Mary Cecilia, born 20 June 1843), and Charley (Charles Albert, born 25 December 1845); and Mademoiselle Béguine the children's governess.⁴⁴

The inclusion of 'Agnes' with the children's names has caused Thérèse Weber among others to see it as an error made during Georgiana's 1880s transcription, thinking the reference is to the La Trobes' eldest daughter, Agnes Louisa (born 1837), who had been with her mother's family at Neuchâtel in Switzerland since 1845.⁴⁵ Brenda Niall in her biography of Georgiana makes a similar point.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, those who have puzzled over Georgiana's inclusion of Agnes clearly did not consider other members of the family called Agnes: namely Georgiana's sister-in-law and Farquhar's widow.

Georgiana mentions Agnes being present on Friday 15th, but it is not clear whether she was also staying at *Jolimont* or visiting for the day from, say, the Thomas's in Bourke Street. The journal continues:



Glorious News! Separation at last!
The Melbourne Morning Herald extraordinary,
11 November 1850
Poster
Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, H38464

At noon, Mr La Trobe mounted the Box and we took up our station at the corner of Swanston & Collins Streets, to see the processions come through the town, when all of them had passed by – we drove to take up our stand next to the Bishop's carriage – just in front of the Prince of Wales Hotel – whence we had a full view of the green hill opposite. – A tent and a few field pieces pitched on the brow of the hill – the processions & their gay banners all drawn up in a line, closed by Carriages and Horsemen was a very pretty sight – The cheers were given heartily – and had but the two bands of instruments, that followed the Saxa Horn Band – been more *d'accord* – there would have been nothing to mar the Harmony that prevailed.

Every body appeared to be pleased with every thing – After the cannons had ceased firing Mr La Trobe drove us onto the Bridge and when halfway across – stopped the Horses – and declared 'Princes Bridge open' – next moment we met the procession of Oddfellows in pairs linked together by their little fingers, – each of the men as they passed the carriage, ducked his head to Madame, – whose 'double' – returned the bows in her usual gracious manner.⁴⁷



William Strutt, 1825–1915, artist
 Thomas Ham, 1821–1870, engraver
**The Opening of Prince's Bridge in the City of Melbourne
 by His Honor C. J. LaTrobe, November 15th, 1850**
 Engraving, 1851
 Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, 1982.288/123

Georgiana's account continues:

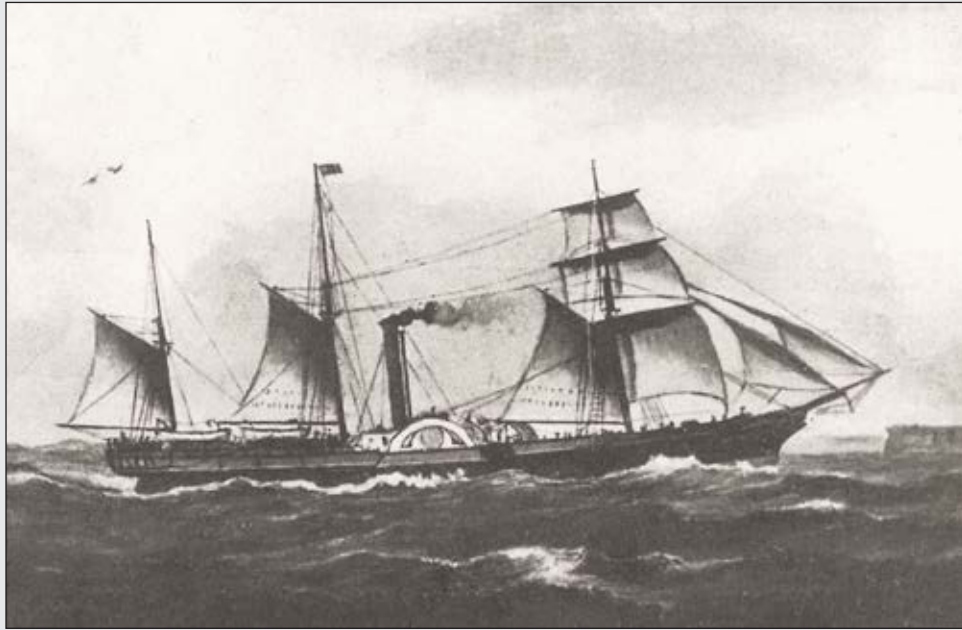
After the Queen's health had been drunk by the Authorities... Mr La Trobe returned to us, and we all alighted to walk to the Gate of the Botanic Gardens, to see Buns distributed to all the school children... the Bishop told me that before he left over 2,000 Buns had been given away – deduct from these two begged by Mr [Judge] Eyre Williams 'for his little boys' and three given to Charlie, Cecile & Nelly La Trobe, while Agnes – Mlle Béguine & I were looking on with longing hungry eyes.⁴⁸

Georgiana's separation of the La Trobe children – Charlie, Cécile, and Nelly – from Agnes, Mlle Béguine, and herself is further evidence that Agnes was an adult, and that Georgiana's record/memory of the day was not faulty. Concluding her account, she wrote:

His Honour drove us back to Jolimont – leaving Mr Bell to follow on 'Tasman' – Charlie carried his papa's sword – & sat on the box beside him – It was nearly 4p.m – before we got back to Jolimont – barely in time to escape from a storm of wind and rain – The gardener's old helping man had stayed at Home to mind the House – and had cooked a round of Beef & vegetables off which we all dined *en famille* most heartily.⁴⁹

Georgiana's journal has no mention of the Grand Separation Fancy Dress Ball that was held on Thursday 28 November 1850 at St Patrick's Hall, but there were comprehensive newspaper lists of all who attended, headed by 'His Honor the Superintendent and Lady'. No members of the McCrae family appear, but David Thomas is mentioned as attending unaccompanied.⁵⁰ The newspapers list Captain Cole (husband of Farquhar McCrae's sister, Thomas Ann) and two unnamed ladies who had been expected at the ball but did not hand in their cards.⁵¹ However, it appears that Captain Cole was not in Melbourne on that date, and neither was Agnes McCrae.

Planning to return to Scotland in January, Agnes had pressing matters to deal with, including arranging for the sale of the *La Rose* estate at Moreland.⁵² Then, she and brother-in-law Captain Cole, made a quick trip to Sydney, leaving Melbourne on board the *Shamrock* on 23 November.⁵³ It was most likely related to winding up Farquhar McCrae's estate, although reportedly Cole also purchased the steamer *Maitland* while in Sydney.⁵⁴ Two days before he left Melbourne a fire in Flinders Street had destroyed several buildings, including one he owned. His uninsured loss came to about £500.⁵⁵ Coincidentally, also on board the *Shamrock* was Captain George FitzRoy, Governor Charles FitzRoy's son and private secretary who was returning from a trip to Port Phillip.⁵⁶ Agnes and Captain Cole arrived in Sydney on 25 November and left again on 2 December arriving back in Melbourne five days later.⁵⁷



**Charles Dickson Gregory, 1871-1947, artist
'Shamrock'**

Photograph of watercolour (1905-1930)
Australian National Maritime Museum, ANMS0413[380]
Paddle steamer, 211 tons, built Bristol 1840
It served ports on the Australian eastern seaboard, 1841-1857

With all the legal matters settled, on Wednesday 15 January, Agnes McCrae and her two younger children sailed from Melbourne on the *Northumberland* and arrived at London on 18 May.⁵⁸ Three weeks after she left Melbourne bush fires raged across Port Phillip on what became known as *Black Thursday*. On 1 July Port Phillip became the independent colony of Victoria, and in the same week the discovery of gold was confirmed. Life in Victoria would never be the same again.

While Agnes left no letters or diaries that expressed her wish to return to Great Britain, the rapidity with which she did so after her husband's death suggests that she was more than happy to be heading home. Her homesick sister-in-law did not have that opportunity. As Thérèse Weber observed:

Georgiana McCrae's homesickness pervades her journal... Above all else, the diarist wishes to return home from her place of exile, and her rare outbursts of emotion are usually given over to expressions of frustration over her inability to leave the colony.⁵⁹

Brenda Niall concluded that 'Farquhar had no idea of financial prudence.'⁶⁰ However, his serious difficulties during the depression of 1841 to 1843 were eventually resolved and he

fared much better than many other Port Phillip investors; at least the Moreland property was still in his name. After moving to Sydney his fortunes improved. Not only was he able to live at Lyon's Terrace, one of the most prestigious and expensive of Sydney addresses, but he could employ a governess, a nurse, a cook, a footman, a coachman, and a cabinet maker.⁶¹ Rental income and later proceeds from the sale of his Port Phillip properties meant that Agnes and the children were well provided for as per the Marriage Settlement Farquhar had agreed to in 1836. Indeed, when the youngest daughter, Mary Amelia, turned twenty-one, her uncle, Andrew McCrae, reported that she became an 'heiress' with an annual income of £900.⁶²

Agnes was possibly visiting her uncle, Sir Alexander Morison, in London in 1854 when she fell victim to a cholera outbreak. It began in the Soho district on 31 August and within four weeks had killed over 600 people. Agnes McCrae's death from cholera was registered at Chelsea on 17 September 1854.⁶³ In keeping with Morison family tradition, Agnes was buried at St Cuthbert's in Edinburgh under her maiden name, Agnes Morison.⁶⁴

Endnotes

Another Mrs McCrae was Susannah, wife of Alexander, who was snubbed by her husband's sisters because she was only a farmer's daughter. Captain Alexander McCrae and his wife and children arrived in Melbourne in June 1841. They lived in a modest timber cottage *Sherwood* in Richmond. (Brenda Niall, *Georgiana: a biography of Georgiana McCrae, painter, diarist, pioneer*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press at the Miegunyah Press, 1994, pp.130-131.)

- 1 'A Note on the Text', by Marguerite Hancock, in Georgiana McCrae, *Georgiana's Journal: Melbourne 1841-1865*, edited by Hugh McCrae, Canberra: Halstead Press, 2013, p.5. (The Note may be accessed via the La Trobe Society website.)
- 2 Thérèse Weber, 'Port Phillip Papers: the Australian journal of Georgiana McCrae', Thesis (PhD), University of New South Wales, Australian Defence Forces Academy, School of Language, Literature and Communication, 2001. Volume 2 contains the parallel text of Georgiana's 1884 manuscript and Weber's transcription (the thesis may be accessed via the La Trobe Society website).
- 3 Douglas Wilkie, *Farquhar McCrae and The Burning of Troy: the search for a lost masterpiece & the appreciation of the fine arts in colonial Australia*, Melbourne: Historia Incognita, 2021.
- 4 Sir Alexander Morison (1779-1866), https://www.rcpe.ac.uk/sites/default/files/notablefellow_3.pdf; Niall, pp.86, 89, 102.
- 5 Farquhar McCrae, will, New South Wales State Archives, NRS-13660-1-[14/3268A]-Series 1_3010.
- 6 'Shipping News,' *Argus*, 22 April 1850, p.2; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 April 1850, p.2. Dr Thomas's name is not on the passenger list when the *Shamrock* was cleared to sail but was noted when it arrived at Sydney.
- 7 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 April 1850, p.3.
- 8 The *Shamrock* left Sydney on 2 May and arrived in Melbourne on 7 May with several 'boxes' listed among its cargo. One of these may have been McCrae's coffin. 'Imports', *Argus*, 8 May 1850, p.2.
- 9 *Argus*, 13 May 1850, p.2; *Melbourne Daily News*, 13 May 1850, p.2; *Melbourne Morning Herald*, 13 May 1850, p.2.
- 10 State Records New South Wales, Farquhar McCrae, Probate 14 May 1850, NRS-13660-1-[14/3268A]-Series 1_3010; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 April 1850, p.4; 14 May 1850, p.4. For detailed investigation of the artworks, see Wilkie, *Farquhar McCrae and The Burning of Troy*. Agnes gave the two portraits reproduced in this article to her brother-in-law, Captain Alexander McCrae.
- 11 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 June 1850, p.2.
- 12 *Melbourne Daily News*, 7 June 1850, p.2.
- 13 *Sydney Daily Advertiser*, 18 July 1848, p.2; *The Shipping Gazette*, 22 July 1848, p.174 listed them as 'Mrs McCrae, three daughters and two sons'; *Melbourne Daily News*, 13 February 1850, p.2.
- 14 *Argus*, 13 January 1851, p.2; *Melbourne Daily News*, 16 January 1851, p.2; *Argus*, 20 January 1851, p.2. Although the *Northumberland* was cleared to sail several days earlier, it eventually cleared the Heads of Port Phillip Bay on 19 January.
- 15 For example, 'Prospectus,' *Port Phillip Gazette*, 27 October 1838, p.2.
- 16 'Independence of Australia Felix', *Port Phillip Gazette*, 17 June 1840, p.3; 'Dismemberment of the Colony', *Port Phillip Gazette*, 6 May 1841, p.3; 'Great Separation Meeting', *Melbourne Weekly Courier*, 20 April 1844, p.3.
- 17 'Our New Constitution', *Argus*, 7 September 1850, p.2.
- 18 *Argus*, 11 September 1850, p.3.
- 19 'Boninyong', *Geelong Advertiser*, 1 October 1850, p.2.
- 20 'Separation Rejoicings', 'Stations for Beacon Fires', *Port Phillip Gazette*, 1 October 1850, p.4.
- 21 'Final Passing of the Separation Act', *Courier*, Hobart, 6 November 1850, p.2; *Cornwall Chronicle*, Launceston, 7 November 1850, p.777.
- 22 'Shipping Intelligence', *Adelaide Times*, 2 November 1850, p.4; 'Latest from England,' *Geelong Advertiser*, 13 November 1850, p.2.
- 23 'Australian Colonies Bill', *Adelaide Times*, 2 November 1850, p.5; 'English News to August 4', *South Australian Register*, 2 November 1850, p.2; 'English News to August 4', *Adelaide Observer*, 2 November 1850, p.2; 'Latest from England', *South Australian Gazette*, 2 November 1850, p.3.
- 24 'Shipping Intelligence,' *Melbourne Daily News*, 12 November 1850, p.2; The *Lysander* was originally scheduled to leave Adelaide on 28 October, 'Shipping Intelligence,' *Melbourne Daily News*, 11 November 1850, p.2.
- 25 As 12 November was a Tuesday, Georgiana's 'Yesterday' refers to Monday not Sunday.
- 26 Weber, vol.2, p.644 (12 November 1850). This episode in Georgiana's journal is referred to by Brenda Niall, pp.188-189.
- 27 Weber, vol.2, p.644.
- 28 For example, 'Our First Governor', *Argus*, 1 August 1850, p.2; 'New Governor', *Port Phillip Gazette*, 2 August 1847, p.3.
- 29 'Glorious News. Separation at Last!', *Melbourne Morning Herald*, 12 November 1850, p.2; cited *inter alia* in 'Latest from England,' *Geelong Advertiser*, 13 November 1850, p.2.
- 30 William Nicholson (1816-1865), mayor 1850/51; Augustus Greeves (1805-1874), mayor 1849/50.
- 31 'Glorious News. Separation at Last!', *op cit*.
- 32 Nicholson was a member of the Legislative Council from 1852, served on over twenty-five select committees, including that on the Constitution, and was premier and chief secretary from 27 October 1859 to 26 November 1860 (*Australian Dictionary of Biography*, accessed online 28 July 2021).
- 33 The new colony was officially proclaimed on 1 July 1851.
- 34 Weber, vol.2, p.644 (12 November 1850).
- 35 For example, 'Grand Separation Fancy Dress Ball', *Port Phillip Gazette*, 5 November 1850, p.2; 'Programme of display of Fire Works...', *Argus*, 6 November 1850, p.3.

- 36 'General Holidays', *Melbourne Daily News*, 13 November 1850, p.3.
- 37 'Separation at last', *Melbourne Daily News*, 12 November 1850, p.2.
- 38 'Glorious news! Separation at last!', State Library of Victoria, Blog, 5 July 2016, <https://blogs.slv.vic.gov.au/such-was-life/glorious-news-separation-at-last/> (accessed 28 July 2021).
- 39 'Programme of the Procession...', *Argus*, 14 November 1850, p.2.
- 40 Weber, vol.2, p.644 (13 November 1850).
- 41 Ibid (14 November 1850).
- 42 Ibid, p.646 (16 November 1850).
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Marguerite Hancock, *Colonial Consorts: the wives of Victoria's Governors, 1839-1900*, Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, Melbourne University Press, 2001, pp.17, 28; L.J. Blake and R. Gill, 'Charles Joseph La Trobe: a chronology', *The Genealogist*, Vol.1, 1975, pp.177-178.
- 45 Weber, vol.2, p.646, Note 66.
- 46 Niall, p.321, note 20.
- 47 Weber, vol.2, p.646.
- 48 Weber, vol.2, p.648 (16 November 1850).
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 'Grand Separation Fancy Dress Ball', *Argus*, 29 November 1850, p.2.
- 51 Ibid, also 'The Fancy Dress Ball', *Melbourne Daily News*, 29 November 1850, p.2; 'The Grand Separation Ball', *Melbourne Morning Herald*, 29 November 1850, p.2.
- 52 'Preliminary Notice', *Port Phillip Gazette*, 30 November 1850, p.3; 3 December 1850, p.3. (For an account of *La Rose*, see Tim Gatehouse, 'La Rose Estate, Pascoe Vale South: a research report', *La Trobeana*, vol.19, no.2, July 2020, pp.48-50.)
- 53 'Cleared Out', November 22, Shamrock, *Geelong Advertiser*, 25 November 1850, p.2; 'Shipping Intelligence', *Port Phillip Gazette*, 23 November 1850, p.2; 'Shipping Intelligence', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 November 1850, p.2.
- 54 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 December 1850, p.2.
- 55 'Destructive Fire', *Argus*, 21 November 1850, p.2; *Melbourne Daily News*, 22 November 1850, p.2.
- 56 'Clearances', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 November 1850, p.4; Charles FitzRoy's wife, Mary who died after a carriage accident in December 1847, was a cousin of Georgiana McCrae.
- 57 'Arrivals', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 November 1850, p.2; *Shipping Gazette*, 30 November 1850, p.310; 'Departures' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 December 1850, p.2; *People's Advocate*, 7 December 1850, p.14; *Melbourne Daily News*, 9 December 1850, p.2.
- 58 *Melbourne Daily News*, 16 January 1851, p.2; *Argus*, 16 January 1851, p.2; 'English Shipping,' *Geelong Advertiser*, 23 August 1851, p.2.
- 59 Weber, vol.1, p.185.
- 60 Niall, p.131.
- 61 For details of McCrae's life in Sydney, see Wilkie, *Farquhar McCrae and The Burning of Troy*.
- 62 Niall, p.313 note 29, citing Andrew McCrae letter to Margaret Maine, 12 May 1871.
- 63 'Died', *Age*, 8 December 1854, p.4. Death of an Agnes McCrea [sic] in the England and Wales Civil Registration Death Index, September quarter 1854, Chelsea, vol.1a, 195? (last numeral faded). Image 58 on microfilm of Index.
- 64 Morison family gravestone at St Cuthbert's Kirkyard, Edinburgh, lists 'Agnes Morison widow of Farquhar McCrae M.D.' with other members of the Morison family. <https://af.billiongraves.com/grave/Agnes-Morison-McCrae/28511873> (accessed 28 July 2021).

The Moravian Village of Gracehill, Northern Ireland: the La Trobes and an Australian connection

By Robert Christie

Rob worked as a secondary teacher at Hampton High School in the 1970s. He moved to Dargo in 1981 for business and has written a number of books on the Gippsland goldfields. He served as a councillor with the Shire of Avon and as a member of the Wellington Shire Economic Development Board. Having owned hotels in the High Country at Wood's Point, Dargo and Briagolong, he returned to teaching in 2002, retiring in 2015 as Principal at Briagolong Primary School. He has visited Ireland many times in pursuit of his family origins and is currently completing a digital record of all the headstones and burial sites in the Gracehill graveyard.

Charles Joseph La Trobe's connection with the Moravian school and village at Fulneck in Yorkshire is well recorded. However, the La Trobe family link with Ireland and the Northern Irish Moravian village of Gracehill is less well known. This article sheds light on the philosophy of Moravian education and the La Trobe family's involvement with it, and Jean Latrobe's second son James, born 1702. It also explores the story of one of the families, residents of the Gracehill village and members of that Moravian congregation. At a time when thousands of emigrants were flocking to Victoria because of the gold rush, two Christie brothers came to Melbourne in 1852 and 1853 and established the Australian link with Gracehill.

The La Trobe family originated in southern France where Jean Latrobe was born in September 1670 at Villemur.¹ Although France was a Catholic country, the Edict of Nantes of 1598 gave the Calvinist Protestants, or Huguenots as they were known, freedom to practise their religion. In 1685 the Edict

was revoked by King Louis XIV, who, as an autocratic monarch, required the whole nation to adhere to the Catholic religion. Religious persecution followed and Latrobe, a Protestant, and others of his faith, were forced to flee.² Latrobe travelled to Holland where, according to family tradition, he joined the army of the country's Protestant Prince William of Orange.

In 1685, when James II ascended the throne of England, Ireland and Scotland, England had been a Protestant kingdom for 150 years. Although born a Protestant, James converted to Catholicism and married a Catholic princess. The political elite feared that his toleration of Catholics and dissenters could result in the reimposition of Catholicism as the nation's religion. These concerns were further heightened with the birth of his son in 1688, which led to further speculation about the establishment of a Catholic dynasty in England.

The leaders of England's political class, fearing civil war, asked James' daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange, to take the



John Astley, 1724–1787, artist
Benjamin La Trobe, c.1770

Oil on canvas
 Collection: National Trust of Australia (Victoria)

English throne. A Dutch army led by William of Orange landed in England in 1688 and James II fled to France. In 1689 he returned to Ireland; one year later, in 1690, both Kings met on the River Boyne to fight for the crown. Although the battle that followed was not as decisive as legend has portrayed, James II fled to France once again. A further twelve months of fighting ensued in Ireland, the Williamite forces were eventually victorious, and the Catholic threat was eliminated.³

Jean Latrobe did not return to Holland at the conclusion of the conflict, but resigned from the army and settled in Waterford, Ireland, where he established himself as a linen manufacturer and became known as John La Trobe.⁴ He married a Miss Griffiths and three sons were born between 1701 and 1711.⁵ James, born in 1702, was raised a Baptist and followed his father's trade, becoming a linen merchant and sailcloth maker in Dublin.⁶

James La Trobe married Elizabeth Thornton in 1721 and had thirteen children of which only one, Benjamin born in 1728, survived. Following Elizabeth's death in 1744 James married Rebecca Adams; a further four children were born, including James Gottlieb La Trobe in 1750. Twenty-two years separated the step-brothers, Benjamin and James Gottlieb, who were both to become important figures in the emerging Moravian religion.⁷

The Moravian Society

Despite the Protestant faith being firmly established in England, a belief existed amongst some that the Church of England had moved

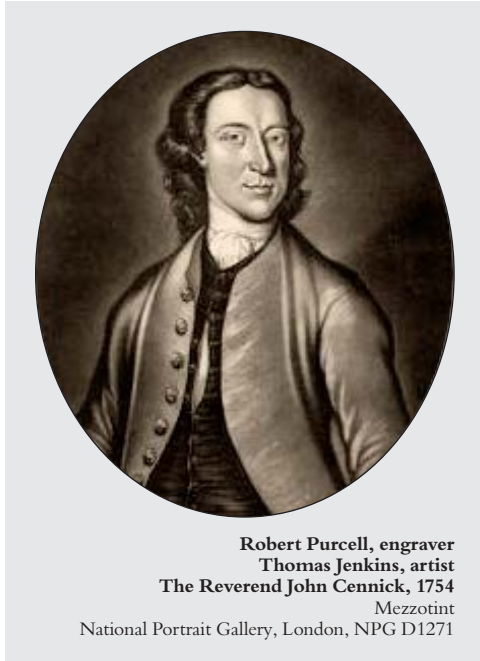
away from the simple teachings of Christ. Dissatisfaction with conventional religious practices resulted in the emergence of small discussion groups across the country. These groups met regularly for singing, discussion and prayer. When Benjamin La Trobe returned from his studies at Glasgow University in 1745, although a Baptist, he became the leader of one of these small groups in Dublin.

The Moravians were one such group and had a long history of dissension; as early as the fifteenth century they were one of the first groups to formally break with the Catholic Church. They established what they called 'Societies' in England and placed great emphasis on undertaking missionary work. In February 1735 they established a base in Fetter Lane, London, from where missionaries congregated before journeying into the new world of the Americas.⁸ James Gottlieb La Trobe later became a missionary, working in India between 1780 and 1786 and then in several of the British provinces. The Wesley brothers were also early members of this group, but differences in interpretation of doctrine saw them break away to form the Methodist movement in 1739.⁹

The Moravian ideology originated with Jan Hus, a fifteenth-century Catholic priest who wanted to return the Catholic Church in Bohemia and Moravia to a more simplified version of Christianity. In July 1415 Hus was convicted of heresy by the Council of Constance and burned at the stake. He had preached against the veneration of false relics, the practice of priests taking payment for confessions, the granting of absolution on easier terms for money, and he wanted to perform the liturgy in the language of the people.¹⁰ A progressive initiative for the time, it would be centuries before the Catholic mass was performed in English. Those who followed his teachings became known as the 'Bohemian Brethren' or 'Unitas Fratrum', the 'Unity of Brethren'.

More than 200 years later, another leader emerged who was to have a profound influence on the development of the philosophy 'Unitas Fratrum'. John Amos Comenius was born in Bohemia in 1592 and was educated in a Moravia, after which he became a pastor and teacher at Fulnek School in Moravia. In 1618, with the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, Comenius was forced to flee to Poland where he spent the next forty-two years in exile developing what became Moravian teachings; they were later considered to be a sect.

John Comenius's greatest contribution was in the field of teaching: he revolutionised the educational system of the time, setting out his



methods in books and using pictures to reinforce his message. He provided a holistic approach that could be applied by any teacher. He organised human development into four equal periods from birth to twenty-four years. In the first stage the senses were to be trained, in the second the imagination and the memory were encouraged. Intelligence was fostered in the third stage, and finally the will was to be disciplined.¹¹ Comenius died in 1670 leaving the great legacy of his Moravian teachings.

Continued persecution of the Moravian sect resulted in families fleeing to Saxony in 1720 where they were given protection by Count Nikolaus Zinzendorf. Under his patronage, a Moravian settlement was established and was named 'Herrnhut'. This settlement was characterised by the teachings of Hus and Comenius and did not recognise the barriers of race or creed.¹² The Moravians placed a high value on Christian unity, personal piety, missions and music. Their aim was not necessarily to establish a new church, but to form 'Societies' as they were called, within the established churches to support their evangelical work.¹³

John Cennick

John Cennick was originally a follower of the Wesley brothers, but after meeting Count Zinzendorf in London in 1743, he adopted the teachings of the Moravians and travelled to Lindheim where he studied at the Moravian Theological College. On his return to England, he determined to work towards 'less rigidity of definition in theology, less controversy and more liberal attitudes towards doctrinal differences'.¹⁴

At the invitation of Benjamin La Trobe's group, Cennick visited Dublin in June 1746 and began preaching at the Baptist Hall in Skinner's Alley Dublin.¹⁵ Here he found support for his ideas and was to use this group as a nucleus from which to spread his word. Benjamin La Trobe was deeply impressed by his teaching and philosophy and accompanied him to his first public meeting in Dublin. Word of his coming had spread and people were turned away in their hundreds. On Sunday, the roofs of surrounding houses 'were black with the waiting throng and the windows of the hall had to be removed. So great was the attendance at one meeting that Cennick could not enter through the door but climbed through a window and then crawled across the heads of the people to get to the pulpit' – an evocative description of the event.¹⁶ Cennick attacked the teachings of the Catholic Church and in his speech aroused the indignation of the Catholic clergy. As they walked back through the streets, Cennick and La Trobe were attacked by a mob that pelted them with dirt, stones and bricks. A guard of soldiers was needed for their protection.

Cennick was not deterred; he visited Ballymena in the north in August, at the invitation of a merchant James Deane who had heard him speak in Dublin. He was accompanied by La Trobe and again attracted large crowds. In a strong Anglo-Scottish Presbyterian area his doctrines advocating change were treated with suspicion and strongly opposed. Coming so soon after the Jacobite uprising in Scotland in April 1745, he was accused of being a rebel, a spy, a Jesuit, a supporter of Bonnie Prince Charlie and a supporter of the Pope.¹⁷

Benjamin La Trobe spent three months with Cennick who was impressed with his ability as a speaker. In a letter to the Moravians, Cennick noted 'the young man's precocious ability to attract and hold large crowds'.¹⁸ La Trobe wanted to gain a greater knowledge of the Moravian philosophy so he travelled first to Fetter Lane in London and then on to Germany where he was ordained into the Moravian Church on 15 June 1748 at the age of twenty. Benjamin married Anna Margareta Antes whilst in Saxony in 1756. They returned to England where he spent the remainder of his life as a leader of the Moravian Church in Britain. He was instrumental in creating the 'dynastic hold' which the family held over the Moravian missionary society in London.¹⁹

Establishment of Societies in Ireland

By 1751 Cennick had preached all over Ireland but experienced a particularly sympathetic response to his words in the north where he founded religious societies in the Counties



Robert Havell, 1793–1878, engraver
 Gracehill, a settlement of the United Brethren in the County of Antrim, 1829
 Gracehill Moravian Church Archive

of Antrim, Down, Derry, Armagh, Tyrone, Cavan, Monaghan and Donegal. Wherever he went he considered it his duty to build chapels, organise congregations and introduce Moravian books and culture. He was now supported by a large number of lay preachers: some were Irish and some English, but he continued to single out Benjamin La Trobe for the work that he was doing.²⁰

Equality for all before God was the basis of Cennick's teaching. In 1957, Clarence Shawe published *The Spirit of the Moravian Church* and summarised these teachings under five headings: *happiness*, to which everyone is entitled through salvation; *simplicity*, a focus on the basics of faith; *unintrusiveness*, the right for all to follow their own form of religion; *fellowship*, the bringing together of people from all walks of life; and *service*, through education and missions.²¹

Living conditions in Ireland in the mid-eighteenth century were dire and probably account for the positive reception that Cennick's teachings received. At Gloonan, in County Antrim, the Moravian headquarters were established in a cottage consisting of two rooms and two 'closets'. At this time, most of the Irish lived in 'hovels made of loose sods, with no chimneys; they shared their wretched rooms with hens and pigs; and toiling all day in a damp atmosphere, they earned their living by spinning and weaving'.²²

A survey of Cennick's Moravian Societies in Ireland in 1747 showed a preponderance of women members: of 526 members, 350 were women, half of whom were either unmarried or widowed.²³ Today, evidence at the Gracehill cemetery indicates a prevalence of women buried there. When Cennick died in England in 1755, he had built ten chapels and established 220 religious societies. The market town of Cootehill in County Cavan became a centre for the faith and a chapel and settlement was established there. When Benjamin La Trobe preached there in 1753, there were more than 300 in the congregation.

Gracehill, County Antrim

In County Antrim in about 1749, four Societies were amalgamated into one central congregation at Gloonan. There were, however, difficulties in obtaining a satisfactory lease of the ground on which to build the settlement. They began to search elsewhere and finally settled on 363 acres (147 hectares) in nearby Ballykennedy townland, which they leased in 1763 from Lord O'Neil. The new settlement was named Gracehill, the church foundation stone was laid in April 1763, the building was completed and the land was eventually purchased in 1765.²⁴ Between 1768 and 1792 twenty-three family homes were built to form this settlement.

Gracehill was established around a central square with a church and manse at the head.



Unknown engraver
Gracehill church and square, c.1800
Gracehill Moravian Church Archive

Members' houses included communal Single Sisters' and Single Brothers' houses, a widow's house, day boarding schools for boys and girls, a farm, a shop, an inn for accommodation, and a burial ground known as 'God's Acre'. This configuration formed the central element of the town. Weaving became the main industry of the Gracehill Moravian community. In 1778 when new weaving technology in the form of the flying shuttle was introduced to Ireland by the Moravians, this improvement revolutionised the industry. The domestic linen industry was thriving and Ballymena became a significant linen weaving centre.

Entry into the Moravian community was not automatic; those wanting to join had to be accepted by the Elders and it was preferred new members had a trade that could be added to the skills of the town. An application for membership was submitted to 'The Lot', which worked as follows. Once a name was put forward for consideration, the Elders each selected a scripture verse from the Bible. These were written on pieces of paper to signify a positive, negative, or 'not at this time' response.²⁵ A positive response did not result in immediate admittance. The process took a further two years and the Elders Conference put the applicant through a gruelling examination determining their motives for entering the church. Once

accepted, all their activities, including marriage, had to be approved; their spouse also had to be chosen by 'The Lot' and be of suitable substance and finance.²⁶

Adam Christie was one young man who was received into the Gracehill community in November 1755 but did not receive his first communion until May 1759, four years later. The Ballymena Church Register records the birth of three children: Robert, Adam and Margaret, born to Adam and his wife Mary between 1762 and 1768. Robert's son James was born in 1783 in Ballee near Gracehill, the eldest of eleven children.

A Moravian education

The Moravian Church was renowned for its educational policies that included not only boys but also girls in a time when education for women was considered unnecessary. Initially two schools were established in the town: in 1765 a day school for local girls and in 1770 a day school for local boys. Because of the success of the Moravian education system wealthy families from outside the community sought to have their children enrolled in the Gracehill schools. As a result, the Ladies' Academy was established in 1797 and the Boys' Academy in 1805, and catered for boarders particularly from military

GRACEHILL SCHOOLS.	
A T the late MID-SUMMER EXAMINATIONS, held in the ACADEMY, the following PUPILS obtained CERTIFICATES in their respective Classes:—	
Stuart Waddell ...	Latin, Greek, Astronomy, Algebra, Geometry, Arithmetic, Writing, and Latin and English Prosody.
William Craig ...	Hebrew, Latin, French, Astronomy, Algebra, and English Prosody.
Charles Storey ...	Latin, Greek, Algebra, Geometry, Arithmetic, and English Prosody.
James S. Black ...	Writing, Arithmetic, Orthography, Parsing, History, and Use of the Globes.
John Sims ...	Latin, Arithmetic, Writing, Parsing, and Latin Prosody.
Samuel Ashworth ...	Latin, Arithmetic, Writing, History, and Geography.
John W. Glong ...	Latin, French, Geometry, and Latin Prosody.
James Mallalieu ...	Latin, Arithmetic, Writing, and Globes.
Arthur O'Neill ...	Latin, Greek, and Geometry.
Robert Wilson ...	Writing, History, and Parsing.
Henry Campbell ...	Geography, History, and Orthography.
Gibson Leadley ...	Writing, Parsing, and Geography.
Basil Brooke ...	Latin, Arithmetic, Writing.
Thomas Pottinger ...	History, Geography, Arithmetic.
Edward Conney ...	History, Geography, Arithmetic.
Henry Pottinger ...	History, Geography, Arithmetic.
Edward O'Rourke ...	Latin, Arithmetic.
Peter Clarke ...	Arithmetic, Writing.
William White ...	Writing, Orthography.
Hugh O'Neill ...	History, Geography.
John Campbell ...	Algebra, and Geometry.
Gustavus Brook ...	Astronomy.
William Dickson ...	Writing.
Henry Ferris ...	Use of the Globes.
Moses Paul ...	Writing.
John Pottinger ...	History.
Edward Collier ...	Geography.
Richard Young ...	Geography.
The SCHOOLS Re-open on MONDAY, the 24th inst.	
BOARD and TUITION, in the Academy, 25 Guineas per Annum.	
BOARD and TUITION, in the Ladies' School, 24 Guineas per Annum.	
WILLIAM ESSEX.	
GRACEHILL, 19th July, 1826. (311)	

Gracehill Schools mid-summer examinations held in the Academy, 1826
Signed William Essex
From: *Belfast Commercial Chronical*, 22 July 1826, p.3

families.²⁷ Attendance was only possible by paying fees and was not restricted to practising Moravians.²⁸ The Academies had qualified teachers and examination results were reported in the newspapers (in the case of the boys), whereas the Schools were run by members of the congregation who were not necessarily qualified.

Students were educated according to their individual abilities and were supervised at all times.²⁹ The broad curriculum was well organised and included languages, history, drawing, mathematics, science and sport. In 1799 the Ladies' Academy held their first public examinations and an account was recorded in the Gracehill diary.³⁰ At eight o'clock pupils answered sixty questions on the Christian religion. A hymn was then recited and in the afternoon they were tested in reading, grammar, geography, sacred history, ancient history of the Irish Kingdoms, natural philosophy, the solar system, French, botany, poetry, writing cypher, showing needlework and playing musical pieces. This was a very well rounded education aimed to develop the whole person, spiritually, morally, physically, emotionally as well as educationally.

When the girls left school they lived in the Single Sisters' house or Choir House and were carefully supervised until they were married. In the early days of the settlement they had their own farm and harvested crops and cut turf. They

became accomplished lace-makers and were skilled silk-embroiderers. Others learnt book-binding, while some became teachers in the day- or boarding-schools, or governesses with the wealthier families.

James Christie (born 1783) had attended the Gracehill school as a community member and then took up an appointment as a teacher at the Moravian settlement and school at Fairfield, near Manchester, in 1806. Between 1808 and 1810 he taught at Fulneck School near Leeds, the largest and oldest Moravian settlement in England.

Charles Joseph La Trobe attended the same Fulneck School near Leeds from the age of six in 1807; his father Christian Ignatius La Trobe had also been educated there. Charles was joined at Fulneck by another relative, his father's cousin James La Trobe, the son of James Gottlieb La Trobe who was Benjamin La Trobe's step-brother. As classes were small, consisting of about twelve students, it is most likely that James Christie taught both the future Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria and the future Bishop James La Trobe.³¹

The La Trobe family in England maintained a connection with the Gracehill community. In December 1806 James Gottlieb La Trobe travelled to Gracehill following the

death of his wife at Fulneck the previous year and later married Sarah Rouse. This was probably a marriage arranged through 'the lot' system,³² as it was not uncommon for men to travel to different communities looking for wives if one was not approved locally. In September 1808 Rev. Christian Ignatius La Trobe also visited Gracehill before journeying around the coast of Antrim with Brother Hartley.

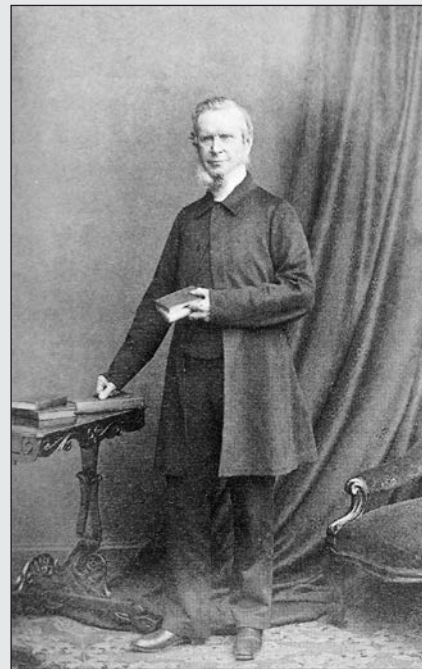
James La Trobe also became a teacher at the Gracehill Academy in 1827. Two years later he married Esther Essex, a 'Single Sister' in Gracehill, the daughter of the Gracehill Academy principal, William Essex. At the time he was the Moravian minister at Ayr, Scotland.³³ The friendship that he had developed with the Christie family was perhaps a reason for his going to Gracehill. James La Trobe acted as a witness to the birth of James Christie's son, Sanderson, in 1828 – he was younger brother to Edwin and Robert Christie.³⁴ Ordained a bishop in 1863, James La Trobe gained high office within the Moravian Church. He visited Gracehill again in 1869 when he addressed the pupils at the Academy. Over 130 years later he was to gain further fame when it became widely known that he had a connection with Anne Brontë, one of the three famous Brontë sisters, whom he attended when she was critically ill. This was in 1837 when she called for him at her Yorkshire boarding school and he gave her comfort, resulting in her recovery. He later wrote, 'She was suffering from a severe attack of gastric fever... her voice was only a whisper; her life hung on a slender thread.'³⁵

Decline

Like many small communities, Gracehill's halcyon days were short lived. By the 1850s the community had grown and was better connected to the outside world which had more appeal to the younger generation. The *Belfast News-Letter* in 1851 commented:

Once this was a cheerful habitation. The music of the loom might have been heard in it, whilst the young men who plied the shuttle were admirable for their clean and healthy appearance, as well as the correctness of their general habits. Now the young men for the most part must betake themselves to other neighbourhoods, to procure the occupation that they cannot obtain at home. How sad the state of things that forces so many of our most promising young men into exile!³⁶

The strictness of the Moravian way of life may have been another reason for the



Unknown photographer
Bishop James La Trobe, c.1863
Les Latrobe dans le monde, Versailles : 1998, p.[203]

departure of the young from the community. Single brethren, sisters and widows lived in specially designated houses to screen them from temptation; no one could spend time outside the village without Elders' consent. Single sisters all wore similar clothing, marital status was denoted by a coloured ribbon in their caps.

The Elders Conference watched the conduct of every individual member and commented on activities they were critical of. For example, in January 1815 a disapproving entry in the community diary recorded that 'Little Boy John Christie has been placed apprentice with his brother Archy in Ballymena, without any previous mention to the church Elders, for which his brother James is chiefly to blame'.³⁷ It is unclear what, if any, action was taken in this instance, given Moravian strictures.

In the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century there was little need to travel outside the community. The roads were dangerous and few had the need or desire to move beyond their village. Nevertheless, in 1817 the community diary noted Brother Reichel and Brother James Christie returned safely from Cootehill and Dublin by day coach. Alas, the night coach was attacked by robbers, the guard shot and wounded, and passengers stripped of cash.³⁸ As communications improved and travel became less dangerous, the younger generation became more confident to travel outside the village.

Robert Christie, photographer
Gracehill church and square, 2019



In December 1852 Robert Christie, James Christie's son, left Gracehill for Australia; a year later his brother Edwin followed.³⁹ While millions of the Irish population left the country for America during the years of the famine, some chose to emigrate to Australia. All other members of the Christie family either remained in Ireland or became missionaries abroad. A note from Gracehill historian, Edna Cooper, in 2002 suggested that Robert may have in fact been urged by James La Trobe to go to Victoria because of the presence of his relative, Charles Joseph La Trobe, and the opportunities that could arise for him in Victoria.⁴⁰ Whether any correspondence was entered into has not yet been discovered.

Robert Christie arrived in Melbourne on 18 April 1853 after a four-month journey on the *Africa*.⁴¹ He found the town in the grip of gold fever. Significantly, he did not travel to the goldfields, but instead he joined the Customs Department as a fifth-class officer. It is not known if he applied through his family friend, (by now Lieutenant-Governor) Charles Joseph La Trobe. Nevertheless, he worked with customs until his retirement in 1889. He found a job for life in the colonies.

Moravian missionaries had come to Australia in 1849 with the support of Charles La Trobe to set up missions amongst the Indigenous population, initially at Lake Boga in northern Victoria.⁴² The settlement and subsequent missions were not particularly successful, although the Ramahyuck mission, on the Avon River near Lake Wellington in Gippsland, continued until 1908. It is unclear why no attempt was made by the Moravians to introduce their religion or establish Societies in Australia; this may explain why Robert Christie became a member of the Church of England after his arrival here.

Whilst La Trobe returned to England in 1854 and died there in 1875, Robert Christie did not return to the land of his birth. His brother Sanderson, who became a successful tea merchant in Dublin, wrote to him regularly and constantly asked him to come home and visit his family. He never made the journey. Although his wife and son Cecil visited England in the early 1900s, it is not known whether they ever visited the family in Ireland.

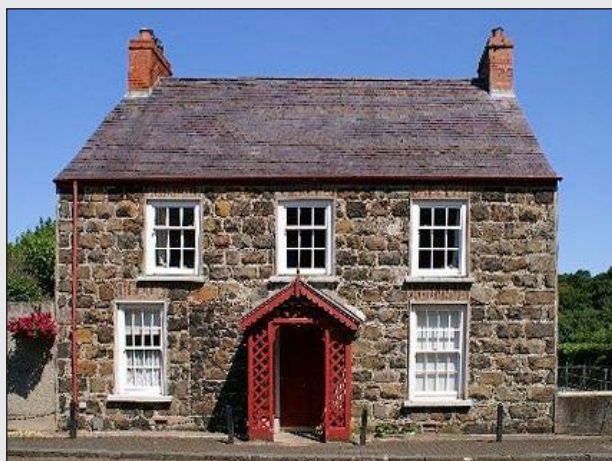
Gracehill today

Gracehill remains much as it was three hundred years ago, built around a central square with the church at its head. Behind the church and situated at the end of the Brothers' and Sisters' walks, is 'God's Acre' the final resting place for those in the Gracehill community. In death, as in life, the concept of equality was central to the Moravian community. Each grave is marked by a simple stone, laid almost flat on the ground so that no-one is above anyone else. All stones bear simple inscriptions and as you walk up the central pathway men are buried to the left of the path and women to the right, in order of their passing. Unfortunately, many of the stones are undecipherable due to weathering, and identification has been made more difficult by the actions of an early gardener who moved some of the oldest stones close to the path to make mowing easier.

The Moravians were meticulous record keepers; day books, birth, death and marriage registers, and minute books give a comprehensive picture of life in the community from the mid-1700s to the present. These documents provide an invaluable record of families through the centuries.

Gracehill is the only Moravian community that remains as an independent entity in Ireland.

Robert Christie, photographer
Former home of James Christie,
Gracehill, 2017
 24 Cennick Road, overlooking the
 Gracehill Square
 The Christie family lived here until 1857



In 1975 the unique character of Gracehill was recognised when it was designated Northern Ireland's first conservation area.⁴³ Currently, the Gracehill Old School Trust is seeking World Heritage Site status for the village.⁴⁴ The town square is beautifully maintained, bordered by the original buildings although they are no longer owned by the community. The church holds well-attended weekly services currently conducted by Rt Rev. Sarah Groves who was recently made a bishop in the Moravian Church. The local school, although run by the state, closely observes the Moravian principles of education.

The original object of the settlement was to create an economy in which the residents followed trades and crafts for the benefit of the community and which could effectively support the local population and local evangelical work. Northern Ireland is still very much divided along sectarian lines. However, the village, guided by the Moravian philosophy, provides a model for accepting the views of others and working together for a common good.

The Moravian Church's connections with Australia through the La Trobe and Christie families remain a tangible link with Ireland, until now a largely unknown story.

Endnotes

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Georgiana McCrae, 1804–1890, artist
Self-portrait, c.1832
Pencil and watercolour
National Gallery of Australia, 2002.298



Arthur Jose de Souza Loureiro, 1853–1932, artist
Georgiana McCrae, 1887
Oil on canvas
Collection: National Trust of Australia (Victoria)

Georgiana's Journal: a research note

By Helen Armstrong

Helen Armstrong is co-editor of *La Trobeana* and a volunteer guide at La Trobe's Cottage. Through these activities she has developed a special interest in Victoria of the La Trobe era.

Many readers will be familiar with *Georgiana's Journal* first published in 1934 and edited by her grandson Hugh McCrae.¹ In recent years a number of scholars have drawn our attention to the fact that this was not an accurate record, but a 'touched up' version of Georgiana's diaries, which she herself had rewritten in the 1880s.²

In 2001 Thérèse Weber produced a thorough analysis of the various components of the journal and a faithful transcription of the text.³ In her detailed study she observed:

Hugh McCrae cut, embellished, embroidered and reordered his grandmother's text so that it is often transformed beyond recognition. These changes resulted in a number of internal inconsistencies and other flaws in the published text, and it now seems difficult to understand why the corruption of the manuscript text remained undetected for so long, and through three reprintings.

Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten how credible a published book can be... *Georgiana's Journal*, in its blue cloth binding and gold lettering, with its thick wad of original illustrations and photographs, as well as a substantial index, has an appearance of quality and of sober respectability that invites reader's confidence.⁴

Weber further remarked: 'Perhaps the most interesting aspects involve the descriptions of the little details of the life of a woman of her class and time: aspects of motherhood and housekeeping, social interaction and family relationships, many of which were missing from the published version'.⁵

A manuscript copy of her scholarly work, which was awarded a PhD from the University of New South Wales, has been available in State Library Victoria. This is now complemented by a digital version produced by the UNSW Library that may be conveniently accessed via the Publications page of the La Trobe Society website. It makes for fascinating reading.

Endnotes

- 1 Georgiana McCrae, *Georgiana's Journal: Melbourne a hundred years ago*, edited by Hugh McCrae, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1934; 2nd edition, 1966, with subtitle 'Melbourne 1841-1865'.
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- 3 Thérèse Weber, 'Port Phillip Papers: the Australian journal of Georgiana McCrae', Thesis (PhD), University of New South Wales, Australian Defence Forces Academy, School of Language, Literature and Communication, 2001, 2 vols: 287, 735 pages. Volume 2 contains the parallel text of Georgiana's manuscript and Weber's transcription, accessible via <https://www.latrobesociety.org.au/works-about-books>.
- 4 Ibid, vol.1, p.127.
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Forthcoming events

Bookings are essential for all events, except the Sunday service

DECEMBER

Friday 3

Christmas Cocktails

Time: 6.00 – 8.00pm

Venue: Verdon Chambers,
ANZ Gothic Bank,
380 Collins Street, Melbourne

Speaker: Jock Murphy, Director,
National Trust of Australia (Victoria)
Board, and Cultural Gifts Valuer

Topic: tba

Invitations will be sent to members

Sunday 5

La Trobe Sunday Service

Time: 11.00 am

Venue: St Peter's Church, Eastern Hill,
15 Gisborne Street, East Melbourne
All welcome

2022

FEBRUARY

Wednesday 23

**Joint Lecture with the Anglican
Historical Society**

Time: 5.30 – 7.30pm

Venue: Drinks, 5.30pm – Bishops Court,
120 Clarendon Street, East Melbourne

Lecture: 6.30pm – Holy Trinity Anglican
Church, 193 Hotham Street
(corner Clarendon Street)

Speaker: Dr Liz Rushen AM

Topic: The Bishop and the
Lieutenant-Governor

Admission: tba

MARCH

Sunday 20

La Trobe Birthday Celebration

Time: 4.30 – 6.00pm

Venue: La Trobe's Cottage Garden

Refreshments

Admission: tba

APRIL

Tuesday 5

Joint La Trobe Society/RHSV

AGL Shaw Lecture

Time: 5.30 – 7.30pm

Venue: Royal Historical Society of
Victoria, Cnr William and A'Beckett
Streets, Melbourne

Speaker: Dr Peter Yule FRHSV, Research
Fellow at the University of Melbourne and
member of the RHSV Council

Topic: tba

Refreshments

Admission: tba

MAY

Wednesday 4

**Friends of La Trobe's Cottage Annual
Lecture**

Time: 5.30 – 7.30 pm

Venue: Royal Historical Society of
Victoria, Cnr William and A'Beckett
Streets, Melbourne

Speaker: John Botham

Topic: The *Lady of St Kilda*

Refreshments

Admission: tba

Bookings

For catering purposes, bookings are essential
Email: secretary@latrobesociety.org.au

Or phone Dianne Reilly on 9646 2112
(please leave a message)
or mobile 0412 517 061

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

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The back issues may be accessed at
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They may be searched by keyword.

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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

