

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.



C. J. La Trobe

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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

As always this edition has engaging articles about early Melbourne life and times and the extended La Trobe family.

The La Trobe Society was delighted to participate again in Melbourne Rare Book Week in July. This year's lecture was given by Shane Carmody, whose essay displays his extensive knowledge and appreciation of the State Library Victoria collection. In 'Noted Donations to the Melbourne Public Library' he discusses gifts from individual donors, reflecting the literary culture of the colony and what they thought a public library might need. Indeed, it was Lieutenant-Governor La Trobe who approved the expenditure for financing the building and the collection for the Public Library, and who became the first donor. Shane presents an eclectic description of the key donors: Sir Henry Barkly, Sir William à Beckett, John Pascoe Fawkner and others.

Timothy Hubbard, in 'James Henry La Trobe Bateman: the clergyman imprisoned in Carlisle Gaol', relates the fascinating story of James Henry La Trobe Bateman, vicar at Haile in Cumbria, northern England, who did not adhere to cannon law by not correctly publishing marriage banns. It not only broke church law but criminal law too. Unfortunately, the presiding Judge applied the maximum sentence of eighteen months' hard labour. After his release he migrated to Australia, having learned about Victoria from his relative, Charles Joseph La Trobe.

'Hidden Treasures: the McCrae Family Library' by Rosemary Richards continues the library theme. The McCrae Family Library of over three hundred volumes held by State Library Victoria spans the early collection of Georgiana McCrae through to her grandson Hugh McCrae's mid-twentieth-century collections. Rosemary reveals the details of Georgiana's manuscript music collections (nearly 800 pieces) spanning nearly forty years. The McCrae and La Trobe families were friends and regularly met

and enjoyed each other's company, including at musical soirées.

I was pleased to represent the La Trobe Society at 'Understanding Victoria: A Government House Discussion Series'. The Governor of Victoria, Professor the Honourable Margaret Gardner AC, has hosted two events, one on the impact of gold on Victoria and the second on Federation, creation and outcomes. The third will be about the protest movement of the 1960s and 1970s. The papers from these historical analyses and discussions with leading historians will be published.

It is with sadness that I acknowledge the recent passing of two valued La Trobe Society members, Judith Ryles OAM and Peter Rushen. Judith was a Fellow of the Home Economics Institute of Australia and was a Senior Lecturer in Food and Nutrition at Deakin University, and a member of the National Council of Women of Victoria, as well as participating in other organisations. Judith served on our Events Committee from 2010 to 2016. Her assistance at various events over many years certainly added to members' enjoyment.

Peter Rushen had a successful corporate career in Melbourne, and was CEO of South Gippsland Hospital for five years after having served as a volunteer on the board for a number of years. After retirement he was an active volunteer at the Royal Victorian Eye and Ear Hospital, volunteered with the National Trust, and served as a volunteer mentor for boards. He and his wife Liz for a time ran a winery at Foster. Our sincere condolences to Peter's and Judith's families. We will miss them at our events.

I look forward to seeing you at our Christmas function at Gary and Genevieve Morgan's in East Melbourne.

Diane Gardiner AM
Hon President
C J La Trobe Society



Dr Andrew Kilsby

La Trobe Society Fellow 2024

It is with great pleasure that we announce the La Trobe Society Fellow for 2024. Dr Andrew Kilsby was awarded the Fellowship for his research project on ‘La Trobe, Law and Order: Soldiers and Constables, 1836 to 1854’.

Andrew Kilsby is an independent professional historian specialising in Australian social, business and military history, having had careers in defence, foreign affairs and trade, public relations, corporate communications, history consulting and property management. He graduated from the Royal Military College Duntroon with a doctorate from the University of New South Wales, titled ‘The Rifle Club Movement and Australian Defence, 1860–1941’, and is the founder of Military History and Heritage Victoria Inc. and a member of the Victorian Military Society (UK).

He has recently completed a history of the Defence Reserves Association, founded by Major-General Paul Cullen (the first Australian general of Jewish descent since Monash). His book, *The Case of Eichengruen-Edwards and Continental Tyres*, received a commendation in the 2020 Victorian Community History Awards.

In his application for the La Trobe Society Fellowship Andrew described his project in the following terms:

With the arrival of Lonsdale in the Port Phillip District in 1836 and then La Trobe in 1839, soldiers and constables became essential for law and order in the rapidly growing colony. Not least because of the population explosion that accompanied the Victorian gold rushes from 1851. Yet surprisingly very little is known of the military detachments. This project aims to fill that gap. Who were these detachments? How did they live? What roles did they have? What was their relationship with the Constabulary, Lonsdale and La Trobe?

We look forward to hearing from Andrew on his research as a guest speaker in the La Trobe Society’s program in the coming year.

Noted Donations to the Melbourne Public Library

By Shane Carmody

Shane Carmody is a historian with a great interest in libraries and the history of collections. He worked for the National Archives, State Library Victoria and the University of Melbourne. He leads an annual tour for Australians Studying Abroad to Great Libraries and Stately Homes of England.

This essay is an edited version of the Melbourne Rare Book Week lecture presented on 18 July 2024.

In 1873 the Trustees of the Public Library of Victoria, Museums and National Gallery published *The Catalogue of Donations to the Public Library of Victoria from 1856 to 1872*. Printed by Clarson, Massina, the volume ran to 319 pages and listed 1,754 donors in the main section. In the preface, which is unsigned but written in Redmond Barry's orotund style, the reader is informed that:

The number of Books, Pamphlets etc, on the shelves at the last enumeration exceeded 71,000, and £53,135 /8s /8d has been expended in the purchase of those bought.

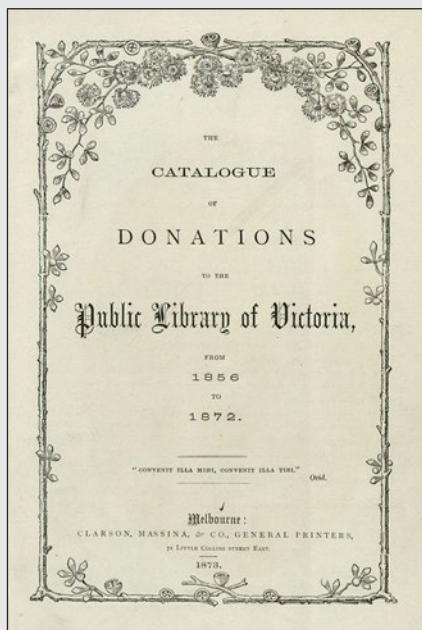
The remainder, the titles of which are included in the present volume, consist of Donations, viz:-

Volumes of Printed Books 15,033
Together with Parts and Pamphlets,
Newspapers, Single Sheets, Maps,
Charts, Plans, Elevations of Buildings,
Music, Photographs and Original
Manuscripts, many of which possess
rare interest.¹

Such numbers are meant to impress, and to a mathematically challenged person like myself, they do have that effect. In the twenty years from the establishment of the Library, in 1853, a significant collection had been built, apparently with philanthropic support from the community. This is true, but if we look behind

the numbers a slightly more complex picture emerges. The donors are listed alphabetically, and under the letter E we read of a donor called England, which proceeds to occupy fourteen and a half pages of closely printed text. Letter I includes a donor called India, which covers twenty pages, fitting given the importance of this Empire within the British Empire, and finally letter S has a donor category called Societies and Institutions which runs for twenty-nine pages. I haven't attempted to disaggregate donors such as these, but for the most part they appear to be official publications and reports from multiple sources. Indeed, under England we find one of Redmond Barry's most prized donors: the Commissioner of Patents. By 1872 the Library could boast a complete set of English patents to the end of 1871 comprising 3,861 volumes, with the plans of inventions linen backed and folded into each volume. The preface proudly states that over 45,000 yards (or 41 kilometres in modern measure) of binder's linen had been used so far for this purpose, and Des Cowley, the State Library's former Rare Books Librarian, once told me that the order from the London binders for this material for use in the first set of volumes for the Public Library exceeded available supply.²

The *Catalogue* has two supplements: one for the three quarters from January to September 1872, which lists another 90 donors; and the second for the final quarter from October to



Title page from The Catalogue of Donations to the Public Library of Victoria, 1873
 Designs throughout by Edward La Trobe Bateman
 engraved by Samuel Calvert

December that lists an impressive 80 donors. Many of these donors are listed in the previous section. It would take some time to work out exactly how many individuals and organisations made donations to the Library in those two decades, but it is clearly a large number. A final word of caution in interpreting the volume; from 1869 Victoria had a form of legal deposit under the Copyright Act, so some of the donors listed in the book were conscripts, rather than volunteers.

Gifts from individual donors reflect both the literary culture of the Colony, as well as their understanding of what might be appropriate for a Public Library. In the remainder of this lecture, I will explore some of these donors and their gifts. The picture that emerges is more an impression than a detailed analysis, but I hope it might shed some light on the subject.

On 20 January 1853, barely three weeks after submitting his resignation, Lieutenant-Governor Charles Joseph La Trobe gave his assent to an Act '...for applying certain Sums arising from the Revenue receivable in the Colony of Victoria to the Service thereof for the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-three'.³ On page eight of the legislation £13,000 was allocated for a Public Library, £10,000 for the building and £3,000 for the collection. In a rare display of harmony, the

Legislative Council had voted unanimously to support the establishment of the Library and the University, ensuring that these twin institutions of learning would endure as part of La Trobe's legacy. La Trobe added a personal touch. In November of the same year, he became the first donor to the Library with a gift of eighty-four volumes, to which he added six more books just days before his departure in May 1854.

Historians, most recently John Barnes, have viewed this gift as the kind of tidying up that one does before a departure, and while there is doubtless truth in this conclusion, the list of books reflects fragments of a now familiar understanding of La Trobe's character. His Moravian faith is represented in a history of the Brethren by David Cranz, published in London in 1788 and a history of the mission to the Indians by George Henry Loskeil, again London 1794. First nations are present in *Researches Concerning the Aboriginal History of America* by J.H. McCulloh, published in Baltimore in 1829, and a copy of L. E. Threlkeld's *Key to the Structure of the Australian Aboriginal Language* published in Sydney in 1850, while a book on the *African Slave Trade* by Thomas Buxton, published in London in 1839 might be a nod towards the issue which brought him into public affairs. Eight more volumes relate to Christian themes, including a copy of his brother's book *Music of the Church*, published in 1831. Travel, geography and geology feature, including two books in French on glaciers. Three titles relate to Switzerland, his adopted country, but nothing of Victoria, where he lived, in his description, in exile for 14 years, 7 months and 6 days. Only one book directly relates to Australia, a stray volume of the 1822 report by James Biggs to the House of Commons on the Colony of New South Wales. Literature, the Classics and poetry are not represented and his own books, perhaps out of modesty, were not included in the gift.⁴

Until the arrival of Redmond Barry's first book order for the Library this miscellany was the collection, but it did perhaps inspire La Trobe's successor but one, Sir Henry Barkly, to make his own gift. Barkly represents a stark contrast to La Trobe. With independent wealth, drawn from West Indian plantations and compensation after the abolition of slavery, Barkly followed a brief parliamentary career with a series of colonial appointments. His first as Governor of British Guiana was considered a success, especially in solving a labour problem by a watered-down version of slavery, indentured Asian servants. He then served a term as Governor of Jamaica before being appointed to Victoria, arriving on Christmas Eve 1856. Barkly is a good example of the new caste of Colonial Administrators in the Second British Empire. Wealthy enough



La Trobe's bookplate

LATROBE, His Excellency CHARLES JOSEPH.			
Agassiz, Louis. Études sur les Glaciers	8vo, 1 vol.	<i>Newch.</i> , 1840.	
Bogser's Comprehensive Bible.	4to, 1 vol.	<i> Lond.</i> , N.D.	
Bailly de Merlieux, M.C. Maison Rustique.	8vo, 2 vols.	<i> Paris</i> , 1845.	
Balbi, Adrien. Abrégé de Géographie.	8vo, 1 vol.	<i> Paris</i> , 1833.	
Batty, Captain Robert. Campaign in the West Pyrenees and South of France.	4to, 1 vol.	<i> Lond.</i> , 1823.	
Berkenhout, John. Synopsis of the Natural History of Great Britain and Ireland.	8vo, 2 vols.	<i> Lond.</i> , 1795.	
Biggs, James. Report to House of Commons on New South Wales.	Folio, 1 vol.	<i> Lond.</i> , 1822.	
Brown, Rev. William. History of the Propagation of Christianity.	8vo, 2 vols.	<i> Edin.</i> , 1814.	
Buxton, Sir Thomas Fowell. African Slave Trade.	8vo, 1 vol.	<i> Lond.</i> , 1839.	
Caswer, Verlay. Christliche Glaubenslehre.	12mo, 1 vol.	<i> Stuttg.</i> , 1857.	
Charpentier, Jean de. Essai sur les Glaciers.	8vo, 1 vol.	<i> Laus.</i> , 1841.	
Cleveland, Parker. Elementary Treatise on Mineralogy and Geology.	8vo, 2 vols.	<i> Bos.</i> , 1822.	
Coates, Dandeson; Beecham, Rev. John; and Ellis, William. Evidence before the House of Commons on the Aborigines.	8vo, 1 vol.	<i> Lond.</i> , 1837.	
Cranz, David. History of the United Moravian Brethren.	8vo, 1 vol.	<i> Lond.</i> , 1788.	
Daubeny, Charles, M.D. Active and Extinct Volcanoes.	8vo, 1 vol.	<i> Lond.</i> , 1826.	
De la Beche, Sir Henry T. Selection of the Geological Memoirs contained in the Annales des Mines.	8vo, 1 vol.	<i> Lond.</i> , 1824.	
Dictionary of Tahitian and English.	8vo, 1 vol.	<i> Tahiti</i> , 1851.	
Earle, John. Legend of St. Swithun. Gloucester Fragments.	Folio, 1 vol.	<i> Lond.</i> , 1861.	

The Catalogue of Donations – page 120 extract

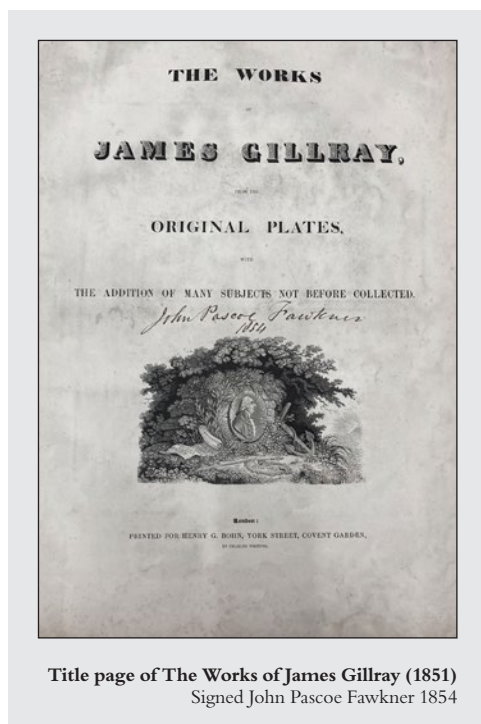
to maintain a Vice-Regal establishment, he demonstrated tact and judgement in guiding Victoria's nascent democracy. He showed a keen interest in matters of science and culture, and in the latter field his focus was the Library. In 1861 he was instrumental in establishing the National Gallery within the combined institution.⁵

His gift is a much more curated list than that of La Trobe, and demonstrates a strong, if somewhat predictable, literary interest. It is rich in collected works: Beaumont and Fletcher's plays; William Congreve; John Dryden; Henry Fielding; Benjamin Franklin; Edward Gibbon; Ben Jonson; John Locke; the plays of Philip Massinger; Alexander Pope; Samuel Richardson; Jean-Jacques Rousseau; Tobias Smollett; Lawrence Sterne; Jonathon Swift; and Algernon Sydney are all represented, amounting to an impressive 136 volumes. There are books on history, political memoirs, travel and missionary activity, and a copy of the 1856 edition of *The Rules and Regulations for Her Majesty's Colonial Service* undoubtedly followed to the letter.⁶

Barkly served as Governor of Victoria for nearly seven years before being appointed as Governor of Mauritius in November 1863. He continued to donate to the Melbourne Public Library as there is a copy of *Proceedings and Transactions of the Meteorological Society of Mauritius* covering 1859 to 1864, together with a copy of the *Mauritius Almanac and Civil Service Register for 1865*, listed in his gifts. Barkly's fifth appointment in August 1870 was as Governor of the Cape Colony, and in the first supplement we find another gift from him. It is a collection of five titles relating to the Cape Town Public Library. This venerable institution

was founded in 1818, funded by a tax on wine. It received in 1861 an extraordinary parting gift from Governor Sir George Grey of 5,200 books including 114 medieval and renaissance manuscripts and 119 incunabula, and one of the books in Barkly's gift is a partial catalogue of this collection. In fact, Sir George Grey had himself presented a volume from this catalogue to the Melbourne Public Library probably during his second term as Governor of New Zealand. Grey famously accumulated a second great collection of 14,000 books, including manuscripts and incunabula, which he presented to the Auckland Public Library in 1887. We may well regret he was never Governor of Victoria, but we can perhaps take comfort in the fact that his first Colonial appointment was as Governor of South Australia from 1841 to 1845, where he left nothing. Perhaps he did not like the water.⁷

Vice-Regal gifts appealed I suspect to Barry's snobbery, but it is in the gifts of other early colonists that we get a glimpse of the literary interests of early Melbourne. One of these donors is John Pascoe Fawkner.⁸ Transported as the son of a convict, he grew up in the harsh world of the penal settlement of Hobart. Given his humble origins his literary interests are remarkable, and his little empire as a baker and publican in Launceston extended to publishing a newspaper and running a bookshop. We know he collected books, and know something of that collection from a sales catalogue published after his death. We also know that he ran for a time a circulating library in early Melbourne, so it is reasonable to assume that his gift to the Library might reflect this bookishness. They do not. His is a list of pamphlets on a variety of subjects from Australian diseases, to thoughts on



Capital punishment, and the Education of girls, along with forty-seven maps, charts and plans and volumes of newspapers. The few books are rather dull and include an emigrants' guide, *The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province of Algoa Bay*, and a copy of the Vatican's index of forbidden books, *Roman Index Expurgatorius*.

Fawcner's gift perhaps reflects his public persona, that of a civic leader, politician and self-proclaimed founder of Melbourne. The Library does have books from his private collection that reveal something of his interests, and if you will indulge me, I shall refer to two of these. I encountered the first book forty-five years ago as a young Jesuit. I was living at Campion College in Kew, the house for Jesuits attending university. With no apparent qualification I was put in charge of the Library, a collection of some 50,000 books. On a table was a very large, old folio. It was *The Works of James Gillray*, printed from the original plates by Charles Whiting for Henry G. Bohn. Across the title page was the distinctive signature of John Pascoe Fawcner with the date 1854. I suggested to one of the older priests that the book should be in the State Library and was met with a stern 'hurrumph'. It is interesting how the vow of poverty works. My career as a Jesuit librarian was brief, I spent the annual budget in one glorious visit to the bookshop founded by Margareta Webber, and then tied myself up in knots trying to catalogue my purchases using a four-volume guide to the Dewey Decimal System. I didn't know that you don't have to take the decimals to the ultimate degree, so my labels became impossibly long.

Not surprisingly, I was relieved of my duties as Librarian and put in charge of the cellar. The brothers clearly did not mind if I exceeded the budget for wine. Fortunately, my brief encounter with bibliography was not on my CV and in 2002 I became Director of Collections at the State Library. I had not forgotten the Fawcner volume, and by now Campion College had become a retirement home for priests and a retreat centre. I made enquiries and found that the Library had been transferred to Newman College. Believing all was lost I asked the then Rector of Newman, Father Peter L'Estrange about the book. He explained that the library belonged to the Jesuit community not the College and said he was happy to place the Fawcner volume in the State Library and that is where it now resides. Just how it came into the Jesuit collection is not known, but I suspect the very first Irish Jesuits, who arrived in Melbourne in 1865, either bought it, or had it bought for them at the auction of Fawcner's collection by Gemmell and Tuckett on 17 August 1868.

The second Fawcner volume arrived more conventionally as a purchase from Kay Craddock in 2008. It is a copy of the 1832 fourth edition of *The Anatomy of Drunkenness* by the Edinburgh physician Robert Macnish. Reputed to be the first study of alcoholism as an illness rather than a moral failing, it would have been of some interest to Fawcner as a publican. Famously he was a teetotaler, a good qualification if you are going to make money from running pubs, and I speak from experience as a number of my great-uncles ran pubs, living short, unprofitable, but for the most part, happy lives, a family trait clearly unknown to the Jesuits when they put me in charge of the cellar. The book has a double provenance. It was later owned by Redmond Barry, who was definitely an imbibor, and he has liberally annotated the dour Scot's text with quotations from Shakespeare and the Bible in praise of drinking.⁹

Redmond Barry's own donations to the Library are sparse and quite dull. Many are legal reports and his gifts do not reflect his own reading interests or indeed his personal library. This was sold soon after his death by Gemmell and Tuckett. A copy of the catalogue has never been found, but volumes emerge from time to time. As many as possible are now in the State Library. I think the reasons why Barry did not donate or bequeath his books are clear. For the most part the Library already held the titles, often in more recent editions, and his habit of annotating spoiled the text. Barry's famous collecting policy of the latest editions of the most authoritative texts and one of his few rules for users, not to deface the books, clearly applied to any personal gifts.¹⁰



The *Catalogue* can sometimes reveal hidden interests or talents in donors. Charles Pasley is remembered, if at all, for his work as an engineer. Son of a more famous general and engineer (also Charles), he was educated at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, and commissioned Second Lieutenant in the Royal Engineers in 1843. After postings in Canada, where he worked in mid-winter surveying the Rideau Canal, and Bermuda (where presumably the weather was more agreeable), he served at the Great Exhibition of 1851, before being appointed in 1853 as Colonial Engineer for the Colony of Victoria. He oversaw the building of roads, the building of the Parliament, the design and building of Victoria Barracks and other major projects, and led government forces at Eureka. In late 1860 as he was preparing to leave the Colony, the first Taranaki War broke out in New Zealand, and Pasley volunteered. He was seriously wounded and returned briefly to Melbourne before returning to Britain, where he served on two occasions as Victoria's Agent General. His gift to the Public Library runs over five pages, and consists of 210 volumes in 111 titles. Few books reflect his profession as an engineer, although there are biographies of military leaders and some campaign histories. He had bibles in Dutch, Erse, Gaelic and Welsh. He had a large collection of comparative dictionaries including French and Modern Greek; Catalan-French and Italian; English-Danish; English-Swedish; Welsh-English; and, German-Russian (in German). He had grammars for Anglo-Saxon, Catalan, Gaelic, German (in German), Dutch (in French), and Modern Greek. He had

a copy of John Jamieson's *Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, and a two-volume 1810 edition of Dr Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*. Beyond books on linguistic interests, there are titles in French and German, as well as books on Anglo Saxon literature. None of Charles Pasley's biographies mention a facility with, or interest in languages, but I think his donation reveals exactly that, an interest learned perhaps from his father, who was fluent in ancient Greek from the age of eight.¹¹

Another of Redmond Barry's principles used to guide purchases with public funds, was to eschew books distinguished only by their fine bindings or rarity. This rule did not apply to donations. Examples of such books are few and far between in the 1872 *Catalogue*, and on this evidence alone one could conclude that the Colony lacked what Wallace Kirsop, eminent scholar in French studies and in book history, might call 'serious book collectors'; however on closer examination they were there, they just were not always that generous.

An early donor of rarities was Redmond Barry's brother on the bench, Sir William à Beckett. He had been appointed Resident Judge in the Port Phillip District in February 1846. In 1852 when the Supreme Court of the Colony of Victoria was established, he was appointed Chief Justice, with Redmond Barry as the Senior Puisne Judge. à Beckett suffered from a form of paralysis, which he attributed to an injury sustained playing cricket at Lords, and in 1857 this infirmity led to an early retirement. Redmond Barry felt himself to be the obvious successor, but his erstwhile friend, Attorney-General Sir William Foster Stawell, a Trustee of the Library, had another candidate in mind – himself. Barry and Stawell both Irishmen and lawyers had been great drinking companions until Stawell made the mistake of attending a hell and brimstone sermon on the evils of drink by Bishop Perry. I think Barry was always anti-clerical but perhaps even more so after this, and if he had to defer to Stawell as Chief Justice, then Stawell had to acknowledge him as President of the Library.

Sir William à Beckett fancied himself a poet, and published several books, none to critical acclaim, then, or now. He shared Barry's conservatism and horror at the social upheaval of the goldrush, and supported Barry's endeavours in the civilising project of the Public Library. In 1861 he made a gift of fourteen books. Three were contemporary: his own book *A Universal Biography* published in London in 1835, a catalogue of the great sale over twenty-four days of the contents of Horace Walpole's *Strawberry Hill* in Twickenham in 1842, and a

set of the short-lived Sydney periodical *Heads of the People* for 1847 and 1848. The rest would all have been considered at that time as rarities. Two were incunabula: the *Works of Ovid* printed by Matteo Capcasa in Venice in 1488; and the thirteenth-century legal text *Casus in terminus super novem libris Justinianum codicis*, by Franciscus Accursius, printed in Strassburg by the printer of the *Vitas Patrum* circa 1485. He added a 1571 Aldine Press edition of Paulo de Palaccio's commentary on the Gospel of St Matthew, and reflecting his legal interests a 1578 edition in legal French of Edmund Plowden's synopsis of precedents *Les Commentaries, ou, Les Reportes... de Divers Cases* from the reigns of Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I. Another sixteenth-century book was a 1596 copy of the Bible, published in Hanover, and translated by the Jewish convert Immanuel Tremellius with Theodore Beza. This was the version favoured by John Milton and John Donne. The seventeenth century is represented in the gift by three English imprints. The oldest is a copy of Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*. Conceived as a moral treatise for the education of Henry, Prince of Wales, heir to James I, and written by Raleigh during his imprisonment in the Tower of London, it was never completed as the author was beheaded in 1618. à Beckett's copy has the frontispiece from the first edition of 1614, but the colophon from the 1617 edition so it is a composite book, if you like, the head was stuck on to the body. The second seventeenth-century book is a 1637 English translation of William Camden's *Britannia*. Originally published in 1586 in Latin, this is a famous chorography of Britain, reflecting a renaissance antiquarian understanding of the history, geography and culture of the realm. The third book is a 1679 copy of John Guillim's *A Display of Heraldrie* a book reflecting his employment within the College of Arms as well as recording many of the myths associated with ancient armorial bearings. The final book in his gift marked a return to law and is a seventh edition from 1730 of the Judge, Sir Anthony Fitzherbert's treatise *Natura Brevium* originally published in 1534.¹²

Sir William à Beckett retired to England in 1863 and in the same year published a long poem *The Earl's Choice*, considered by his biographer to be 'sentimental, priggish and rather boring'.¹³ He generously bestowed two copies of this book on the Melbourne Public Library. The following year he made his final gift, a copy of *The Workes of Geffray Chaucer* printed by Thomas Godfray in 1532. This is the famous first complete edition of Chaucer, and à Beckett added a copy of a much later collected works of the great poet, edited by John Urry and published in 1721. Tipped into the 1532 edition is a letter to à Beckett from a John Williams of No. 1 High Street Kensington

presenting his dutiful respects and begging his acceptance of 'the portrait of Chaucer to put before the title page of his very curious copy of that author – as an appropriate frontispiece'. The letter is addressed to à Beckett as esquire and not a knight, suggesting that he owned the book before coming to Victoria, so to present it after his return to England was an act of particular generosity.

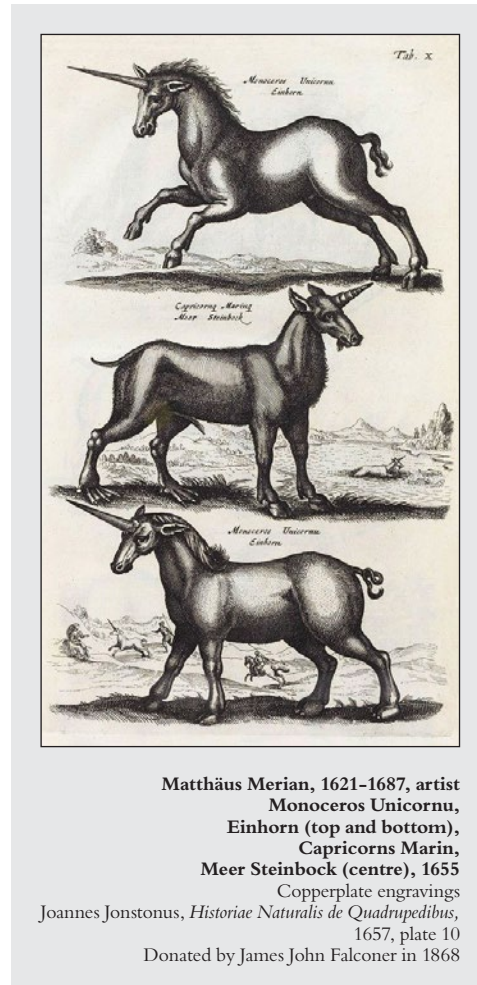
The next donor of rarities to the Melbourne Public Library had a brief and controversial career in the Colony and his gift caused some confusion during my tenure as Director of Collections. Many of you will recall the exhibition *The Medieval Imagination: Illuminated Manuscripts from Cambridge, Australia and New Zealand* held at the Library in 2008. I was deeply involved in this very complex project, and part of my role was to greet the Cambridge lenders as they arrived at Melbourne Airport with their precious cargo. At the appointed time, I made my way to meet Professor David McKitterick, then Fellow Librarian at the Wren Library in Trinity College Cambridge. David had generously agreed to present the annual Foxcroft Lecture while in Melbourne and on our drive back into the city he asked me if he could, as part of his final preparation, see the Library's 1,000-year-old Irish manuscript. I had to concentrate carefully on my driving as I said that I would very much like to see it as well, as I had never laid eyes on it.

The next day we met with Des Cowley in the Rare Books storage area to look for the book. David explained that he had read about it in an early catalogue of the Library, and that it had been presented by a Reverend Dr Barry, whom he assumed was a relative of Redmond Barry. After a discussion over the phone with Rachel Naughton at the Catholic Diocesan Archives, we were able to establish that Dr John Barry was the Irish Catholic priest, brought to Melbourne in 1854 by Bishop James Goold. He was appointed by Goold's Vicar General, John Fitzpatrick, as president of Goold's great early triumph St Patrick's College, while Goold was away on a visit to Rome. Dr Barry had strict instructions not to borrow money, which he blithely ignored, and when Goold returned he found that the school was deeply in debt. For a time, he trusted Dr Barry's promises that he could trade out of the difficulties, but when he discovered he was keeping double books to hide his excesses, all hell broke loose. Dr Barry fled the Colony for Ceylon, returning to face the music in 1861. The ensuing court case over Dr Barry's bankruptcy was a huge scandal, and while the court found for Goold the damage had been done. When the Jesuits arrived in 1865 to take over the school, they found it stripped

of all fittings including the blackboards, to pay off only part of the debt, and they had to start from scratch.¹⁴

Dr Barry finally departed the colony in 1863, but before he left, he offered on 12 May, three books for the Library. On that morning, in the Rare Book store we quickly found two of them, a copy of *Sermones de Sanctis* printed at Deventer in the Netherlands by Richard Paffraet in 1471 and a 1563 copy of St Augustine's *Homilies* printed in Lyon by Sebastian Horonaratum. The manuscript, described as octavo in size, so small, eluded us. David, diplomatically, left out any reference to it in his lecture, but its absence bothered me. If I had a spare half-hour in the next two years I would scour the shelves in the Rare Book storage, to see if it had somehow fallen behind larger volumes. The mystery was finally solved in the most unexpected way. I was chairing a meeting of the Digitising Committee. Collection Managers would attend the meeting to recommend items for scanning and Dr Kevin Molloy, Australian Manuscripts Librarian, on this occasion recommended the scanning of three manuscripts in Irish as part of an international project to preserve all early records of the survival of the language in the face of English colonial persecution. My interest was piqued, and as soon as I could I made my way to Kevin's office to view the manuscripts. Sure enough, one was the book given by Dr Barry. Witness to an ancient culture, it was not 1,000 years old but rather made in 1833 by David de Barra, an Irish author and poet from County Cork, who did much to preserve the language. It is a copy of an ancient pious text, a simplified form of the *Book of Hours* with specific reference to local Irish saints. Needless to say, I was delighted to inform David McKitterick that what was lost, had been found. It would appear that in the division of collections when the La Trobe Library was formed,¹⁵ the little book in a language perhaps unrecognised, was assigned to manuscripts, where it had lived for a long time in a manila envelope before its rediscovery.¹⁶

Few of Dr Barry's clergy colleagues made donations. Bishop Goold, a noted book collector, as a member of the University Council presented to its Library in 1859 nine titles in forty-six volumes by the Jesuit philologist Cardinal Mai, but gave no books to the Public Library. His gift to the University prompted a quick response of a donation to the University of suitably Protestant volumes from his Anglican rival as Bishop of Melbourne, Charles Perry, who went one better at the Public Library donating a pair of pamphlets, written by himself, and entitled *Tracts on Baptismal Regeneration*. Father John Ignatius Bleasdale is also listed as a donor.



He arrived in the Colony in 1851, and was active across a wide range of scientific and agricultural organisations. An early promoter of viticulture, he served as a Trustee of the Library, but his gift of four titles and several pamphlets barely reflect his wide interests. Possibly the secular nature of the Library discouraged gifts from those in holy orders, whom we might otherwise assume to be of a bookish persuasion.¹⁷

Two gifts of rare books were made to the Library from colonists who built significant private collections, and these are duly recorded in the *Catalogue of Donations*. Given what we now know of their collections, it is a shame they did not go a little further. The first of these was the banker James John Falconer. He was born in Scotland 1808. His father was a former Jamaica planter who apparently left several children behind with their slave mothers when he returned to Scotland. James grew up in a comfortable middle-class family and as a young adult had a brief career teaching mathematics and book-keeping. By the time he was thirty he was working in Bombay for the trading company Forbes and Forbes. After his return to Scotland in 1840 he joined the Bank

of Australasia and was sent to Sydney in 1844 to assist the local manager. In 1849 he became the Manager of the Australian branch, and after a decade returned to England. In 1861 he was sent back to Australia to its new headquarters in Melbourne. He never married, collected art, including works by colonial artists, as well as books. At the end of 1867 he resigned his post, citing ill-health, and departed Australia for the last time in March 1868.

Before he left, Falconer presented three books to the Library: a Latin copy of the *Liber Chronicarum* published in Nuremberg with woodcuts by Michael Wolgemut; *Historiae Naturalis de Quadrupedibus* by Joannes Jonstonus, published by Schipper in Amsterdam in 1657; and, an 1854 edition of the *Breviarium Aberdonense*. The first two are truly wonderful books, with the *Liber Chronicarum* also known as the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, a high point of any rare book collection and considered one of the finest books produced in Germany in the first fifty years of printing with moveable type. The second book is very useful, especially if you need to distinguish between species of unicorn! (see left). The third book is something of a curiosity. The original text of the *Breviarium Aberdonense* was sponsored by James IV of Scotland as a nationalist response to the English Sarum Breviary, and was the first book printed in Edinburgh in 1510. A very Catholic book, it is odd to find a modern edition in Falconer's collection, as he was undoubtedly raised in the Kirk, and is buried in the graveyard of St Peter's Anglican church in West Knighton in Dorset. Perhaps it reflects pride in Scotland rather than a leaning to Rome.¹⁸

The rest of Falconer's Melbourne library was sold at auction by Gemmell and Tuckett on 1 May 1868. The catalogue reveals more a reader's collection than that of a bibliophile, although some of his earlier imprints would have been nice to have in the Library collection.

Our second donor, John Macgregor, is something of a contrast to Falconer. A fellow Scot, his origins were humbler. He arrived in Melbourne as a twelve-year-old, with his widower father in 1840. He was described on the ship's manifest as a labourer and his father as a school teacher. Left behind in Scotland were three younger children, whom neither father nor brother would see again. The decision to leave the Isle of Skye as assisted immigrants for the distant Port Phillip District was a desperate attempt to find a better life, as their island community had been impoverished through a second wave of clearances: consolidation of land ownership and forced evictions by absentee landlords. They must have doubted their decision as the district

slid into an economic depression in 1841, but the elder Macgregor managed a precarious living as a teacher, while the younger continued his education, finding his way into the tiny local legal community. In 1855, the twenty-seven-year-old John Macgregor was admitted as a solicitor to Sir William à Beckett's Supreme Court of the still new Colony of Victoria. The following year, showing a precocious public interest, he contested a seat for the new Legislative Assembly. Failure only drove him on, and he tried again in 1861, before finally succeeding in 1862. He spent the next twelve years in Parliament, and from July 1866 to May 1877 was Minister for Mines. He combined a political career with his legal practice and served as President of the Law Institute in 1877.

There is much to admire in Macgregor's story, reflecting as it does the stoic strength of the self-made man. This energy is reflected in his book collecting, which was just as ambitious and equally relentless. By the time he died in 1884, he had amassed a collection of over 10,000 books, which were sold at auction by those undertakers of early Melbourne libraries, Gemmell and Tuckett. Their catalogue description that this was 'the finest private library in Australia comprising... volumes of costly, rare and beautifully-bound works in every department of literature' was for once actually true.¹⁹ His collection covered a huge range of topics, and was particularly strong in eighteenth-century imprints from across Europe, often in Latin, as well as major European languages, especially French. He loved big books, and works in multiple volumes, and the spines of these folios arrayed in military order on the shelves must have made a great display. The *Catalogue of Donations* records two gifts of such titles: Diderot and d'Alembert's great *Encyclopédie*, published in Paris between 1751 and 1780 in thirty-five folio volumes; and Louis Moreri's *Great Historical, Geographical and Poetical Dictionary*, also published in Paris in 1759 in ten folio volumes.²⁰ From September 1874 Macgregor served as a Trustee of the Library, and in January the following year presented 198 quarto volumes of the *Encyclopédie méthodique* published in Paris between 1782 and 1832. Redmond Barry must have felt he had a great ally in developing the collections, but Macgregor's early promise was not realised. He made only one further gift in 1880 of seventy-one octavo volumes of the contemporary scientific journal *Cosmos* published in Paris between 1852 and 1879. Indeed, Macgregor acted as a brake on Barry's ambitions, joining with other trustees to express the wish that Barry did not incur large expenditure on books 'more curious than useful' during his 1876 visit to the United States and Britain, extending this to refuse a

Johann Jakob Frey,
1813-1865, artist
Gustav Reubke, lithographer
Pyramiden von Giseh,
c.1849-c.1856
Coloured lithograph
Karl Rickard Lepsius (ed.),
*Denkmäler aus Ägypten und
Äthiopien*, Berlin, Vol.3, plate 21



request for £1,500 to enable the purchase of Shakesperiana, County histories and works on Mexican antiquities.

Macgregor, as a self-made man, recognised the need for a Public Library that was more utilitarian than specialist, a resource for others to follow his example and progress through self-help. His own collection suggests a wide range of interests, but there is very little evidence that he ever read many of his books. I think his library was a display of his success, more than a monument to deep erudition. At Macgregor's sale, the Library was successful in bidding in 67 lots out of the 133 identified as desirable for the collection. The 270 volumes purchased for £59/17/3 were, in the words of Wallace Kirsop, 'consistent with a preference for the useful over the curious',²¹ an outcome that would have won the approval of John Macgregor.

Gold transformed the muddy settlement of Melbourne into a great metropolis with immigrants from all corners of the earth. In their wake came a procession of legates and consuls, to protect the interests of their citizens and to foster trade with the booming colony. Redmond Barry was shameless in cultivating this little diplomatic community for gifts for the Library, and in the preface to the catalogue you can almost feel the warmth of his glowing pride as he lists gifts from Queen Victoria, Emperors, and Kings. Two great rivals stand out. Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, is credited with gifts of 301 volumes, all recent imprints, covering a wide range of French culture, science, education and industry. Wilhelm I, King of Prussia who had defeated and deposed Napoleon III in the Franco-Prussian War just a year before the *Catalogue of Donations* was prepared, gave fewer books, but in one title he trumped all the crowned heads by the significance of his gift.²²

In 1864 he presented the Library with a copy of Karl Rickard Lepsius' great work *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* or *Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia*. Published over ten years from 1849 to 1859, the twelve elephant folio volumes, with a further five volumes of notes,²³ detail the Prussian archaeological expedition to Egypt led by Lepsius from 1842 to 1845. There are over 900 hand-coloured plates, with detailed maps, views of monuments and copies of inscriptions. It is considered alongside the French *Description de L'Égypte* which recorded the Napoleonic expedition to Egypt, as one of the greatest works ever published on the subject.

Barry was delighted by the gift, and had it sent to the Library's bookseller in London, J. J. Guillaume, so that the text blocks could be suitably bound before being shipped to Melbourne. Guillaume, equally impressed, commissioned the leading binder Joseph Zaehnsdorf, who lavished red morocco and fine gold stamped details, featuring Egyptian motifs. The result was stunning, and the bill stunned Redmond Barry. The total was £151/4/- or 144 guineas, so 12 guineas (£12, 12 shillings) a volume. Acutely aware of his own rule about not spending public money on books distinguished only by their binding or rarity, and conscious that the cost of binding the *Denkmäler* exceeded the purchase price of Gould's *Birds of Australia*, the most expensive book yet bought for the Library, Barry sacked Guillaume as the Library's bookseller. The book and the bindings were not well treated by the Library over the years. For a long time, the *Denkmäler* volumes were stored upright in a section of the Dome annulus reserved for large folios. The weight of the text blocks, and the pressure on the spines, combined with damp to ravage Zaehnsdorf's fine work, and while some volumes have been conserved there are still a few in this damaged state.



Giuseppe Sabbione, artist
Portrait of King Victor Emmanuel II, 1875
Oil on canvas, wood
Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria,
H2012.107
Gift of King Victor Emmanuel II, 1877

Another gift lurked in the picture collection for many years. Known colloquially as *The Kaiser*, some of my colleagues when I was at the Library felt it would be appropriate for my office. When it was conserved its true subject was

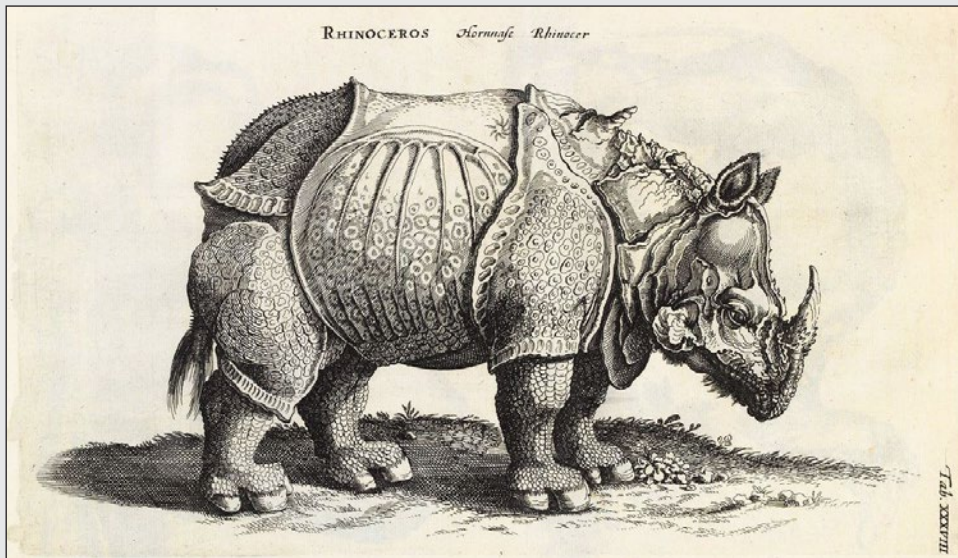
revealed to be Victor Emmanuel II, first king of the reunited Italy. A gift from the King himself in 1877, just a year before he died, it remained in the Library collection after Redmond Barry's great combined institution was divided into the separate entities of Library, Museum and Gallery in 1944. It never made it to the wall of my office.

In 1872, his eyesight failing, Charles Joseph La Trobe made his final donation to the Library that he had helped to establish. It was a collection of fifty-eight letters from colonists recounting their personal experience of early settlement. La Trobe had sought their contributions via a circular letter before he left Victoria, hoping to use the records as sources for a book on the early history of the Colony. Frustrated in this ambition, at first by his blighted career prospects and then by poor health, he asked his Melbourne agent James Graham to present them to the Library.²⁴ In a touching letter, Redmond Barry thanked La Trobe and recounted a dinner of twenty members at the Melbourne Club held to mark the gift. Barry wrote that 'of the number two only fell short of thirty years residence in the country—on such an occasion, as you may well conclude, olden times and doings were freely discussed and your name was often mentioned'. It must have been of some comfort to La Trobe to be remembered, and indeed, we remember him today.

Endnotes

- 1 *The Catalogue of Donations to the Public Library of Victoria from 1856 to 1872*, Melbourne: Clarkson, Massina & Co., 1873, p. iii. The Library opened to the public in 1856 and was known as the Melbourne Public Library until 1869; it was renamed the State Library of Victoria in 1960 and State Library Victoria in 2017. Five years after opening it published *The Catalogue of the Melbourne Public Library for 1861* that contained a section on Donations, pp. xxiii–lxii. Both *Catalogues* are accessible online. Where there are discrepancies in authors' names and titles this essay has endeavoured to adopt usage from the Library's current catalogue.
- 2 *The Catalogue of Donations*, England pp.49–64; India pp.91–110; Societies and Institutions pp.184–212.
- 3 *An Act for applying certain Sums arising from the Revenue receivable in the Colony of Victoria to the Service thereof for the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-three, No. XXX. Assented to 20th January 1853*, in the *Victorian Government Gazette*, 26 January 1853, Supplement, p.8.
- 4 *The Catalogue of Donations*, pp.120–122. John Barnes 'La Trobe and the Melbourne Public Library' in *The La Trobe Journal*, No. 80, Spring 2007, pp.79–84. See also John Barnes *La Trobe: Traveller, Writer, Governor*, Canberra: Halsted Press in association with State Library Victoria [and] La Trobe University, 2017, pp.301–302; and Dianne Reilly 'La Trobe, Charles Joseph (1801–1875)' in Charles Stütz (ed.) *Australian Book Collectors*, Third Series, Part II, Melbourne: Book of Kells, 2016, pp.92–300.
- 5 B. A. Knox, 'Barkly, Sir Henry (1815–1898)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (accessed online 1 July 2024).
- 6 *The Catalogue of Donations*, pp.9–10.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p.79 donation from Sir George Grey; p.256 Sir Henry Barkly's later gift.
- 8 *The Catalogue of Donations*, pp.61–63.
- 9 For a discussion of Barry's annotations in *The Anatomy of Drunkenness*, see Shane Carmody, 'A Note in the Margins: reading with Redmond Barry', *The La Trobe Journal*, No. 82, Spring 2008, pp.104–112.
- 10 *The Catalogue of Donations*, pp.11–12.
- 11 *Ibid.*, pp.162–166. See Ronald McNicoll, 'Pasley, Charles (1824–1890)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (accessed online 1 July 2024).
- 12 *The Catalogue of Donations*, p.1.
- 13 Elias Godfrey Coppel, 'à Beckett, Sir William (1806–1869)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (accessed online 1 July 2024).
- 14 Shane Carmody 'The Promises of Dr Goold', in Jaynie Anderson, Max Vodola and Shane Carmody (eds), *The Architecture of Devotion: James Goold and his legacies in colonial Melbourne*, Melbourne: Meigunyah Press, 2021, pp.237–238.

- 15 The La Trobe Library, which opened to the public on 29 March 1965, housed the specialist Australiana collection within the State Library of Victoria. For administrative reasons it closed as a separate library on 5 September 1990. Dianne Reilly, Paul de Serville and John Arnold, 'Remembering the La Trobe Library', *The La Trobe Journal*, No. 80, Spring 2007, p.23.
- 16 *The Catalogue of Donations*, p.12. For a discussion of the significance of the manuscript, see Constant J. Mews, Chris Watson, Julia S. Kühns, 'Remembering the Saints of Munster: an Irish prayer book copied by Dáibhí de Barra', *Australasian Journal of Irish Studies*, Vol. 14, 2014, pp.111-129.
- 17 *The Catalogue of Donations*, Perry's gift, p.16, Bleasdale's gift, p.24.
- 18 *The Catalogue of Donations* p.61. For a fuller account of Falconer's library, see Gary Kent, 'J. J. Falconer' in Charles Stitz (ed.), *Australian Book Collectors*, Volume IV, Third Series, Part I, Melbourne: Book of Kells, 2016, pp.159-169.
- 19 The most complete account of Macgregor's collection, and on which I have drawn heavily, is by Wallace Kirsop, "'The Finest Private Library in Australia"', John Macgregor's Collection', *The La Trobe Journal*, No. 69, Autumn 2002, pp.30-38. Quotation, *Argus*, 18 August 1884, p.2.
- 20 *The Catalogue of Donations*, p.132.
- 21 Kirsop, p.36.
- 22 *The Catalogue of Donations*, gift of the Emperor of the French, pp.70-73; gift of the Prussian government, pp.169-170.
- 23 Edited by Eduard Naville *et al* and published in Leipzig, 1897-1913, 5 vols and supplement.
- 24 For an account of the significance of these letters, see Dianne Reilly 'Letters from Victorian Pioneers to Governor La Trobe, 1853', *La Trobeana*, vol.17, no.1, March 2018, pp.40-54. Barry's letter quoted in Charles Edward Sayers, 'Preface' to *Letters from Victorian Pioneers: a series of papers on the early occupation of the colony, the Aborigines, etc.*, Melbourne: Lloyd O'Neil for Currey O'Neil, 1983, p. vii.



Matthäus Merian, 1621-1687, artist
Rhinoceros, Hornnase Rhinocer, 1655

Copperplate engraving
Joannes Jonstonus, *Historiae Naturalis de Quadrupedibus*, 1657, plate 38
Donated by James John Falconer in 1868 (refer page 12 above)

James Henry La Trobe Bateman: the clergyman imprisoned in Carlisle Gaol

By Dr Timothy Hubbard

Timothy Hubbard is a heritage architect and planner based at Port Fairy. He is currently restoring Old St Andrews, the former Presbyterian Church and Manse where he now lives. He has an interest in the conservation of historic buildings, gardens, sites and landscapes, with a special interest in the work of Edward La Trobe Bateman. He completed his PhD thesis 'Towering Over All: The Italianate Villa in the Colonial Landscape' in 2004. He is a retired Fellow of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects and member of Australia ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites). He was recently elected president of the Dry Stone Walls Association of Australia.

It is a truism that cemeteries can be melancholy places. Tower Hill Cemetery, in the far south-west of Victoria was certainly bleak one wintry Saturday afternoon several years ago. I finally tracked down a grave where, I had been told, somebody with the surname 'La Trobe Bateman' was buried. The handsome Gothic gravestone covered in lichen did memorialise J.H. La Trobe Bateman who had 'Died March 3rd 1903, aged 55 years' but he was 'Interred at Warracknabeal Cemetery', a very different place from coastal Tower Hill. The grave belonged to John Davy who 'Died August 25th 1903, aged 37 years, the Beloved Husband of Jane Davy'. The gravestone stated that John Davy was born at Kettle Head, Arlecdon, England. No relationship was given between the two deceased.

James Henry La Trobe Bateman's grave in the Warracknabeal Cemetery was also melancholic when found, but for different reasons. Located in the paupers' section, unmarked and not mourned, it is certainly not a picturesque setting. The loneliness of the grave is all the more poignant because this extraordinary character, the nephew of Edward La Trobe Bateman (1816-1897), and cousin once removed of Charles Joseph La Trobe, is virtually forgotten.



John Botham, photographer
Gravestone at Tower Hill, 2020
Timothy Hubbard on right, assistant
sleuth Roger Borrell on left

Let me tell you about his early life which was full of piety, promise and good intentions before he scandalised the High Church of England.



Unknown photographer
Longueville Manor, St Saviour, Jersey, c.1910
 George Reginald Balleine, *The Bailiwick of Jersey*, 1951, opposite page 32

Part 1, The making of a reverend gentleman, ‘a man honest as the sun’

Upbringing

James Henry La Trobe Bateman was born at Dewsbury, West Yorkshire in 1848. His parents were Christian Henry Bateman (1813-1889), a Minister of the Congregationalist Church of Scotland, and Margaret Fleming Brown Bateman (1820-1898), the daughter of a Scottish paper manufacturer, James Brown of Midlothian. They married in 1845 and appear to have been devout Christians.

Christian Henry may also have been strongly opinionated. He studied in the Moravian Church and was educated to become a Moravian minister like his maternal grandfather, Bishop Benjamin La Trobe, who was also the grandfather of Charles Joseph La Trobe. However, ‘having embraced very pronounced views upon church government, he connected himself with the Independent or Congregationalist body, and became the minister of the Richmond Place Church, Edinburgh, where... he took a very active part in the evangelical revival which followed the Disruption [of] 1843’.¹ By 1846 he was the Congregationalist Minister at Hopton, then Sedbergh, Skipton and Mirfield, all in Yorkshire, and then at Reading, in Berkshire. He next took Holy Orders in the Church of England at Winchester Cathedral in 1869 and served as curate at St Luke’s in Jersey (1869-1871); as vicar of All Saints, Child’s Hill, Middlesex

(1871-1875); and as curate of St John’s, Penymynydd, Hawarden, Wales (1877-1884). A gifted musician, Christian Henry is famous for writing many hymns, the best known being ‘Come, Christians Join to Sing’. His anthology *The Sacred Song Book*, subsequently titled *Sacred Melodies for Children*, and then *200 Sacred Melodies for Sunday Schools and Families*, was first published in 1843. By 1881 it had sold over six million copies.²

The Census, taken every ten years, indicates that the couple lived much of the time apart. In 1851, when James Henry was still a toddler, he is recorded as a member of his maternal grandfather, James Brown’s household at Esk Mill, Musselburgh, about ten kilometres east of Edinburgh. As well as Margaret Bateman, other members of the family include Ann and Jane Brown, apparently maiden aunts, a six-month old baby, John F R [Frederick Russell] Bateman and four servants. In 1861 the family is listed in Jersey, one of the Channel Islands, with Margaret Bateman as the head of the family, without her husband who was residing in Reading. She is described as a clergyman’s wife. The household comprises six children, including James Henry aged twelve, and four servants. In 1871, James Henry is recorded as part of his father’s household at Child’s Hill, along with two female servants.

In 1863 Christian Henry and Margaret purchased *Longueville Manor* in Jersey for '£2,228 2s 7d plus 382-5-2/3 quarters of wheat rente', and set about restoring the property.³ An obituary states that soon after his conversion to Anglicanism in 1869, Christian Henry Bateman was the Government chaplain in Jersey.⁴ Ownership of *Longueville Manor*, an ancient ruin, entitled Christian Henry to be a 'Seigneur'.⁵ Begun in 1332, with some fabric assumed to date back to 1550, by 1863 *Longueville Manor* was severely dilapidated. Christian Henry and Margaret Bateman spent more than £2,000 on what has been described as 'a drastic restoration'. The local historian, the Rev. George Balleine (1873-1966), who was a member of the Evangelical party of the Church of England, wrote:

Mr Bateman removed the cowsheds, stables, and pigsties from the back of the house, and made a lawn there. He filled in the millpond and diverted the course of the stream. He added another 30 feet to the tower and he thoroughly modernised the interior of the building. In the dining-room the oak panelling at one end of the room was found by Bateman in position, but all the rest was obtained by buying and breaking up forty old oak chests... The so-called 'Nun's Walk,' in the grounds, was only made in 1864 on the old course of the seigneurial water mill, called Le Moulin de Fossard.⁶

More recently there is a description based on Joan Stevens' *History of Longueville*, which includes Christian Bateman's journal for the time: 'The manor house is surrounded by 16 acres of grounds, including a formal garden, woodland and the Victorian kitchen garden. The modern gardens date back to the mid-19th century when the then owner, the Reverend Bateman, planted specimen trees, created the lake, the walks and the kitchen garden'.⁷ James Henry designed the driveway and the lake and selected all the ferns, much to his father's approval.⁸ His uncle, Edward La Trobe Bateman, the great landscape architect who visited Jersey around 1871,⁹ probably also approved.

Christian and Margaret sold *Longueville Manor* in 1873 for about twice what they had paid for it, but that had to include all their expenses as well. The property has been a boutique hotel since shortly after the Second World War.

Education

Little is known about James Henry's early education. With his father's new connection

with the Congregationalists in Edinburgh, it seems unlikely that he was sent to a Moravian boarding school for his primary and secondary years, such as Fulneck, West Yorkshire. It is some twelve kilometres north of Dewsbury where he was born and fourteen kilometres north-north east of his father's home when he went to university. What does seem likely is that he was well-trained musically and linguistically. His family for generations was strongly musical. It is possible that he was bi-lingual in Scots Gaelic, learning from his Scottish mother and the servants in his Scottish grandfather's household as a child.

James Henry's university education is more certain. He is recorded as matriculating into Benson Hall, Oxford University on 4 May 1867 at the age of eighteen, the first son of Christian Henry Bateman of Mirfield, County of York, gentleman.¹⁰ Benson Hall was one of the new private halls made possible under the *Oxford University Act 1854* and the University's statute, *De aulis privatis (On private halls)* in 1855. The intention was to provide a less expensive alternative to the traditional colleges, governed by their fellows, and to academic halls, governed by their principals. Two were established immediately but were short-lived. Another, Charsley's Hall, was established in 1862 that became Marcon's Hall in 1891 and continued until 1918, the end of the system in which four permanent halls opened. Several other private halls came and went.

Richard Meux Benson, the vicar of the Parish of Cowley in East Oxford established Benson Hall in 1868. He was considered High Church.¹¹ Located in an artisanal, lower middle-class area, it was attached to the Society of St John the Evangelist Mission House. The Mission was 'the first stable religious community for men in the Church of England since the Reformation... There were at any time about fifteen mission priests, novices or lay brothers here many from America or Ireland, and the community established houses in India, southern Africa and America'.¹²

After his father, James Henry's time at Benson Hall must be considered one of the strongest spiritual and social influences on his life. Before he returned to his studies in Michaelmas Term from mid-September 1867, earlier than usual from Jersey, he stayed with his uncle, John Frederick Bateman (1810-1889), the renowned-civil engineer who lived at his extensive estate *Moor Park* near Farnham in Surrey.¹³ Also staying there was his father's cousin, Charles Joseph La Trobe, the former Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria, (together with wife Rose, sister Charlotte and daughter Eleanor). They met for



Unknown photographer
Clergy with choirboys outside the
Collegiate Church, Cumbrae, 1876
 University of Dundee Archives, MS-54-18-1
 James Henry La Trobe Bateman was
 ordained as a deacon here in 1876

the first time. The encounter over several days clearly impressed the young man of nineteen years. It bore fruit twenty-seven years later as a perceptive memoir published in Melbourne's Catholic Journal, *Austral Light*.¹⁴

The article is revealing about the author too. James Henry shows pride in his family's history and was keen to correct misunderstandings of their Moravian connections. Describing La Trobe as a 'natural gentleman', he states tenderly that he was not prepared for his total blindness but he looked much younger than expected. James Henry lists the subjects on which he wanted to interrogate La Trobe: the Colony of Victoria; various matters of European social and political interest; his tastes and views on some literary questions; and music, especially the compositions of Christian Ignatius La Trobe (the Governor's father and his own great-uncle) and the latter's intimate acquaintance with Joseph Haydn. He was determined to avoid one subject, however. 'I knew that upon politics we should cordially agree provided I did not go too far and hoist my true fanatical colours'.¹⁵

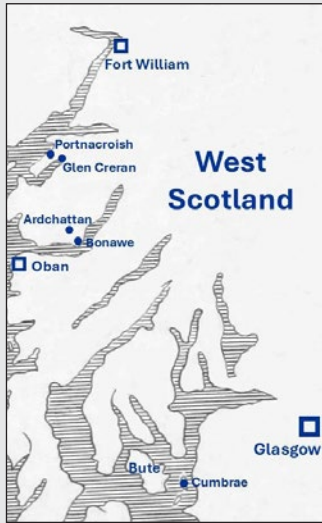
Ordination

James Henry trained for the priesthood at Cumbrae Theological College, at Millport on the island of Great Cumbrae,¹⁶ in the Diocese of Argyll & The Isles. He was ordained there as a deacon in 1876, and as a priest 1878.¹⁷ The theological college founded in 1851 continued until 1885.¹⁸ George Boyle, 6th Earl of Glasgow, a benefactor of the cathedral and the associated theological college, commissioned the famous English architect, William Butterfield, to design

the building. Butterfield was one of the great architects of the Gothic revival and also designed St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne. Construction finished in 1849, and the cathedral opened in 1851 as a collegiate church. The Chapel of the College of the Holy Spirit was raised to the status of a cathedral in 1876.¹⁹ James Henry was the missionary chaplain at Cumbrae Cathedral from 1876 to 1878. The College of the Holy Spirit became a retreat house run by the Scottish Episcopal Church, but closed its doors in November 2022, with its future now uncertain.²⁰ The island of Great Cumbrae is just a few kilometres south-east of the Isle of Bute, where James Henry's uncle, Edward La Trobe Bateman lived in semi-retirement under the patronage of the Marquis of Bute. The two must have visited each other and, years later in Victoria, James Henry defended the reputation of the Marquis of Bute at great personal cost.

Early Postings

From 1878 to 1882, still in the Diocese of Argyll & The Isles, James Henry was the incumbent priest at St Mary's, Glencreeran (today Glen Creran) and Holy Cross, Portnacrois (Portnacroish) and from 1880, at the Church of the Holy Spirit, Ardchattan in the village of Bonawe.²¹ His base was the vicarage at Glen Creran where he is listed in the 1881 Census as the Head of the household: an unmarried male; aged 32; born in 1849 [*sic*]; and an Episcopalian clergyman. He had two servants: Donald McInnes, an unmarried male aged 16, born in 1865 and described as his 'Body servant'; and Agnes McColl, an unmarried female, aged 70, born in 1811, and described as his 'House keeper'.²²



Sketch map of western Scotland
 Drawn by John Botham



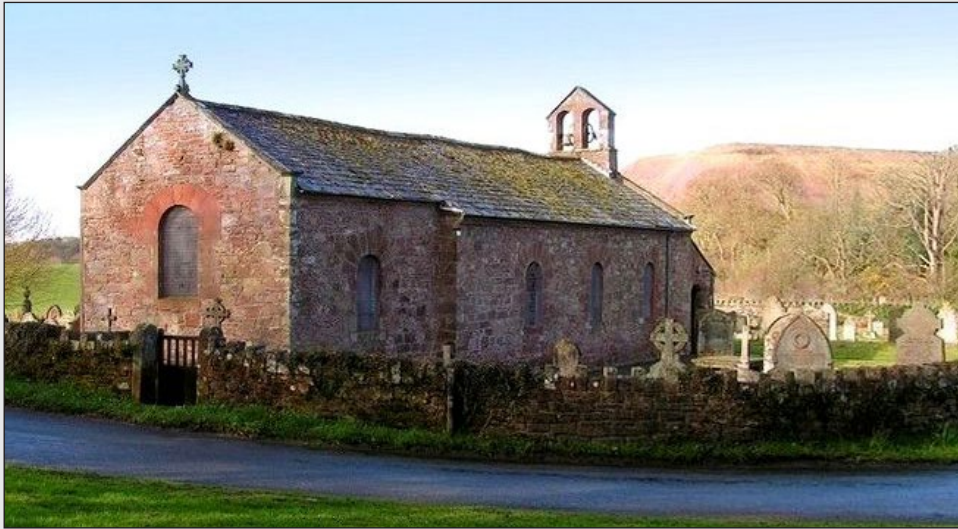
The Jacobite, photographer
Cathedral of the Isles, Millport, Cumbrae, 2024
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/jacobite-joe/53804383190>
 The College of the Holy Spirit may be seen on the right



Lost Ancestor, photographer
Portnacroish churchyard,
Argyll, 2016
<https://images.findagrave.com>
 Holy Cross Church built 1809,
 consecrated 1815 and dedicated
 to St John.
 The first Cathedral of Argyll

Belle Art Photography,
Isle of Skye
The former St Mary's
church and rectory, Glen
Creran, Argyll, c.2017
<https://www.stmaryswedding.space>
 The church was
 built in 1878 and was
 deconsecrated in 1974





Peter Eckersley, photographer
 Haile parish church, Cumbria, 2006
<https://www.geograph.org.uk>

A largely 18th century building, heavily restored in 1883

While at Glencreeran, he translated and edited a manual for the laity of the Episcopal Church in Scotland with parallel texts of the liturgy in Gaelic and English. Published at Dunedin in 1879, its Gaelic title translates to *The Appointment for the Attendance of Holy Communion, according to the custom of the Church of Scotland*, with the short title *The Scottish Communion Office*.²³ The preface (or ‘Advertisement’) in English, is signed at Glencreeran, June 1879. He also translated hymns into Gaelic.²⁴

Years later, in more troubled times, the congregation of Ardchattan were to state in a petition to Queen Victoria:

The reverend gentleman we plead for laboured in our midst for the period of five years—1877-‘82—and we knew him as a true friend and adviser, one whose only aim was to lead us to secure our best future and earthly

weal, yet not seeking to draw us from our communions if not of his own. His only failing was his inborn but indiscriminating pity. He impoverished himself, not only by bestowing his substance too freely on the sick and the afflicted, but also all those who were in need through any cause.²⁵

By 1886, *Crockford’s Clerical Directory* had him listed at the Haile Vicarage, at Cornforth (about seventy kilometres south-west of Carlisle²⁶), which had a population of 300 in the Diocese of Carlisle. His patron was the Earl of Lonsdale, who provided a stipend of £100.²⁷ James Henry’s time there became troubled indeed. He was to become the centre of a temporal and ecclesiastical scandal, with close attention from the national press even, eventually, from *The Times* of London and the *Manchester Guardian*.

Part 2, The case in detail ‘for a crime we feel he never knew he was committing’

One of the first public signs of trouble at the Haile Vicarage appeared in the *Carlisle Patriot* on Friday, 21 May 1886. It reported that ‘A short time ago, a singular charge of assault on a lad named Robert Little, 17 years of age, was preferred against the Rev J.H.L. Bateman, Vicar of Haile’.²⁸ The *Carlisle Patriot* went on to report:

Little was employed as a groom at Haile Vicarage up to the time of the assault referred to, and since then,

though employed at Haile, he slept at his home at Egremont. There had also been employed at the Vicarage, as domestic servant, a woman 24 years of age, named Jane Cockbain... The parents of Little heard that their son was about to marry Cockbain, and the mother saw Mr Bateman, and pointing out the youth of her son, asked him to discourage the intended alliance. Mr Bateman, it is stated, exposed his knowledge of the affair, and said he



Unknown artist
The Court Houses, Carlisle (with Gaol behind), 1870s
 Hand-coloured print
 Tullie House Museum, Carlisle, 1972.4.15

would take no action without letting the parents know. On Saturday week Little told his parents he would not be home that night, as he was going to stay at Haile.

Next morning the parents were informed that he had been married to Cockbain, by the Rev. Mr Bateman at Haile Church, and that the ceremony took place between seven and eight o'clock in the morning. If that was the correct time, the proceedings so far were not legal since marriages may not be celebrated before eight o'clock in the morning. There had been a licence and it was stated that banns had been published. After the ceremony, the bride and bridegroom had breakfast in the Vicarage, and then separated, the woman going back to her service, and Little returning to his parents' home. When taxed with the allegation that no banns had been published, Little said the banns were published by the vicar at afternoon service on three Sundays, when the vicar's housekeeper, Cockbain and Little were present. The parents are very indignant, and have written to the ecclesiastical authorities of the diocese.²⁹

Committal Hearing

James Henry was in trouble because, as the *Bradford Daily Telegraph* explained on Monday, 13 September 1886, the day his Committal hearing started: 'The marriage of persons (except by licence) without due publication of banns is not only an ecclesiastical offence but is a felony according to criminal law. Under the canons of the Church it is punishable by suspension for three years, and by statute the offender is liable to fourteen years penal servitude.'³⁰ (The Bishop of Carlisle had already called an Ecclesiastical Commission, which failed to reach a verdict.) A few days later *The West Cumberland Times* provided a full account of the hearing, including many details emerging from the cross-examination and the magistrate's decision.³¹ The defendant pleaded 'not guilty'. The following is a synopsis of the article.

Both Robert Little's parents had tried to intervene before the marriage, asking Mr Bateman, when he visited their home, not to allow it because of the groom's youth, who had just turned eighteen. His father expressed concern that 'Mr Bateman... has been connected with my son a great deal—a great deal more than he should'. It emerged that his mother was less concerned about the tenderness of the groom's youth as her loss of his usefulness. She stated, 'He

is not a man; he is only a youth, and that he had only just become of use to us at home, and that we would miss him very much if he were married'. She expected him to stay at home until he was twenty-one. His mother recalled that, when Mr Bateman went to see the groom's parents a second time, 'I said I was as much against the marriage as ever, and it was then that I got angry and said I would rather see Robert shot than married at such an age.' Other issues emerged, such as the Defendant's Counsel suggesting that James Henry was himself a victim:

This prosecution has been stirred up. There is a complete answer to the charge that will be put before you at the proper time. But this case has been stirred up after it had been allowed to rest. It cannot be news to you to know that Mr Bateman has been the victim of continuous persecution for the last two years. This is not the first time he has appeared here, or the first time that he has been troubled; and part of our defence is that this prosecution has been fostered and encouraged by the parties who have been constantly persecuting him ever since he has been at Haile.³²

The Defendant's Counsel also said that Mary Jane Cockbain had told him she had been a servant to Mr Bateman's father. The possibility of a conspiracy against the defendant was raised. The rector of Egremont, the Defendant's superior, who had been advising the groom's parents, admitted that he had drafted a letter from them to send to the Bishop of Carlisle. When challenged, he said, 'I have taken no active part in it. My connection with the case ended in drafting the letter for Little'. The Defendant's Counsel raised a potential conflict of interest through an earlier matter.

The Defendant's Counsel addressed the Bench, submitting that, 'It was not proved that the banns had not been published, and that there was not a shadow of proof that there was no licence. Mr Bateman's defence was simply that so far as he knew or was aware he had complied with the law.' Mr Bateman thought that, on his second visit to Mrs Little, she gave her consent to the marriage.

It was not to be supposed that Mr Bateman, after the threats made use of by the woman, would be so foolish as to marry them. These circumstances took place in May, and it was not until September that proceedings were taken, and he contended that the prosecution, and he said it advisedly, would never have taken place if some

interested busybody had not interfered in the matter, for the Littles, he was instructed, had been the mere tools of people who had pursued a relentless system of persecution towards Mr Bateman ever since he went to Haile.³³

The article's last paragraph describes what must have been a moment of reality for James Henry La Trobe Bateman: 'The proceedings concluded with the defendant formally committed to take his trial at the next Assizes... bail being accepted, the defendant in a sum of £200, and two sureties of £100 each, or one surety of £200... Bail was not forthcoming until yesterday (Tuesday) morning, and consequently the rev. gentleman had to spend the night in the lockup'.

The Trial

The Commission of Assize for Cumberland and Westmoreland commenced its business, including the case against the Vicar of Haile, on Tuesday, 26 October 1886. Mr Justice Day presided and, remarkably to modern eyes, he was accompanied on the Bench by his wife, Lady Day. The Grand Jury was comprised of men with impressive titles, positions and addresses, headed by the foreman Sir H.R. Vane, Bart, of *Hutton-in-the-Forest*.³⁴ James Henry La Trobe Bateman should be proud to have them as his peers.

There were twelve members of the Bar, with Mr Shee defending the prisoner and Mr Matheson and Mr Cross conducting the prosecution on behalf of the Treasury. The charges were repeated, and the facts were outlined, much along the lines of the committal hearing. The trial lasted most of the day. Again, a newspaper report in the *Penrith Observer* sums up the case:

Mr SHEE, addressing the jury... said the question for the jury was not whether the banns had been published... but whether the prisoner knowingly and wilfully married these people knowing that the banns had not been published. He suggested that when the parent [on Bateman's second visit] eventually relented, and the mother said—and really she was the father in this respect—that she washed her hands of the whole thing, the publication of the banns became more or less a secondary matter.

Mr MATTINSON... said that the defence was a technical one, and amounted to this, that an elaborate

trick, of which the prisoner at the bar was the prime author, had been successfully played, and by means of that trick the whole letter and spirit of the Marriage Law had been set at naught... Before such a marriage could take place the young man would have had to make a declaration that he had the consent of his parents. Parents had rights in those matters... Bateman knew he was doing wrong; and he married the young people, knowing that there had been no preliminary publication of banns.³⁵

The Jury retired and, after an hour, returned.

The Verdict

When asked by the Judge, the Foreman of the Jury answered that they found the prisoner

guilty, but recommended him to mercy: 'We strongly recommend him to mercy on a technical point. He might think he was legally right'. The Judge queried, 'That he was legally right and morally wrong?' The Foreman said 'Yes'. The Judge replied, 'He might have thought it. [But] They find him guilty. They say that he did it knowingly and wilfully.' The judge told the Jury to reconsider their verdict, pointing out that: 'If a person in an ordinary station is supposed to know the law, a clergyman is clearly taken to know the law with reference to those duties which he undertakes as a clergyman to discharge'.

The Jury returned into court about a quarter past five, after nearly another hour's absence, and found the prisoner '*Guilty*'. There is, for the first time in all the reporting of the case, an account of the prisoner's own words. Bateman said:

I may say that I am a very poor man, and one much impaired in health for a long time past. I have been subjected for some years past to very considerable persecution. In fact, I have been so reduced in my circumstances in consequence of this that since the first of August last year, I have paid £114 in legal expenses, my income having been £96. I have aged and infirm parents to whom the sentence whatever it may be, will be a great grief. My health is not equal, I should believe, to hard labour, which is what I believe is prescribed in the law of my land, which I sincerely regret having broken, if I have done so. I never did, intentionally, far from it. I fully believed that the banns were published in the parish church, Beckermont, and I cannot but think that evidence could have been easily adduced which would put a very different appearance on the case. I do not know what effect it will have on my status. I believe that felons are incapable of holding any office under the crown, and I presume the holding a benefice is an office under the crown. Therefore, I suppose, I am deprived of the exercise of my calling, whatever my sentence may be, and I think for a man of my age to have to begin again, without friends, without money, I think my case is a grievous and a hard one, and I pray of you be as lenient as you may.³⁶

The Sentence

The Judge prefaced his sentencing by saying 'It is a subject of great pain... to see before me a person who has held such a position convicted of the very serious offence of which you are most justly convicted.' Nobody could doubt the evidence and that the verdict was the only verdict that twelve intelligent and honest men could possibly return. Formerly the only sentence he could have passed would have been no less than fourteen years' transportation. This caused a sensation in the courtroom. Now, he had discretion to inflict a punishment as he found appropriate. He wished he could be more lenient, but he sentenced Bateman to be imprisoned and kept to hard labour for eighteen calendar months. The article concludes with the observation:

The prisoner, who though pale and nervous, and betraying more tremour in his voice in appealing to the Court, maintained a firm demeanour, was then removed. The prisoner will undergo his sentence without removal at the Carlisle Gaol, and will wear the ordinary prison clothing and be subject to the ordinary prisoner regulations.³⁷

The Reaction

The earnest young Vicar of Haile had certainly caused a stir in the upper echelons of the Church of England. The case of the Vicar of Haile had been followed, at a distance, in the national and ecclesiastical press, including *The Times* and *The Guardian*. The reaction to the guilty verdict and, more firmly, the severity of the sentence soon

elicited a reaction in the 'Letters to the Editor' section of the two great newspapers. One correspondent, Dr George Trevor, the Canon of Bedford wrote in a letter to the Editor of *The Times*, published on Christmas Day 1886, that:

... the same Judge passed the same sentence at the Central Criminal Court on a man who attacked a young woman with a knife for refusing to fulfil a promise of marriage, stabbed her three times in the back, and when the blade broke knelt upon her chest to strangle her, saying he meant 'doing' for her. The defence was that 'he was in a temper at the time'. Is this justice?³⁸

Ten days later, the Vicar of Wakefield, Rev. W.R. Hopper wrote accepting the verdict but deploring the sentence, stating 'Of course such a dereliction of duty ought to have its punishment, but 18 months' imprisonment with hard labour for an educated man is equivalent to death.' He noted that 'a Roman Catholic priest, the Rev. Father Fahy, has recently been released from prison after a few weeks' incarceration, and he was charged with the far more serious offence of instigating an ignorant population to the committal of robbery and murder'. The clergy had no esprit de corps, he wrote and went on to chastise the Bishop of Carlisle and 'the high dignitaries of his diocese for not approaching the Home Secretary, or, failing him, Lord SALISBURY himself, about this most distressing business'.³⁹ Defending himself, His Grace replied immediately and tersely from the Bishop's Palace:

Sir,
In a letter which appears in The Times of January 4 the writer asks, 'What is the Bishop of Carlisle about?' I am quite cognizant of all that has happened, and regret to say that the circumstances of the case are such as to render it quite impossible for me to intervene on behalf of the (late) Vicar of Haile.
I am, your obedient servant,
H. CARLISLE.
Rose Castle, Jan. 5.

A few days later an anonymous QC from 'The Temple' provided a balanced opinion. Firstly, he noted that up to 1753, when the offence was purely ecclesiastical, not statutory, the sentence could range from suspension for three years, to fourteen years' penal servitude. While he supported the notion of a judge exercising discretion, he pointed out that under statutory law, the sentence could have ranged from a fine, one day's imprisonment or eighteen

months hard labour. 'Where a violation of the law was not intended... or where the act has not done or was not intended to do a serious injury to an individual, or where the verdict of the jury is accompanied with a recommendation to mercy... the infliction of hard labour might properly be excluded from the sentence'.⁴⁰ Less generous was Rev. A.L. Barnes-Lawrence of Aberford Vicarage, Yorkshire. He was strongly in favour of the severity of the sentence because it was intended to be exemplary.

However, George Trevor D.D. had more or less the last word. In his second, longer letter to the Editor of *The Times*, he states that he knew that the Bishop of the Diocese did *not* share the recommendation of the jury for mercy. It turns out that the Bishop of Carlisle had previously issued a Commission under the *Church Discipline Act* under much heavier charges but it failed. Nor was Dr Trevor calling for mercy, only justice: 'I ask still—if justice requires the further infliction on this degraded clergyman of the same punishment which the same Judge awarded for an attempt to murder?'⁴¹ He then states that, in his opinion, the Judge's ruling that the irregular publication of the banns was 'no publication in law' was necessary to obtain a conviction at all. 'To my mind, as to that of [Bateman's] counsel, this amounted to an acquittal; but the jury were overruled, and I leave that point to the lawyers.'⁴² In his broader comments he took a swipe at the Commissioners of the Ecclesiastical Court.

The last word came from Henry Bell, D.D., Vicar of Muncaster, one of the Commissioners. He took offence at the correspondent's insinuation: 'I quite hate being told by Canon TREVOR... that because I am an ecclesiastic I am an obtuse jackass, for it virtually comes to this when we are gravely told that the Commission failed from the tendency of the ecclesiastical mind to abide by its own convictions in the teeth of the evidence demanded by law'. Trevor was writing about matters when he knew comparatively nothing. 'It is quite impossible to enter into the facts of the case in your columns, and equally impossible to tell everything even in a private letter. I did write to Canon Trevor privately a few weeks ago when his first letter appeared in *The Guardian*, and quite hoped that the *verbum sap.* [a wise word] would have sufficed. It appears, however, that the *cacoethes scribendi* [his mania for writing] cannot be got over by him'.⁴³

The most poignant reaction, however, came from the small congregation of Ardchattan, in Argyllshire where Bateman was vicar before he went to Haile. Numbering 146, they signed a petition to Queen Victoria 'asking her Majesty to 'graciously consider his



Unknown photographer
The Old Carlisle County Gaol wall, c.2001
<https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/101196941>

The Gaol was built in 1827, closed in 1922 and was demolished in 1931

sad and ruined condition, and to freely pardon him'. 'We come', the petitioners say, 'craving your Majesty's sovereign permission to plead the cause of our beloved some-time pastor, the Reverend James Henry Latrobe Bateman, M.A., late vicar of Haile, Cumberland, and now, we deeply mourn to say, in prison, for a crime we feel he never knew he was committing; he had a strictly legal alternative at easy command, and is a man honest as the sun'.⁴⁴

James Henry La Trobe Bateman was immediately 'defrocked' and soon replaced by Rev. A.H. Cooper, curate of Holy Trinity, Carlisle, vicar of Haile because 'the previous vicar was otherwise detained'.⁴⁵ James Henry's sentence in the Carlisle Gaol would have ended

at the beginning of May 1888. He left London on 19 July 1889 for the colony of Victoria on the RMS *Lusitania* and arrived in Marvellous Melbourne at the height of its boom, on 1 September 1889.⁴⁶ His father had died at home, aged 77 in Carlisle, at the end of July.⁴⁷ In 1898 his mother's death was reported in the *Manchester Times*: 'On March 25, at her residence, The Hollies, Penrith, Margaret, widow of the late Rev. C.H. Bateman, of St. John's, Hawarden and formerly of Longueville Manor, Jersey aged 79'.⁴⁸ Robert Little and Mary Jane Cockbain, whose marriage was registered and never disputed, according to a witness under cross-examination at the Committal Hearing, had already left their small villages for the industrial might of Manchester.⁴⁹

Endnotes

Towards the completion of this article, a manuscript collection came to light in the National Library of Scotland, titled 'Letters and papers of James Henry Latrobe-Bateman, Episcopalian clergyman', 1873-1886, Acc.13359. These should provide important insights into his life, not least the ecclesiastical scandal. A further article is planned which will cover his time in Victoria.

- 1 Obituary, *Carlisle Patriot*, 2 August 1889, p.6. The 'Great Disruption' was a bitter schism from the Established Church of Scotland by Evangelicals to form the Free Church of Scotland.
- 2 John Julian, ed., 'Bateman, Christian Henry', *Dictionary of Hymnology, setting forth the origin and history of Christian hymns of all ages and nations*, revised edition with new supplement, London: J. Murray, 1907.
- 3 https://www.theislandwiki.org/index.php/longueville_Manor (accessed 14 August 2024). It is likely that an inheritance that Margaret received from her father who died in 1852 enabled them to purchase the property.
- 4 Obituary, *Carlisle Patriot*, 2 August 1889, p.6. This must have been a brief appointment because he was living at Child's Hill in 1871.
- 5 Obituary, *Manchester Times*, 3 August 1889, p.7.
- 6 George Reginald Balleine, *The Bailiwick of Jersey*, new edition revised [by Joan Stevens], London: Hodder & Stoughton, (c.1951), 1970, pp.73, 72.
- 7 https://www.theislandwiki.org/index.php/longueville_Manor.
- 8 Joan Stevens, *The History of Longueville*, St Saviour, Jersey: Mr & Mrs N. Lewis, 1982, p.111.
- 9 1871 Census; he had returned from Victoria in 1869.
- 10 *Alumni Oxonienses: the members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886, their parentage, birthplace, and year of birth, with a record of their degrees*. Being the matriculation register of the University, alphabetically arranged, revised and annotated, by John Foster, Vol.1, London: Joseph Foster, 1888, p.73.

- 11 James Nash, 'The New People of East Oxford: the suburbanisation of Cowley, 1851-91', *Oxoniensia*, vol.63, no.140, 1999, p.140.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 John Barnes, *La Trobe: Traveller, Writer, Governor*, Canberra: Halstead Press, in association with State Library Victoria [and] La Trobe University, 2017, pp.343-344.
- 14 James Henry La Trobe Bateman, 'The First Victorian Governor: an after glimpse', *Austral Light*, Vol.3, 1894, pp.375-381. The article is signed J H La Trobe Bateman, Ballan.
- 15 Ibid., p.378. (James Henry was an accomplished pianist, like his great uncle, Christian Ignatius, p.380.)
- 16 The Island of Great Cumbrae is the larger of the two islands in the lower Firth of Clyde. Also known as Cumbrae, it is approximately 1,170 hectares in size. Little Cumbrae is uninhabited.
- 17 David M. Bertie (ed.), *Scottish Episcopal Clergy, 1689-2000*, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000, p.327.
- 18 Scottish Episcopal Church, Diocese of Argyll & The Isles, *Diocesan Description*, 2024, p.6.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 *Largs & Millport Weekly News*, Ardrossan, North Ayrshire, 21 June 2024.
- 21 Bertie.
- 22 1881 Census, from Find My Past database.
- 23 *An Dreuchd Airson Frithealaidh a Chomanachaidh Naoimh, reir gnathachaidh Eaglais na h-Alba*, Dun Eidean: Cuideachd clo-bhualadh Naoimh Ghilliosa, 1879 (accessible at <https://digital.nls.uk/102695467>).
- 24 Letters and papers of James Henry Latrobe-Bateman National Library of Scotland, Acc.13359, folder 4.
- 25 *Cumberland & Westmorland Herald*, 2 February 1887, p.4.
- 26 Carlisle lies in the far north-western corner of England, near the Scottish border, standing between the Lake District National Park and Hadrian's Wall. Charles Joseph La Trobe's brother, John Antes La Trobe (1799-1878), was Hon. Canon at Carlisle Cathedral from 1858 until a few years before his death, *Dictionary of National Biography* (1885-1900, Vol. 32).
- 27 *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, 1886, London: Horace Cox, 1886, p.702. In letters his address is given as Haile Vicarage, Beckermeth via Cornforth (National Library of Scotland, Acc.13359, folder 6).
- 28 *Carlisle Patriot*, 21 May 1886, p.7. Nothing is known at present by the author about this charge or its outcome.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 13 September 1886, p.4.
- 31 'Serious Allegations Against the Vicar of Haile: a clergyman charged with solemnising a marriage without banns or licence, and making a false entry in the register', *West Cumberland Times*, 15 September 1886, p.4.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 'Cumberland and Westmoreland Assizes', *Cumberland and Westmoreland Herald*, 30 October 1886, p.5.
- 35 'The Charge against the Vicar of Haile', *Penrith Observer*, 2 November 1886, p.7.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 *Times*, London, 25 December 1886, p.14.
- 39 Ibid., 4 January 1887, p.3.
- 40 Ibid., 7 January 1887, p.10.
- 41 Ibid., 11 January 1887, p.7.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ibid., 14 January 1887, p.7.
- 44 *Cumberland & Westmorland Herald*, 12 February 1887, p.4.
- 45 *Times*, 25 November 1886, p.6.
- 46 *Leader*, Melbourne, 7 September 1889, p.32.
- 47 *Manchester Times*, 3 August 1889, p.7.
- 48 Ibid., 1 April 1898, p.8.
- 49 *West Cumberland Times*, 15 September 1886, p.4.



Hidden Treasures: the McCrae family library

By Dr Rosemary Richards

Rosemary Richards completed her PhD thesis, *Georgiana McCrae's Manuscript Music Collections: A Life in Music* (2017), at the University of Melbourne. Her publications include *Memories of Musical Lives* (Melbourne: Lyrebird Press, 2022), co-edited with Julja Szuster, and an article about Georgiana McCrae's 'favorite' music in La Trobeana in 2020.

This is a revised version of a paper given at the combined conference of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand and the Australian Library History Forum at the University of Melbourne on 28 November 2019.

An extensive collection called the 'McCrae Family Library', now held by State Library Victoria, provides evidence of a family's book ownership, reading, and community connections over several generations.¹ The McCrae Family Library illustrates ways that the McCrae family's participation in the social and cultural life of early Melbourne was part of their impact spanning over a century, from the colonial period until after World War II. Their tastes and choices were formed by their British backgrounds but show signs of adjustment to their lives in Australia.

The contents and provenance of the McCrae Family Library raise questions about why some material possessions have been used, valued, and preserved, and what they may tell us of the people involved. The McCrae Family

Library comprises 315 volumes of printed books and serials displaying numerous handwritten annotations by Georgiana McCrae (1804-1890), her husband Andrew McCrae (1800-1874), their son George Gordon McCrae (1833-1927), grandson Hugh McCrae (1876-1958) and great-granddaughter Lady Huntly Cowper (1903-1988), among others. The McCrae family's significance in Australian cultural history has encouraged public institutions to acquire their memorabilia, despite other collections competing for space and attention.²

The McCrae Family Library contains a selection of some of the McCrae sources accumulated by one branch of the McCrae family.³ Other McCrae family members donated a copy of a book about Scottish archaeology by Maclagan, published in Scotland in 1875 and signed by Georgiana McCrae in 1876 when she

was living in Melbourne, which is among the many sources that reveal Georgiana's continued interest in her homeland after her migration.⁴ McCrae material is found in over a dozen repositories in Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, with prominent sources shown online by the National Trust of Australia (Victoria) at the McCrae Homestead, the National Gallery of Victoria, and the University of Sydney Library.⁵ An unsigned watercolour painting attributed to Georgiana McCrae was auctioned in 2019 in Melbourne.⁶

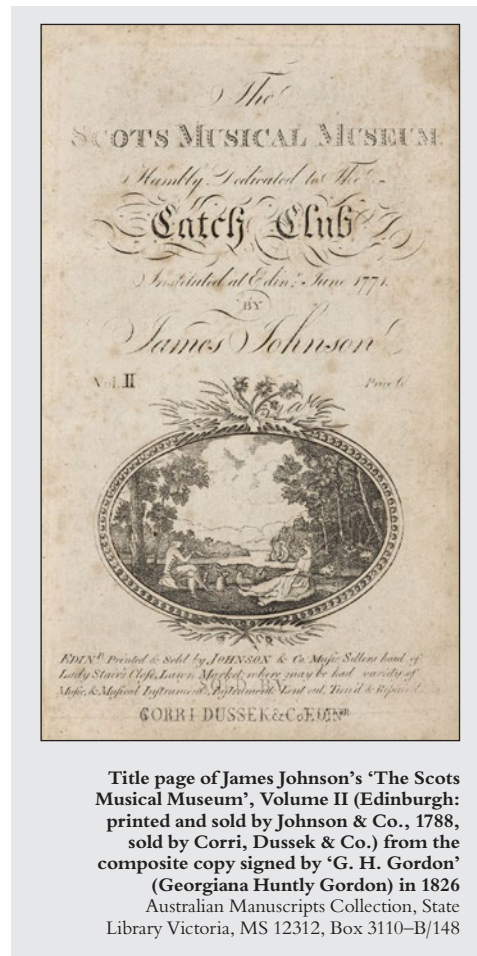
To access individual items in the State Library's McCrae Family Library requires perseverance. The single online catalogue entry references the whole collection. Handwritten cataloguing notes on 262 separate sheets of paper were compiled around the time of the donation of the items in 1986. A wealth of sources in twenty-two archival boxes with dates between 1625 and 1968 add to the wide range of McCrae resources held elsewhere. Many books in the collection were inscribed and/or annotated by more than one person. About ten per cent of the total contents belonged to Georgiana McCrae.

Lady Cowper, who donated the McCrae Family Library to State Library Victoria in 1986, inherited the collection mainly from her father Hugh McCrae and her aunt Helen McCrae. It was donated during the period that Dianne Reilly held the position of La Trobe Librarian. Additional books that belonged to Lady Cowper, including an 1822 edition of White's *The Natural History of Selborne* inscribed 'Isa Mackay 1823' and signed by Georgiana McCrae and later by Hugh McCrae in 1928, were donated by Huntly Cowper's daughter Janet Hay in 2020.⁷

Georgiana McCrae

Insights gained from investigating the McCrae Family Library have aided my research into the biographical and musical interpretation of Georgiana McCrae's manuscript music collections, which amount to nearly 800 pieces of music housed in four separate albums dating over a span of around forty years.⁸ Her life and achievements are open to reinterpretation, through examination of her reading and ownership of books and music, domestic music-making, transcription of music, scholarship, writings in her diaries and commonplace books, desires for respectability and social status, yearning for Britain, resentment of her Australian exile, attitudes, beliefs and family life.⁹

Georgiana was born in London, the natural daughter of Jane Graham from Alnwick in northern England and George Gordon, Marquis of Huntly (1770-1836), who became the fifth



Title page of James Johnson's 'The Scots Musical Museum', Volume II (Edinburgh: printed and sold by Johnson & Co., 1788, sold by Corri, Dussek & Co.) from the composite copy signed by 'G. H. Gordon' (Georgiana Huntly Gordon) in 1826. Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library Victoria, MS 12312, Box 3110-B/148

duke of Gordon in 1827. Georgiana's genteel education in literature, history, geography, languages, art and music is reflected in books that were prized by herself and her family. In the McCrae Family Library, Georgiana's earliest inscription, dated 6 August 1820 with her surname given as Huntly, appears on a copy of Bromley's 1787 edition of *A Collection of Original Royal Letters*.¹⁰ An annotation in Georgiana's handwriting referring to the death of her former tutor M. L'Abbé Huteau in 1821, but without her signature or an inscription date, is found in a 1750 edition of *Oeuvres de M. Boileau Despreaux*.¹¹ Four books published between 1788 and 1826 were annotated by Georgiana between 1826 and 1829: a composite volume of selections from volumes I to IV of James Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*, with the title page for volume II (1788); a rare copy of the first edition of John Niven's *A Layman's Account* (1801); an edition of James Cook's *Three Voyages* (1824); and Thomas Hervey's 'Literary Album' (*Friendship's Offering*, 1826). These books were signed using Georgiana's second unmarried surname of 'Gordon', while she was living in Scotland and acknowledged as a member of the Gordon family by her grandfather and father, the fourth and fifth dukes of Gordon.¹²

Of these books, Georgiana's copy of Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* is especially important in the study of her musical interests. The six volumes of Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*, a compendium of Scottish national songs, were published between 1787 and 1803. The version in the McCrae Family Library has selections with renumbered pages and a handwritten index that differs from the handwritten page numbers on the printed copies of the music. Copies of correspondence between Scottish poet Robert Burns and James Hoy, the librarian at Gordon Castle, in 1787, annotated newspaper cuttings, some dated 1860, and song lyrics are among the numerous handwritten annotations found in the volume.¹³

In 1826, while living at Gordon Castle, Georgiana signed her name as 'G. H. Gordon' ['Georgiana Huntly Gordon'] on the first flyleaf of her composite copy. Words by her grandfather, Alexander the fourth duke of Gordon, for the Scots song 'Cauld Kail in Aberdeen' were published in the second volume of the *Scots Musical Museum*, alongside lyrics for other songs by more recognised exponents of Scottish song lyrics such as Burns.¹⁴ As mentioned in relation to Maclagan's book on Scottish archaeology, after her migration to Melbourne Georgiana McCrae continued to investigate inspirational aspects of her former life in Britain. Some of her annotations in her copy of the *Scots Musical Museum* can be cross-referenced with her comments added to other material at around the same period.¹⁵

Georgiana married Scottish lawyer Andrew McCrae in 1830 and lived with him in Britain before following him to Melbourne, arriving in 1841. Annotations in the first of six volumes of the 'McCrae Family Bible', from the 1827 new edition of Thomas Scott's version, represent the fruits of Andrew and Georgiana McCrae's marriage.¹⁶ An example of a second-hand book that Georgiana acquired in 1838 during her married life in Britain is the oldest book in the McCrae Family Library, a 1625 copy of another religious work, Sternhold's *Psalmes*.¹⁷

In 1845 the McCraes moved to a rural property at Arthurs Seat on the Mornington Peninsula where they lived until 1851, after the Victorian gold rushes had started. An educational text, McCulloch's *A Course of Elementary Reading in Science and Literature* (1837) is annotated in various hands with the inscription 'M^{rs}. A. M. McCrae / Arthur's Seat / N.S. Wales' on the title page.¹⁸

Georgiana was given a copy of *Memoirs of Mr. Matthias D'Amour* (1836) in 1852 by the McCrae family tutor John McLure, who participated in

the McCrae family's interests in music, literature, and history.¹⁹ D'Amour, a Belgian dancer who became a valet for Georgiana's grandparents, the fourth Duke and Duchess of Gordon, refers in his memoirs to the ducal Gordons' lives at Gordon Castle and in London.²⁰

In 1862 Georgiana received a personally inscribed copy of her friend Sally Bunbury's published work containing biographical information and correspondence relating to Sally's father and family.²¹ Although Georgiana hoped to emulate Sally Bunbury's return to Britain, she had little money and no realistic plan for doing so. Her stepmother Duchess Elizabeth died in 1864 but Georgiana did not receive the inheritance she expected, which contributed to her depression and attempted marriage separation. A desire for memorialisation is evident in this period in Georgiana's copies of song lyrics, transcriptions of old journals, notes about family news items and extracts relating to views on marriage and old age by writers such as Milton and Dinah Muloch (Craik).²² Andrew McCrae retired and travelled to Britain in 1867 without Georgiana but returned to Melbourne just before his death in 1874. Georgiana continued to live with some of her seven surviving adult children, particularly with her daughter Maggie Maine and her son George Gordon McCrae, who was an author and artist as well as a public servant.

Other McCrae family members

Andrew McCrae's legal and literary interests are demonstrated in the McCrae Family Library in the fourth volume of William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1791), which previously belonged to Andrew's father William; two volumes of Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1803); and *The Poetical Works of George Crabbe* (1829).²³

Interactions between the McCrae and La Trobe families in Melbourne are represented in the McCrae Family Library by a copy of *Letters to My Children* (1851), originally written in 1815 by Christian Ignatius La Trobe (1758-1836), a prominent member of the Moravian Church and father of Charles Joseph La Trobe and his siblings. The fourteen-year-old 'Joseph' was described in an affectionate manner: 'You are of a lively, cheerful disposition, and perhaps would best like some merry story, by which you might be amused as well as instructed'.²⁴ The copy signed by George Gordon McCrae, Andrew and Georgiana McCrae's eldest son, shows annotations in George's handwriting, as well as many made by George's son Hugh (see page 34), who appears to have studied this book as part of research for his 1934 edition of *Georgiana's Journal*.²⁵



Illustrations by George Gordon McCrae while in Mauritius in 1887, added to his copy of Saint-Pierre's 'Paul et Virginie' 1788 (Paris: Libraire Hachette, 1884) that he gave to his mother Georgiana McCrae Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library Victoria, MS 12312, Box 3104/57

George Gordon McCrae's gifts to his mother Georgiana included a copy of his original poetic response to an Aboriginal tradition titled *The Story of Balladeadro* (1867), dedicated to English poet and Melbourne resident R. H. Horne (1802-1884).²⁶ George also gave his mother Georgiana a copy of Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* that he annotated in words and pictures while on a trip to Mauritius in 1887.²⁷ Written just before the French Revolution and idealising the freedom of Mauritian life, *Paul et Virginie* had significance for Georgiana, as her childhood tutor Monsieur L'Abbé Huteau had inspired her with tales of his former life in Mauritius. In the early 1820s, Georgiana transcribed songs from Mazzinghi's English-language opera *Paul and Virginia* (1800) which was still being performed in the Australian colonies after Georgiana's arrival. Hugh McCrae was inspired to memorialise his grandmother after her death by buying his own copy of Saint-Pierre's novel.²⁸

References to and annotations by Hugh McCrae are numerous in the McCrae Family Library, signalling his widespread networks and ownership of much of the contents. Christopher Brennan gave Huntly Cowper a copy of his *Poems* (1913), with inscriptions marking her as Hugh's daughter on her wedding day in 1925.²⁹ In 1934, the year which also saw the publication of Hugh McCrae's version of his grandmother's

journals, Australian poet and journalist Bartlett Adamson (1884-1951) gave Hugh a copy of Adamson's book *Twelve Sonnets* published in 1918.³⁰ Henrietta Drake-Brockman's inscription in her gift of a copy of her 1937 work *Younger Sons* referred to Georgiana.³¹ Philip Lindsay (1906-1958), who sent Hugh McCrae copies of two of his works published in Britain in 1953, was a son of Norman Lindsay (1879-1969), a friend and correspondent of Hugh McCrae for many years, along with other members of the Lindsay family and fellow writers and artists.³² Hugh McCrae's dealings with Australian scholar, poet, and critic Guy Howarth (1906-1974) are shown in the McCrae Family Library by inscriptions in twenty books. Other books with inscriptions include those by Frank Dalby Davidson, Nettie Palmer, and Walter De La Mare.

The second oldest book in the collection, Walton's *The Compleat Angler* (1653), was given to Hugh McCrae in 1943 by his daughter Huntly Cowper and shows a purchase price of two shillings and six pence.³³ The latest dated items in the McCrae Family Library are found in twenty-seven volumes of *Southerly Magazine* published from 1940 to 1965, which feature more of Hugh McCrae's rewritten versions of his grandmother's autobiographical writings published as 'Georgiana in England 1804-1829' in 1946 and 1947.³⁴ An issue of *Southerly*

entitled 'A Birthday Garland for Hugh McCrae' in 1956 featured contributions by writers including Norman Lindsay and Kenneth Slessor (1901-1971).³⁵

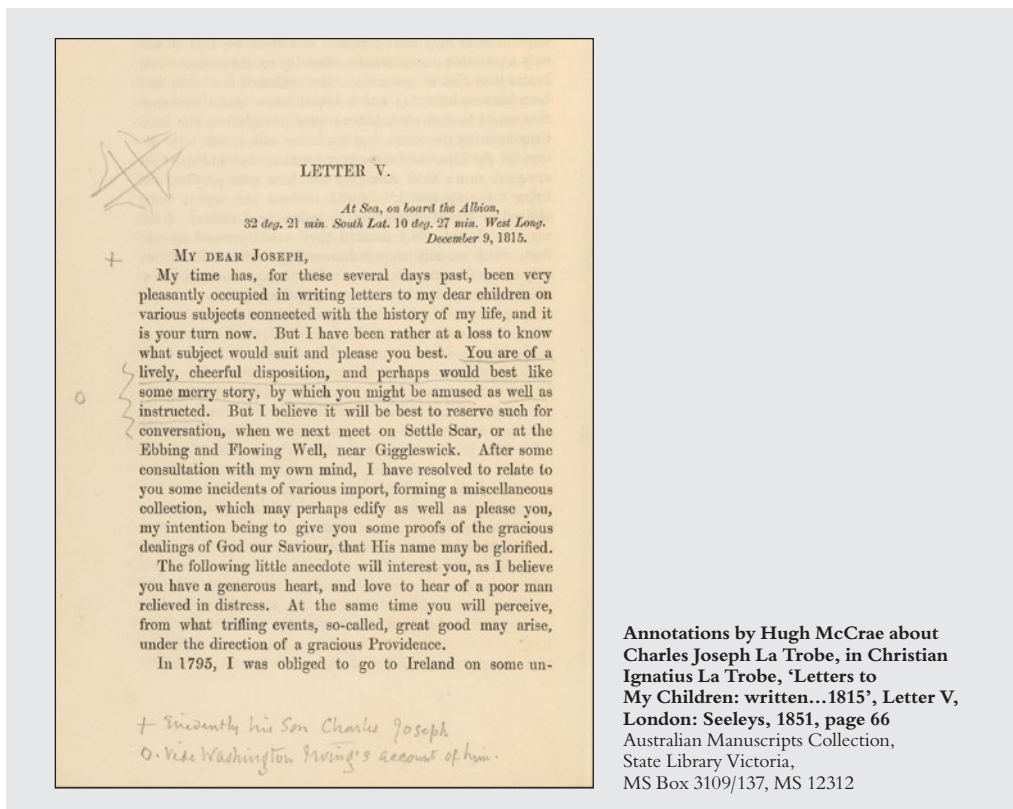
Significance for research

This brief survey of selections from the McCrae Family Library indicates its importance for research into the lives and achievements of Georgiana McCrae, her family, and their contemporaries. With items dated from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries published in Britain, Europe and Australia, the collection

highlights aspects of cultural transmission and preservation of resources belonging to members of Australian colonial society before and after migration. It demonstrates the influence of family and community in the formation of educational and intellectual interests and their subsequent memorialisation. In future, it is to be hoped that collections such as State Library Victoria's McCrae Family Library may receive more attention, to encourage continued exploration of diverse contributions from the past to the complexities of cultural life.

Endnotes

- 1 McCrae Family Library, catalogued with the title 'Annotated books and serials selected from the McCrae family library', 1625-1968, MS 12312, BOX 3098(a)-3119, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library Victoria.
- 2 See, for example, Patrick Buckridge, 'Generations of Books: a Tasmanian family library, 1816-1994', *Library Quarterly*, vol.76, 2006, pp.388-402; Merete Colding Smith, "'C'est Mon Livre ce n'est pas le tien mon ami": Inscriptions in an English children's book collection', in *Marginal Notes: social reading and the literal margins*, ed. Patrick Spedding and Paul Tankard, Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021, pp.115-147.
- 3 Other McCrae material from this branch of the McCrae family held in State Library Victoria includes MSS 12018 and 12831; see Rosemary Richards, 'Georgiana McCrae's Manuscript Music Collections: a life in music', Thesis (PhD), University of Melbourne, 2017, p.275.
- 4 Christian Maclagan, *The Hill Forts, Stone Circles and Other Structural Remains of Ancient Scotland*, Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1875, signed 'Georgiana McCrae 1876', RARELTF 571.95 M22H, State Library Victoria; thanks to Amanda Milledge for information, 30 August 2019.
- 5 McCrae Homestead, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.au/places/mccrae-homestead> (accessed 29 April 2024); 'Georgiana McCrae', National Gallery of Victoria, <https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/artist/4618> (accessed 29 April 2024); McCrae Papers, Harry F. Chaplin Collection, Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Sydney Library, (hereafter MPC-USyd), <https://www.library.sydney.edu.au/visit/rare-books-and-special-collections> (accessed 29 April 2024).
- 6 Georgiana McCrae, *Landscape, after John Varley*, watercolour on paper, unsigned, Leonard Joel, 'Women Artists', Lot 66, 9 October 2019, <https://auctions.leonardjoel.com.au/asp/fullCatalogue.asp?salelot=LJ8316%20+++66&refno=40599145&saletype=> (accessed 29 April 2024).
- 7 Personal correspondence with Janet Hay and Dr Kevin Molloy (State Library Victoria), 30 January 2020, 12 August 2024, SLV RA.202019.
- 8 Rosemary Richards, 'Georgiana McCrae and Her "Favorite" Music', *La Trobeana*, vol.19, no.2, July 2020, pp.13-20; Rosemary Richards, "'To Display Her Chief Accomplishment": domestic manuscript music collections in colonial Australia', in *Performing History: approaches to history across musicology*, ed. Nancy November (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2020), pp.320-336; Rosemary Richards, "'Heart, My Heart, Why So Sad?": two migrants to Melbourne and their manuscript music collections', in *Memories of Musical Lives: music and dance in personal music collections from Australia and New Zealand*, ed. Rosemary Richards and Julja Szuster, Melbourne: Lyrebird Press, 2022, pp.28-52; see rosemaryrichards.com for more information.
- 9 See Brenda Niall, *Georgiana: a biography of Georgiana McCrae, painter, diarist, pioneer*, with a catalogue of the plates by Caroline Clemente, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press at the Miegunyah Press, 1994; 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; Museums of History NSW, 'Songs of Home', <https://mhns.wa.gov.au/whats-on/exhibitions/songs-home/> (accessed 29 April 2024); State Library Victoria, 'Georgiana McCrae's Paintbox and Easel', <https://www.slv.vic.gov.au/view-discuss/georgiana-mccraes-paintbox-easel> (accessed 29 April 2024).
- 10 George Bromley, ed., *A Collection of Original Royal Letters*, London: John Stockdale, 1787; inscription: 'Georgiana Huntly. Her Book. August 6th 1820'; on back of loose photo: 'G G McCrae, Muir St. Hawthorn'; MS Box 3116/232, MS 12312.
- 11 [Nicolas] Boileau Despreaux, *Oeuvres de M. Boileau Despreaux*, Vol.3, Paris: David, Durand, [1750]; inscription in Georgiana McCrae's handwriting: 'En Souvenir de M. L'Abbé Guis Huteau Recteur de [Montantoin?] Diocese de Rennes Mort 18^{me} Juillet 1821'; MS Box 3116/239, MS 12312.
- 12 i) James Johnson, *Scots Musical Museum* [originally 6 volumes, 1787-1803], compilation volume with the title page of vol. II, Edinburgh: Printed & sold by Johnson & Co., 1788; sold by Corri, Dussek & Co., Edinburgh, inscription: 'G. H. Gordon 1826'; MS Box 3110-B/148, MS 12312; ii) John Niven, *A Layman's Account of his Faith & Practice, as a Member of the Episcopal Church in Scotland*, Edinburgh: Printed by John Moir, 1801, inscription: 'G. H. G. 1829' [Georgiana Huntly Gordon]; MS Box 3109/134, MS 12312; iii) James Cook, *The Three Voyages of Captain Cook Round the World*, new edition, London: Limbird, 1824, inscription: 'Georgiana Gordon 1827'; MS Box 3103/43, MS 12312; iv) Thomas K. Hervey, ed., *Friendship's Offering: a literary album*, London: Lupton Relfe, 1826. No title page, undated inscription 'Georgiana Gordon'; MS Box 3116/238, MS 12312.
- 13 Richards, 'Georgiana McCrae and Her "Favorite" Music', p.18; the McCrae Family Library copy of the *Scots Musical Museum* has heavily annotated but unnumbered front and back flyleaves; pages of printed music are also annotated with handwritten page numbers 1-110, 200-204, 209-265; printed selections appear in the following order: vol. I: pp.1-60; vol. II: pp.102-197; vol. III: pp.209-268, 289-296, 301-304; vol. IV: pp.311-316, 351-362, 379-392, 395-402; and vol. II: pp.198-20; vol. IV: pp.411-413.



- 14 See *Scots Musical Museum* in 'Music at the NLS: Books from the Music Collection at the National Library of Scotland' (Internet Archive), <https://archive.org/details/nlsmusic?query=Scots+Musical+Museum> (accessed 3 May 2024); Murray Pittock, ed., *The Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns*, Vols 2 and 3: *The Scots Musical Museum*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- 15 'McCrae Homestead Music Book', c.1822-1824, McCrae Homestead Collection, National Trust of Australia (Victoria), MC405.
- 16 Thomas Scott, *The Holy Bible: containing the Old and the New Testaments*, new edition, London: L.B. Seeley, et al., 1827, 6 vols, as 'McCrae Family Bible', annotations in vol. I; MS Box 3099/14, MS 12312.
- 17 Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins and others, *The Whole Book of Psalmes: collected into English meeter*, London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1625; first published 1549; [bound with] ii) *The Book of Common Prayer*; iii) *The Genealogies Recorded in the Sacred Scripture*. Inscribed 'Willi^m Smith Book', 'Georgiana McCrae 1838', MS Box 3110-B/144, MS 12312.
- 18 John Murray McCulloch, *A Course of Elementary Reading in Science and Literature*, sixth edition, Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1837, inscriptions and annotations in various hands include 'Mrs. A. M. McCrae / Arthur's Seat / N.S. Wales', and 'Lucia McC', 'Georgiana Lucia G. McCrae', 'G. G. McCrae'; MS Box 3102/33, MS 12312.
- 19 Paul Rodgers and Matthias D'Amour, *Memoirs of Mr. Matthias D'Amour*, London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green & Longman; and Sheffield: Whitaker, 1836. Inscription: 'Georgiana McCrae from Mr. McLure 1852—'. Contains picture of D'Amour; pressed plant cutting. MS BOX 3103/49, MS 12312.
- 20 See Will for John Maclure [McLure], 'Gentleman, Pleasant Creek, 28 June 1859', File no.2/955, PROV VPRS 7591/P1, unit 9; Mornington Peninsula Branch, National Trust of Australia (Victoria), 'The Deep Lead Cemetery Project', <https://www.nationaltrust.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/THE-DEEP-LEAD-CEMETERY-PROJECT-2.pdf> (accessed 28 April 2024).
- 21 Sarah Susanna Bunbury, *Life and Letters of Robert Clement Sconce, formerly Secretary to Admiral Sir John Duckworth*; compiled for his grandchildren by his daughter, Sarah Susanna Bunbury, vol.1, London: Cox & Wyman, 1861, inscribed 'To dear Mrs. McCrae with much love from the Editor. June 12th 1862'; contains notes about The Briars and Balcombe signed G. G. McC. [George Gordon McCrae]; MS Box 3114/212, MS 12312; see Georgiana McCrae to Mrs R.H. Bunbury, February 1860, Bunbury Family Correspondence, 1824-1872, Series 14: Transcripts, MS 13530, State Library Victoria.
- 22 Georgiana McCrae, MSS journals, MS Box 2516/8, MS 12018, SLV; Georgiana McCrae, 'Diary 1864', with notes, cuttings (c.1825-1884), MS Box F3591/5, MS 12831, SLV; Georgiana McCrae, MSS journals, RB 1164.2, MPC-USyd; Georgiana McCrae, *Miscellaneous Manuscripts*, in parts of 1864 diary, with dated extracts c.1828-1872, RB 1164.4, MPC-USyd; Georgiana McCrae, 'Manuscript commonplace Book', c.1854, pp.81-87, RB 1164.6, MPC-USyd.
- 23 i) William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 11th ed., Book 4, London: T. Cadell, 1791, inscriptions: A. M. McCrae, Wm Gn McCrae, with notes in both Andrew and Hugh McCrae's handwriting, MS Box 3101/22, MS 12312; ii) [Sir Walter Scott], *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 2nd ed., vols.1 & 3, Edinburgh: Longman & Rees, 1803, inscriptions: to Andrew McCrae from his cousins, 16 September 1837, then from Andrew to son George, 27 February 1867, MS Box 3116/231, MS 12312; iii) George Crabbe, *The Poetical Works of George Crabbe*, Paris: A & W Galignani, 1829, inscription: Georgiana McCrae / Septr. 1833; bookplate: Fortitudine, / coat of arms / Andrew M. McCrae. / C. S., sidelining [Hugh McCrae?], newspaper article: 'George Crabbe the Poet', by 'I.M.' [*The Age*, 25 February 1950, p.8, referring to use of Crabbe's poetry in Benjamin Britten's opera *Peter Grimes* (1945)]; notes re cost of lambswool, MS Box 3102/31, MS 12312.

- 24 Christian Ignatius La Trobe, *Letters to My Children: written at sea during a voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, in 1815, containing a memorial of some occurrences in my past life*; edited with an introduction by the Rev. J.A. La Trobe, M.A., Incumbent of St. Thomas' Church, Kendal, London: Seeleys, 1851, with notes by Peter La Trobe, p.[66].
- 25 Ibid., inscriptions include 'George Gordon McCrae', MS Box 3109/137, MS 12312. *Georgiana's Journal: Melbourne a hundred years ago*, edited by Hugh McCrae, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1934, p.141; see also Marguerite Hancock, 'A Note on the Text', in *Georgiana's Journal: Melbourne 1841-1865*, [new edition, 5th], Canberra: Halstead Press, 2013, pp.5-17.
- 26 George Gordon McCrae, *The Story of Balladeadro*, Melbourne: H.T. Dwight, 1867. Inscriptions: 'Georgiana McCrae', 'G G McCrae His Book', pasted and loose illustrations including ink drawing of sailing ship, Aboriginal weapons, MS Box 3110-B/147, MS 12312.
- 27 Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *Paul et Virginie* (1788), Paris: Libraire Hachette, 1884; annotations by George and Hugh McCrae include 'G.H.G. McCrae. from her very / affte.. Son Geo. Gordon McCrae / Port Lou[is] / Mauritius / 21. July 1887', MS Box 3104/57, MS 12312.
- 28 Georgiana McCrae, 'Recollections of an Octogenarian', c.1885, MS MSM 548, MS Box 4264/2, MS 14833, SLV; Georgiana McCrae, 'McCrae Homestead Music Book', pp.104-109; 'Advertising', *Port Phillip Patriot and Morning Advertiser*, 27 February 1846, p.3; Hugh McCrae, *My Father, and My Father's Friends*, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1935, pp.84-86.
- 29 C.J. Brennan, *Poems*, Sydney: G.B. Phillip & Son, 1913; inscriptions 'Huntly Cowper / 17/6/25 / My wedding day'; 'To Huntly, Hugh's, and so no more McCrae / Chris: Brennan / 16/6/25', MS Box 3101/15, MS 12312.
- 30 Bartlett Adamson, *Twelve Sonnets*, Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1918; inscription 'To Hugh McCrae — / from / Bartlett Adamson / greetings & regards / Sydney / 29.11.34', MS Box 3098A/5, MS 12312.
- 31 Henrietta Drake-Brockman, *Younger Sons*, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1937; inscription 'For Hugh / one of Georgiana's / so he may meet one of Lucretia's / with love from Henrietta', MS Box 3101/26, MS 12312.
- 32 Hugh McCrae, *The Letters of Hugh McCrae*, selected by Robert D. Fitzgerald, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1970, pp.241-258; Philip Lindsay, *The Secret of Henry the Eighth*, London: Meridien, 1953, inscribed: 'For Hugh McCrae / who knows more secrets of life than / Henry ever dreamed of / with love / Philip Lindsay', MS Box 3109/127, MS 12312; Philip Lindsay, *The Haunted Man: a portrait of Edgar Allan Poe*, London: Hutchinson, 1953, inscription: 'For Hugh McCrae / A very small return for his / voyage of his Ship of Heaven / with love from / Philip Lindsay', MS Box 3110-A/145, MS 12312.
- 33 Izaak Walton, *The Compleat Angler*, London: Marriot, 1653, inscribed 'Hugh McCrae August 19th 1943', 'from my darling Honey' [Huntly Cowper], MS Box 3114/210, MS 12312.
- 34 *Southerly Magazine* (Sydney: The Australian English Association, 1940-1965), 27 vols. MS Box 3119/262, MS 12312.
- 35 See Hugh McCrae, letter to Norman Lindsay, Vacluse, 7 January 1957, in *Letters of Hugh McCrae*, p.238.

Forthcoming events

Invitations will be emailed to members in advance of each event.
Bookings are essential, except for the Sunday service

2024

DECEMBER

Friday 6

Christmas Drinks

Gary and Genevieve Morgan, generous supporters of the La Trobe Society, and East Melbourne residents for more than 50 years, have kindly invited La Trobe Society members and friends to their home to celebrate the Christmas season. Their personal collection focuses on Australian historical art and decorative arts, and we will be privileged to see some of these choice works on display.

Time: 6.00 – 8.00 pm

Venue: Powlett Street, East Melbourne

Refreshments

Admission: \$75 per person (includes a copy of the Catalogue of the Morgan Collection)

Sunday 8

Anniversary of the Death of C J La Trobe – Sunday Service

The Vicar Rev. Fr. Michael Bowie invites La Trobe Society members and friends to a special service commemorating the death of Charles Joseph La Trobe which occurred on 5 December 1875.

Time: 10.30am

Venue: St Peter's Eastern Hill, 15 Gisborne Street, Melbourne

Refreshments

All welcome. No charge

2025

MARCH

Sunday 23

La Trobe's Birthday Celebration

Time: 4.30 – 6.00pm

Venue: La Trobe's Cottage Garden, Dallas Brooks Drive, Kings Domain, Melbourne

Speaker: Tim Gatehouse, researcher into Victoria's colonial history

Topic: From India to Jolimont: new insights on some of the Cottage furniture

Admission: \$15 per person

Sparkling wine and cake will be served

APRIL

Date tba

Joint La Trobe Society/RHSV

AGL Shaw Lecture

Time: 5.30 – 7.30 pm

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

Speaker and topic: tba

Refreshments

Bookings

For catering purposes, bookings are essential

Email: info09@latrobesociety.org.au

Or phone 0427 925 616

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



John William Lewin, artist, 1770-1819
Ptilinopus magnificus - Wompoo pigeon, c.1812
Watercolour
Gary and Genevieve Morgan collection (2021)



John Kendrick Blogg, sculptor, 1851-1936
Panel depicting a eucalyptus branch, 1924
Wood, carved in high relief, 48 x 121 cm
Gary and Genevieve Morgan collection (2021)

Back Issues

Back issues of La Trobeana are available on the Society's website, except for the last issue.

The back issues may be accessed at www.latrobesociety.org.au/LaTrobeana

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

