AUSTRALIAN OPERA, 1842 - 1970;

A History of Australian Opera with
Descriptive Catalogues

by

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B.A.Hons.

Doctoral Dissertation
University of Adelaide,
Department of Music
31 August 1979
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Presentation of the Catalogues

Procedure

Abbreviations

PART ONE

Catalogues of Australian Opera

Catalogue No.1: Opera Written in Australia 1842-1970

Catalogue No.2: Opera Written Overseas by Australian Composers, 1905-1970

Catalogue No.3: Opera for Children's Theatre, 1924-1970

PART TWO

Supporting Catalogues

Catalogue No. 4: Semi-Opera and Colonial Drama with Music, written in Australia, 1828-1854

Catalogue No. 5: Pantomime, Burlesque, Vaudeville, Extravaganza and Musical Farce, written in Australia, 1850-1903

APPENDIX: Composers of Opera overseas, who were sometime resident in Australia, and whose work or activities contributed to the development of Australian music and opera

CHECKLIST OF COMPOSERS:
SUMMARY

Australian Opera, 1842-1970 is a repertory study with a dual aim: first, to document the extent of the achievement of Australian composers for the theatre; second, to examine and interpret the measure of that achievement. The first Volume is a narrative history and interpretation of the overall artistic characteristics of the sources. It relates these to their larger inherited Western musical culture, then focusses on the connections between music and drama in a distinctive 'Australian' ideology.

The second Volume documents and describes the sources on which the history is based. The work lists chronologically a number of operas, operettas, the various forms of comic musical theatre, such as pantomime, burlesque, and extravaganza, forms of lyric and classical drama, dramatic cantata, and the incidental music written for plays and melodramas since early colonial days. Details are given of performances, history, musical and dramatic features, with contemporary references, to comprise a bibliography of sources, many of which have not been previously examined.

The narrative history shows, first, the patterns in the imported repertory from the earliest records of Australian colonial theatres to the coming of commercial and touring opera companies in the 19th century which gradually consolidated a standard repertory modelled on the Anglo-European theatre. Supporting Documentation gives data on theatres, performers, and the works thus accumulated.

Similar patterns of development are found in North American opera and in other art forms in Australia. Throughout the work, some reference is made to the interplay of tradition and novelty, popular forms, of entertainment, 'folk', and 'fine' art, imported and indigenous materials, and also to aspects of public taste and attitudes, the development of musical and theatrical institutions, and relevant social, political, and economic conditions.
Second, it surveys the field of opera and musical theatre written in Australia, tracing within it elements of 18th century comic opera, parody and burlesque, serious Italian opera, ballad opera, pantomime and other forms of light opera, through the rise of romantic opera and imitations of French opérette and the Savoy operas. Towards the end of the 19th century, it finds new directions in choralism, lyric dramas, and large-scale dramatic works in a post-Wagnerian style, and discovers Australian examples in the early 20th century of Italian realist and Celtic mythological national schools.

Third, it examines attempts to find an Australian identity through schemes for a national opera, and asks why these failed, especially in terms of the relationship of the Press to artists and audiences in the 1920s. By recalling the image of Australia presented on the late-18th century overseas stage, it recapitulates the context, chronology, and chief components of the process of acculturation by which overseas traditions became modified, distorted, or realized in Australian opera. It introduces a conceptual and theoretical framework, for a discussion of acculturation, its activating forces, models and modes, and concludes with some suggestions about the criteria for this process of change which has helped shape an Australian musical theatre ideology. Although the work concentrates on 19th and early 20th century foundations, it proposes that some recent operas written in Australia represent a distinctive Australian contribution to 20th century opera.
DECLARATION

The thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other postgraduate degree in any University, and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person except when due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signed:
VOLUME I:

HISTORY OF AUSTRALIAN OPERA.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In 1970, I first saw a television performance of an Australian opera, Larry Sitsky's *Fall of the House of Usher* (1965); shortly after, I heard a radio broadcast of the Overture to Isaac Nathan's opera, *Don John of Austria* (1846) in a program of colonial music. These two works, which practically span the contents of this Thesis, set off my inquiries into the history of opera written in Australia and fired my curiosity about our cultural development - the artists who shaped it, the forms it took, and the images it expressed through drama and music.

I am very grateful to all the many people who have contributed to this study. The list of those I interviewed and who corresponded with me over several years, attached to the end of the Bibliography, must serve as my acknowledgement. It includes scholars, composers, musicians, librarians and music archivists, music publishers, teachers, patrons and office-bearers in musical societies, family descendants of composers, opera producers, conductors, and performers. Many lent me their private letters and manuscripts; all shared with me their knowledge or personal experience of Australian opera which has helped me enormously.

I wish to thank especially my academic advisor, Professor Andrew D. McCredie in Adelaide. He has always been enthusiastic and supportive and has provided endless stimulation in my research. His own distinguished work in Australian musical scholarship has been my guide and model.

I also thank Professor Barry S. Brook of New York who read much of the manuscript and offered conceptual criticism and timely encouragement. Professor Richard Crawford of Michigan very kindly assisted me with several aspects of presentation.

I have been sustained by the advice, generosity, and understanding shown me by my friends and colleagues, especially those engaged in Australian studies or 19th century music research. These include
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During the course of my research, hunting for over 400 works written in Australia, I was helped by dozens of expert librarians and archivists. I take this opportunity to thank the staff members of: the Australian Broadcasting Commission and the Federal Music Library and Archives, as well as the various State Music branches; Library of the Australian Consolidated Press; the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust; the Music Library of the Australian National Library, Canberra; of The Australian Opera; the Australian Performing Rights Association; the Canberra School of Music; and of J.C. Williamson Theatres, Sydney; the staff of the Library of New South Wales, especially in the Mitchell and Dixson libraries and the Archives Authority; of the Macquarie University Library; City of Sydney Public Library; Fisher Library of the University of Sydney and its Archives; Music Library at the same University and at the University of New South Wales; librarians at the Dixon Library, Armidale in the University of New England; at Oxley Library in the Queensland State Library and of Fryer Library at the Queensland University. In South Australia, I thank the staff members in the State Library, its Archives, and its South Australiana section; at the Barr Smith Library and Elder Music Library at the University of Adelaide; in Tasmania, at the State Library and the archivists of the Crowther Library; of the La Trobe University and Monash University.
libraries; of the State Library of Victoria, especially its Fine Arts
division and the La Trobe archives; and, in Melbourne University, the
Archives and the Baillieu Library and that of the Department of Music.
I would especially thank the staff of the Gruanger Museum in the grounds
of that University, and also at the Library of the New South Wales State
Conservatorium of Music in Sydney.

Others who have assisted me with sources include the Australian
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and the Music Division of the Lincoln Center Library of the Performing
Arts; and several State Opera companies, especially those in South
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materials and scores, and I thank Boosey & Hawkes, J. Albert & Son, Allan's
Music (Aust), Chappell and Company, J. Weinberger Ltd., and the Australian
Performing Rights Association, for their permission to quote from their
published scores and copyright materials.

In the end, my work would have been less enjoyable and no doubt
less comprehensive were it not for the wonderful assistance and cooperation
of Australian composers of opera in the 1970s. They willingly lent me
irreplaceable materials from their personal collections, including original
manuscripts, unpublished documents, and even works still in progress.
Many shared with me in their homes their private observations, memories,
hospitality, and insight. Several have become my dear friends. I hope
I might one day write their present history to extend the foundation from
the past constructed here. Stimulated by my contact with them, I hope
our concern for a lively future for opera in Australia will infect others
who are in a position to foster that, whether in production, performance,
promotion, or in a theatre audience, without whose support an Australian
opera cannot thrive.

Elizabeth Wood
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<td>Alto</td>
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<td>a</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Australian Broadcasting Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABC:N</td>
<td>Federal Music Library, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Sydney</td>
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<td>ABC:NA</td>
<td>Musica Australis Archives, ABC Federal Music Library, Sydney</td>
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<td>ACA</td>
<td>Australian Council for the Arts. Sydney</td>
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<td>Library of Australian Consolidated Press, Melbourne</td>
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<td>adapted, adaptation</td>
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<td>Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust</td>
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<td>National Library of Australia, Canberra</td>
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<td>AO</td>
<td>The Australian Opera</td>
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<td>Appendix</td>
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<td>APRA</td>
<td>Australasian Performing Rights Association</td>
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arr  arranged, arrangement
asc  ascribed (to)
ASCM:L Library of the Canberra School of Music
ASME Australian Society for Music Education

B  Bass
Bar  Baritone
BCM  British Catalogue of Music
bn  bassoon
br  brass
Brisb  Brisbane

c  composer
CAAC Commonwealth Assistance to Australian Composers
Canb  Canberra
c ang  cor anglais
cb  double bass
c bn  contra bassoon
cel  celeste
Ch  Chorus
Char  Character(s) or Dramatis Personae
clar  clarinet
   London, 1955
Col Sec Office (or Papers) of the Colonial Secretary, Sydney
comm  commissioned
comp  composed
compl completed
con conductor
cores correspondence
cp concert performance
cym cymbal

DAB *Dictionary of Australasian Biography. 1855-1892*
ed. P. Mennell. London, 1892

ded dedicated, dedication
dr drum (including: b.dr. bass drum; s.dr. side drum;
  k.dr. kettle drum, etc.)
Dur Duration

ed editor, edition(s)
Edin Edinburgh

EMMI/II *Australian Literature 1795-1938; A Descriptive and Bibliographical Survey*, 2 vols. E. Morris Miller, Melbourne, 1940; repr. Sydney, 1973

el electric
ens ensemble
euph euphonium
excp excerpt(s)

f. full
facs facsimile
fl flute
fn footnote
Fol
Folio(s)
frag
fragment
glock
glockenspiel
Grove
Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. E. Blom,
gui
guitar
HAOP
Handbook of American Operatic Premieres, 1731-1962,
ed. J. Mattfeld, New York, 1963
harm
harmonica
harps
harpischord
HDM
hn
horn
Hob(T)
Hobart(Town)
hp
harp
hr
hour
ICMM
International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians, eds.
O. Thompson, N. Slominsky et al. 9th ed. London 1964
ISCM
International Society for Contemporary Music
illust
illustrated
Inst
Instrumentation
JCW:L
Library of J.C. Williamson Theatres Ltd. Sydney
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<td>lib</td>
<td>libretto</td>
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<td>lic</td>
<td>licence(d)</td>
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<td>Lond</td>
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<td>Mezzo S</td>
<td>Mezzo Soprano</td>
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<td>minute(s)</td>
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<td>MS &amp; MSS</td>
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0 original (as in 0/MS)

ob oboe


op opus


p & pp page(s)

pc percussion

Perf Performed or performance

pf Piano

picc piccolo

p.poss private possession

pr printed

pt(s) part(s)

pub published

Qld Queensland

QLS:O Oxley Library, Queensland State Library, Brisbane

QU Fryer Library, University of Queensland

rec recorder

recit recitative
Refs  References
rep   repeated
rev   revised, revived

S     Soprano
s     series
SA    South Australia
SAA   South Australiana Collection, State Library, SA
SATB  Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass
sax   saxophone
sc    score
scen  scenario
SSL   State Library of South Australia
SSL:A  Archives of the South Australian State Library
str   string(s)
SU    Barr Smith Library, University of Adelaide
sub   submitted
SUCon  Elder Music Library, Department of Music, University of Adelaide
Suppl Supplementary, Supplement
Syd   Sydney

T     Tenor
tamb  tambourine
Tas   Tasmania
tb    tuba

\textit{timp}  \textit{timpani}
t.p.   title page
Tr    Treble
tran  translated, translation
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<tr>
<td>trbn</td>
<td>trombone</td>
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<td>tri</td>
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<td>typescript</td>
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<td>TSL</td>
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<td>Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne</td>
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<td>VU:A</td>
<td>Archives of Melbourne University</td>
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<td>VUCon</td>
<td>Conservatorium of Music Library, Melbourne University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VU:GM</td>
<td>Grainger Museum, University of Melbourne</td>
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</table>
WA   Western Australia
ww   woodwind
xyl  xylophone
INTRODUCTION

Australian Opera, 1842-1970, is a repertory study with a dual aim: first, to document the extent of the achievement of Australian composers for the theatre; second, to examine and interpret the measure of that achievement. The first Volume is a narrative history and interpretation of the overall artistic characteristics of the sources. It relates these to their larger inherited Western musical culture, then focusses on the connections between music and drama in a distinctive 'Australian' ideology. The second Volume documents the sources on which the history is based.

(1) Definitions

There would seem to be few problems in defining the province of 'opera' or of 'Australian' authorship. Opera as a class-term is here taken to mean:

(i) the through-composed musical texture of a drama sung with instrumental accompaniment by one or more singers in costume; (ii) a work in which recitative or spoken dialogue may separate set musical numbers; (iii) a more generous extension into the field Eric Walter White calls 'semi-opera' -- works in which dramatic principles are paramount and inserted musical numbers incidental, even spurious. Justification for this is hardly necessary: diversity, vagueness, even carelessness in terminology is common on 19th century manuscript title-pages as well as in books about opera. Examining the works themselves, it is often difficult to detect stylistic differences

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1 Eric Walter White, The Rise of English Opera, London 1951. His Appendix (A) lists 600 English operas and semi-operas, the latter with spoken dialogue and including light, ballad, comic, romantic operas. I extend the term to include pantomime, farce, vaudeville, musical comedy and the extravaganza.
between 'operetta', 'light opera', 'ballad opera', 'comic opera', or 'musical comedy', although in form and structure, whether dialogue is spoken or sung, it is easier to distinguish 'semi-opera' from that 'opera' which portends a serious, sustained degree of formality and complexity. If title-pages are not always reliable, accepted definitions found in standard references such as *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Opera*, *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, or *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* are widely accepted. In the end, 'opera' is an accommodating abbreviation of the ample Italian term, 'opera in musica'. Niceties of nomenclature need not constrict a historical study so much as liberate its scope and activate open-minded critical scansion.

An 'Australian' author is one who, born there, has written there or who commenced writing there and, subsequently composing elsewhere, did not leave Australia at an age rendering him/her entirely independent of his/her native training, experience or contacts. As Australia, in terms of Western civilization, began as a colony in 1788, its population is an immigrant one, so 'Australian' authorship also refers to one born elsewhere who becomes domiciled² as is applicable to most composers listed. Place of publication or performance of a work is not relevant to the definition. It is not necessary that the writer should express purely local themes. No distinction is drawn between professional and part-time artist. Essentially, what is "Australian" is not peculiar to either writer or topic, but pertains to a culture, a place with colonial origins reinforced by continuous immigration. A heterogeneous, kaleidoscopic community such as Australia's does not necessarily acquire or project a cultural identity recognised internationally. It may, however, show some insecurity about its own

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² Exceptional itinerant visitors and short-term residents who contributed to opera in Australia are discussed in the Appendix, Volume II. Native-born expatriates and their operas are listed in *Catalogue 2*. 
sense of nationality. This may be reflected in the relationship between creative artist and community or audience. It may be reflected in the work itself.  

(2) Method

An account of the making of opera in Australia, even while it analyses underlying patterns of form, structure, content, style; even while it examines a struggling but persistent preoccupation with an indigenous ideology and with perplexing aesthetic issues inherent in this most synthetic of all artforms; even, finally, while it interprets and evaluates the extent and range of achievement, is — and remains — a narrative. However imaginative their aspiration to accurate historical reconstruction, writers about opera suffer handicaps, some incurable. One, common to all, is the difficulty of conveying in words an artform which relies essentially on the physical experience of performance for its lively interpretation, its alluring amalgamation of drama, spectacle, movement and music. Another, equally daunting, is the loss of much material evidence. In Australia, in the 19th century, so much of the music is missing, presumed lost, through neglect or failure, or both. An interpretation which has to proceed from a libretto at best, to other literary sources, at worst the morass of hearsay, opinion and newsworthy gossip of contemporary observers or the more cautious, occasionally careless, records of later historical guardians, can suggest intentions and possibilities but never the experience itself. For

3 Discussed more fully in Volume I, Chapter 3.

4 In Catalogue 1, of the 19th century sources, only five vocal scores and two full scores survive, but twenty published librettos have been found. Most of the colonial plays with music listed in Catalogue 4, are extant in manuscript, two in printed form, but there is no surviving music. The survival rate for 20th century original scores is very much higher. There are no extant materials at all for at least nine of the 19th century operas.
this reason, this historical study focuses on the main intact sources, although it does not confine its overview to them.

Fixing the criteria for artistic value in the historian's own 'vernacular' culture raises another interpretative hazard. Trained in the 'cultivated'\textsuperscript{5} value systems derived from an acquired, predominantly European musical heritage, a historian has to resist impulses to imbalance either through an inflated provincial - or narrowly chauvinistic - view, or through a denigrating subservience to the European model. These are symptoms of what A.A. Phillips diagnosed as the 'cultural cringe'.\textsuperscript{6} An apt remedy for the Australian musicologist is at hand in current American scholarship, in orientations in studies of American music which is also a colonially-based 'vernacular' of mixed Anglo-European heritage. The American writer Richard Crawford appreciates that 'any musical repertory, no matter what its aesthetic value may seem, has its own story to tell, its own secrets to reveal' and to write its history requires four special traits:

First, the scholar of American music assumes significance, does not claim musical value as a prior condition; second, whether by instinct or training, he tries to take each piece of music on its own terms; third, he recognises the importance of keeping his musical responses open on many levels, striving for inclusive rather than selective perception; fourth, he tries at all times to keep in mind his position as a participant in the musical culture he is studying.\textsuperscript{7}

This attitude, or aptitude, is adventurous and rewarding, while remaining cautious about the many minor, modest and forgotten works that Australian

\textsuperscript{5} These terms are those of H. Wiley Hitchcock, \textit{Music in the United States; A Historical Introduction}, New Jersey 1969, 43.


\textsuperscript{7} 'Australian' can here be substituted for 'American' with impunity. The quotation comes from a lecture given by Crawford to the Graduate Center, City University of New York in 1974 titled, "American Studies and American Musicology", since published by the Institute for Studies in American Music, \textit{(ISAM) Monographs} 4, Brooklyn, NY, (April 1975) 3-5.
Opera 1842-1970 exhumes. It has guided the procedure found most appropriate here, and it avoids the kind of self-imposed confinement occasionally attached to regional studies, more often to single-composer monographs.

To offset limits to the historical imagination or to 'vernacular' perception, the historian of largely uncharted territory can venture on a broad interpretative field. For this study, it has followed, first, a linear chronological sequence where works were related to each other, then on their own terms for inherent significant features, which may be primarily dramatic or musical, fully-realised or just suggested. Next, connections were made with other dramatic works by the same composer or especially characteristic and illustrative of that composer's art (to which tangible effects such as box-office failure may be irrelevant); for example, Alfred Hill's several listed works (including pantomime, operetta, musical fantasy, and more conventionally romantic opera) are suitably varied and numerous for comparative analysis.

Then the operas were examined in terms of the artistic conventions of those continuously imported operas, many of which entered a slowly solidifying commercial repertory. The local operas adapted, or, to various degrees, rejected these conventions; by them they measured their own standards and were in turn measured. Colonially-produced contemporary works were also written abroad and were also cultivated in the same transplanted musical culture. When different nations and regions have access to the same sources, the degree and manner in which derivation, deviation, development or denial occur in indigenous composition is significant.

There are also comparative patterns to be found in other Australian art forms. Features in the operas, if not musically distinctive, often have strong 'Australian' ethos. Themes, characters, idioms, settings, the expressive mode, whether inhabiting drama, literature, or the visual arts, are part of
an Australian culture and ideology. More, patterns in the formation of
an ethos, while not always concurrent, show correspondences between
different art forms and genres. Close collaboration can pollinate a
prevailing aesthetic shared by composers, poets, painters. An inter-
disciplinary perspective, which places the operas in a mainstream of critical
interpretation further advanced in the other arts in Australia, might enhance
a purely musicological bias and extract from general cultural theories a
supportive critical apparatus.\(^8\) Hopefully, musicology offers its own
revelations in the process.

An example of the interplay between different art forms within a culture,
and enacted simultaneously with overseas events, is the Celtic national
theatre movement. Through Yeats, Synge and the Dublin Abbey Theatre, a
national myth-finding impulse injected directions to the English National
Opera movement re-awakening at Glastonbury just before World War I. Dublin
also directly influenced the stirrings of a national, naturalistic Australian
drama movement in Victoria in the 1920s through the artistic credo of Louis
Essen, friend and admirer of Yeats.\(^9\) His credo illuminates, in several


\(^9\) Vance Palmer, *Louis Essen and the Australian Theatre*, Melbourne 1948, especially 40-1, 44-74. The Celtic opera influence is further discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.
ways, earlier polemics advanced by a group of Australian composers, centering on Alfred Hill, Fritz Hart (obliquely also on Edgar Bainton, a former Glastonbury composer) for an Australian National Opera League. In 1914 appear the first of several Celtic-subject operas and derivative dramas transposing the search for myth and origins to Terra Australis. Cultural coincidence on a global scale is not fortuitous so much as a direct, often personal, cross-fertilization born across time, territory and cultural borders, percolating through different creative forms and enterprises. Charting it is to chart the process of transplantation itself.

(3) The State of Research

To date, there are no Australian studies comparable to those in the English opera and theatre by Eric Walter White, Dennis Arundell, and Harold Rosenthal, or to the pioneering documentation of America opera begun by Oscar Sonneck. There has been a growth of historical scholarship on the Australian drama, initiated by the late Dr. Helen Oppenheim, Alec Bagot,

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10 see note 2 above. Another useful article by the same author is "English Opera in North America - 18th and early 19th centuries", Opera Canada XIV/1 (Spring 1973) 12-14, 38.


14 The late Dr. Helen Oppenheim published several articles, including valuable entries in the early volumes of the Australian Dictionary of Biography, but, on her death, the great proportion of her research was unfinished and unpublished. Her work on colonial theatre and the convict playwright Edward Geoghegan is further discussed in Chapter 2.

15 Alec Bagot, Coppin the Great; Father of the Australian Theatre, Melbourne 1965 is an invaluable though not immaculately documented biography.
and A. Weiner. Their work provides essential foundations to the task of
documenting colonial theatre especially.

Important archival research has been undertaken by Gerald Fischer and
Margaret Abbie, and two works on early theatres are indispensable for the
present study: Ross Thorne's architectural research, and Eric Irvin's
history of the Theatre Royal, Sydney. Colin Roderick and Roger Covell
have published editions of two Australian musical plays dating from the 1840s
which have both been revived. A recent dissertation by Margaret Williams

16 A.B. Weiner's work competes with Oppenheim with fresh discoveries in the same
field; see "The Hibernian Father: The Mystery Solved" in Meanjin, XXV/4
(1966) 456-64.

17 Gerald L. Fischer, former archivist of the SA State Library, now of Sydney
University, has three papers based on his archival research: (1) "The
Queen's Theatre, Adelaide, 1841-2", Pioneers' Association of South Australia,
Adelaide 1957, 9pp; (2) "The Professional Theatre in Adelaide, 1838-1922",
in Australian Letters, 11/4 (March 1960) 79-97; (3) "The Australian Scene
and the Theatre Royal, Adelaide 1868-1914" in t.s., author's possession,
in Adelaide", no.486 A, PRG 58, South Australian Archives, SSL:A.

University of Adelaide 1970; she builds on Fischer's work and other previously
unexplored manuscript materials, theatre records and interviews.

19 Ross Thorne, Theatre Buildings in Australia from the Time of the First Settle-
ment to the Arrival of Cinema, D.Diss; 2 vols; Architectural Research
Foundation, University of Sydney 1972.

20 Eric Irvin, Theatre Comes to Australia, Queensland 1971, gives a valuable
history of the first Theatre Royal, Sydney and its repertory from 1832-38
(in Appendix, 235-48). Irvin has also written on early Sydney public
concerts and opera (see Bibliography).

21 The Emu Plains, Maitland, and early convict theatres are discussed in his
Introduction and Notes to his edition of Jimmy Green in Australia; a Three-
Act Comedy by James Tucker, Sydney 1955; he has also edited a reprint of
Tucker's (?) convict tale, Ralph Rashleigh; or, The Life of an Exile, Sydney
1952. His conjectures are challenged by, among others, Clem Christesen in
"Jimmy Green in Australia", Meanjin XIV/1 (1955) 139-40. Because of unre-
solved doubts about James Tucker/alias Giocomo di Rosenburg, I continue to
describe Jimmy Green in Australia as a work of doubtful date and authorship.
See Catalogue 4 (1845?).

22 Roger Covell's performing edition of The Currency Lass; or My Native Girl, a
musical play in two acts by Edward Googhegan, appeared in 1976 in the series
The National Theatre, edited by Philip Parsons, Currency Press, Sydney. It
has useful notes on the musical sources and reproduces arrangements by Covell
for the playscript's lyrics with traditional melodies.

23 Margaret A. Williams, Nimble Naiad, Lonely Squatter, and Lively Aboriginal
-Dramatic Conventions and National Image in Australian Drama, with Particular
Reference to the Nineteenth Century, 2 vols. D.Diss. t.s. Monash University,
1973. This work takes its title from an early Pantomime by W. Akhurst,
see Catalogue 5 (1868).
offers stimulating and sympathetic criticism along a frequently parallel course to the present work, in her study of Australian drama, dramatic conventions, particularly in 19th century melodrama, and the emerging Australian national image.

Documentation provided by an archivist, a bibliographer, a theatre historian, or a scholar of dramatic convention, are necessarily the base on which a repertory study more specifically musicological in scope must begin. Once their task is done, a music historian:

after carefully and independently digging through the mass of contemporary sources will find it very much easier to treat the musical side of the historical structure from a more musical standpoint, to remove unmusical misconceptions and to make corrections and additions.\textsuperscript{24}

Margaret Williams has previously deplored the scarcity of systematic research, the poverty in accurate documentation in theatre histories in Australia.\textsuperscript{25} She herself drew imaginatively upon archival treasures in the Mitchell Library, New South Wales; in the La Trobe archives, Victorian State Library - especially on collections of early playbills, programs, and manuscript sources. Abundant materials exist, often awaiting classification, particularly those relating to the repertories of the fifty or more theatres built in Australia in the 19th century.

\textsuperscript{24} O.G. Sonneck (1963) 3; see also Virginia Kirby-Smith, "The Need for Research in Theatre History", \textit{Meanjin} 95, XXII/3 (1964).

The task of specialist musical documentation was begun in the series of articles by James Hall, in Ann Wentzel's documentation of 19th century newspaper records, and in the substantial, detailed theses on Victorian music institutions, compiled by M.T. Radic. The first large study of any opera has appeared during the course of this research in Warren Bobbington's analytical investigation of *The Operas of G.W.L. Marshall-Hall* (1978) which benefits from the spring-cleaning currently taking place in the archival accumulations of the Grainger Museum, University of Melbourne. Surveys which have offered ideas for this study include Andrew McCredie's

26 James Hall's 26 articles were published separately under the general title, "A History of Music in Australia", and derived chiefly from newspaper records of the period 1788-1847, in *Canor*, Vols. IV (1950-1), V (1951-2), VI (1952-3) and VII (1953-4). Hereafter cited as J. Hall, with number of article, volume of the journal, and page reference.


28 Maureen Therese Radic, *Aspects of Organized Amateur Music in Melbourne, 1836-1890*, M.Mus Thesis, 2 vols. t.s. University of Melbourne, 1968. Her 2 volume D.Diss. on the development of orchestras in Victoria, provisionally titled *Musical Associations and Institutions in Melbourne, 1888-1932*, has been submitted to the University of Melbourne at the time of writing. One of her valuable contributions has been to present programs from the old guard-books and records of major choral and orchestral organisations in Victoria previously inaccessible to researchers.


30 Dr. Kay Dreyfus and assistants, with grants from the University of Melbourne and the Arts Council of Australia are editing and classifying Grainger's own and acquired materials in the Grainger Museum in the grounds of that University, among which are the extant original works of Marshall-Hall, first Professor of Music at Melbourne University; see *The Age*, March 1st, 1975; also *A Guide to the Grainger Museum* published by the University of Melbourne, July 1975.
historical summary and Roger Covell's earlier critical, popular history. McCredie's scholarly and critical appraisal of the works of Alfred Hill remains a model for Australian musicological research.

Nonetheless, this repertory study has turned to a standard literary reference work as its major model. It is indebted to E. Morris Miller's two-volume bibliography and descriptive study of Australian Literature; with a different subject and presentation, Miller recognised the need for comprehensive bibliography to precede criticism.

Other historical texts on 19th century music in Australia are frequently unreliable or poorly documented. They demonstrate that the indispensable

31 His edition of a three-volume Government-sponsored survey, Musical Composition in Australia, including Select Bibliography and Discography, with also a Catalogue of 46 Australian Composers and Selected Works and The Composers and Their Works, the latter accompanied by recordings, Canberra 1969; see also his general article on Australia in forthcoming New Grove's (in press).


34 E. Morris Miller, Australian Literature 1788-1888; A Descriptive and Bibliographical Survey, 2 vols. Melbourne 1940 and repr. Sydney 1973, updated by F.M. McCartney in a 2nd ed. extended to 1950 with new historical outline and descriptive commentaries, Sydney 1956. I have only cited the 1973 reprint of Miller's original text for 19th century entries of printed Australian works including drama and librettos. He did not list original or unpublished manuscripts. Also useful is his Pressmen and Governors; Australian Editors and Writers in Early Tasmania, Melbourne 1952, also repr. Sydney 1973, especially for discussion of the early plays of David Burn and Evan Henry Thomas (see Catalogue 4).

monuments of bibliography and scholarship in, for example, American musicology, such as the works of Sonneck, Wolfe, Lowens, and Chase, have not yet found an Australian equivalent. The American studies prove, too, the validity of inter-relating and coordinating research from differing orientations, particularly in, first, derivative colonially-based music cultures; and second, the theatre arts in which music, drama and spectacle are so closely interdependent.

(4) Outline and Direction

It is often assumed that a good deal of 19th century Australian art, drama, literature and music is "purely imitative of what was being done elsewhere" that the derivative culture drew "almost no inspiration from its immediate environment" and is musically "of negligible importance". This view may stem from the fact that little, certainly of original music, has survived or remains in the repertory; or that, from the profusion of sheet-music printed in the 19th century, what has survived skims the shallows of artistic mediocrity.

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40 Eunice Hargrave, "Australian Drama" in G. Dutton (ed) The Literature of Australia, Melbourne 1964, 441; also the theme of Orchard, Brewer, and others.

If a history of Australian opera were written purely in terms of artistic success, there would be little to tell. Among the works listed, there were some immediate box-office triumphs -- operas which enjoyed popular support, some financial reward, even an enthusiastic Press. Few, even of these, were repeated sufficiently to attain a repertory status akin to W.V. Wallace's Maritana in the 19th century or Benjamin Britten's Albert Herring in the 20th century, to take two of the more successful English operas. Fewer still were ever revived. With perhaps the exception of Arthur Benjamin's short comedy Prima Donna, none has had consistent success or any permanency in either Australian or international repertories. Composer Malcolm Williamson has earned considerable overseas recognition, but this is too recent to secure a lasting reputation for his works. The Australian operas listed here are thus ephemeral. There are no masterpieces.

Yet, within the context of a transplanted and colonially-based culture of comparatively recent and rapid development, the achievement of local composition has values other than enduring artistic success, commercial saleability, or international prestige. Profitability is also a measure of usefulness and benefit to prevailing socio-cultural conditions. Alexander Ringer has warned that "no musicological overview of the 19th century may lay claim to historical accuracy if it neglects the musical predilections of the vast majority of consumers sustaining the bulk of that era's musical institutions."42 It may well be essential for any theory of cultural growth to discard an elitist approach; to recognise that it is often the modest or trivial which appeals to far broader segments of society than the 'serious' or acknowledged 'master' pieces; also to draw a profile of vernacular culture on its own terms and through its own peculiar "social networks through which

value attributions are articulated.\textsuperscript{43}

Questions facing cultural historians, no less than specialist musicologists, are directed increasingly not just to which elements constitute culture, but to how that culture functions, what kind of structures and mechanisms decide its processes. A shifting emphasis is on the flow-on between 'popular' and 'high' art/Art; between mass culture and elite art forms, a direction initiated by Marxist sociological studies of musical cultures.\textsuperscript{44} Socio-musicological patterns in the continued process of transplantation and in the interplay between imported elite and popular cultures alongside developing indigenous culture, raise, perhaps, still open questions.\textsuperscript{45}

A broadly-based repertory study which sets 19th century Australian creative activity in the context of its parent culture; which assesses local composition in terms of what succeeded and survived from the transplant process; seeks answers to those kinds of questions. Presented as a historical narrative, it faces difficulties in periodisation. The standard 'growth-charts' defined by a sociologist, H.G. Kippax, juxtapose and synchronize the different arts which remain stubbornly out-of-phase.\textsuperscript{46} The same pattern of transplantation, adaptation, revolt and experimentation, to an emerging self-reliance and integration, which is perhaps applicable to literature or drama, cannot be demonstrated in Australian music. As Geoffrey Serle has remarked, a

\textsuperscript{43} Karl Etzkorn, "On Music, Social Structure and Sociology", IRASM, V/1 (June 1974) 47.

\textsuperscript{44} An example is Janos Maróthy, Music and the Bourgeois: Music and the Proletarian, trans. by Eva Réna, Budapest 1974; an analysis of the different music genres in European history, particularly the popular genres, their inter-relationships, development and social roots, towards a socio-historical typology of music.

\textsuperscript{45} see Serle (1973) (note 44).

preoccupation in literature may not be reflected in drama or music; a stage in national maturation discernible in political growth is not necessarily reflected in art forms. "Specialist musical scholarship has still to focus on individual features or risk imposing a premature cultural synthesis.

In the present study, from the materials which have survived, patterns are discernible in the early 19th century works which can be traced continuously, almost unchanged, throughout that century. That they mirror the imported repertory and its patterns is also an ongoing process. They both stem from, and continue to accommodate, the comparatively rigid, uncongenial dramatic forms and commonplace musical conventions first transplanted to the Australian theatre at the close of the 18th century.

The two most immediate features of this first period are that the 19th century Australian musical theatre is, almost without exception, all quasi-tragic melodrama, light romantic comedy and the hybrid species of pantomime-farce-extravaganza - all of which either became outmoded in the 20th century or were converted to musical comedy and the idioms of the music hall. Second, the early colonial period and the flourishing offshoot of pantomime and melodrama in Victoria after the goldrush period has been the only time during which the indigenous theatre was widely accepted and popularly acclaimed; when an 'Australian' popular form evolved, suited to the expression of social patterns and attitudes in Australian life, until the most recent decade since the 1960s. If anything, the period often described as a flowering of national culture from the 1890s to the First World War, was regressive and took dramatists and composers in a direction away from this previous identification.

with their culture and into an ultimate deadend or back-water. The 1960s began to re-discover and transform many features of the mid-nineteenth century.

New directions enter established 19th century patterns towards the end of the century through the establishment of large choral societies and the entrenchment of monopolistic commercial theatre enterprises. Composers seeking performances and remuneration had to accommodate their art and aesthetic either to mass culture voracious for burlesque and spectacular extravaganza, or to the mixed choirs' more genteel appetite for large-scale, flamboyant, but not staged dramatic works. Intermittent Australian regional, national and international exhibitions, festivals, and competitions offered prestigious, if not profitable, platforms. At the same time, opera composers persisting in their aspirations to 'high Art' practised their traditional craft with captive student opera schools attached to the universities and conservatories. If academia seemed a comfortable refuge from commercial competition, it might occasionally be a springboard: Fritz Hart, championed by Nellie Melba, could have his twelfth opera at last presented in a J.C. Williamson Grand Opera season in 1928, after more than a decade of student productions. 'The Firm' begrudgingly staged Hart's *Dierdre in Exile* alongside *I Pagliacci* on one June night.

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48 Douglas Stewart in "The Playwright in Australia", in *The Australian Elizabethean Theatre Trust: The First Year*, Sydney 1956, 9, describes the playwrights of the 1920s as recapturing and expressing the myths and aspirations of the race. Self-conscious nationalism in Australian drama and opera was, however, deflected into little "art" theatres and academia and away from commercial theatre in ways both more committed and more constraining. See also K. Covell (1967) and his chapter on Traditionalism, Ch. 3, 33 onwards.

49 "J.C.Williamson nowhere more markedly shaped the course of the art that is connected with the theatre than in music", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 July 1913 quoted by Ian Dicker, *J.C.W.; A Short Biography*, Sydney 1974, beginning Ch.XI, "The Melba-Williamson Opera Season, 1911". Melba's generous interest in Hart's Melba Conservatorium Opera School is discussed by J. Hetherington in *Melba; a Biography*, Melbourne 1967. Williamson himself was dead by the time Hart's opera was produced (he died 8 July 1913), but he and Melba had each made profits of 45,000 pounds on that 1911 season. For the true story of American-born Williamson's personal antagonism to Australian original works, see M. Williams (1973) Appendix V: "J.C.Williamson and Australian Drama", compared with his own *Life Story Told in His Own Words*, Sydney 1913.
One occasional academic offshoot was the classical play production. The accompanying music, using full student resources, could indulge in the hands of a Marshall-Hall in a Wagnerian opulence otherwise prohibitive in fully-staged, 'new' grand opera. Yet this occurred at the same time commercial entrepreneurs who disdained Australian composition were reaping lavish profits from luxuriant productions of Wagner and Verdi in the 1890s. The dichotomy between even the most persistent and prolific composers like Fritz Hart, G.W.L. Marshall-Hall or Alfred Hill, the most successful entrepreneurs like J.C. Williamson, and the eager middle-class opera-loving public they both courted, widened to the point of mutual exacerbation. The very time leading opera composers were stubbornly debating the possibility, necessity, of a National Opera League, coincides with the greatest number of their own unperformed, unfinished or just abandoned works. War, the Depression, and new waves of immigration end this distressing middle period in Australian opera history.

The 1950s began a slow renaissance until the years 1965-1970, climax and culmination of this historical study, when new patterns are still too fluctuating and recent for scholarly evaluation. In artistic terms alone, five new Australian operas appearing in 1965 promise renewed directions. *Garni Sands* by George Dreyfus, composed in 1965 but not performed until 1972, is the first Australian-subject, full-length opera to be performed professionally since Alfred Hill's Maori-opera *Tapu* (1904). It is also the first opera written in Australia to be performed in North America (1975), the first overseas production of any major local work since Marshall-Hall's truncated *Stella* had a 1914 London debut. *Garni Sands* is also an important serious musical work and should be a cornerstone for a national repertory.

*The Amorous Judge*, a Sydney University experiment also in 1965 by composer Eric Gross and writer Len McClashen to create an ensemble opera around a
professional group of experienced performers, while it did not fully realize
their hopes or succeed commercially -- and while it was scarcely a novel
idea in contemporary opera practice -- is nonetheless probably the first
Australian opera to tailor music and drama to the skilled resources of a
professional company since the first operas and opera-plays created by and
for members of the Royal Victoria Theatre, Sydney in the 1840s.

Also in 1965, three new short operas appeared, commissioned by the Tasmanian
Festival of Contemporary Opera and Music. They were also performed -- not
necessarily a corollary, as some dismayed composers found with their 1970
Australian Opera contracts -- during this first national symposium to air
problems of writing and producing contemporary opera and ideas for its future
in Australia. The three operas were themselves interesting examples of
three different patterns in subject and style present, though at times dormant,
since the 1840s. Two adopt an idiomatic libretto with Australian
characters: first, in a historical, local theme in Margaret Sutherland's
The Young Kabbarli, which explores race-relations and legend and coordinates
Western and aboriginal musical systems; second, in a comic, contemporary --
even surrealist -- theme in James Penberthy's Ophelia of the Nine-Mile Beach,
whose style is impressionist, episodic, lyrical. The third, a romantic
European subject, continues the tradition of serious, sustained melodrama,
but now, in Larry Sitisky's Fall of the House of Usher, with a taut,
expressionist, modernist musical language.

One of the conditions for their performance was that they should all be one-act,
scored for intimate chamber orchestra, small cast, and modest stage resources.
This confirms a practice increasingly common after World War I when economic
necessity reduced theatrical scope and scale. Significantly, each has been
revived. The Young Kabbarli and Fall of the House of Usher are both also
published and recorded; the latter was also televised nation-wide. After
123 years of effort, these operas may be said to form a solid nucleus for an Australian opera repertory. The local 'colour' and sophisticated technique in the works by Sutherland and Penberthy, and Sitsky's expressionist treatment of tense psychological drama, together achieve a maturity and an international contemporaneity for Australian opera far in advance of their more conventional predecessors.

Attracting composers, librettists, producers, designers, performers, and, most urgently, administrators, the 1965 Tasmanian Festival prompted public debate of new directions needed in Australian music. It voiced the need for closer collaboration between the makers and interpreters and those who dispense public funds.  

This recognises, to adopt the words of the late Benjamin Britten, that opera cannot survive without "business organisation (including cash), public goodwill, and the composers to write new opera". Britten, writing of English opera, continues:

Never in this country have these three things coincided...only a great gift, coupled with hard-won experience, can produce enduring masterpieces.

Today, few composers can acquire the experience, even granted they have the gift.  

Since 1965, more operas then ever before have been commissioned in Australia. Several have been performed by the State-supported regional professional companies. Seven were commissioned in 1970 by The Australian Opera, the national organisation which succeeded the Elizabethan Theatre Trust company. After long delays and prevarication by the company, which provoked irritated

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50 Report of Proceedings, Festival of Contemporary Opera and Music, Hobart 1966. Representatives were present from the University of Tasmania, Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust, the Trust's Opera Company, the Australian Broadcasting Commission, and the Sydney branch of the International Society for Contemporary Music. Topics included: opera as an art form today; problems of staging contemporary opera; opera on television; education for opera; and words, music and movement; seminars were devoted to critical discussion of the three operas after their premiere.

51 Preface to E. Walter White (1951) iii.
petitions from a vocal, composer-supporting Australian Opera Reform Group in Melbourne, three were produced. In 1974, Larry Sitsky's *Lenz* and Felix Werder's *The Affair* had short seasons during the opening year at the Sydney Opera House. Peter Sculthorpe's *Rites of Passage* also toured briefly to Adelaide and Melbourne in that year. In contrast, all eight operas by expatriate Australian composer, Malcolm Williamson, were produced during the season 1968-69 - in Great Britain. A steady climate of acceptance in Australia for Australian opera is still too cool, spasmodic, capricious, for a comfortable future.

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CHAPET I

SURVEY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TRANPLANTED REPERTORY

The first operas, operettas and musical plays written in Australia date from the 1840s and emanate from Sydney, a time and place marking the zenith of colonial theatrical activities and converging on the variegated repertory of the Royal Victoria Theatre, Pitt Street.1 This theatre gave the first fully-mounted and faithfully-realised performances of opera after decades of ad hoc equivocations, and at the same time provided a lively, insatiable, professional platform2 where a would-be local dramatist and theatre composer might gain practical experience and even some reward. Their creative output is the more remarkable when seen in the context of a small community still primarily struggling for economic viability, still needfully investing its chief creative energies in land exploration, new farming and mercantile establishments, and the building of basic service institutions.3 It is scarcely surprising that during the first fifty years

1 Joseph Wyatt's (Royal) Victoria Theatre opened 25 March 1838, four days after the previous major Sydney theatre, Barnett Levey's Theatre Royal, closed. The Royal was burnt to the ground on 18 March 1840; fire later destroyed the Royal Victoria on 27 July 1880. See W. Farmer Whyte (1917) 31.

2 Insatiable because it was so much larger. The Theatre Royal had seated 1200 according to A. Wentzel (1963) 19, but the new Victoria seated over 1900 (Campbell (1967) 255. Irvin disputes this figure, claiming 1500 seats (1971) 105. Also Dr. Helen Oppenheim suggests: "In the 1840s when there was no longer a shortage of printed playbooks as in the 1830s, the disproportion of the vast Victoria Theatre with its 2000 seats in a community with a limited audience potential, created a never-ending demand for new plays", "The Author of The Hibernian Father: An Early Colonial Playwright", Australian Literary Studies, 11/4 (December 1966) 279-80. For a chronological summary of resident and touring opera companies, composers and artists from 1834 until 1904, see Supporting Documents, Chapter 1, number 1.

3 Oppenheim ibid., also suggests the Sydney colonial administration was very anti-theatrical, which is certainly born out in the early struggles for obtaining licences for presenting entertainments and in the censorship powers of the Colonial Secretary over locally-written drama and opera (see Chapter 2, Notes 5-6). In the 1840s the colony was in the grip of a severe drought and financial depression, yet it was observed: "At this peculiar crisis in the affairs of our Colony, it is somewhat singular that the drama seems more ready to flourish than when, under far more favourable circumstances, its professors appealed to the public to its patronage and support", The Australian, 24 January 1843, 5.
of colonial settlement all theatrical entertainment was imported. It has only been recognised relatively recently that, within the group of surviving plays known as the Colonial Plays from the Colonial Secretary's Papers and written in the 1840s by a handful of dramatists, an "Australian" drama and opera was born.  

A profile of the earliest Australian operas and musical plays is one showing close relationships with the imported repertory. To distinguish local features, it is first essential to make some general observations about the late 18th and early 19th century repertory. This chapter will then describe the repertory mainly of the Sydney theatres — the Theatre Royal and the Royal Victoria Theatre until the 1850s. It follows with a description of the coming of commercial, touring opera companies after the 1860s, during which time the transplanted works settle in to a standard repertory which is still largely unchanged.

In the theatre of this earlier period, it is the drama that governs theme and form and structure, the music which serves, ornaments, even interrupts. Yet music was an integral part of late-18th century theatre of all types in a convention which arose from the licensing laws governing English theatres.

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4 M.A. Williams recognizes that the earlier plays by Burn, Melville, Harpur (between 1828 and 1835) which had an Australian subject, "seem to have sprung up independently of the burgeoning professional theatre in the colonies", Chapter 1, "The European Overshadow", 3-5 and Preface, vii onwards, (1973). Works by these dramatists should be compared with those of Geoghegan and others written for and with the players of the Royal Victorian Theatre in the 1840s, as the first examples of a professional, ensemble repertory.

5 Supporting Documents, Ch.1, no.2, lists 19th century colonial theatres built in Australia; this Chapter concentrates on Sydney theatres because documentation is more advanced than for elsewhere; see Irvin (1971), Thorne (1972).

6 Under powers dating from 1737, the Lord Chamberlain issued licences covering all manner of stage entertainment (including tragedy, comedy, farce, opera, burlesque, interlude, melodrama, pantomime and extravaganza). His powers were confirmed by the 1843 Theatres Act (6 and 7 Vict, c 68) which was enacted to end all monopolies. OCTh (1951) 194-5.
Other than the patented theatres, that is, Drury Lane and Covent Garden and the Royal theatres in England, all minor and provincial theatres were forbidden the use of spoken dialogue until legal changes in 1843, although over time they had gradually won a concession to introduce dialogue providing it was delivered against a constant musical accompaniment, and provision was made for the insertion of a number of songs.

This convention may account for a certain musical repetitiveness found in all the early 19th century works, no matter if the subject was a 'heavy' melodrama or a light-hearted farce. It may also have given rise through sheer necessity to the common practice of using music culled from many sources, adapted from one genre to another. It most certainly influenced the course of 18th century ballad opera with its collage of Italian-style opera airs juxtaposed with traditional folk songs and ballads.\(^7\)

The requirement for a constant background barrage of music may also have affected performance; may help to account for the histrionic broadening of acting styles and an overt theatricality in delineation of character (often to the point of caricature), exaggerated gesture, delivery and action.\(^8\) One extreme of this style can be found in the end-Harlequinade that concludes the traditional pantomime; once a legitimate remnant handed down from the classical "commedia dell’arte", it became in late 18th century English theatre a _reductio ad absurdam_ of standard performance practice.\(^9\)

The law, the convention, and the play texts with their musical requirements were transplanted to and inherited by early Australian

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8 M.A. Williams (1973) Ch. 3, 2-4.

theatre. Until late in the 19th century, all the locally-written operas and semi-operas discussed in Chapter 2 are spoken dialogue plays with music, the latter interpolated, interspersed or accompanimental, no matter whether described on the title-page as opera, operetta, comedy, burlesque or melodrama. Within the basic formula (of acts and scenes) the inserted vocal numbers could include solo songs, ensembles of two or more parts, and choral pieces with or without solo and/or ensemble elements. Other inserted musical numbers could engage solo, ensemble or tutti orchestral forces. They provided music for Overtures and introductions, entr'acte or interval (intermezzo) purposes, curtains, and other specific often short accompanimental functions such as dances, music to mimed actions, music for entrances and exits, as well as music for illustrative effects and punctuation (storms, alarums, fanfares, drum-rolls and so on).

In practice, then, the musical treatment is as formulaic as the dramatic. There is little cohesion between the two. Rather than advancing action, enhancing emotion, playing an intrinsic part in thematic dramatic development, as in the through-composed opera, the music to most 19th century plays, semi-operas and to the colonial plays is frequently spurious. It

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10 London licensing laws applied to British colonies, under Sections 12 and 14 of the 1843 English Act. The individual theatre manager or lessee had to gain a licence to present public entertainment. Isolated Sydney theatre licences were issued, until in 1828 Governor Darling first proposed an Act for Regulating Places of Public Entertainment. His motion was not passed; A. Wentzel (1963) 19. It was not until 1832 that the actor-manager Barnett Levey succeeded in obtaining his licence from Governor Bourke for the Theatre Royal, see H.L. Oppenheim, who writes: "When in 1832 the theatre Licence emerged out of the epic battle Levey fought and won, it allowed such plays and entertainments only, as have been performed at one of His Majesty's Licensed Theatres in London." About ten years later a new practice began to emerge which ultimately was incorporated in the licence of 1847; in addition to plays which had passed the censor in London, it allowed plays 'for the representation of which express permission in writing shall have been given by the Colonial Secretary', (1866) 279-80. This of course led to the survival of the Colonial Plays in the Colonial Secretary's Papers, NLN:M. See also Irvin (1971) 42-7, 61, 71.
provides the actors opportunities to sing sentimental songs, cavatinas, and romantic duets, and to display their terpsichorean skills. It requires musicians to select the most appropriate melodies and sound effects to increase the entertainment pleasurably and agreeably; to calm the audience at the onset, amuse them at interval, and send them home happy at the close of the drama.

Early 19th century billboards and programs describe these works as "entertainments". As H.G. Kippax has observed, "from the early years of colonisation there was hunger for stage entertainment" among a predominantly all-class audience "which supported the theatre of spectacle and melodrama and the music-hall (and) three-decker program of a farce, a play for the leading actor, and an extravaganza." Perpetual variety was a feature of these programs. A five-act Shakespearean tragedy might appear with a new one-act farce, a dramatic recitation, some vaudeville acts such as acrobatic, aquatic or animal feats, a moving scenic panorama and tableaux, and then a three-act comic operetta. The multi-faceted program has a format itself reflected in the dramatic structures of its parts: seemingly irrational elements are cheek-by-jowl -- mock-heroic with heroic; mock-pathetic beside romantic; realism undercut by the ludicrously farcical; topical satire alongside sensational or hyperbolic exoticism; the historic and serious coupled to the fantastic and absurd. The whole dramatic motley, both in terms of the overall program and also in many intrinsic formal elements, is aptly described as a pastiche (or pasticcio). It is a hotch-potch program containing a medley of plots, themselves jumbles of different sources and styles, frequently imitative, blatantly defying dramatic laws of logic and unity.

The selection and use of music also reveals the same pot-pourris presentation. Much was adapted and arranged from diverse sources ranging,

from folk traditions exemplified in folksongs, ballads and popular national songs, to contemporary airs from opera and the salon. There are several examples of national ballads and folk music adapted by the early Australian makers of pasticcio plays. *The Currency Lass*, (1844), albeit an 'original' story, *Life in Sydney* (1843), a local adaptation of a well-known story, and *Shakespeare Conglommarofunnidoradogarmoniae* (1843), a straightforward parody of several Shakesperian plots thrown together, all have their traditional musical numbers and sources specified above the new words in their texts.12

The history of some inserted ballads embodies the living tradition of balladry, when their theatrical revival in some localised version was sufficiently popular to lead to further transmission through regional variations and further adaptation, often becoming the personal signature of a touring player.13

George Coppin's *Billy Barlow* ballad on its travels with him from Ireland, England, via South Africa, to all the Australian colonial centers, after its first appearance in his adaptation of Dibdin's play of the title, underwent several local transformations and became a "national" song.14

That many musical items were freely interchangeable in pastiche manner is shown in some of the early Theatre Royal performances in which

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13 An example is found in the Australian street ballad, "Botany Bay" which describes the exiled convict transported to the colony. Comedian David Belasco James introduced it in a pantomime *Little Jack Sheppard* in London in 1889; the following year both pantomime and ballad were performed in Australia; a poster announcing the Criterion Theatre production in Sydney is contained in the *Troedel Collection*, Catalogue 61, V.C.L. The song is printed in H. Anderson, *Colonial Ballads*, 2nd ed. Melbourne 1960; see also John Mainfled, *The Penguin Australian Song Book*, Melbourne 1964, 28.

14 Notes on the history of this ballad are collected in *Catalogue 4* (1843) under *Billy Barlow*. Research by Colin Roderick, H. Anderson and M.A. Williams has apparently failed to note Alec Bagot's description of Coppin's performance both in the play and of the song with the same name; Bagot (1965) 4-7, 70-77, 79. It is interesting to compare the first appearance in Australia of this ballad (in *Billy Barlow*, 1843) with Roderick's publication of the "Mainland" version, and other later variants, all on the theme of the itinerant "New Chum".
favourite tunes assembled from a number of different composers were interpolated into plays. Songs by Rossini might appear in an opera-play by Henry Bishop.\(^1\)

G.A. Lee's popular airs might slip into a mutilated version of Weber's \textit{Abon Hasson} (sic),\(^2\) and three months later substitute for Stephan Storace's original music in an early colonial production of \textit{No Song No Supper}.\(^3\)

This was no colonial aberration brought about solely by shortage of the specified materials. It was common and accepted practice.\(^4\) Not only was there no copyright protection for composer or dramatist until 1842;\(^5\)

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15 For example, in Bishop's \textit{Clari}. \textit{The Maid of Milan} at the Theatre Royal Sydney in October 1835, possibly the only music by Bishop actually performed then was his Overture and the famous song, 'Home, Sweet Home'. Yet this is frequently described as the first opera produced in Sydney: Covell (1967) 12; Orchard (1952) 6; Porter (1965) 22. J. Hall describes the production in his article 9 (\textit{Canon V}) 54.

16 Hall, \textit{ibid}, 56; also Irvin's Appendix (1971) 235. Lee (1802-1851) was a minor English composer, and the play was performed on 16 October 1835, probably bearing very little resemblance to Weber's operetta, \textit{Abu Hassan} (Munich 1811). It is more likely to have been the pastiche production made by Tom Cooke (1782-1848) for productions of \textit{Oberon} and \textit{Abu Hassan} when he was incumbent director of Drury Lane (from 1821); CODO, (1966) 84. W.Dimond translated Hiemer's German text, a version of \textit{The Arabian Nights}, for Drury Lane (1825) and New York (1827) for Cooke's pastiche musical score.

17 On 23 January 1836 at the Theatre Royal; J. Hall, article 10 (\textit{Canon V}) 107. Some of Storace's original music was retained.

18 Another example is the first Australian performance of Rossini's \textit{Il Barbiere di Siviglia} on 19-23 June 1843. Rossini's Overture, some duets, trios and the 'Largo al factotum' of Act I, scene i, were played, but several concerted pieces omitted. Hall's song, 'The Blighted Flower' from his opera \textit{The Siege of Rochelle} (1835) was interpolated, presumably in the "Lesson Scene", Act II. \textit{The Siege of Rochelle} was not itself premiered in Australia until 1845 (see p 34). For other customary interpolations in Rossini's opera, see Kobbe (1954) 361-3, and J. Hall, article 18 (\textit{Canon V}) 504-8. Hall also notes that after this premiere, the printer Frank Ellard hastily printed Hall's song and advertised it for sale in \textit{The Australian} a week later, 28 June 1843, 2.

19 The 'Bulwer Lytton' Act of 1833 gave the author sole dramatic copyright in Britain and her Dominions for 28 years after publication. This still gave no protection to an unpublished play. The 1842 Literary Copyright Act of 1842 brought together both copyright and performing rights in a single Statute covering dramatic and musical property. Authors were not paid any performing fees for their material until 1842. Then all drama, opera, scenic and musical entertainments were protected 42 years from their date of publication. This Act probably encouraged composers such as Isaac Nathan to enter original works at Stationers' Hall, London, to gain copyright protection. There was still no protection against unauthorised performances of dramatizations of non-dramatic works, which may help to account for the proliferation in the 19th century of dramatizations of novels. These laws were not revised until the Berlin International Convention of 1908. OCTh, 150.
the legality of borrowing from the international stockpile of plots and melodies was not in question. Nevertheless, for practical purposes in colonial Australia, gratuitous borrowings and expurgations were inevitable. It is not until the end of 1845 that probably the first complete and unaltered opera performed in Sydney was Bellini's *La Sonnambula*. Even the Drury Lane dialogue was said to be intact. This did not, however, signal an end to the practice of redundant insertions, thinly-disguised musical piracy and dramatic plagiarism, and the cheerful exploitation of other artists' successful theatrical formulae in 'new', 'original', 'entirely freshly-composed' works. There was also no reason why a composer or

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20 American impresario Max Maretzek quotes a typical example: English composer Halé was awarded a commission for a new opera from Jullien, for Drury Lane in 1847 (Halé won over Berlioz). He chose to write music to the theme from a Saint-Georges' ballet-pantomime, "Lady Henriette où La Servante de Greenwich" for an opera he would call *The Maid of Honour*. When Maretzek pointed out that Flotow had already set the same subject very successfully in his opera *Martha* in Vienna earlier that year (1847) Halé, undeterred, insisted on the same story, saying he preferred the libretto to Flotow's music, and added: "I shall introduce an additional character in the plot, Queen Betsy, and have some military display."

M. Maretzek, Sharp and Flats (1890), reprinted in Reflections of an Opera Manager in 19th Century America, New York 1968, 73-80; also COD0, 248.

21 8 December 1845 at the Royal Victoria Theatre, Sydney. J. Hall, article 24 (Canon VI) 453-7.

22 Weber's *Der Freischütz* does not qualify. For its performance on 25 August 1845 at the Royal Victoria the horns were reduced to 2 and women's voices were brought in to bolster the Huntsman's Chorus, with "unpardonable intrusions and cuts in the score", J. Hall, article 22 (Canon VI) 221-3. Hall also notes that in a repeat performance the opera was preceded by Shakespeare's *As You Like It* on 23 September 1845 in a long program. The opera was well-received and had 11 performances in a 10-week season ending 11 October 1845. Hall, ibid., 225.

23 A production of Balfe's *The Bohemian Girl* the following year, on 10 September 1846, included a variety of music arranged for military band by ex-Bandmaster Gibbs; then concert-master and leader of the orchestra at the Royal Victoria; J. Hall, article 26 (Canon VII) 251-4. There are innumerable examples cited by Hall throughout his articles, see also Catalogue 4 in the Colonial Plays subtitles.
dramatist should not reuse his own material, especially if it were already well-known; reviving an old favourite might assist a new edition to sell well. Isaac Nathan's "Why are you Wand'ring Here, I pray?" appeared in several of his stage works and stayed in print for decades. George Coppin's 'new' dramatic versions of his "Paul Pry", "Jim Crow" and "Billy Barlow" caricatures were legion. One of the tasks of a colonial critic appears to have been to spot the source or measure the deviation from it in a game of theatrical bluff where the rules were known to the audience as well.

This helps make difficult the task of classifying early Australian works both indigenous and imported. The variety of dramatic and musical themes which may appear in the same work, the mixed sources from which it is derived, the degree of imitation or departure from its sources, and the recognition of its accommodation or combination of elements from different genres make accurate analysis hazardous. Yet certain different dramatic forms and styles can be located. It is possible to trace, even in the most hybrid works, certain basic dramatic patterns. They may be summarised as follows:

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24 This song first appears in Nathan's London opera, *Sweethearts and Wives*, Haymarket 7 July 1823, first performed in Sydney at the Royal Victoria on 23 December 1844 and still being revived there as late as 1854. The song remained in print in the 1880s, and was said to have "almost attained the dignity of a national song" by Rabbi F. L. Cohen, at the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition in 1888, quoted by O. S. Phillips (1940) 85. It appeared in Nathan's Australian opera, *Don John of Austria* as an obbligato air accompanying the song, "The Visions of Youth" and was probably Nathan's most successful work other than the *Hebrew Melodies*; see also Mackerras (1963) 38.

25 Bagot (1965), 74-77.

26 A Summary of the different species of musical setting to each dramatic form follows in Chapter 2. These brief descriptions of dramatic genres generally follow accepted usage in the OCHT (1951), OCLit (1960) and Allardyce Nicoll's 6 volume study, *A History of English Drama, 1660-1900*, London repr. 1955.
1. The serious opera and melodrama.

A dramatic piece with serious subject and sustained drama, often with sensational incidents which make a violent appeal to the emotions but resolve into a happy ending. The subject may be historic, romantic, classic, heroic, and chivalrous; it may contain some comic elements for temporary relief, usually in a romantic sub-plot or among 'comic' servants contrasting with the upper-class dignity of the main protagonists. It has pretensions toward tragic imagery in its blank verse or lofty prose; and, if historical or classical in theme, toward accuracy of treatment.

2. The comic opera, operetta and romantic musical drama.

A drama with lighter tone and dialogue, with comic rather than melodramatic intrigue, suspense, and a sentimental love-interest often between 'lowly' classes. The protagonists are presented in a more homely, personal portrait in comparison with the more generalised, more patriotic passions of melodrama. Romantic drama is often adventurous, chivalrous and picturesque. Often an exaggerated delineation of subject, action, and character is treated in a lighter vein than in historical melodrama, although both may deal with the life and adventures of some past heroic and famous person. Its tone is amusing rather than ironic or moralistic; it makes a romantic rather than violently sensational appeal to emotion. It always seems to end happily.

3. The ballad and comic operetta with local elements.

Like the former, these deal chiefly with romance and adventure but are invariably contemporary with their realistic settings, social topicality and 'ordinary' characters depicted in everyday life in preference to historic or heroic myth. Their topicality is a hallmark. If derivative, the old and familiar is given a new context; stock characters are refurbished in their mode of speech, dress and locale.
4. The burlesque.

These works are imitative, using mockery, grotesque characterisation or caricature, and 'low' comedy expressed through vernacular slang, to make ludicrous whatever it is they are imitating. Burlesques may be mock-heroic, mock-romantic, mock-pathetic, or may satirize realistic themes in a political, historical or social plot. They usually contain topical and local allusions. They are frequently brief, with condensed actions and a small cast of characters. They are often written in doggerel verse, using the ubiquitous rhyming couplet for satirical or debunking effects.

5. The farce and vaudeville.

'Vaudeville' originally meant a 'song' but also describes that species of drama with music of a light, popular nature. The plot is amusing, short, sometimes satiric, invariably flimsy and inconsequential, relying heavily on broad comic routines and slang for its main effects.

6. The pantomime and harlequinade.

Originally meaning a dumb-show, in which gestures had a constant musical accompaniment, by the 19th century this literal meaning was relegated to the actual end-Harlequinade which concluded the pantomime-proper. The pantomime is a dramatised tale with local and topical elements, contemporary as well as fantastic characters, which are often loosely harnessed to a nursery- or fairy-tale. The denouement is announced by a sudden transformation scene or a series of them, with startling visual, mechanical, and musical effects. The reversal of plot and role expectations is unexpected and complete. This is then frequently followed by a traditional harlequinade, in which the broad clowning, dancing, chase scenes and dumb show of the traditional "commedia dell'arte" characters is set in a recognizably realistic location.
7. The extravaganza.

The musical extravaganza contains fantastic elements, whether in characters (e.g. fairies), setting (Heaven, Hell or an imaginary fictional
fantasy) or plot, whose broad sequence is deliberately irrational and absurd.
Many of the same characteristics appear in the previous categories also.

None of these dramatic classes of 19th century opera and semi-opera is
exclusive. There are many hybrid works which use all or some of the
foregoing elements. They are often other than described on a titlepage;
for instance, a comedy of manners may be little more than a costume farce. An apparently serious moral drama may have comic or supernatural elements
which undermine or make ludicrous its moral force. While dramatically there
may be little to distinguish between an 'opera' and a 'pantomime', the music
in the latter is perhaps subordinate. Oscar Sonneck notes that this is
not always the case, and that the speaking pantomimes and ballets "actually
deserve the name of opera more than the works which created a furore on the
English stage as operas".

All are late 18th and early 19th century forms, which were trans-
planted from the English stage. All are found in the lists of imported
plays presented at the Theatre Royal, Sydney in the 1830s and in the

27 This observation was made, for example, of John Howard Payne's comedy,
Charles II, or The Merry Monarch, Covent Garden, 1824, which H. Taubman
describes as more aptly a historic farce; The Making of The American

28 Eric Walter White, describing the semi-opera plays as having "compiled
musical numbers", notes that light opera frequently contains more solo
and concerted vocal music than the pantomimes." (1951) 65.

29 O.C. Sonneck, Early Opera in America, NY 1915, 92-4.

30 They are found in the MS Chronological List of Plays, Lectures and
Concerts performed in Sydney 1789-1857, 4 Vols. derived from Newspaper
Cuttings, NLA:M and checked against A. Nicoll's English sources; also
useful is the Appendix to E. Walter White (1951) which lists 600 English
operas and semi-operas from the 17th century to 1950.

31 Irvin's Appendix (1971) 235-248 -- an alphabetical list of Plays,
Pantomimes and Ballets performed at Barnett Levey's Theatre Royal,
Sydney, 1832-1838"
occasional repertory of early companies based in Launceston and Hobart Town in Van Dieman's Land;\textsuperscript{32} in Adelaide\textsuperscript{33} and later, in Melbourne.\textsuperscript{34} Examples were played by convict companies earlier than the 1840s.\textsuperscript{35} Moreover, all may be found also in North American repertories.\textsuperscript{36} Patterns in first performances suggest a network between London, and a premiere success with perhaps an English provincial tour, followed by transmission to North American centers, and later to Australia's eastern coastal colonies. The network operated particularly smoothly during the Californian goldrush period, shortly afterwards linked to the Victorian and Queensland goldrushes too. Mid-19th century entrepreneurs in Eastern Australia such as William Saurin Lyster (1829-1880) and later the American James Cassius Williamson (1845-1913) exploited the network and as communications improved through the introduction of steamships, so the time-gap closed between a new London or European source and its colonial transmission. The patterns had been laid


\textsuperscript{33} M.A. Abbie (1970) 7-12, 88, 99, and the several papers by G.L. Fischer listed in the Bibliography and also the \textit{Material Relating to Music in South Australia 1836-1900}, PRG 580, compiled September 1961, 1-6 in SSL:A.

\textsuperscript{34} Data on early Melbourne repertory is more scattered. Radic's Appendices (1968), the La Trobe Library \textit{Playbills and Players Exhibition} (1971) which begins with 1842, and the unsigned article, "The Melbourne Stage in its Infancy" in \textit{Colonial Monthly Magazine} (September 1868) 45-53, which is believed to be written by Marcus Clarke, have useful information.


\textsuperscript{36} E. Walter White, "English Opera in North America: 18th and early 19th centuries", \textit{Opera Canada}, XIV/1 (Spring 1973) 12-14, 38. Jamaica and Canada were also part of the route, and later India too.
down earlier, however. Many of the first visiting artists to Sydney and Hobart Town had come from an American tour after making an earlier name in Britain or on the Continent.\textsuperscript{37} They brought with them their playbooks, costumes, scores - even their own pianists, conductors, and associate performers. Coppin, in 1843, if not the first, epitomizes the travelling one-man-show, except, like many colonial itinerants in search of theatrical fame and fortune, he also brought an actress-wife.\textsuperscript{38} Many early actors became managers, took long leases on successful theatres and built their repertory. The Theatre Royal, Sydney provides the first extended example of this process.

The colonial period in the Australian repertory falls into two stages: first, the intermittent performances from 1796 until the opening of the first professional theatre in Sydney, the Theatre Royal, 1832-1838; second, the productions of the Royal Victoria Theatre, Sydney in 1838 to the 1850s, by both its own ensemble resident company and other visiting and touring groups. Since the actor-managers from the earliest period toured country settlements (e.g. Maitland and Parramatta in New South Wales) and farther afield as other colonial centres opened, future documentation of regions other than Sydney will most likely not reveal any significant differences in repertory. What has already been discovered points to an internal Australian theatre network that repeats the international pattern.

\textsuperscript{37} Catherine Hayes, Sara Flower and Anna Bishop are three such examples; See Notes to this Chapter (73-5) and M. Haretzek, \textit{Sharps and Flats} (1890) and \textit{Crotchets and Quavers} (1855) both reprinted New York 1968; Ronald L. Davis, \textit{A History of Resident Opera in the American West}, D. Diss., University of Texas, (1961) especially Ch. 2 and 3 on New Orleans, and the goldfields' theatre in California, 268 onwards; Edmund M. Cagney, \textit{The San Francisco Stage}; \textit{A History New York, 1950}, and see also Appendix, \textit{Volume II} in this study.

The overall pattern in the imported repertory shows identical traits to the English minor and provincial theatre repertory and the London stock companies at Drury Lane and Covent Garden. Both the Australian repertory, and the periods in which it changes and settles, closely resemble patterns in the North American theatre, despite a more recent Australian genesis and a compressed time-scale. If a comparison is made between some of the earliest Australian premières from 1796 (with the first-known theatrical production, The Poor Soldier) and selections from Sonneck's list of early American premières, the process of transplantation is demonstrable.

The most popular and repeated works in this early period are the same successes of the New York stage, and the Theatre Royal repertory in the 1830s parallels that of the Old American Company in New York at the close of the 18th century. The playwrights include O'Keeffe, Moncrieff, Kenney,

40 Arundell (1965) and Rosenthal (1958).
41 David Grimstead, Melodrama Unveiled: American Theater and Culture 1800-1850, Chicago 1968, in whose Appendices are lists of opera and oper-plays performed in Philadelphia, Charleston, New Orleans, and New York which he has formed into 3 periods:
(i) 1800-1816, major playwrights O'Keeffe and Kenney;
(ii) 1816-1831, Moncrieff's burlesques, Shakespeare, and Sheridan; with comic opera and farces by Bickerstaffe, Dibdin, Kenney, and O'Keeffe;
(iii) 1831-1851, Bulwer-Lytton's plays, Shakespeare, Auber, and operas to librettos by Planché and Scribe, with the popularity of O'Keeffe and Kenney beginning to wane.


43 Sonneck (1915) 90-100, lists 120 musical plays and operas performed by the Old American Company between 1793 and 1800 in New York.
the Dibdins and Bickerstaffe; the main composers are Arne, Arnold, Linley, Storage and Dibdin. There are performances of 'straight' English plays from the 18th century by Fielding, Sheridan, Farquhar, Massinger, Goldsmith, Lillo, and of Shakespeare, particularly his tragedies. As popular as these, were the innumerable parodies and burlesques on Shakespearean plays which debunked both the drama and the histrionic conventions of 18th century theatre."

The colonial period in Australian imported theatre centers on the Theatre Royal, which continued to play late 18th-century dramas and semi-operas, listed in Supporting Documents 6 and 7. Not listed here, but popular, were English dramatists, J.B. Buckstone, George Colman the Younger, R.B. Peake, Mrs. E. Inchbald, W. Dimond, George Macfarren, J.M. Amherst, I.Pocock, T.Morton, and David Garrick. Many supplied librettos for English composers of pastiche and semi-opera. They represent the most prolific, dominating group of dramatists in England at the turn of the century.

In Eric Irvin's history of the Theatre Royal, he lists the titles of 324 plays and semi-operas premiered there during the seasons falling between the opening on 26 December 1832 and closing on 22 March 1838. In annual terms, this represents a solid record of regular new productions:

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The 1833-5 programs relied heavily on farce and melodrama, and although manager Barnett Levey announced in 1835 that he intended to uplift the programs

44 Supporting Documents, Chapter I, numbers 4 and 5.
The first locally-written Shakespeare burlesque was by Charles Nagel, Shaksperii Conglomoror Funnidogomoniae published in 1843, but with no record of performance. NLN:M. Early 19th century performances of Shakespearean tragedy follow the North American pattern, with interpolated music and melodramatic characterisation which turn Richard III and Macbeth into strutting heroes indistinguishable from conventional melodramatic 'rebel-bandit' heroes.
in order to cultivate a taste for the higher class of the Drama, the finer works of our old dramatists, Shakespeare, Otway and Massinger, will be introduced."\(^5\)

they remained much the same as before, continuing to feature hybrid and pastiche drama and music, often performed in mutilated fashion with inadequate orchestral resources and expurgated texts.

During the 1830s, however, alongside the light opera of Arne, Arnold, and Storace begin to appear those of Henry Bishop which prelude the appearance of light romantic opera and the romantic melodramas of Scribe, Planché and Kotzebue which herald the coming of European Gallic and Gothic romanticism.\(^6\) Bishop's adaptations of Walter Scott's novels, his pantomime-burlesques, and his at times tasteless and vulgar arrangements of music by, for example, Mozart, Rossini and Donizetti, may have helped popularise the original sources.\(^7\) His operas were certainly influential in propagating English and Celtic folklore, historical and national mythology, and English romanticism to the European theatre.\(^8\) Similarly, the plays of

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45. *Sydney Gazette* 2 May 1835 quoted by J. Hall, article 8 (*Canon V*) 8-9. The orchestra had earlier been criticized for playing too loudly for the singers and frequently out of tune, *Sydney Gazette* 8 October 1833. It was enlarged in 1835 and the theatre opened on three nights weekly. The playwrights Levey names had already been played in Sydney.

46. *Supporting Documents*, Chapter 1, number 8. Sir Henry Bishop (1786-1855) was a prolific composer, especially while musical director of Covent Garden. His works are examined by Bruce A. Carr, *The Theatrical Music of Sir Henry Rowley Bishop*, D.Diss., University of New York, Buffalo (Univ. Microfilm, 61 dr.). When his *Clari, Maid of Milan* was first performed in Sydney on 31 October 1834, "no music was played but a few songs were given between the acts of the drama of J.H. Payne;" J. Hall, article 10, (*Canon IV*) 444. But when *Guy Mannering* opened at the Royal Victoria Theatre in 1842, it "began a new era in colonial theatres"; J. Hall, article 12, (*Canon V*) 504.

47. The 'theme' tune in *Clari*, for instance, "Home, Sweet Home", epitomizes Bishop's adaptations. The music to the song had first appeared in the album of national melodies: Thomas Moore's *Collection of Irish Melodies*, issued serially between 1808 and 1834 with music arranged by both Bishop and Sir John Stephenson. Moore composed both words and music to "The Last Rose of Summer" which Floetow borrowed for *Martha* in 1847. These songs were favourite encores of Nellie Melba, and Joan Sutherland has also revived them for Australian audiences.

48. Bishop adapted eleven of Scott's novels for the stage; CODO (1966) 41; Grove V (1954) 727; Rosenthal (1958) 26. For other discussions of early Australian performances of Bishop, see McGuire (1948) 70; Wentzel (1963) 34; and J. Hall in *Canon IV*, 106-71; 427; *Canon V*, 444, 454, 505.
Kotzebue popularised German romantic elements in an English-language sensational melodrama, and works of his such as *The Stranger*, *Lover's Vows*, and *Pizarro* were among the most frequently performed in England, North America, and Australia before European romantic opera became an established genre.\(^49\)

Other English composers are transitional figures like Bishop. George Macfarren\(^50\) and John Barnett\(^51\) had semi-operas and farces performed at the Theatre Royal, then their later romantic operas performed in the 1840s and 1850s at the Royal Victoria.\(^52\) A change in repertory accompanied the change in location to a larger theatre with its better facilities and a higher standard of production with more authentic treatment of the operatic sources.

\(^{49}\) The dramas of August von Kotzebue (1761-1819) had extensive operatic vogue. *The Stranger* is B. Thompson's translation of *Menschenhaus und Reue*, based on Schiller's *Die Räuber*, premiered in London 1798, New York 1798, and first performed in Hobart Town on 17 December 1833 and revived the following year. In Sydney it was played at the Royal, 16 November 1834; in Adelaide at the Royal Victoria, 17 November 1839; and again in Sydney at the Royal Victoria on 18 March 1843. The heroine, Mrs. Haller, was a 'great melodramatic part.' *Lover's Vows* was translated by dramatist Mrs. Inchbald from *Das Kind der Liebe* for London 1798, and translated anew by William Dunlop for New York in 1811. It was premiered in Sydney at the Royal, 31 October 1836. *Pizarro*, on the infamous Spanish conquistadore, was translated by R.B. Sheridan for London in 1799 from Kotzebue's *Die Spanier in Peru; oder, Rolles Tod*. Dunlop prepared it for New York in 1812, and it was played at the Royal Victoria for Nesbitt's debut, Sydney, on 1 March 1842. It had music by Michael Kelly, Linley and Dussek in a pastiche score. The three dramas were frequently revived in Australia's 19th century theatres: W. Farmer Whyte (1917) 33 and OTCh, 525; Bagot (1865) 61; Porter (1865) 27-8; for his influence in America, H. Taubman (1967) 54. His librettos, with those of Planche and Scribe, are discussed further in Chapter 2.

\(^{50}\) Macfarren (1813-1887) had two pastiche comedies premiered at the Theatre Royal, *Guy Fawkes* (London 1822) on 29 October 1834 and *Winning a Husband* (London 1819) on 23 November 1837. His romantic melodrama *The Devil's Opera* (London 1840), Libretto by Scribe) was premiered at the Royal Victoria, 3 December 1846. The score was a pastiche arrangement of music by Bellini, Donizetti and others: CODO.

\(^{51}\) John Barnett's (1802-1890) farces *Charles XII* (London 1828) and *Pet of the Petticoats* (London 1831) with librettos by Planche and Buckstone, appeared at the Theatre Royal in 1837, and *Robert the Devil* (London 1832) with libretto by Fitzhall in 9.1.1836. *Fair Rosamund* (Libretto by J. Haucat, London 1837) was played, but without Barnett's music, at the Royal on 21.9.1837. His romantic opera *The Mountain Sylph* dates from 1834; see Note 56.

\(^{52}\) By the time Lyster arrived in 1861, Bishop no longer appeared in the repertory, but Barnett continued to have *The Mountain Sylph* played late into the century. By the 1850s in Australia, English light opera had been overtaken by Italian opera and French *opéra comique*. 
Although documentation for the repertory of the Royal Victoria Theatre is scattered, records show that from its opening four days after the Theatre Royal closed, on 22 March 1838, romantic comedies, romantic melodramas, and pastiche semi-operas continued alongside the first appearances of English and European romantic opera. The original theatre orchestra and most of the company of the Royal were absorbed into the new theatre. A new scale and new professionalism appears from Bishop's Guy Mannering in March 1842 until the end of 1845 when La Sonnambula and La Cenerentola were revived in full stage realisations. From 1845, French opéra comique (with firstly Auber's Le Lac des Fées) and the Italian opera of Bellini, Rossini, and Donizetti, join German romantic opera (Weber's Der Freischütz) and the new English works of Barnett, Balfe and Wallace. The three most successful English operas which remained in the repertory throughout the 19th century were The Bohemian Girl, The Mountain Sylph.

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53 Supporting Documents, Chapter 1, number 9. Documentation is here based on studies by Brewer (1892) and the articles by J.Hall, and A.Wentzel (1963) and from my examination of libretto booklets in VSL and SSL which are grouped together as Pamphlets.

54 Supporting Documents, Chapter I, number 10. Descriptions of these first important productions and the advance they represent are given by J.Hall, article 12, (Canon V) 504f, and subsequent articles.

55 Michael Balfe's (1808-1870) The Bohemian Girl, 3 acts, with libretto by Alfred Bunn after a ballet-pantomime by Saint-Georges, premiered London 1843, New York 1844, Sydney 13 July 1846, Italy 1858 (as La Zingara), had 22 performances in its first Sydney season: J. Hall, article 26, (Canon VII) 253; also Grove V (1954) 370-1; CODO (1966) 23; Dent (1949) 171. This was a 'rescue' opera showing Gallic influences, and it had accompanied recitative instead of spoken dialogue, in comparison with his first English romantic opera, Siege of Rochelle, a bandit-rebel drama by Fitzball (London 1835) based on Ricci's 1831 opera-adaptation of the novel by Mme. de Genlis, La Siège de la Rochelle. Balfe set this in the style of Auber's opéra comique: Dent (1949) 171; Kobbe (1954) 885-7.

56 John Barnett, (see Note 51). The libretto to the 3 act romantic opera The Mountain Sylph was by W.T. Thackeray, London 25 August 1834, first performed at the Theatre Royal 1835 without the original music; Arundell (1965) 115, 130, 152. For Australian productions, J. Hall, article 9 (Canon V) 54-8; article 26 (Canon VII) 252-3. It had 7 performances beginning 12 May 1846, and 14 by the end of that season at the Victoria.
and *Maritana*.\(^{57}\) They overtook other English romantic light opera by
Bishop, Macfarren, and John Brahman.\(^{58}\)

After 1846, there were expansions of this romantic opera
repertory, seen in *Supporting Documents*, Chapter 1, number 10. Premieres
at the Royal Victoria include: in 1847: Donizetti's *Don Pasquale*, Loder's
*The Night Dancers* together with the first Australian opera, Nathan's *Don
John of Austria* and revivals of *La Sonnambula* and *Der Freischütz*. In 1848:
Balfe's *The Siege of Rochelle*. In 1849: Wallace's *Maritana*, and in 1850:
Auber's *Le Cheval de Bronze* and Wallace's *Matilda of Hungary*. In 1851,
Balfe's *The Enchantress*, and *La Fille du Régiment* by Donizetti join the
repertory, with *The Daughter of St. Mark* by Balfe, and *Norma* by Bellini in
1852. Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* in 1853 and his *Lucrezia Borgia,
and Linda di Chamounix*, both in 1855, with Verdi, Ernani and Flotow, *Martha,
represent a firm policy of presenting European 'grand' opera. Verdi's
*Il Trovatore* (1859) and *Rigoletto* (in 1860) became two of his most popular
operas in Australia through the 19th century and remain firmly in the national
repertory.

After 1860, a period of consolidation occurs with the arrival of
the first impresario William Saurin Lyster. As the century proceeds,

\(^{57}\) *Maritana* by William Vincent Wallace (1812-1865) was claimed by several to
have been written, at least in part, in either Hobart or Sydney. The
libretto to the 3-act romantic drama (more of a whimsical comedy) is by
E. Fitzball adapted from *Don César de Bazan*, a popular play also in
Australia. Alfred Bunn wrote words to two extra songs, the ones believed
to be composed in Australia. It was first given in London 1845, Phila-
delphia 1846, Vienna 1848, and Sydney at the Royal Victoria Theatre 19
April 1849, after which it became a firm favourite throughout Australia
and was revived as recently as 1948. *Kobbé* (1954); *Covell* (1967) 240;
*Brewer* (1892) 58, who notes the play of *Don César de Bazan* was first
performed after *Der Freischütz* on 26 August 1845; *ADB II*, 567-8; and
*J. Hall's article 11 (Canon V)* 152-6 called "The Australian Paganini".
Other operas by Wallace popular in Australia include *Lurline* and *Matilda
of Hungary* (see Appendix Volume II).

\(^{58}\) A useful summary of English national and romantic opera is D. Grout, *A
Short History of Opera*, 2 vols, New York 1947, 495 following. John Brahman,
the famous tenor (1774-1856), inserted his own songs into popular pastiche
operas of his day, including *The Siege of Belgrade*, a Turkish comic opera,
played at the Royal Victoria on 13 October 1845, and *The Devil's Bridge*, a
pastiche with music by Rossini, Donizetti and Brahman, in Sydney 27 November
1845; and all the music for his tenor roles in Thomas Bibdin's semi-operas
*The Cabinet* (1802) and *The English Fleet* in 1842 (1843-4). His most famous
song was "The Death of Nelson". *J. Hall's article 14 (Canon VI)* 266, 269.
documentation is increasingly fragmentary. Lyster toured opera in long seasons to Adelaide, Brisbane, and Sydney from his base in Melbourne, and frequently portions of his companies were playing opera concurrently in Melbourne and touring other city or regional centers. At the same time, resident performers gathered into ad hoc or temporary touring groups, and, like Coppin and Lyster, sought fame and fortune on the goldrush circuits. Lyster imported overseas performers, some of whom stayed and played with other resident, temporary, and visiting opera companies. A history of these individuals and groups is overdue.

From the evidence of Lyster's programs, from the printed librettos which survive, and from typically descriptive newspaper reviews, new additions to the Australian repertory include some bold, contemporary premieres of Italian grand opera, French opéra comique, and, in the early 1870s, opéra bouffe and some startlingly early productions of Wagner's operas. Many of the works he brought to Australia were periodically revived between 1866 and 1880 in his accumulative repertory and were taken up by other companies. He even toured with his opera company to California in February 1867, returning in May 1868 after a brave but disappointing

59 They were not always fortunate. Coppin in his first season of grand opera in 1856 lost 3,000 pounds according to Brewer (1892) 13. The goldfields drained talent from other centers: after 1851 there was no longer a professional resident theatre in Adelaide; M.Abbye (1970) 55, who adds, "The discovery of gold has been considered an important factor in the firm establishment of theatre in Australia because, with the increase in wealth and the influx of immigrants, a new field was thus opened for the theatrical and musical professions. But it was an industry which became increasingly more difficult to recreate in Adelaide once it had lost its foothold there. As well...the uneven distribution of wealth between the colonies...penalized South Australia's theatrical industry." Also Brewer (1892) 4, and Abbye, 69 onward. The "circuit" was Geelong, Ballarat and Bendigo, all in Victoria. R.Ward discusses the cultural effects of gold in his chapter "The Social Fabric" in A.L. McLeod (ed), The Pattern of Australian Culture, Melbourne 1963, 20.

60 Supporting Documents, Chapter 1, number 11, which is compiled from the libretto-booklets which were sold during performances in the theatre auditorium, extant in Pamphlet collections, VSL, SSL and NLM:M. Information is also reliably compiled by Brewer (1892), and Wentzel (1967), supplemented by Appendices given in her text by Radic (1968).
reversal of the international trade-routing of opera and performers.\textsuperscript{61}

In 1969 he visited Europe with John Smith to engage five new Italian principals and Australian-born contralto Lucy Chambers, and began an "imported-Star" process which was to prove detrimental to local artists.\textsuperscript{62} It is significant that the only support he gave a locally written work was during his first season, when Marsh's \textit{The Gentleman in Black} appeared briefly in Melbourne. After Lyster, "high"-colonial Australian professional theatre abandoned locally-written opera for locally-written pantomime, farce, burlesque and melodrama tailored to a highly-competitive but lucrative mass-market. Serious Australian composers and dramatists were largely excluded from the commercial field centered on the transplanted repertory.

The great changes Lyster brought to Australian theatre eclipse previous advances in repertory and also production made in the Theatre Royal and the Royal Victoria Theatre, as the active scene shifts to Melbourne from Sydney. In his first 1861 season in Melbourne, his company gave 100 performances of opera. In 1862, they played 125 nights in a season which ended on 20 December after running as many as six different productions per week.\textsuperscript{63} By 1865, his Melbourne theatre orchestra numbered 17, with 14 principal singers and a chorus of 25.\textsuperscript{64}

\textsuperscript{61} Brewer (1892) 69; the tour was a financial failure.

\textsuperscript{62} Brewer (1892) 71; Radic (1968) 62

\textsuperscript{63} Lyster opened with \textit{Lucia di Lammermoor} on 25 March 1861; ADB V, 116-7; Radic (1968) 59; and Wentzel (1968) 70. The season was well-rehearsed. His most notable premieres were \textit{Faust}, \textit{Carmen}, \textit{L'Africaine}, \textit{Aida}, Die \textit{Fledermaus}, \textit{Tannhäuser} and \textit{Lohengrin}, soon after their English or European reputation was established.

\textsuperscript{64} Wentzel (1963) 142; but compare with Orchard (1952) 147. Wentzel describes the orchestra as: 5 violins, 1 viola, 1 cello, 1 bass, 1 flute, 2 clarinet 1 bassoon, 2 horns, 1 trumpet, 1 trombone and timpani. Compare this, for example, with the orchestra of the New Queen's Theatre, Adelaide, in 1848: "Three or four musicians, including the leader of the orchestra, were regularly on the pay list of the theatre. Extra musicians were engaged sometimes for less than the full week of three nights", Abbie (1970) 65. She notes a regular flute player was paid 10 shillings per week, the leader received 2 pounds, and the casual musicians received compensation in the form of "six ale and porter @ 5sh.3 pence" (Petty Cash entry, 26 April 1851).
He was then taking profits of 150 pounds per night in a six or seven-month season, but by 1872, his Melbourne orchestra numbered 25 permanent players, the chorus had 18 male and 12 female singers, and there were 12 dancers in the troupe. In 1865 there were 24 works in his repertory, all in production, touring from South Australia to Queensland; by 1879 he had premiered at least 56 operas in Australia.65

His productions were complete, authentic and on a lavish scale. He revived the most popular operas introduced earlier, of Donizetti, Flotow, Verdi, Bellini, and ever-successful Barnett and Wallace, and he also introduced Italian operas at the height of 19th century 'bel canto' which are rare in the repertory today, including early Verdi and Rossini. His record of first performances in Australia of Meyerbeer, Mozart, Gounod, Wagner, and Bizet and his premieres of Offenbach and Lecocq and the masterpieces of opéra bouffe, have not been equalled since. With J.C. Williamson he was responsible for bringing the first of the Savoy operettas to Australia.66 His was the most important single influence on the building of a standard opera repertory during a time of enormous economic and population expansion, intense urbanisation, and industrialization.67

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65 Figures by Radic (1968) 6-7; Brewster-Jones records that the Lyster company toured to South Australia's Barossa Valley in 1866 in German waggons complete with all scenery and costumes; (1936) 33.

66 Williamson owned the Australasian rights. Lyster made an agreement with him to produce H.M.S. Pinafore on 7 August 1880 at the Opera House, Melbourne which they jointly leased. The original score of the operetta was used. There were 60 in the chorus: Argus 7 August, 1880, 8, col.3 and 9 August 1880, 6, col.3.

67 Between 1851 and 1861, the population grew from 405,350 to 1,145,580; that is, it almost trebled soon after the major colonies were granted responsible government in 1856, and soon after the goldrush began. It is significant for the indigenous culture that a vast wave of new immigrants at this time nipped the developing ethos in the bud, or delayed the emergence of a distinctively Australian national sentiment; R.Ward, "The Social Fabric" in A.L. MeLeod: The Pattern of Australian Culture, Melbourne 1963, 25. G.Nadel judges there were some 600,000 newcomers in the decade of gold and it was the only time in the century that immigrants with private means outnumbered assisted migrants (usually paupers or from the lowest stratum of British and Irish society). By 1851 one-third of the population of New South Wales was of unskilled Irish-Catholic stock, but the goldrushes attracted a middle-class of tradesmen and manufacturers; Nadel (1957) 24-5.
However, there had not been a hiatus in the Australian repertory between the irregular seasons of the Royal Victoria and Lyster's professional tours. Many opera artists began to arrive in the 1850s, to bolster the foundation-members of the former Clarke company which had begun in Hobart Town and moved to Sydney in 1845, bringing the Howson brothers, the Carandini family, colonial 'stars' such as Mrs. Stirling-Guerin-Stewart and John and Sam Lazar. These performers continued to play in opera and opera-plays throughout Australia. The Carandini company even toured New Zealand, India and North America in 1860. From 1849, their movements also coincide with the career of George Coppin, especially along the lucrative goldfields circuits from the early 1850s.

Coppin, shortly following his arrival in Sydney in March 1843, gave semi-opera and burlesque performances, and promoted opera and drama in a broad repertory in Sydney, Hobart Town (1845), Launceston, Adelaide (in 1846), the Victorian goldfields (1851), and finally with his main base

68 Mrs. Clarke's drama and opera company began at the Theatre Royal, Hobart Town in the 1830s, and their expansion into romantic opera in Tasmania coincides with the opening of the Royal Victoria Theatre in Sydney; e.g. the first opera "with the original music" played by the Clarke company was on 11 February, 1842. It was John of Paris, libretto by Pocock after Boieldieu's Jean de Paris (1810) which Bishop adapted for Covent Garden in 1814: McQuire (1948) 70; Wentzel (1963) 34. Most of the original company moved to Sydney in 1845 to play a major part in the expanding repertory at the Royal Victoria. They include John and Frank Howson, Mrs. Stirling (later Stewart), Signor and Mme. Carandini - all of whom were recruited to Tasmania by Mrs. Clarke between 1840 and 1842. W. Hudson, The Theatre Royal, Hobart, 1837-1948: A Brief History, t.s. in Hinde Papers MS 2691/2896, AML.

69 Marie Burgess (1826-1894) married Count Carandini in Hobart Town in 1843 and shortly after made her singing debut. ADB, III, 351; Johns: ABD, (1934); Orchard (1952) 26; J. Hall (Canor VI) 53-7; Wentzel (1963) 42.
in Melbourne theatres from 1894.  

Ann Wentzel has shown there were annual seasons of opera in Melbourne from 1855 until the first Lyster season in 1861. A small visiting French company, the Gautrot troupe, first introduced French vaudeville and opéra comique by Scribe to Sydney and Melbourne in 1839-40. The visiting singers Sara Flower and Catherine Hayes presented 'opera concerts'....

70 George Coppin (1819-1906): for biography, Bagot (1965); ADB III, 450-62; and also A. Bagot, "G.S. Coppin: Father of the Australian Theatre", in Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society (March 1961) 34-58. For his South Australian career, Abbie (1970) 76-82, 339. Like Lyster's brother Fred, George Coppin's brother Fred occasionally composed and was an early orchestral leader and conductor for George and Maria Coppin on the goldfields. Montague remembers that Fred Coppin "had many books of music to suit each piece or each actor". There was a system of cues: i.e. music selected and labelled for 'plaintive', 'lively', 'martial', 'dances' and 'hurry', to accompany actions: "This was generally sufficient until we came to comic parts which always had to be specially arranged for. The comic actor is the monarch of the stage, and the horror of the orchestra. He can't sing without an instrument to help him. If he sings a comic song, the lower notes of the bassoon must sound. If he goes on tip-toe, the strings play pizzicato. If he sits down suddenly, he wants a chord and a bang of the drum. If he knocks anyone down, which he is always able to do, however big they may be, a crash of the cymbals accentuates the blow. Being dissatisfied with the class of music played between the acts, Fred Coppin resolved to try something new: to our astonishment we found copies of Haydn's symphonies on our stands; the audiences were also astonished. On the first night, they endured with patience. On the second night there were murmurings, and on the third hisses, so we returned to our waltzes, galops and selections", Montague (a player in Coppin's orchestra) 1925, np.


72 M. and Mme Gautrot, after an American tour, began a Sydney season on 15 March 1839, performing in French but were poorly patronized. They both remained in Sydney and taught singing. The company had five singers and a pianist. Radic (1968) 29; McGuanne (1886) 25.

73 Sara Flower (d.1878), a contralto Brewer thought unequilled in 19th century Australian theatre, who first appeared in Sydney 3 May 1850 at the Royal Victoria Theatre in a concert given by H. and S. Hale March (Catalogue I, 1897). She had sung portions of Marnitauz at her first Melbourne concert the previous month. Radic (1968) 52, 173. She was in the first performance of Norma, Il Trovatore, and Lucrezia Borgia. Brewer (1892) 58-9.

74 Catherine Hayes (1825-1891), Irish soprano, toured Australia after a Covent Garden debut (1849), and tour of North America with Laven (see Appendix, Volume II): M. Moretzk (1855) 14-6. She arrived in Melbourne in 1853 to begin a two-year tour at the Theatre Royal, thence to Sydney until 1856. In 1856 alone, she sang in full performances of La Sonnambula, Norma, The Bohemian Girl, Lucia di Lammermoor, and Lucrezia Borgia, usually appearing alongside Sara Flower, according to many the better singer. The program consisted of which Mme Camandini was also renowned consisted of spoken portions of the dialogue of the opera, with selections from the score of the principal arias, accompanied by piano. This was especially devised touring entertainment; Montague (1925) who played with them; P. Campbell (1967) 270; CND 175; Wentzel (1963) 147, 213 and (1968-9) 70; Radic (1968) 153; Bagot (1885) 200.
or 'opera di camera' with scenes from Italian opera interspersed with popular Irish and English ballads in 1850 and 1853 respectively. Anna Bishop, errant wife of composer Henry, visited Sydney and Melbourne in 1855-6, and returned in 1868-9 and 1974. She gave opera concerts on the Victorian goldfields and full performances of opera in Melbourne in 1856 and 1857 at the new Princess Theatre with the same resident singers and musicians who had joined Hayes and Flower on tour. In 1856, Bishop's Melbourne season included La Sonnambula, Martha, Norma, Der Freischütz and Lucrezia Borgia; in 1857 she gave the first performance in Australia of Ernani with the Carandini company.

The visiting Bianchi company brought Italian opera via San Francisco to Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide in 1859-60 -- a small troupe with an orchestra of five conducted by composer Charles Packer. Their repertory consisted of twelve Italian operas including Il Trovatore and La Sonnambula, which they gave in Italian in a 16-week season in Adelaide alone. Of their 36 nights in Melbourne, 20 were devoted to operas of Verdi, and the Bianchi productions provided English translation libretto-booklets for the audiences.

The resident company of the Royal Victoria in Sydney supported these

75 Anna Bishop (1814-1889), a dramatic soprano who dramatically eloped to Australia with harpist Nicholas Charles Bochsa, member of Bishop's staff at the Royal Academy of Music in 1838. Their first Sydney concert was in 1855 at the Prince of Wales Theatre; Bochsa died after three performances. She later sang with Coppen in his Melbourne Opera Season, 1857, left Melbourne in June 1857, but was back in 1868-7 and 1874. She sang on the goldfields; Wentzel (1963) 142; Radic (1968) 167. Extant letters from her to John Smith, music critic to the Argus and partner of Lyster in 1859 which are dated (i) 1857 from Valparaiso; (ii) 1868 from Adelaide; (iii) 1869 from Melbourne concerning her Farewell Concert on 12 April 1869; are held in the ABC:NA.

76 She had already given the premiere performance of Weber's Der Freischütz at the Metropolitan Theatre of San Francisco, with a touring Italian opera troupe in 1854; R.L. Davis (1961) 268. Other roles she played in Australia were in La Fille du Régiment, Don Pasquale, Lucia di Lammermoor, Linda di Chamonix and The Bohemian Girl. Radic (1968) 58, 167, 193.

77 Charles Jeffrey's translation of Il Trovatore was prepared in 1860; EMM I, 376, in VSL: Pamphlets 2. For Adelaide productions, G.L. Fischer (1960) 79-97; Wentzel (1963) 142, 213; for Melbourne, Radic (1968) 59; and R. Campbell (1967) 265.
visiting artists appearing as 'prima donna' and 'celebrated guest' artists. The resident company also banded into temporary touring troupes such as the Howson-Torning company and the longer-lasting Carandini company, and moved into the Prince of Wales Theatre, later renamed the English Opera House in Sydney, and into Coppin's Theatre Royal in Melbourne.

In retrospect, despite this continual activity in forming an opera repertory, the 'golden age' of opera in Australia really burgeoned with Lyster's arrival. His first season in 1861 appropriately coincides with the birth of Helen Mitchell, later internationally famous as Dame Nellie Melba. 78

In both a contemporary and a professional sense, Lyster was an Australian "Mapleson". 79 His major achievement between 1861 and 1880 was to present opera on a new scale, to introduce major established as well as avant-garde operas from the chief international centres. His conductors included musicians who subsequently remained and composed, or who continued to assist the growth of the repertory; many had, in the early days, to score and arrange orchestral parts. Julius Siede scored the entire vocal score of Les Huguenots in 1862, 80 and George Loder composed all the recitatives for Weber's Oberon in 1865. 81 His brother Fred Lyster translated librettos into English which were then offered for sale in the theatre; Fred Lyster

78 Pietro Cecchi, Melba's first singing teacher, had been 'imported' by Lyster in 1871 to Melbourne where he settled, joining the Agatha States company, conducted by Giorza, in 1871 also. The major biography for Melba is still John Hetherington's, published in Melbourne, 1967.

79 Colonel James Mapleson (1830-1901) was the dominating English impresario from 1861. He introduced many contemporary European operas to England, including Faust, Carmen, La Forza del Destino, Vêpres Siciliennes, Un Ballo in Maschera and Médée. He also imported European singers. His story is told in the Mapleson Memoirs 1848-1888 ed. H. Rosenthal, London 1964; CODO, 244-5.

80 Julius Siede (d.1903), conductor, flautist, composer, and founder of the Melbourne Liedertafel, arrived in Melbourne in 1855 from engagements in North America including Castle-Garden concerts in New York, 1849 and a tour with Jenny Lind in 1850 and Anna Bishop in 1851. He directed the Melbourne Liedertafel from 1872-1890s. Radié (1968) 510-11; Montague (1925); his son born in Australia was August, who became a minor composer and music critic for the Melbourne Age (d.1925). H.Tate, Book 2, Age Criticisms (27 October 1925) on the death of August. Both Siede and Loder accompanied Anna Bishop in Sydney Concerts in 1857 (SMH 26.8.57 p1, col.3).

81 George Loder was a minor composer, Catalogue 4 (1857). Brewer (1892) 65. His earliest activities in Australia include conducting Ermani for Anna Bishop's Sydney Prince of Wales in 1857; Sydney Morning Herald 28 August 1857, 1, col.3.
even composed occasionally. The Lyster seasons expanded both repertory and employment for professional singers and musicians in Australia, and undoubtedly raised performance standards to a new level remarkable in a country less than 100 years from its first founding.

Lyster died on 17 November 1880, shortly after entering a partnership with Arthur Garner for the London Comedy Company. The same year, the old Royal Victoria Theatre, Sydney, burnt down after 42 years of continuous use. 1879 marks the first season of opera to be given by the new entrepreneur, J.C. Williamson, whom Coppin brought to Australia in 1874. Lyster, at the peak of his career, welcomed Williamson to Sydney on his arrival, but they soon became professional rivals, especially as the co-lessees of the Melbourne Opera House in 1875. Lyster's contribution to the making of the Australian opera repertory was never equalled by Williamson in terms of premieres of new European operas of the day. Lyster's profits, however, were easily surpassed by the highly-successful J.C. Williamson organisations.

Lyster and Williamson gave Australian audiences the advantage of seeing the best and newest overseas productions. They shared a high standard of presentation and engaged the very best overseas artists available. They unfortunately can be seen to disadvantage too: both depreciated locally-written operas and plays -- and players -- no matter how promising or talented. The period of their dominance over the Australian

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82 Note 70 above. Later in California, as a music director, Fred Lyster wrote a detective melodrama Ready; or, California '71 for the Metropolitan Theatre, 1871, which starred J.C. Williamson. A song by him is included in the Clarke-Kelley-Plumpton fantasy, Alfred the Great, Melbourne 1878 (Catalogue 5). I. Dicker (1974) 26, 29, 91; R. Campbell (1967) 205; ADB V, 116-7.

83 Argus, 27 July 1880, 3, col.7 reported its demise on the 23rd July.
stage is one of the dominance of imported works and players, and marks the beginning of the departure overseas of the best Australian talent. It is a sad fact that the entrepreneurial monopolies of Lyster and Williamson led to a dictatorship by English and American drama, music and performers, and, especially, producers, over the youthful indigenous culture.84

Williamson's life and work are now documented.85 In brief, Williamson was initially engaged as an actor by Coppin in 1874. In 1882 he joined Arthur Garner and George Musgrove (with Coppin as a 'sleeping partner') to form a theatre management triumvirate for 9 years. Also in 1882, with the Brough Company, and in 1885 the Brough-Boucicault Company, they began their entrepreneurial "imported star" system, raking English and American theatres for the best talent likely to secure the greatest profit in Australia. Musgrove left the triumvirate in 1890, and Garner was bought out in 1893, leaving J.C. Williamson in control of a commercial theatrical monopoly which survived his death in 1913 and celebrated its centenary in 1974. Throughout this century, the "Firm" secured the best of imported entertainments playing in every State capital city, in its own theatres, with a local company supporting the imported, 'star' principals.86

84 Among the several conductors who appeared with Lyster's companies are Anton Rieff (1861), Frank Howson, John Hill (1866), A. Siede and C. Loder, Zeiman (1872, 1874), George Allen (1874) Schoot (1874) and Paolo Giorza (1871-2, 1876) who later conducted for Williamson. Brewer (1892) 65; R. Campbell (1967) 765; Orchard (1952) 147; P. Mennell (1892) 535. The imported singers are too numerous to list. The Gentleman in Black by S.H. Marsh in 1861 was Lyster's only Australian production, just as Hart's Deirdre in Exile was the only serious opera written in Australia to be produced by Williamson, discounting the annual pantomimes, melodramas and spectacular theatrical extravaganzas. Hal Porter makes perhaps the most vituperative attack on the overseas dominance of the Australian stage; (1965) especially 280-2.

85 The latest biography is by Ian Dicker (1974) but also see J.C.Williamson, J.C.Williamson's Life-Story in His Own Words, Sydney 1913; Viola Tait, A Family of Brothers: The Taita and J.C. Williamson, Melbourne 1971; and George Lauri, The Australian Theatre Story - A Romantic Informal History, Sydney 1966. "JCM" was born in Pennsylvania in 1945, was leading comedian at the California Theatre, San Francisco in 1871, and first visited Australia with his wife, actress Maggie Moore in 1874, returning in 1879, as sole owner of the Australasian rights to H.M.S.Finajore, which began his entrepreneurial success.

86 On the progress of J.C. Williamson Theatres after his death, see Abbie (1970) 90; Mackenzie (1967) 8-17; R. Campbell (1967) 273-7; Cowell (1967) 242-3.
In 1880, he promoted his first J.C. Williamson English Opera Company. An offshoot, the London Opera Comique company, played in 1880-82, when he then promoted a Williamson, Garner and Musgrove Royal Comic Opera Company (1882-5, 1886-92) largely to perform English and Savoy comic operetta, melodrama, and varieties of pantomime and vaudeville. In 1893 he imported his first Italian Opera Company in temporary partnership with Musgrove, and in 1904 he formed the J.C. Williamson Opera Company. Whatever the title, the fare was always much the same, and he usually "Struck Oil".87

In his first opera season in 1879, he premiered H.M.S. Pinafore with Paolo Giorza as conductor. In 1885, he premiered The Mikado. Until the 1900s he owned sole Australian and New Zealand rights to the Savoy operas. His repertory and his players developed the usual versatility of the times in grand opera, opéra bouffe, musical comedy, Savoy operas and melodramas. By 1905, J.C. Williamson's companies were playing in all State capitals, Kalgoorlie, Broken Hill, Ballarat, Bendigo, Geelong, and New Zealand; some parts of his company toured continuously for as long as two years. Unlike Lyster, he failed to establish a permanent opera company, but he did make periodic forays into ballet, and opera, and later motion pictures and silent films in the pre-World War I period. Until his partnership with Melba, the operas he presented were mostly Italian: in 1893, Cavalleria Rusticana and I Pagliacci; in 1901, Verdi's Otello, Ponchielli's La Gioconda and Puccini's La Bohème and in 1910 his Madame Butterfly which, sung in English, ran for six weeks in Sydney alone.

On the 1911 Melba-Williamson Grand Opera Company tours, the repertory included La Traviata, La Bohème, Romeo and Juliet, Tosca, Madame Butterfly, Aida, Otello, Faust, Samson and Delilah, Carmen, Rigoletto and Lohengrin. The opening night in Sydney at Her Majesty's Theatre, 2 September

87 The title of the melodrama for which he was famous as Stofel, in the play by Clay Greene which Williamson premiered in San Francisco in 1874; Dicker (1974) 35-9. His role was not unlike the roles Coppin made famous (Paul Pry and Billy Barlow). Illustrations show Coppin and Williamson in similar poses in Allan Sierz's Colonial Life in South Australia, Fifty Years of Photography, 1855-1905, Adelaide 1969, 29 and 72-3 respectively.
1911, was said

...to mark the turning point in the musical history of this country.  

and the takings on that night alone exceeded 1,500 pounds. For the next 8 weeks, the company gave 55 performances; on October 28 they opened in Melbourne and receipts for that evening totalled 1,800 pounds. In six weeks, the company gave 38 performances. On a short return engagement to Sydney, eleven operas were performed. The total profits for the season were 92,000 pounds.

Although this was the last of Williamson's personal triumphs before his death, the business organisation he founded continued to play seasons of opera. In 1919, opera was given in English; in 1923, The Beggar's Opera was revived; in 1924, the second Melba-Williamson Grand Opera season opened under the management of Nevin Tait, the company's London Manager; John Brownlee, Browning Mummery, and 24 Italian tenors and basses were added to 30 Australian sopranos and altos for an Italian and French opera season. The third and last Melba-Williamson season was in 1928 (Melba died in 1932), but in 1932 there was another imported season with Williamson's Imperial Grand Opera Company. Tait again marshalled Italian principals for the 1948 and 1955 Italian Grand Opera Company. Probably the last and greatest season was the Sutherland-Williamson tour of all States in 1965.


89 The 1928 season lost 40,000 pounds, proving Abbie's point about the "notorious field of Grand Opera"; (1970) 93. In 1936, Fuller's opera company lost 30,000 pounds; the 20th century was not as profitable as Lyster and Williamson had found; AE, IV, 229.

90 A season "as determinedly anachronistic as its title (The Sutherland-Williamson International Grand Opera Company), (but) for opera in Australia the tour was, if anything, a setback", and a "manifestation of the high-priced snobbery and star-hunting which convinces other people that opera is only the pretentious and trivial plaything of wealthy social climbing"; Covell (1967) 254-6.
Figures from J.C. Williamson early seasons indicate how well Lyster had laid the foundations of commercial opera in Australian theatrical life. In 1906, Williamson had 650 people on his payroll: 187 were actors, 85 musicians, and 52 were technicians. The previous year, he paid salaries totalling over 110,000 pounds, and royalties and copyrights on plays and scores cost him over 5,000 pounds. In 1905, he and his company held the performing rights throughout Australia to 105 musical comedies and operas, 40 comedies, 91 dramas. After 1881, he produced an annual Christmas pantomime. Composers employed to create, adapt, and arrange music for these spectacular productions included Léon Caron, George Pack, Alfred Hill, Henry Keiley and Alfred Plumpton; and local writers for the "Firm" included Arthur Adams, Bert Royle, Montague Grover, and Thomas (Toso) Taylor. The latter was a professional minister of the church and amateur dramatist favoured with Williamson's approval, and whose Parsifal, a spectacular pastiche of the Wagnerian musicdrama, was lavishly promoted in 1906. The Sydney press then gave Williamson undeserved credit:

...if only for his pluck in putting on so big a thing of so unusual a sort at Her Majesty's without the sanction of an English success.  

Williamson's contribution to the total development of Australian theatre is still controversial, but his contribution to indigenous opera and drama was shamefully neglectful considering the enormous profits he

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91 Annual pantomimes had begun in Sadler's Wells in 1847, and the Williamson Christmas pantomimes were not the first in Australia, but were probably the most spectacular, especially those which Léon Caron composed and conducted: Djin Djin (1896) and Matsa (1896), Volume II, Catalogue 5.

92 The Bulletin, 27 December 1906, quoted by Dicker (1974), 151. Taylor also wrote or adapted two pantomimes for Williamson, Beauty and the Beast (1893) and Cinderella (1894) as well as the musical comedy Mrs. McGoooney (1911), see Catalogue 5. Taylor had a keen sense of the spectacular for his Parsifal: A Romantic Mystery Drama, published in Sydney 1906, 2nd ed. Melbourne 1907; EMM I, 261, 358-9.
gathered. For his biographer to write recently:

Without Williamson and his enterprising entrepreneurship the colonial stage might have lingered for years in a state of unpolished mediocrity... (he) reversed the prevailing tide of cultural defeatism and rescued the Australian stage from the threat of colonial insularity....

is a denial of the previous half-century of development.

In the late 19th to early 20th century, the Lyster-Williamson pattern of importing principals and repertory was firmly adhered to. After World War I many local, amateur, academic-based, and semi-professional companies struggled to add to the European and contemporary repertory alongside the major commercial theatres. These groups include the State Conservatorium of Music, Sydney; National Opera, Sydney; the opera school of the Melba Conservatorium, Albert Street, Melbourne; the National Theatre Movement of Victoria; the Queensland State, and National, Opera companies; and the opera school of Adelaide’s Elder Conservatorium of Music. Commercial opera in the early 20th century was also sponsored by Garner, Benjamin Fuller and George Quinlan. There have been other regular, occasional, or sporadic seasons of opera by other companies, including The Sydney Opera Group (since 1963), the NSW Arts Council, touring opera to country towns, and there were nine operas produced by amateur companies, in one year, 1925, in Victoria alone.

Any innovation in the repertory was mainly due to the State Conservatories, especially under imaginative directors such as Eugene Goossens, Clive Carey, Fritz Hart and Arnold Matters. There were also occasional opera productions by enthusiastic amateurs in Western Australia


94 Supporting Documents, Chapter I, number 12.

95 Supporting Documents, Chapter I, number 13, which is a selection of titles from R.T. Werther’s short list, Appendix to Opera in Australia; The History leading to the Australian Elizabethan Opera, Perth 1956, 16 pp, for which I thank the author for giving permission to use here.
(after 1946), and Tasmania in the post 1940s. Also the Australian Broadcasting Commission has produced radio (concert) performances of opera since 1941, and has televised opera performances, including several Australian operas, such as Larry Sitsky's *Fall of the House of Usher* in 1970, John Gordon's *Fisher's Ghost*, Fritz Hart's *Even Unto Bethlehem*, Felix Werder's *Private* and John Antill's *The First Christmas*. On May 24, 1970, the ABC televised its 50th opera production since the beginning of television in 1956.*96*

The Elizabethan Theatre Trust, inaugurated after a Royal Tour in 1954 and first formed in 1956, in its first ten years performed operas of Mozart, Beethoven, Britten, Verdi. By 1967, its statistics read:

(1964) 339 performances; (1965) 113 performances plus involvement in the Williamson-Sutherland season; (1966) 77 performances in cities, 142 in country districts; (1967) 235 performances. It was rarely adventurous in repertory.*97*

The national company, The Australian Opera, which succeeded it has also continued the fine European tradition of an established Grand Opera company with traditional repertory, and has introduced some major works to the Australian public including Prokofiev's *War and Peace* for the

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96 *The Bulletin*, 23 May 1970, 52 and *The Australian* 18 May 1970, both summarise this 14-year record, the latter pointing out that the 50 productions meant 1365 engagements of 1,000 singers, actors, and dancers, and 4 orchestras.

1974 opening of its new theatre and home, the Sydney Opera House.\footnote{98} But it has been chiefly the smaller, State-subsidised regional companies who have continued to build on and also refresh the old standard repertory.\footnote{99} An outstanding example is the New Opera, South Australia (now the State Opera) with its Adelaide Festival of Arts production of Janacek's *The Excursions of Mr. Broucek* (1974) and its 1976 commissions of two new Australian operas.

The history of the transplanted repertory since 1956 is beyond the design of this chapter, but it is a conspicuous fact that locally-written works have rarely been sought or promoted by the professional companies producing opera in Australia. *That* patronage was too often left to private, academic, and amateur groups often formed and led by the composer's own initiative. On the other hand, Australian composers and librettists frequently aimed to write "Grand" opera that was both dramatically and musically in the continuum of transplanted conventions, and addressed their creative work to a ready proven but highly competitive market within a cultural milieu which might be expected to receive their work favourably.

\footnote{98} The Australian Opera has, however, another clearly-defined responsibility -- to Australian creative artists, which its Chairman gave in a policy statement: "The Australian Opera should be seen as the vehicle for the development of an indigenous creative identity within the boundaries of musical theatre...The Australian Opera will commission and perform contemporary Australian works...(it) intends to perform at least one new Australian work each year. Note: whilst there can be no commitment of performance of commissioned works, there will always be the intention to perform whenever a commission is given." *Opera Australia*, no.1 (January 1974), 5-6, 9-10.

\footnote{99} Reports and policies concerning "Fostering the Revival of Indigenous Opera" given by directors and administrators of regional companies, and administrators of regional companies, including Richard Divall (Victorian Opera Company), Justin McDonnell (New Opera, South Australia), in K. Dreyfus (ed) *Report of Symposium* (1973) 87 onwards.
CHAPTER 2

PROFILE OF THE AUSTRALIAN WORKS

1. Nineteenth Century Origins

Introduction

The dramatic genres already broadly outlined and the changes in repertory in mid-century are reflected in the Australian-made works. The majority of local operas are comedies, but show the same move from early light, domestic, costume comedy to romantic comedy as the transplanted pieces do, just as the heavy dramas move from historic and heroic themes to romantic melodrama. Just as the early colonial plays of David Burn¹ and Edward Geoghegan,² the two most successful and prolific playwrights, range from melodrama to farce, the same range and variation exists through the 19th century Australian works. Even after a marked fall-off in playwriting in New South Wales after the initial colonial burst in the 1840s-50s and as the creative scene shifts to Victoria,³ the bulk of known works are

¹ David Burn's (1799?-1875) plays are listed in Catalogue 4. Of 8 known works, 3 are historical tragic plays, one a domestic tragedy, another a nautical farce, a 'petite' romantic comedy, then there are the two local-subject dramas, The Bushrangers (1829) a verse drama, and the burlesque Sydney Delivered (1844): ADB I, 181-2; AE, 188; EMM III, 124.

² Edward Geoghegan is thought to have written ten dramas: one a farce, A Trip to Geelong (circa 1859) another a comic operetta with local-subject, The Currency Lass (1844). As he was a convict, forbidden by law to attach his name to playscripts, his works were submitted to the Colonial Secretary under names of leading members of the Royal Victoria's company. Of the remaining works several are adaptations; five are historical dramas, one a nautical melodrama, and two are verse tragedies. They are in Catalogue 4. See H.L. Oppenheim's studies (1966), (1967) and A.B. Weiner (1967).

³ A useful checklist of the Victorian productions after 1850 with full cast lists and details of management is the Melbourne Papers, VSL:A, compiled from press reviews. Williams used this for her Appendix VI: "List of Major Productions of Plays by Australian Authors in Melbourne, from 1850 to 1912", (1973) np.
either historical quasi-tragedy with serious overseas themes, or romantic comedy, farce, pantomime and the extravaganza-burlesque.

This chapter first examines examples of each dramatic type and shows their relationship with then-contemporary models in the imported repertory. It also discusses the role of music in the operas and semi-operas, and describes the range in musical composition generated by the theatre in Australia. As the early colonial works exhibit the chief dramatic and musical features of the 19th century, it is fortuitous that many of these plays have survived. Much of the music is lost, but two vocal scores of early opera are extant, and there are also many extracts in separately-published sheet-songs and keyboard pieces which illustrate types of dramatic music from which general observations can be made.

Ironically, the survival of the early playscripts is perhaps due much more to then-existing legal requirements than to any care for future historical artifacts or an early celebration of the nascent Australian culture and creative spirit. "Colonial" is as much defined by legislation as by periodisation, both politically and culturally. Once an Australian theatre manager received his licence, he was free to select any licensed English play. The practice arose for local writers to submit copies of their original, new work not covered by London licensing laws to the Colonial Secretary. This was originally a position of Secretary to the Colony (from 1788 until 1820) which became in 1821 a Secretaryship to the Colonial Office in London. It was not until 1856 that the Secretary was to be an Australian political office which then lasted until 1934. The Colonial Licensing Act of 1847 gave the same powers to the Colonial Secretary granted the London Lord Chamberlain: the right to

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reject or approve by licence any piece of stage entertainment. The actual practice of submitting new works to this Office began before the 1847 Act. Permission for stage representation had to be both sought and granted in writing; typical grounds for rejection were any "local, political, sectarian or immoral" materials. If Colonial censorship controls resulted in preservation of the works, they also led to suppression, and it is interesting to see in rejected works such as Life in Sydney; or, The Ran Don Club (1843) features that the administration found intolerable, perhaps because they could be seen as critical of the administration itself, or as reflecting too accurately the realities of colonial life. Obviously these legal controls affected indigenous colonial dramatists, and insured their 'safe' adherence to acceptable overseas models. After 1856, the infant local theatre had then to contend with an established commercial repertory which had the same effect, through the agency of monopolistic commercial impresarios who exerted another but equally persuasive form of control.

The main dramatic features of early 19th century Australian musical entertainments are, first, a popular subject, usually well-known and predictable, and a theme leaving little to the imagination. Second, a style in which there is both surprise and recognition -- suspense and sensational elements together with topical allusions, familiar plots, easily

5 H.L. Oppenheim (1966) 279-80; OCTh (1951) 194; also my Chapter 1, Note 10.

6 Preserved in the Colonial Secretary's Inpapers, 1826-1934 96 (10) 97 (15), in: Special Bundles 1826-1934, Appendix 5: "Plays, Operas, Farces, Pantomimes etc.", also Appendix B 4/7-72 (1840) 'Isabel of Valois' and 4/4714 1843-50, Five Plays submitted for approval, NLNM: M SZ series. Also Plays in Sydney, Vol.1, 1788-1840 in MS. NLNM: M and MS Plays and Prompt Books, A Collection of Undated Plays and Acting Parts, MS B224, NLNM: M, which are plays and fragments probably pre-dating Colonial Licensing Laws.

7 On censorship "authorizing" certain acceptable themes and their treatment and expunging others, see Williams (1973) Ch.1, 65-6. Sir Edward Dean-Thomson (1800-79) was Colonial Secretary from 1837 to 1856 and it is his signature found on the scripts and covering letters.
identifiable characters and settings and a language often in an amusing vernacular (through puns, topical jests, or slang expressions). Third, they strive constantly for contrast and variety in presentation of scenery, action, plot, character and accompanying music. The music also builds on the same interplay between recognition and surprise: the juxtaposition of new (original) music with the old, familiar popular tunes in an easy, light, flowing style replete with contrasts (derived traditionally from pitch, timbre, rhythm and density) and repetition, within the safe confines of diatonic harmony.

Where dramatic forms and their conventions exhibit an impulse and desire for constant variety, the music frequently seems to have provided some unifying quality to the structure. Music could build a climax, mark a pause, and provide contrasts in the action; it could actually underline action. Overtures could present themes to be subsequently heard in the work, which were linked to character, action, mood; recurrence of melodic or rhythmic patterns both assisted recognition and underlined effects. The structural appearance, arrangement, and aural contrasts provided by various musical groups, whether purely instrumental or with solo voice, ensemble or chorus, could alleviate any monotony in the clichéd language, in predictable action or in stereotyped characterization.

The music quite possibly played a further part in melodrama and quasi-tragedy. There may have been a deliberate or unconscious irony in the use of music and musical cliché to undercut the sombre moments of tragedy, by following these with jaunty jigs and reels, charming sentimental strophic songs and amorous duets, and by concluding a sensational 'death-scene' with rousing chorus. The actual convention of inserting popular music into the plot could be more than theatrical cliché: it could be in itself a comment on the realities of colonial life and class structure. In a harsh environment where survival was physically tough, and as socially competitive and oppressive as Sydney's convict colony was, there were madrigal concerts and elegant masked balls where the administration danced
quadrilles, and the regimental band stationed at the Hyde Park Barracks played bucolic symphonies in the wilderness of the public Domain. Music might undermine reality, just as music interpolated in tragedy could be both paradoxical and ironic.

At the same time, music of a popular and recognizable character could provide points of reference. Through its public, social, often ceremonial function, it conveyed tradition. Cutting across the proscenium as it cut across class and gender, music could provide points of contact, mutuality, familiarity for its hearers. A tune could reinforce the tradition and custom of the 'old' world in the 'new' in ways at once reassuring and uplifting to people isolated physically and psychically from their homeland in a distant strange environment. It could be argued that an early colonial theatre like the convict group at Emu Plains gave an outlet for boredom but also embodied in a way tolerable to the authorities an act of defiance: it seems no accident that convict theatres produced 'bandit-rebel' dramas on the theme of conflict with authority and antagonism for social order. The music which accompanied this kind of rebellious drama was folk-traditional, usually in jaunty major keys with rousing communal choral refrains, in simple tunes with an easy pitch range extremely suitable for community singing and celebration. One of the most popular pieces of music which is recorded as played from the First Fleet settlement

8 The same irony is illustrated in the play Life in Sydney; or, The Ran Dan Club (1843), with contrasts between, for example, the settings for a Pitt Street fight (I/4) and the 'crimp-shops' or back slums of the Rocks (II/3) compared to the brilliant ball scene at the Woolloomooloo Court House (II/5) where Sydney's elite honour St. Patrick's Day. In this scene, 'brilliant' quadrilles are played - but in the emigrants' ball at the Royal Hotel (I/5) the dance is a gallopade, a more humble affair. See Catalogue I (1843).

9 On the Emu Plains Theatre (1875-1830) see Roderick (1955) Introduction 1-33, and his edition of the convict novel, Ralph Rashleigh, Chapter 12, 92-6; also Irving (1971) 10, 11, 62-3, 65, 146. Their performances included Barissa; or, The Hermit Robber (London 1793) and the burlesque Bombastus Furioso (London 1810) both in 1825. The Colonial Secretary closed down the Emu Plains Theatre in 1852 and its players dispersed. The Norfolk Island penal colony produced O'Keefe's The Castle of Andalusia in 1840 with notorious convict James King as leading rebel, 25 May 1840, but Norfolk Island theatricals began as early as May 1792, "once a month and on publick days" according to a despatch from Liet-Governor King, 10 May 1794. The 1840 performance scandalized the citizens of Sydney and their Governor; see E.Walter White (1952) 731, with reproduction of the playbill.
to mid 19th century, which was also taught to aboriginals, which accompanied convict work-gangs and which also entered early semi-opera scripts, was, ironically, "Marlbrook". It began as a minor-key French children's nursery song, became a popular military song in the Revolutionary Wars, underwent local variations, and became a rousing major-key ballad in early colonial Australia; its history suggests that people's songs of protest could become joyful songs of participatory celebration which did not undercut reality so much as make it bearable.

In the operas and semi-operas, there were four main ways of handling musical materials other than original through-composed works of which none is known in 19th century Australian theatre:

1. Original music with a number scheme, interpolated in the text.

The number opera follows a sequence such as: Overture or introduction to each act; vocal numbers with usually the highest proportion of solo numbers in the first act, and duets and trios added as the acts and drama develop; with other instrumental numbers including dances. The earliest Australian examples include Don John of Austria (1846), Merry Fools in Troublesome Times (1843) both by Isaac Nathan, and The Gentleman in Black (?1847) by S. Hale Marsh;

10 "Malbrook" in Grove V (1954) 517, or "Marlboro s'en va", or, in an English variant, "For he's a jolly good fellow", a bright contrast to the melancholy French original. It has had variations written on it by Beethoven, Bizet and even Weber (in Der Freischütz). For a description of its early performance (whistled) in Sydney Cove within a few days of the First Fleet's arrival, see Captain Watkin Tench, A Narrative of an Expedition to Botany Bay (London 1789) and A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, (London 1793), reprinted together as Sydney's First Four Years, Sydney 1961, 37. French explorer La Perouse in Botany Bay at the time told Tench that "the natives of California and throughout all the islands of the Pacific Ocean, and in short wherever he had been, seemed equally delighted and touched with this plaintive little air". By 1794, George Thomson notes that the aborigines sang it while paddling canoes: "they have the French tune of Malbrook very perfect: I have heard a dozen or twenty singing it together" (Slavery and Punishments for Sedition, London 1794, 16). It appears in the Colonial Plays, in Act I Scene 2 to The Currency Lass (1844) by Coeohigan with new words; see Covell's edition (1976) arranged on 29-30 and note on 82-3.
2. Combination number scheme.

These use some original music (albeit imitative) with some borrowed insertions from published, ballad, and folk sources. Australian examples include *The Mock Catalani* (1842), *The Operatic Servant Girl* (1861) and *Mordgründbruck* (1870) among many others. Little of the original music to these has survived except when printed in separate sheet-form after the production;


Using previously published music, or music from well-known sources adapted to new words, these semi-operas can adapt music from current opera and either arrange it for 'straight' performance, or parody it in a deliberately comical way. Australian examples include *Sydney Delivered* (1849), *The Currency Lass* (1844), *Jemmy Green in Australia* (1845?), *Life in Sydney* (1843) and *Shakespeare Conglommorofunnidogammontae* (1843);

4. Plays with incidental and borrowed music items from any source.

Australian pantomimes and extravaganzas are of this kind, and also pastiche, localised burlesques and farces such as Coppin's version of Dibdin's *Billy Barlow* which has only one ballad (1843);

5. The harlequinade.

Really a separate issue, as it is continuous music to accompany dumb-show, the harlequinade performed to conclude a pantomime or extravaganza invariably adapted music from other sources into a medley-epilogue.11

Mostly, music to serious opera and musical melodrama was freshly composed (such as Don John of Austria, (1846)), but occasionally the music for a short farce was original: Nelson's Melbourne farces in the early 1850s, like Hezenroeder's 'singspiel' one-act comedies in the 1880s, had his own original music, whereas most of the semi-opera music to categories 3, 4 and 5 above was plagiarized, or directly borrowed, through the 19th century. By far the highest number of 19th century Australian operas were comedies, using combinations of 1 and 2. Few original musical numbers from the semi-operas were sufficiently successful to be published and have thus not survived.

Two of the earliest, Nathan's Don John of Austria (1846) and Merry Freaks in Troubles Times (1843), survive in vocal score with some subsequently printed items from the former, which is probably due to Nathan's own efforts in setting up a private press, and doing the work of composer himself.\(^\text{12}\)

There are, however, many published examples of mid-19th century Australian keyboard and vocal music composed either to honour some visiting opera singer or dedicated to a resident musician for performance within an opera production.\(^\text{13}\) Some of these were directly inspired by current imported opera; some were variations and harmonized arrangements of popular tunes from

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\(^\text{12}\) These excerpts were published by Nathan in his Southern Euphrosyne etc., Sydney and London, 1851. Catherine Mackerras, a descendant, describes Nathan's labours at his press in her biography, The Hebrew Melodist, Sydney 1963, 96.

\(^\text{13}\) Some extant published examples and their locations are:

(i) John Adams, 'No Jewelled Beauty is my Love' composed and dedicated to Miss Catherine Hayes, as sung by her in Tasmania, 4 pp, Syd. 1863 (TSL:C); (ii) C. Alary, 'Variations' as sung by Catherine Hayes, pr. in Australian Album, 6 pp, Syd. 1857 (NLN:M); (iii) Albert Penning, 'Lola Montez Polka' pf. pr. Syd. nd. (NLN:M); (iv) Frank Ellard, 'La Hayes Quadrille' 1-5, pf. pr. Syd. 1840? (NLN:M); (v) Paolo Fiorza, 'Viver la Vita' sung by Miss Agatha States in The Barber of Seville, English words by Prof. Hughes, pr. Melb. nd. (NLN:M); (vi) Roberto Hazon, 'Song' dedicated to Fanny Simonsen, Melb. nd. (VSL:A); (vii) Louis Lavenu, 'It reminds me of thee', ballad sung by Sara Flower, dedicated to Mrs. H. Marsh, pr. Syd. nd. (NLN:M); (viii) Stephen H. Marsh, 'Souvenir of Catherine Hayes', a 'brilliant fantasia' for pf, 10 pp, (NLN:M); (ix) Charles Packer, 'City of Sydney Polka' pr. Syd. 1855 (NLN:M); (x) Marmaduke H. Wilson, 'Joanie Deans', sung by Madame Carandini, pr. H. Marsh, Syd. nd. (NLN:M).
the imported repertory of the time, and the topicality of some even spread to contemporary events. These pieces give some idea of the style and taste of the day. They were often published for the local market by colonial music printers in the growing sheet-music industry.

Other original colonial pieces probably used in the theatre could include those incidental dances - the waltzes, quadrilles, schottisches and polkas - occasionally published in mid-century anthologies, alongside imported, better-known melodies. Some were printed in separate single-

14 Some published examples, with their locations, are: (i) Alfred Anderson, 'The Star of Love' valse on themes from Delphine by W.V. Wallace, Syd. nd. (NLM:M); (ii) Edward Boulanger, 'The Last Rose of Summer', variations on the Irish Air, 'The Groves of Blarney' by W. Moore as sung by Anna Bishop, pr in Australian Album, Syd. 1857 (NLM:M): this is the same song Plotow inserted in Martha for Lady Harriet in Act II; (iii) Nicholas C. Bochsa, 'Dimmi che questo core', the duet from Paccini's opera La Schiva in Bagdad, arranged for S, Bar, pf, originally in the possession of Charles Nathan, pr. Syd. nd. (NLM:M); (iv) Frank Ellard, 'Mozart's Favourite Waltzes' an early undated Syd. publication (NLM:M); and (v) also Ellard, 'Moreceau de salon' from Lucrezia by Donizetti of 1833, pr. in Australian Album, Syd. 1857 (NLM:M); (vi) Paolo Giorza, 'La Juive': Souvenir de La Juive d'Halévy' for pf, dedicated to Sarah Joske, 6 pp, pr. Melb. nd. (VSL:A). La Juive was first performed in Sydney in 1835, but Giorza conducted it for a Lyster revival in Melbourne in 1874; (vii) John Hill, 'Sicilian Vespers Quadrille' pr. Melb. 1869 (VSL:A). Verdi's opera Les Vêpres Sciliaiennes with Scribe's libretto, was first performed in 1855; Hill conducted it for W.S. Lyster's revival in Melbourne in 1870; (viii) Ernesto Spagnoletti, 'Quadrilles' including 'les Lanciers, la Dorset, Lodikau, and le Native', arranged from The Beggar's Opera, pr. Syd. 1839-47 (NLM:M). A full score arrangement of these has been made by Werner Baer for the ABC, Sydney.

15 As early as the 1820s, regimental bandsmen stationed in Sydney barracks enlarged their income by offering to copy music. A day's notice was required to give time to copy the MS. Music was not commercially printed until Frank Ellard opened his second music saloon opposite the George St. Barracks in August 1839. J.P. McGuane, 'Music and Song of Old Sydney' (Newspaper Cuttings, Mitchell Library, 23, col. 1).

16 There are, for example, two published anthologies of early colonial music in the Crowther Collection, Tasmania. These are: The Delacourt Bouquet (ed. by Henry Butler), a "collection of local music, or potpourri of song, polkas, waltzes, quadrille and schottische; dedicated to Lady Denison and the Ladies of the sweet island of the south, Hobart Town" (1857). 17 pp. and including works by A.Hill, H.B. Stoney, F.A. Packer and R.Martin. Its sequel is The Tasmanian Lyre, also dedicated to Lady Denison and published at Hobart Town (1857), 12 pp., with waltzes, schottisches, quadrilles and polkas by Miss Fraser, J.V. Smith, H.B. Stoney and Arthur Hill, both in TSL:C.
sheet editions. A meagre few still survive in original personal manuscript collections, buried beneath carefully handcopied popular airs, dances and overture selections from current opera and traditional balladry. There are at least three of these early manuscript sources. One, the Wrede Collection, shows that many of the overseas tunes were played at sea enroute for the colonies where they soon became part and parcel of popular selections for the orchestral library in the theatre - as well as for private or amateur use.

Australian publishers were quick to advertise a 'new' overture and selections from overseas opera, often before the actual performance first occurred. Operatic music was published as early as 1826 for band concerts.

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18 Three extant manuscript collections are: (i) Pike Ms Collection (1859) which contains songs for voice and piano by S.Nelson, J. Blockley, Fricker, Bulte, S. Glover, C.W. Glover and W.V. Wallace; the property of the Royal Queensland Historical Society, copy in ABC: NA; (ii) a newly-discovered MS collection belonging to the Ragless family of Adelaide. Originally the property of C.E. Ragless and dated 1868, there are 14 pieces, copies of opera schottische, duets, songs, piano arrangements, waltzes and vocal arrangements, from music by Richard Seed, Stephan Glover, S.C. Foster, C.Coot and others; there appears to be one original piece in the collection, a waltz called 'Bygone Days' with words and music by 'J.H.' of North Adelaide, 2 pp, dated 1858, on 49-50 of the MS.

19 The third collection is the Wrede Ms, see Supporting Documents, Chapter 2(1).

20 Some examples are given by James Hall, article 9, Canon V, 57-8 and 52; the scores shown here are given with date of the first Australian performance in brackets: e.g. the music to Barnett's The Mountain Sylph was advertised for sale by W.H. Tyner in the Sydney Gazette, 10.10.1835 as Nourjahud; or, The Mountain Sylph (1846); selections also advertised include the opera Gustavus III by Auber (1845); previously Tyner advertised Overtures, solo songs and items for sale from Roberto le Diable (1836) and others, Sydney Gazette, 11 August 1835.
in Sydney,\(^{\text{21}}\) or for benefit concerts given by and for leading artists from
the Theatre Royal and later the Royal Victoria companies, when excerpts
from seasonal transplanted opera were aired or revived.\(^{\text{22}}\) This concert
practice appears to have welcomed items also from new locally-written opera
and opera-plays.\(^{\text{23}}\) If publishers could not provide them with steady
remuneration, local composers could gain experience and a small wage from
the constant demand to copy or arrange scores and parts for performances.
Orchestral parts might be missing or unavailable, and original music had
to be supplied if cuts and alterations had to be made in a score too demanding
or beyond the resources of local orchestral musicians and singers.\(^{\text{24}}\)

Early colonial folk balladists like Francis Macnamara\(^{\text{25}}\) and Charles

\(^{\text{21}}\) Miscellaneous opera Overtures given in 1826 include Weber, Der Freischütz,
Mozart, Rossini, James Hook, Bishop, The Miller and his Men and Guy Mannering:
these were far in advance of the full performances in Australia; J.Hall,
article 4, Canon IV, 421-7 whose information comes from "The Chronological
List of Plays, Lectures, Concerts in Sydney with notes, June 1826-April
1857" compiled from Newspapers, 3 Vols, NIN:M. See also E.Irvin,"Australia's
First Public Concerts" in Studies in Music V (1971) 77-86; and P.Richardson,
"Military Music in the Colony of New South Wales, 1788-1850" in Musicology
I (1964) 5-9.

\(^{\text{22}}\) Eight concerts were given by the Theatre Royal singers between 18-29 April
1834, and by the Philharmonic Society of Sydney between 1834-51 J.Hall,
article 7, Canon IV, 564-6; article 8, Canon V, 3. Many individual singers
also gave benefit concerts, such as Mrs.Taylor on 10 November 1835, an
evening called "Theatrical Reminiscences" with excerpts from the preceding
opera season; J.Hall, article 10, Canon V, 104-5.

\(^{\text{23}}\) There are many such examples throughout the 19th century; in fact, with
composers such as Truman and Maclean, samples from their operas were per-
formed at the organ by the composer long before the opera was fully
produced. An early colonial example is the performance of a song from
Nathan's Merry Pranks by Mrs. Wallace Bushelle, with the Band of the 80th
Regiment under Nathan, at an Australian Philharmonic Concert at the Royal
Hotel on 29 May 1844. The song was from the Finale to Act I, "Tho' Storms
and Perils Linger near us". Wentzel (1963), 53-6, 58.

\(^{\text{24}}\) An interesting example is the first performance of Rossini's La Cenerentola
at the Royal Victoria on 12 February 1844. Isaac Nathan owned the sole copy
of a vocal score in the colony. He arranged the quartet finale to Act I,
passed the remainder to Bandmaster Gibbs to orchestrate, and retained one
aria from a previous incomplete production given by the visiting singer
Gautrot. The production was described as "marking an epoch in the progress
of colonial taste". The libretto also had to be translated into English.
Gautrot visited Australia in 1839 with a small French vaudeville troupe who
performed several short "opera comiques" by Scribe; J. Hall, article 19,
Canon VI, 4-9, and article 17, Canon V, 456-60.

\(^{\text{25}}\) Macnamara, or 'Frank the Poet' was an Irish convict and folkhard, possibly
author of one of the Bonohoo ballads; J.Meredith, 'The Wild Colonial Boy'
in Studies in Australian and Pacific History no.2, Sydney 1960, 75-6, 61-2;
Russell Ward, The Australian Legend, Melbourne 1960, 49-51; and Edgar
Walters, 'Ballads and Popular Verse' in The Literature of Australia, ed.
Thatcher wrote and performed their 'new' folk ballads and dances, some of which have survived. Thatcher also arranged excerpts from current transplanted opera to his own words, and incorporated older traditional sources, either unaltered or rearranged, into his repertory.\(^{26}\)

Occasionally a leading singer like John Howson, could, in the manner of a John Braham, write his own songs for insertion during his operatic performance.\(^{27}\)

Roger Covell has observed that written-out orchestral parts might have been supplied "by the conductor of the Victoria's resident band...these parts would have been stored independently of the acting script and were probably lost or destroyed by fire in the usual theatrical way. We cannot be certain how the Victoria's orchestra sounded. But the parts are in no way essential for a reconstruction of the piece."\(^{28}\)

One surviving manuscript fragment in the Mitchell Library does, however, give an impression of hand-written instrumental parts, and shows residual 18th century ornamentation in the flute part to the opera The Miller's Maid which possibly dates from 1833.\(^{29}\)

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27 Two works by Howson survive: "Tasmanian Waltzes" printed in Hobart Town 1843, 7 pp in TSL:C; and "The Bride's Farewell to her Mother", song printed Sydney, nd, NLN:M, also held on archive tape, MAH, ABC:NA.


29 E. Irvin notes this opera was performed at the Theatre Royal on 4 June 1833; (1871) 242. It was by J.S. Fauclot, premiered at the English Opera House in 1821. The music was apparently by Charles Horn, though the surviving parts show a "C.R.Hime(?)", 0/35, 5 pp, (nd) in MS Drama A664, NLN:NA. The two acts contained 11 musical numbers (1:8, 1:3) including a song with chorus in da capo form with 28 bars, a chorale refrain of 15 bars and a 20-bar second section (no.6). There is also a concerted number as finale. Music is required for the rising curtain, for a descriptive pastorale, and in incidental effects. It is due to the dialogue. The flute was tacet in nos.2, 4, 5, 9, 10; there are only 38 bars of music extant for the finale, no.11, which suggests there may have been a further act, or the MS is incomplete.
It is at times difficult to trace the origin of all the music performed with the early colonial plays. Extant playbills, even the surviving texts themselves, frequently omit the name of the composer/arranger, or give only a title to a song. Contemporary reviews may give only a passing notice to the musical sources unless these were popular or the composers well-known. Later 19th century printed libretto-booklets were forced by copyright laws to acknowledge published sources and thus (occasionally) name the lyricist and composer of an inserted musical number. Even interpolations from complete operas were not always clearly identified. The lyricists of printed sheet-songs and opera excerpts were frequently overlooked or their names abbreviated to initials. Similarly, amateur performers and librettists in early 19th century theatre pieces were often anonymous 'ladies and gentlemen' of the colony.\(^{30}\)

The main critical preoccupation was with the plot and characterization in performance, rather than with the music itself except in the most generalized terms. However, three locally-written operas dating from the 1840s made querulously insistent claims to originality and historic status in early colonial theatre, and they did attract an attentive press. They were *Don John of Austria*, *The Gentleman in Black*, and *Merry Frocks in Troubles Times*.\(^{31}\)

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30 As late as 1895, the writer of the play for Lardelli's opera *Katherine* (Catalogue 1) was described as "a lady"; there are several other anonymous works listed in Catalogues 1, 4, 5 with initials only. Nathan only printed the initials of Montefiore, his librettist, to *Don John of Austria*; probably respectable people still demurred from public identification with the stage. For further examples, see E. Clifton, "Music and the Stage in the Early Days", *Journal of WA Historical Society*, 1/8 (1930), 17. All early colonial amateur female performers were anonymous in press reviews.

31 These three operas are catalogued in Volume II, no.1 1843, 1846 and 1847(?). With the additional possibility of W.V. Wallace's *Maritana* (Vol.II, Appendix ix), portions of which are said to be written in either Hobart Town or Sydney during Wallace's residency between 1835 and 1838, but which was not produced until 1845 in London, these are the first-known Australian operas with original music.
2. **The First Operas**

Apparently, Stephan Hale Marsh's music for *The Gentleman in Black* has not survived. The libretto and contemporary Press reviews describe a 'serio-comic' opera which falls awkwardly between melodrama, romantic comedy, political and social realism, and the supernatural. It contrasts the London world of commerce with a wildly-improbable final 'rescue' scene in a Bastille prison dungeon. The Anglo-Calic pairs of characters, settings, and dual plots, reflect the Gothic roots of the drama, said to have been based on a popular story illustrated by Cruikshank.

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32 Harold Hort suggested in 1969 that the score had been located in New York, but it has not been discovered; see Hort, "The First of our Operas", *Masque* no.12 (Oct/Nov 1969) 10. It is also believed that most of Marsh's manuscripts were destroyed by fire in San Francisco after he moved there in 1874; see *Australian Encyclopaedia*, V, 500. It is this source which claims the date of composition of the opera as 1847. It was not produced until W.S. Lyster staged it in Melbourne in 1861.

33 The libretto, by E. Searle, states on the titlepage it is "the First original opera produced in Australia". Press reviews are from the *Melbourne Age*, 25 July, 1861, 5, and *Argus*, 25 July 1861, 5-6.

34 "The original story (which was illustrated by Cruikshank and popular some years ago) is tolerably well-adered to and is a satisfactory reflection that the Prince of Denmark has been outwitted by a woman". *Argus*, 25 July 1861, 5; quoted in McCredie (1963), 3, and Wentzel (1963), 276. A mysteriously cloaked "Gentleman in Black" intervenes in hero Maxwell's financial distress (in a Faustian pact complete with magic bottle of restorative) and in his romance with Adele, daughter of an aristocratic French Count. Two other characters play a minor role, Adele's maid, Pachon, and her lover, Morin, a 'political cobbler' and frequenter of republican clubs who organises the 'sans-culottes' to storm the Bastille in the final act. Their dialogue in their subplot is mockingly affectionate, contrasting with the stiff formality of the leading protagonists. For no apparent reason other than convention, Act II, scene 3 has a monastic setting with drunken monks and carousing. Prior, who connive with the 'Gentleman' in a boisterous, bacchanalian scene which underlines the Mephistophelian nature of the 'Gentleman'. It is finally Adele's fearless and spirited defence, armed with crucifix, which outwits the 'Gentleman'. His disappearance from the opera in Act III, scene 2, weakens the ending where Adele is imprisoned at the mercy of a jealous aristocratic lover until the insurgents join ineffectively Maxwell in saving her life. Various musical numbers accompany this story, from an Overture "rich in phraseology and brisk in movement" to ballets and choruses, cavatinas, twelve solo songs, duets, a quartet, Grand March and scena (beginning Act III) and a customary concerted finale.
Those roots in sensational melodrama lie in the 18th century novels by Ann Radcliffe, and in "Monk" Lewis's plays of the early 19th century. Suspense, horror, and supernatural elements in the Gothic novel have been spawned by French Revolutionary melodramas with their prison scenes, insurgents, rescues, faraway exotic places and historic times. Cherubini's Lodoiska (1791) launched Gallic bourgeois ideology and realistic social themes into the frame of heroic, patriotic, adventure operas. In England, the Gothic 'tale of terror' grafted naturalistic features to picturesque, sentimental - often rural - settings; it borrowed from Dumas's domestic dramas, from the German writings of Kotzebue, Goethe, and Schiller, and from the French texts of Scribe and Delavigne. In return, English Gothic melodrama gave Europe Walter Scott and Bulwer Lytton. In this fertilizing process, powerful features such as a Byronic satanic villain and strong heroine, monsters and vampires, and lurid confrontations with persecution and torture, became somewhat softened in the opera librettos written by Fitzball, Lewis, Bunn, Planché, Jerrold, and Buckstone, all of whom had such successful productions of their works in Sydney's first Theater Royal.

The Gentleman in Black is a colonial sample of sentimentalized romantic melodrama - a distant relation to the operas of Auber, Märschner, Weber, Meyerbeer, Halévy, Bellini, Rossini and the young Verdi. From

35 See Supporting Documents to Chapter 2, Number 2: "Notes on Gothic melodrama", and refer to Chapter 1 in this Volume, text p 37-39 and notes 46-52, 55-6 on Gothic and Gallic elements in the transplanted repertory.

36 An interesting account of the rise of Gallic 'rescue' operas after the Revolution, beginning with Grétry, is given by W. Dean, "Opera under the French Revolution", Proceedings. R.M.A. 94th session (1967-8) 77.

37 "There was only one thing wanting to make the success of Mr. Marsh more complete, and that was, that he should have called himself Signor Maraschino, have attached his music to an Italian libretto, and disclaimed all connection with the colony, for, in the latter circumstance is no doubt a drawback, and if another Weber or Rossini were to present himself as Jones or Brown of Ballarat or BALLA, and were to produce another Euryanthe or Mosé in Egitto, it would be pooh-poohed by a good many persons as "only colonial" and therefore hardly tolerated. Fortunately for Mr. Marsh, (with an original work of great merit) his composition was presented to a discriminating and kindly audience with gratifying success", Argus, 25 July 1861, 5.
contemporary reports, however, Marsh's music had not begun to absorb the
decisive changes begun at that time by Barnett and Wallace in English romantic
opera. His is spoken dialogue; their's is set in accompanied recitative;
where Marsh has provided an incoherent sequence of assorted musical numbers,
they conceived a musical entity in which rounded 'da capo' forms could replace
the simple strophic ballad, the interpolated air, or the choral refrain.
They had developed concerted, extended, and multi-sectional finales and
ensembles which framed the opera by cross-referencing music materials from
Overture, through successive numbers, to Coda.

Although Marsh was praised for inventiveness, his work waited many
years for a production. When it came, the opera was dated, especially
beside Lyster's imported repertory in the 1860s. Nor was this "the first
production of the first original opera ever brought upon the board of an
Australian theatre", as claimed on its titlepage. It had been preceded by
two operas by his colleague and rival Isaac Nathan of Sydney, both of which
are more inventive, more contemporary with current changes in English opera,
and, particularly Don John of Austria, more substantial. While both Nathan's operas retain spoken dialogue, they demonstrate some structural cohesion, a greater complexity in ensembles and dexterity in counterpoint. Together, they mark the slow development from simple English ballad opera to romantic opera.

Nathan's earlier operas belong to "the tradition of English sentimental light opera popular since the works of Arne, Linley, and Shield, mixed with elements of Italian bel canto and French opéra comique." His English contemporaries were among the most prolific in English opera history, from the senior generation of Shield, Charles Dibdin, James Hook, Samuel Arnold, and Stephan Storace, to the younger John Braham, Henry Bishop, and Balfe, Wallace, and Barnett. The London operas Nathan wrote with librettist James Kenney, one of which, Sweethearts and Wives (1823), is a pastiche, seem to have been successful, perhaps because they were performed by the leading soprano, Madame Vestris, and leading tenor, John Braham, of the London stage.

Even before migrating to Australia in 1841, Nathan was assured of leadership in Sydney's colonial music culture, and of prominence in the small social elite. His reputation had preceded him as the pupil of

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41 As if to underline the interstate rivalry between the two composers, Nathan's Don John of Austria received an angry review in the Post Phillip Patriot and Melbourne Advertiser which dismissed it as "the most pointless, passionless, rechauffe, unartistic production that has ever emanated from any brain...[if] this thing will suit the dilettanti [sic] of Sydney, I shall never again pretend to pride of the concord of sweet sounds", 14 May 1847, 2 quoted by Wentzel (1963) 203. As Marsh's premiere was 14 years later, almost a decade after his move to Melbourne, any comparison between the two was unlikely.


43 E. Walter White (1951), and D. Arundell (1965) 115, 130, 152-4.

44 Volume II, Appendix, pp. 476-79 describes Nathan's four London operas and their references. See also C. E. Pearce, Madame Vestris and Her Times (1933), 88, and I Nathan, "Anecdotes of Braham" in Southern Euphrosyne, 149-52.

45 A.D. McCredie, Musical Composition in Australia, Canberra 1969, 1-2; C. Mackerras (1963) and in ABD 11, 279-80; R. Covell (1967), 13. See major sources on Nathan's Australian career in Biographical Register, Vol. 2 (1963), Dept. of History, ANU, Canberra. For reviews of his Sydney compositions, A. Wentzel (1963), 53-6 and J. Hall's articles, Canon V, 8 (March 1952), 361-4.
Domenico Corri;[46] well-publicized friend of Lord Byron with whom he collaborated in *The Hebrew Melodies* (1826);[47] as an established London composer whose operas had already had successful Sydney performances. His music written in Sydney for Burn's play, *The Queen's Love* (1837), and his two new operas, *Merry Freaks in Troublesome Times* (1843), and *Don John of Austria* (1845), are products of his maturity.[48] The operas are more derivative than original in subject and style, yet Nathan has a competent technique, a pleasant tunefulness, a genuine stagecraft and dramatic sense. Unfortunately, both of his Australian librettos are unworthy vehicles for his musical abilities.

Both epitomize the two main dramatic types of opera predominating through the 19th century. *Merry Freaks* is a light-hearted comedy, *Don John* a serious quasi-tragedy, yet there are superficial similarities between them. Both have similar musical form; both have historical settings and adventurous aristocratic heroes; both are romantic operas. However, *Merry Freaks* continues the traditions of 18th century light opera, while *Don John* shows some of the structural and musical developments of mid-19th century romantic opera. Marsh's *The Gentleman in Black* falls between the two, perhaps nearer the costume comedy of the former than the latter's melodrama.

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[47] I. Nathan, *The Southern Euphrosyne*, rarely misses a chance to boast: "With regard to our works, as the bosom friend of Lord Byron, we are not unknown to both the literary and the musical world; we have had the vanity to aim at the sublime as well as the ridiculous" (v). Nathan prefaced a new edition of the songs with a book, *Fugitive Pieces and Ruminations of Lord Byron*, London 1829, which was translated into Italian in 1842, and which are both among his many printed books, articles and music held in the British Museum, BM Gen. Cat. vol. 168, (London 1963) 884. R. Covell describes Nathan's songs and minor salon pieces as "characterized by affected patience and a lavish use of diminished seventh chords," (1967), 13. John Brahman first performed *The Hebrew Melodies* the year he also premiered Weber's *Oberon* in London, 1826; Rosenthal (1958), 30-1.

[48] He may have composed but one song for Burn's play performed by Coppin's company at Sydney's Royal Victoria Theatre, 29 September 1845; Rees (1973), 10-12; see Volume II, Catalogue 4 (1837). The operas are catalogued in 1, 1843 and 1846.
Edward Dent has summarized predominant features in English light opera which derive from the opéra comique; his description applies to *Merry Freaks in Troublesome Times*:

long chattering songs for the comic servant in praise of England, couplets or songs of two or three stanzas, a semi-military song for the heroic young man, ensembles in block harmony and a finale which is in 3/4 getting faster and louder.  

*Merry Freaks* also has the stereotypical play of comic elements in the dialogue set against heroic elements in its episodic and conventionally rapturous music. It is apparently the first surviving opera score written in Australia with original music. Of fourteen male characters, two female, and one central, puckish 'breeches' role for soprano, only five actually sing. Unlike *Don John of Austria*, there are no ensembles to offset the solo and choral numbers. There is little dramatic development or thematic continuity. The major choral writing other than two six-part numbers is in four parts for male voices. The orchestra plays an Overture and music for two dances and ends Act I with a grotesque, caricatured Dirge based on "God Save the King", as well as a brief introduction, linking bars, and short coda after the Finale. 

The music is modestly competent. Five main themes of the Overture appear later in the opera. Comic musical elements include the highly-chromatic harmonies of the Dirge, and the deliberate portrayal of Puritan pedantry through long, sustained chords in 2/4 contrasted with vigorous, bright 6/8 choral lines for the double male chorus of Cavaliers. Margaret, daughter of the Royalist landlord Boniface, has the one 'da capo' number; all others are in simple binary or ternary forms with repeats,

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49 E.Dent (1949), 171.

50 Supporting Documents to Chapter 2, number 3, details and compares the finales of both operas by Nathan.

51 Choral numbers are Act I, nos. 2, 5 and 9, and Act II, nos. 11, 12, 13 and 17. Orchestral dances occur at the end of Alfred's solo, Act I no.4, and at no.6. The Dirge ends Act I.
tonic-dominant blocks, and a liberal use of the dominant seventh at
cadences. The score frequently resorts to a figured bass line, essentially
at the tonic. The most interesting, demanding music is written for soprano
Alfred's three solos, each with elaborate 'bel canto' figurations in a vocal
style modelled on Corri's 18th century ornamentations and improvised vocal
tessituras, and with a greater range, lyricism, and agility than any other
numbers in this work.\(^{52}\)

Charles Nagel's libretto is described as "an historical operatic
drama" but reads like a romantic costume farce.\(^{53}\) It is close in subject,
spirit, and structure to a previously popular American comic opera, Charles
II; or, The Merry Monarch, by John Howard Payne (1824). This was highly

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\(^{52}\) This is typical of 'breeches' roles in English and Australian light opera. Madame (Lucia Elizabeth) Ventris epitomizes it as Macheath in The Beggar's Opera and the title role in Don Giovanni. As Don Felix in Nathan's The Alcaid, she acted "in a good, loose, dashing and rakeley fashion...[as] the best bad young man about town who can stamp a smart leg in white tights with the air of a fellow who has an easy heart and a good tailor," The London Magazine quoted in O.S. Phillips, Isaac Nathan, Friend of Byron, London, 1940, 87. Eliza Winstanley (1818-1882) was Australia's first outstanding 'breeches' actress at the Theatre Royal, Sydney and Victoria Theatre from 1834 until, with her husband Henry O'Flaherty, author of Isabel of Valois (1842, Cat.4) and Life in Sydney (1843, Cat.1), she made her career in England after 1846. She is the first Australian actress to succeed in England; ADB II, 298, and H. Porter, Stars of Australian Stage and Screen, London 1965, 19-26. Her 'breeches' roles include Richard III. She wrote novels, plays, articles, and is the subject of a biographical article by E.R. Edwards, "Australia's First Leading Lady", Bulletin, 30 September 1959, 34-6.

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\(^{53}\) Nagel's works are listed in Volume II, Cat.1 (1842) and Cat.4 (1843). The quote is from preview excerpts in N.S.W. Monthly Magazine, July 1843, 347, preserved with the extant vocal score, (1851), NLM:M. Nagel, a retired military officer, became a civil magistrate in N.S.W. in April 1842; Colonial Secretary's Papers 1842, and Gov.Gipp's Despatches 1842, 1228, p.121, NLM:M; Breuer (1890), 86. An opera called Merry Freaks in Troublesome Times by I. Nathan is listed in J. Towers, Dictionary-Catalogue of Operas and Operettas which have been Performed on the Public Stage, Morgantown, Va., 1910, np.
successful in London, New York, and colonial Australia after its premiere in Sydney's Theatre Royal on 19 January, 1833. Payne's music and Washington Irving's libretto appeared two years prior to Walter Scott's historical novel, Woodstock (1826), which has a similar treatment of Charles II's escape from the Puritans, and similar character portraits. Nagel closely follows both sources in his handling of romantic courtship, chivalry, capture, escape, pardon, pranks, disguise, and reconciliation.

His scenario also resembles The Gentleman in Black: both have a grotesque monastery scene and drunken monks' chorus which Alfred, disguised and masked "like the devil", interrupts in the same manner as the devilish "Gentleman" in Marsh's opera. Nagel's rescue plot from the Tower of London, requiring accompanying music for alarums, explosions and mechanical effects, is as conventional as Searle's dramatic rescue scene from the Bastille dungeon written for Marsh. Nagel is more adept at comic dialogue than is Searle. Perhaps because he was an enthusiastic musician himself, Nagel has excellent comic timing, and all his pieces show effective burlesque and lively lyrics. The 'breeches' character of Alfred in Merry Freaks is probably second only to Susan Hearty in The Currency Lass (1844) as an early colonial role which extends and challenges acting and singing ability. It seems surprising that this first opera by Nathan in Sydney was not fully performed then, and has never been revived.

54 OCTL, 605; E. Irvin (1971), App. 244. George Macfarren also based an opera on Payne's and called it Charles II (1849); CDDO, 236. Other Australian colonial dramas on this theme are Belfield's The Rebel Chief (1840) and Geoghegan's The Jew of Dresden (1846), both listed in Vol II, Catalogue 4. The Payne-Irving opera was revived in New York in 1978. Its merry page is called Edward, and Boniface's role is a Captain Cobb with daughter Mary; H. Taulman (1967), 56. It is a superior libretto to Nagel's.

55 Compare especially the escape/rescue scenes: Nagel's at Act II, scenes 7-8, with Searle's at Act III, scene 4.

56 There is no record why Merry Freaks was not performed in full despite Nathan's expectations. The preparations required to gain permission to perform were cumbersome, as extant papers demonstrate for Nathan's Don John of Austria through his librettist Montefiore's correspondence with E. Deas Thomson, the Colonial Secretary, seeking his perusal and signed assent to the production. The first of these requests appears in July 1846, accompanying the 'dramatic sketch'; it is followed by an undated second letter from the librettist urging assent as "the music which has been composed in the colony is now completed, and the various performers (Continued over page)
Nathan's last opera, *Don John of Austria*, is a more mature work with a consistently serious subject; its one light touch is in occasional bantering between Don John and his friends. Librettist Jacob Montefiore also wrote - or adapted - a melodrama, *The Duel* (1843) and a serio-comic fantasy, *Marguerite; or, He Could Do Worse* (1847).\(^5\) His script for *Don John* is called "Don Juan d'Autriche" which he describes as "little else than a perfectly harmless alteration of Delavigne's celebrated comedy [sic]".\(^6\) On the contrary, it is a very *sombre* dramatization of a historical Spanish story which is a perfect vehicle for the stock ingredients of romantic melodrama: history, romance, chivalry, persecution, rivalry, and the constant threat of violent death.\(^7\)

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56 (continued) have been for some time prepared in their parts". Montefiore claimed the "story is perfectly harmless". E. Deas Thomson still delayed, and Montefiore finally wrote a terse note to him in 1847; he "reluctantly troubles Mr. Thomson in this matter, but the whole of the music having been composed, the performance of the opera awaits only Mr. Thomson's approving seal". This was at last forthcoming and received on 30 April 1847; the production took place on May 7th. The correspondence is in the Mitchell Library, Sydney 57/55 and 96 (10) 97 (15). Nine months elapsed between the Colonial Secretary receiving the script and the issuing of a performance permit.

57 Volume II, Catalogue 4. Jacob L. Montefiore (1801-1895) and his brother Joseph Barrow, were prominent colonists engaged in trade and members of a wealthy London and Barbados family of brokers; ADB 11, 250-1; H. Munz (1936), and Nadel (1957), 137. Mrs. B. Andrews of Stonyfell, South Australia, kindly drew to my attention family papers in her possession which establish that this Montefiore family knew of Nathan in London: Eliza Andrews was a singing pupil of Nathan and sang his *Hebrew Melodies* to the Montefiore family and other friends of her father, in Walworth, including Ruskin, Joseph Mazzini, Emerson, Thomas Carlyle and Herbert Spencer; excepts. from *The British Weekly*, (1892).

58 Delavigne and Scribe collaborated in many French melodramas including *La Muette de Portici*, or Auber's opera *Manzello* (Paris 1829, London 1829, New York 1831, Sydney 1835 and 1845); J. Hall, *Canon VI/1*, 267; CODO (1966), 273.

59 Operas of the same name, by W. H. War (b. 1776) and Henry Bishop (*Don John; or, The Two Violetta*), are listed by J. Towers (op. cit.) np. Nathan's earlier London work, *The Alcaid* (1824) is also a Spanish subject, treated similarly to the music of *Don John*, but as a comedy; see Volume II, Appendix, pp. 476-9.
Sixteenth century Spain has offered rich dramatic potential to playwrights since Otway and Schiller in conventional European melodrama, rescue opera, and 19th century romantic portrayals of 'the Golden Age'. Its features include swaggering conquistadors, explorers, 'picaros', the Alguazils or police, the corrupt judiciary of the auto-da-fe or Inquisition, and the colorful, powerful Madrid court. Don John of Austria has many parallels in contemporary operas to which it is inferior. It takes the youthful career of the bastard son of Charles V who has retired to a monastery and left the throne to his true-born son Philip II. Charles's former Prime Minister Don Luis Quijada (here, Don Quixada) is Don John's guardian. The action covers three days and occurs before those actual military exploits which made Don John famous in history and in literature. In fact, he was a personally charming, impetuous, romantic man in love and war, who strongly resisted Philip's jealous attempts to confine his talents to monastic life. By contrast, Philip was an ascetic, cautious, and suspicious king. This opera has for its theme the real antagonism and rivalry between the half-brothers, which climaxes over their mutual love for Agnes, a disguised and

60 Otway's tragedy, Don Carlos (1676), adapted by Schiller (1784-7), and thence by Massy and du Locle, became the libretto of Verdi's opera (Paris 1867). His Don Carlos cast includes Philip II, his son Don Carlos, Princess Eboli (widow of Don Ruy Gomez), and there are some dramatic likelinesses in this and Don John of Austria which precedes the events in Don Carlos. Nathan's contemporary, Costa, set the same story of Don Carlos (London 1844). OCLit, 232; CODO, 106, 87; Eaton I (1961) 50-2. Famous Spanish settings include Beethoven's Fidelio (1805) and W.V. Wallace's Maribana (1845), to name two contrasting operas.

61 Kotzebue's Die Spanier in Paris; oder Rolles' Tod is the most famous 19th century treatment of the Conquistador theme. R. Brinsley Sheridan adapted this as Pizarro (Drury Lane 1799 and Sydney 1835). Nesbitt first appeared in that role in Australia at the revival in 1842 at the Royal Victoria. It is a ranting melodrama. OCLit, 525; Irwin (1971), App. 244; Farmer Whyte (1917), 33. Chapter 3 discusses the particular Australian adaptation of Pizarro, later in this Volume, and their parallels in Australian vagrants and bushrangers.

62 European librettos closest to Montefiore's Don John are Verdi's Ernani (1844) and Donizetti's La Favorita (1840) by Victor Hugo and Scribe respectively. Although the action of both takes place in the 16th century, the plot-ingredients and sets are remarkably similar. Kohlbe (1954), 423-30, 404-10; Eaton II (1974), 82-3, 85-6.

63 A good biography of Don John of Austria is by Charles Petrie, London 1967. The climax of his career was his victory over the Turks and Ali Dara at...
persecuted Jew.\textsuperscript{64} Her natural preference for Don John so enrages Philip that he incarcerates both in the prison at the mercy of the Alcaldes and Inquisitors, led by Don Rhy Gomes. Like Valdes, Chief Inquisitor, Gomes appears only fleetingly in the final act of the opera, and neither plays quite the sinister or villainous role he appears to have held in history, which is to the opera's loss.

After scenes of disguise, a threatened duel, betrayal, persecution of the innocent heroine, debates about duty and patriotism, fraternal rivalry, sacrifice, revelation, and a final rescue of Don John by his father who reclaims him and reconciles the brothers, the drama ends with a true moral triumph of kinship and nobility, slightly compromised by the heroine Agnes's forced exile.\textsuperscript{65} Despite the sum of ideal romantic, melodramatic parts, the libretto for \textit{Don John of Austria} remains unhappily dull, uneventful, and inherently undramatic.

Although plot, time, and place are accurate, and the narrative is sufficiently sustained to lend stature, the literary style is clumsy and dreary through overuse of soliloquy, long spoken conversations which describe rather than impel action, and turgid and pedantic formal prose.

\textsuperscript{63} (Continued)
the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. Cervantes, one of his infantry captains, praising both Don John and his chief commander Don Alvara de Bazán (the first Marquis di Santa Cruz), describes this famous battle as "the noblest occasion that past or present ages have seen or future ones may hope to see" (Prologue to \textit{Don Quijote}): see Petrie, Ch.7, 161.

\textsuperscript{64} There are many 19th century operas treating the subject of romance with a persecuted Jew, the best-known being Halévy's \textit{La Juive}, with libretto by Scribe (1835-), a Swiss melodrama set in the 15th century, and immensely popular in Australia where it was first performed in Sydney in 1839. Kobbé (1954), 680-6; Eaton II (1974), 122-3.

\textsuperscript{65} In 1492, all Jews were banished and exiled from Castile and Aragon. Some quickly converted to Roman Catholicism and here, Agnes half-heartedly pretends to be Catholic to Philip. In reality she is Miriam, her father a Jew known to Charles V, (as Don John reads in a letter of hers he discovers, Act I, sc.4).
Charles V does not sing in the opera, but his meeting with Don John, his disguise, the monastic setting with offstage Monks' chorus, his handing to the son of a symbolic, legendary sword, and the son's ignorance of his father's identity and pact of protection, all make Act II scene 3 a dignified and powerful scene. Other scenes do not maintain this level. Too many interiors closet the drama and physically enclose the four main characters in their unrelieved conversations.

Musically, on the other hand, the work is well-crafted. Nathan's contribution has been more than a number-scheme accompaniment. He deletes some intended lyrics, substitutes others, presumably of his own; he alters others for greater musical and structural effectiveness; his substitutions are generally improvements towards greater naturalness and clarity. He makes judicious allocation of solos and ensembles. Each major male part has two solo songs, Agnes has three and her servant Dorothy sings only in the quintet and Finale. There are four duets, two trios, and an important quintet midway in the opera in Act II at the precise moment Philip reveals he is Agnes's disguised lover. Nathan has also reorganized Montefiore's scheme for greater balance between

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66 The most dramatic moments are, for example, when Philip, disguised as "Count Santa Fiore", (perhaps a humorous reference to Nathan's anonymous librettist, who only appears as "J.L.M." on the score) is challenged to a duel in a dramatic trio (Act 1I/1, v.sc. p.159); Gomez arrests Don John just as Agnes betrays Philip's real identity to him, (Act II/3, v.sc. 193); Agnes, in prison, is determined to sacrifice her life rather than betray her father's faith (Act III/3, v.sc. 222). The climax comes in Act III/4 when a trumpet announces Charles V's entrance, where he reveals his royal and paternal identity to Don John, and thus resolves the drama.

67 Acts I, 4, II,3, and II,4 are interiors of Donna Anna's home. Acts I, 1, 3 and II,1 are in Don Quexada's home. Act III, 1, 2 and 4 are all set in Philip's palace rooms.

68 Nathan must have seen, for instance, the absurdity in Montefiore's plan to have Quexada's secretary Geronimo onstage throughout Act I, scene 1 with nothing to do or say: Nathan has deleted an intended song for him here, giving the lyrics to Quexada and removing Geronimo's role altogether. Conversely, he has added a tense Trio (for Agnes, Philip and Don John) at Act III, sc.2, presumably to his own lyrics, where Montefiore had not considered music - surely an error of judgement in this dramatic scene of confrontation just before climax. Nathan's brilliant substitution of Montefiore's 'Volcano' imagery for Philip's solo which begins Act III creates a more powerful 'Revenge' song instead. (no.16, v.sc p.265).
the acts. His structure builds well, especially through vocal groupings which correspond to the developing drama. The role and position of the chorus is especially effective and cohesive. The Finale to Don John is conventional but competent, and resembles similar finales by Donizetti and Rossini. Numerous sections alternate orchestral, solo, choral, and mixed groupings. Melodic motifs first heard in the Overture and recalled in the course of the opera are reworked into the final pages. Here, too, there are formal, melodic, textural symmetries which, when compared with the Finale to Merry Freaks in Troublesome Times of some three years' precedence, are of such greater complexity that they possibly reveal not merely the gradually increasing musical subtlety of mid-century English romantic opera, but perhaps point to greater performance skill and experience among the players of the Royal Victoria Theatre in Sydney after 1845. Whether an audience in the 1840s could in fact hear these finer points of musical reference is another matter.

69 Philip, numbers 7 and 16; Don John, nos. 5 and Finale; Quexada, nos. 4 and Finale; Agnes, nos. 9, 14 and 10. In the vocal score, numbers 6, 8, 11 and 15 are duets; 2 and 17 are trios, the latter an addition made by Nathan with his own text; see note 68 above.

70 For example, Montefiore's Act II does not begin until the Trio at no. 12 (v sc p 159, libretto p 43), thus making his Act I too long; Nathan has 8 numbers in Act I, 7 in II and 3 plus the extended Finale in III. Act I has 3 solos, II has 2 and III has 2; there are 2 duets in each of I and II, one trio in both II and III.

71 After the opening chorus and ballet in Act I (nos 2, 3), there is a Monk's 4-part chorus centrally in Act II (no 13), then the six-part choral numbers of the concerted Finale to Act III, one of which recalls in texture, if not thematically, materials from the all-male Monks' chorus. The relevance of the 'Tandango' dance is presumably for local Spanish colouring, but the discovery of the "domestics dancing and playing their gambols" at the onset to Act I is quite incidental to both plot and structure and seems redundant. Nathan also wrote Spanish dances into the medley Overture of The Alcaid(1824) including "Le Folie de Spagna" and a Bolero, and choral sections for the male Alguazils, which appear later in this opera at III/2 no 15 and I, Finale, no.5 respectively.

72 Both finales concluding Merry Freaks and Don John are compared and described more fully in Supporting Documents to Chapter 2, number 3 at the end of this Volume.
In terms of recurring themes, vocal distribution, contrasting timbre, characterization, and formal repetition, the music to Don John plays an important structural part. There is tonal uniformity as the entire piece, perhaps unusual for serious opera, remains in major keys related to the C major tonality. The rhythmic scheme is uneventful, alternating 4/4 and 3/4 patterns in sequential numbers with excursions into 6/8 and 3/4 in the three numbers written in the key of E flat major. There are few, but telling, tempo changes, and those mainly in 'ad libitum' vocal cadenzas and orchestral shifts in tension. Nathan builds towards the climax and conclusion with considerable intensity.

Vestigual 'bel canto' elements over a figured bass can be seen in the vocal ornamentation, although Nathan deletes or simplifies even these in a later printing of six vocal numbers from the opera in his collection, The Southern Euphrosyne.\(^73\) Ornaments are mostly modest except in Philip's tenor part. By depicting Philip as the musically commanding lead, the opera errs in historical accuracy and dramatic balance through the loss of adventuresomeness in Don John. The music has made Philip so bold that this possibly reflects upon the vocal abilities of the two Howson brothers. Baritone Frank played Don John, and brother John took the demanding part of Philip.\(^74\) Don Quixada has no vocal ornaments in his bass lines; Agnes merely follows Philip with identical,

\(^73\) An example is Don John's solo "The Vision of Youth" which is ornamented at bar 78, v sc p 69 in the original manuscript; in the printed version, these modest grace notes are omitted, Southern Euphrosyne, p 69 at the words "will ne'er re-appear". As the original vocal score shows pencilled alterations and additions to e.g. pitch, and occasional suggestions as to e.g. the addition of a flute ornament to the vocal line, it was probably used for orchestration and later performance. The later printing may have simplified vocal parts for suitability for the drawing-room; alternatively, it may merely demonstrate the gradual disappearance of 'bel canto' ornamentation from printed scores.

\(^74\) See Nathan's reference to Frank Howson, to "the beautiful intonation, flexibility, and quality" of his baritone voice, in his reverie titled 'Rencounter' in Southern Euphrosyne, 140. John Howson has a taxing part especially in I, 4 at v sc 99-100; he leads all ensembles (II, 2 at 117 and II, 3 at 151) and takes cadenzas (at 97 in I, 3). His solo at III, 1 is breathlessly dramatic (v sc at 205).
melismatic extension. Other than Dorothy's brief assistance in the quintet; all remaining characters have only spoken parts in minor appearances.
3. **Serious and Comic Forms in Nineteenth-Century Australian Operas**

Although *Don John of Austria* is a more sustained dramatic entity than either *Merry Freaks in Troubles Times* or *The Gentleman in Black*, it has not fully assimilated new musical directions posed by romantic opera. Nor do other serious operas written in Australia later in the 19th century appear to develop Nathan's basic number structure and approach. The music and libretto to Carl Schmitt's romantic opera *Casille* (1872) are not recovered, and his music may possibly disclose German influences. He was trained in Frankfurt, as a member of a musical Bavarian family who produced romantic-historical opera, and was Kapellmeister in both Würzburg and Königsberg before emigrating.75 His sole Australian opera was this two-act melodrama with libretto by Richard Hengist Horne.76 Performed in 1872, it too retained spoken dialogue and set numbers for four main characters with a chorus.77

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75 Schmitt (b. 1835) was nephew of Jakob Schmitt (1803-53), Bavarian composer of 300 works including an opera, *Alfred der Grosse*. Carl's father was Aloys Schmitt (1788-1866), a Hanover Court organist, composer of 3 operas, Carl's brother Georg (1827-1902) was Kapellmeister at Schwerin Court Opera (1857-92), and Dresden Mozart Verein (1893), and wrote 3 operas: *Triby* (1845), *Das Wandlacker*, and *Maienäuber; ICM* (1864); Grove's V; Fitchett (1895), 31. Carl arrived in Sydney with Anna Bishop in 1869, but finally in 1895 lived in Auckland, New Zealand, as Professor of Music at the University (appointed 1888). He studied originally with his father, then Wolf and Hassett in Frankfurt. His publishers in Germany were André, and Augener.

76 Two Australian printed works, *Ave; a Spanish Evening Song; and Waltz* (1860), dedicated to Stephen Hale Marsh, are in ABC:NA. Horne (1802-1884) migrated to the Victorian goldfields in 1852. Writer and friend of Dickens, he soon made friends among Victorian writers including Marcus Clarke, G.C. McClure, H.T. Dwight, Henry Kendall and A.L. Gordon. He returned to England in 1866. Known as "Orion" Horne after his most celebrated epic poem, his Australian articles and poems include: *The South-Sea Sisters*, a lyric masque to which Charles Horsley composed the music (1866; see Vol II, Catalogue 1), also a cantata *Galatea Secunda* (1867) in honour of the visiting Duke of Edinburgh, also with music by Horsley, and a lyric drama, *Prometheus, the Fire Bringer* (1866). EMN I, 104-5, 357; ADB IV, 535-6; Elliott (1958), 85, n.99; and Ann Blainey The Farthing Poet; A Biography of Richard Hengist Horne, 1802-84; "A lesser literary lion", London 1968.

77 Schmitt founded the Sydney Choral Society which provided 50 or its members for this production; Irvin (1971), 234; Brewer (1892), 62; Fitchett (1895) 31.
Some forty years after *Don John of Austria*, Alfred Plumpton was said to be writing number opera still "in the style of Donizetti" for his three-act spoken melodrama set in 16th century Spain and called *I Due Studenti* (1887).\(^7\) As the more numerous romantic comedies and operettas have the same musical structure as quasi-tragic opera, 'serious' opera is identified more by chosen subject than by form or style. Dramatic features in *Don John of Austria* can be traced through to early 20th century works - in Ernest Truman's music-drama, *Mathis* (1902); in the classic-lyric dramas by Hector Maclean (*The Agamemnon* of 1886) or by George Marshall-Hall (*Alcestis* in 1898 and *Aristodemus* in 1902), or Henri Kowalski (*Vercingétorix* in 1881), to the music-drama by Florence Donaldson Ewart (*Ekkart*, 1909-10) - and, indeed, in the 'verismo' opera by Marshall-Hall, *Stella* (1910), which retains 19th century melodrama traditions. The main repository of these conventions is in the many locally-written straight melodramas, with merely incidental music, which date from the early colonial plays and which culminate in late-century works by prolific playwrights George Darrell and Alfred Dampier.\(^7\)

The peculiarly Australian flavour of local melodramas with music is discussed in Chapter III, and it need only be mentioned here that the stock conventions and characters of 19th century English melodrama were transplanted and imitated with scant alteration. Similar characters, plots,\(^7\)

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\(^7\) Henceforth, unless noted otherwise, all titles given in the text with their dates in parenthesis, are listed in Volume II, Catalogue 1. Alfred Plumpton's many critical essays on music for the *Victorian Review* in 1862-3 are in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. His music includes the *Victorian Jubilee Ode*, music for pantomimes including *Alfred the Great* (1878; Catalogue 5) and *Harlequin* (1891-9), the lyric drama *Euryton* (1882) and *Cantata Apotheosis of Hercules* (1883). EMM 1, 106, 107, 259; Radic (1), 319, 330, 557-8, 680. He was music critic to the Melbourne *Age* and organist in the Catholic Cathedral of Melbourne. The quote above is from the *Argus*; Comettant (1890), 180-1, 184.

\(^7\) M. Williams (1973), Chapter 3, 74 and L. Rees (2), Chapter 3, who both discuss Australian 19th century melodrama. Rees lists 11 of Dampier's most successful ones, mostly written while he was manager and lessee of Melbourne's *Alexandra Theatre*. Both playwrights had an important influence on Australian drama by articulating the national sentiment of the 1890s.
and language and form, were readily adaptable. One example to illustrate the point is the personification of the persecuted heroine. The ideal model is Gretchen of Faust, seduced by an unscrupulous libertine; the 'fatal' heroine either wastes away with grief or is piously forgiving.\(^8^0\)

In her many unhappy faces, she is Richardson's Clarissa Harlowe (1747) who dies of shame; Nicholas Rowe's Fair Penitent (1703); the persecuted beauty of Lessing's Emilia Galotti (1772); the tainted prostitute regenerated by suffering and love in Manon Lescaut (1731); Agnes, The Bleeding Nun by Monk Lewis (1796); or unhappy Hester Prynne in Nathaniel Hawthorne's The Scarlet Woman (1850). In Australia, she is Nathan's Agnes; Marshall-Hall's Stella, or Clive Douglas's Hester. She is even Madeline, sister to Poe's Roderick Usher, in Larry Sitsky's Fall of the House of Usher (1965).

If direct links can be drawn in literary characterization between Ann Radcliffe's 18th century heroes and heroines, later through Byron, the Maquis de Sade, and Kotzebue, and then through Walter Scott and Victor Hugo, a gradual adaptation is found of the romantic protagonist of 18th century verse tragedies to the bourgeois requirements of the Victorian stage, to the sensational and sentimental tone of Victorian prose melodrama. Like The Gentleman in Black, the Australian musical melodramas which adapt the novels of Bulwer Lytton belong to that process; these include works of the 1840s such as The Last Days of Pompeii (1844), Salathiel (1842) and Leila (nd).\(^8^1\) Most of these colonial melodramas are adaptations largely of

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\(^8^0\) Supporting Documents to Chapter 2, number 2. Ellen Moers, Literary Women, New York 1977, Chapter 5, "Female Gothic", especially at p 144.

\(^8^1\) Volume II, Catalogue 4; their author-adapters are Geoghegan, Knowles, and George Coppin. Australian domestic and nautical melodramas also belong, including McLaughlin's Arabin (1847), Belfield's Retribution (1849) and the anonymous Eliza Holmes (1854).
historical themes set in exotic places and remote times, from Roman to
Elizabethan and Stuart periods. Local settings and characters in the
Australian bushranger plays adhere alike to the same themes of rebellion,
revenge, rescue, and reconciliation as do the nautical and piratical
comedies, domestic, and realistic melodramas listed in Catalogue 4 in
Volume II. Among the few so-called original plays, Edward Geoghegan's
*The Jew of Dresden* (1846) with its theme of the legendary Wandering Jew,
is a well-made example. The theme survives into 20th century Australian
silent cinema, and is still found in 1902 in Ernest Truman's *Mathis*, a
music drama.82

The early Victorian melodramas written in Australia also
retain the contrived situations and pedestrian prose of Gothic drama,
yet many show instinctive theatrical flair. They were devised by
experienced practical men of the theatre like the colonial actor-managers
Conrad Knowles, Joseph Simmons, George Coppin, and Henry O'Flaherty.
*Salathiel* (1842) and its Gothic skeleton; *Isabel of Valois* (1840) in
which virtuous Blanche is rescued by her lover and faithful servant;
*The Duellist* (1844), a thriller; and the noble savage in *Ziska the Avenger*
(1851), contain some genuinely moving scenes and insight into psycho-
logical motivation and response.83

The practice of interpolating musical accompaniments to
melodramas continues well into the 1890s. For example, *Robbery Under
Arms* is a three-act melodrama adapted by Alfred Dampier and Garnet Walch

82 A drama adapted by C.M. Leumone from *Le Juif Polonais* or "The Polish
Jew" by Emilie Erckmann and Alexandre Chatrian, a Gallic melodrama which
also inspired *The Bella*, an adaptation by Leopold Lewis for London and
Henry Irving in 1871. This play was first performed in Sydney in
1873. Farmer Whyte (1917), 41; OCTh, 391. All three play texts are
in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. On cinematic studies of this theme,
see H. Porter (1965).

83 M. Williams (1973), Chapters 3 and 4; and M.H. Abbie (1970), Chapter
2 on the actor-managers of this period, p.55.
from the novel by T.A. Browne (Rolf Boldrewood) published in 1888.\textsuperscript{84} For its premiere in 1890, it had a cast of over forty stock characters: bushrangers, 'new chums', Warrigal, a pantomimic aboriginal, and the bush urchin Billy, in a romantic, nostalgic evocation of the bush in its colonial past. An Overture and original incidental music was composed by the music director of the Theatre Royal in Melbourne, Percy Kehoe. There was an additional corroboree especially written by W.J. Turner, later to become an international Mozart-specialist.\textsuperscript{85} This production was possibly the most successful in fifty years of Australian musical melodramas.

John Gay's \textit{The Beggar's Opera} (1728), which combines sensationalism and comedy, folk traditions and musical parody, and spoken dialogue with interpolated musical numbers, is the main catalyst for the various \textit{irregular} comic forms in English semi-opera, in particular the burlesque, the pantomime, and the musical extravaganza. In 19th century Australian theatre, these forms - with the melodrama - are the most numerous. The works listed in Catalogues 4 and 5 show varieties of combination and hybrid forms. Many fall into the category of satiric drama which simultaneously makes fun of social life and manners and of artistic pretensions. Some few are relics of true 18th century critical burlesque -

\textsuperscript{84} Not listed in Volume II. The book was first serialized in 1882 in the \textit{Sydney Mail}; Rees (2), 41-7; M.Williams (1973), 74 and App.VI; Dampier also adapted Marcus Clarke's \textit{His Natural Life} (1874) into a 6-act melodrama, Melbourne 1890. Rees (2), 101.

\textsuperscript{85} Walter J.R. Turner (b.1889) also published poetry and at least two melodramas, \textit{The Man Who Ate the Popomack} (Oxford, 1922) and \textit{Smaragda's Lover} (London, 1924); was music critic for the \textit{New Statesman} and literary editor of the \textit{Spectator, London Mercury} and \textit{Daily Herald} as well as writing his books on Beethoven, Berlioz and Mozart. EMM I, 392; L. Lavater, "The Commercialization of Music", \textit{Meanjin}, V 1. (1946) 62-4 on Turner's expatriatism. Other operatic adaptations of aboriginal dance and song, are discussed in Chapter 3 in this Volume.
- an honourable form of satire for which a well-known contemporary
drama or dramatic fashion offers elements fit for parody.  

Post-Restoration English burlesque or travestie (in mock-heroic
couplets) has its roots in the 'burla' or comic interlude which originally
introduced practical joking and horseplay between the acts of the
'commedia dell'arte'. The mock-heroic burlesque later turned its
satire on the strutting heroes and heroic assumptions of Gothic melodrama,
and on the moral proprieties of domestic melodrama. Burlesque is brief,
to avoid laboring the point. It is inevitably an afterpiece, to provide
late-night comic relief in laughter, even vulgarity, through its broad
acting styles and coarse speech, which parody a drama presumably familiar
to the audience.  

Popular English burlesques were played and plagiarized in
North America and Australia with huge success. For example, Bombastes
Purioso by William Rhodes (1810), is a transitional burlesque which links
the satiric, mock-heroic 18th century burlesque to its 19th century
relative, the anti-heroic extravaganza. Its main aim is to mock the
absurdities of conventional Gothic melodrama of terror and horror, and in
this, it was as successful in the infant Australian convict theatre as in

86 S. Trussler (ed.), Burlesque Plays of the 18th Century, Oxford 1969 and

87 Examples of 18th Century English travestie-burlesque include Carey's
The Dragon of Wantly (1734) which was a travestie of Italian opera and
Händel like The Beggar's Opera; Henry Fielding's Tumble-Down-Dick, and
Tom Thumb; The Tragedy of Tragedies (1730); Sheridan's mock rehearsal
of a play in The Critic (1779), his Pizarro, parodying Kotzebue (1799),
and Robinson Crusoe, a burlesque of Defoe's story. V.C. Clinton-
Baddeley, The Burlesque Tradition in the English Theatre after 1860,
London 1952.

88 Two American burlesques of popular operas are The Virginian Girl, a
burlesque of The Bohemian Girl, starring Luscreachia Poorgoose and
Signor Tomatoe, and Matt Field's Mis-Normer which transforms Bellini's
Druid priestess, Norma, into a New Orleans' coffee vendor, and the
warring Romans and Britons into rival market gangs. D. Grimstead
(1968), 238.
the amateur theatricals staged by their regimental masters.\(^9\) Its four short scenes include eight musical numbers which are mainly solo songs for the characters who comprise Artaxominous, the King of Utopia; his Minister of State Pusbos; General Bombastes; and the heroine Distaffina. It adds a medley duet, trios, an ensemble finale with dance, and soldiers' chorus with attendant drummers and fifers. Distaffina's song is a parody of Dido's Lament. Both form and cast are blueprints for many 19th century Australian burlesques and extravaganzas, especially for Carl Füttmann's Gothic absurdity, \textit{Mordgrundbruck} (1870), and for the scripts by William Akhurst, Garnet Walch, and Marcus Clarke dating from the 1860-70s.\(^10\)

Australian burlesques extend from John Lazar's in the 1846 Royal Victoria Theatre repertory to modern works such as John Antill's \textit{The Music Critic} (1953), which parodies Sheridan's play, James Penberthy's \textit{The Town Planner} (1968), or the Adelaide Festival of Arts-commissioned opera with words by Tim Robertson and music by George Dreyfus, \textit{The Lamentable Reign of Charles IV} (1974). The lamentably dull-witted reception of this satiric pantomime by critics suggests that today's audiences have lost touch with one of Australia's hardiest theatrical traditions.

In the later decades of the previous century, branches of the burlesque grew increasingly spectacular. Following the success of touring imported Black and White Minstrel Shows, the Australian burlesque

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\(^9\) A"tragic burlesque opera" premiered at the Haymarket, it was staged by the Emu Plains Convict Theatre on 16 May, 1825, and by officers and men of the 58th Regiment in the Lower Barracks at Parramatta on 18th and 27th March 1846. Other Australian productions were at Levey's Theatre Royal, Sydney (1833), the Maitland Amateur Theatre (1843), the Amateur Theatricals at Hodge's Hotel, Perth (1842). It was often the afterpiece to \textit{The Beggar's Opera} or \textit{Fielding's The Mock Doctor}; Irvin (1911) 146, 236; Roderick (1955) 3, 12, 14; Clifton (1930), 16, and J. Hall, article 25, Canon VII (1953-4), 145.

\(^10\) Emm I, 357. Füttmann (b. Cologne, 1843) wrote chiefly choral music for the Adelaide Liedentafel which he conducted in 1867-86, and taught violin, piano, and singing in Adelaide after his arrival with W.S. Lyster's Opera Company in 1865. Brewster-Jones (1936), 3. In 1871, an "Adolphus Roosher" - "a distinguished musician who does not know a note of music will sing selections from his Grand Opera of Umbreggia, (continued overleaf).
acquired elements from American burlesque and leg-show which corrupted satire into grotesque spectacle and erotic display, in fast sequences of variety acts or 'olio', acrobatics, magic tricks, freak entertainers, strip-tease, and boxing bouts, under the guise of 'musical extravaganza'. Burlesque proper in its satiric form can still be found in the many comic operettas adapted from the French opérette of Offenbach which Australians imitated in the 1880s heyday of commercial opéra bouffe, among which David Cope's Our Village (1880) is typical. With the coming of prohibition in America, the first World War, worldwide depression, and cinema, burlesque-extravaganza as mass entertainment was exhausted in America and Australia by the 1930s.\(^\text{91}\)

Some early colonial burlesques with music are more appropriately described as pantomimes or extravaganzas because of their fantastic elements.\(^\text{92}\) David Burn's Sydney Delivered (1844) transplants Oberon as Pomare, the Tahitian Queen of the Summer Isles and Express Expectorant of Botany, who descends on Sydney Cove and woos its civic dignitaries. John Lazar's St. George and the Dragon (1846) introduces the witch Kabyla, whose magic wand transforms St. George into Harlequin, the Dragon into Clown, and stone pillars to Knights of Christendom. Their scripts have remnants of satiric parody: Burn's Prince Expectorant indulges in mock-heroics with his "melodramatic sword" in a deliberate parody of romantic melodrama.

\(^{90}\) (continued) in Adelaide, shortly after Mordgrundbruck appeared; S.A. Theatre Programs, "Concerts and Plays in Adelaide 1860-80", SSL (uncat.), which suggests that burlesque bred burlesque.

\(^{91}\) Described by M. Willson-Disher in Clowns and Pantomimes, London 1925, and in P. McGuire (1948) 171-3. It was displaced, too, by musical comedy, but the tradition is revived today by such British satirical burlesques as The Monty Python Show.

\(^{92}\) Locally-written works discussed here are described more fully in Volume II, Catalogue 4; see Burn's introductory Note to the published text of Sydney Delivered, quoted in Volume II, p 330. The music is also selected to make a satirical point.
Lingering features of theatrical parody can be found in three other very early colonial comedies which are outstanding for their local subjects and recognizable local characters, although each, to varying degrees, is modelled on transplanted English comedies. O'Flaherty's *Life in Sydney; or, The Ran Dan Club* (1843) and *Jemmy Green in Australia* (?1845), possibly by James Tucker, are both local versions of W.T. Moncrieff's 'operatic extravaganza, *Tom and Jerry; or, Life in London* (1821). This model is already a parody-adaptation, which was extremely popular after 1834 in both North America and Australia. The two Australian comedies, together with Edward Geoghegan's *The Currency Lass* (1844), mock English theatre conventions and parody their forms through burlesque. The theatre itself frames *The Currency Lass*: Sir Samuel Simile, an elderly, would-be playwright and theatrical gentleman, is "obsessed with the clichés of his time (and) adds a terrific combat to his script as a matter of course." Here, he introduces himself on his arrival in Sydney:

...Finding that legitimate drama met with little support, I determined to go with the stream, and in compliance with the degenerate taste of the public, I composed a grand romantic opera in the German style entitled "The Blood Stained Murderer of the Demon's Glen; or, The Knight, the Lady, the Sorcerer and the Forest Fiend", replete with monsters, wizards, demons and all the infernal host of Pandemonium. This I presented at the opera house when, after dancing attendance on the manager for three months, I received my opera again accompanied by a polite note, declining its production but suggesting that with some curtailments and alterations it might be acceptable at Sadler's Wells as the opening of a pantomime. (p.32)

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93 Discussed more fully in this Volume, Chapter 3. The three Australian works are all listed in Volume II, Catalogue 1. C.B. Christesen, "Jemmy Green in Australia", *Meanjin*, XIV/1 (1955), 139-40.

94 Moncrieff's burletta was "more popular than Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth* but not more popular than *Richard II*" in Philadelphia, New Orleans and Charleston between 1816-1831; See Grimstead's (1968) Appendix tables.

His nephew Stanford revealingly describes Simile as a typical failed dramatist:

...he still fondly clings to the recollections connected with his dramatic career, and having ceased to strut and fret his hour upon the boards, has become impressed with the idea of perpetuating his fame as an author, and is continuously immersed in the mysteries of plot, underplot, incident, tableau and denouement... (p.30)

while Susan Hearty, the "currency lass", impresses him as a suitably theatrical wife for his nephew. Her role-playing satirizes comic acting conventions but she also appears as Charles Clackit, a "genuine Cornstalk", to describe the sophisticated pleasures of Sydney's theatres and audiences, in one of her several disguises. Opportunities for puns, lampoons, and theatrical 'framing' are abundant in Simile's references to popular English plays by Beaumont, Fletcher, Moncrieff, Garrick, and Villiers; he even refers to "Tom and Jerry work" as riotous adventures.

David Burn's play, Wanted - A Governess (1836), also portrays England in terms of the London theatres, and in Life in Sydney, Bob Logic proudly tells Jerry Webber about the thriving Royal Victoria Theatre of Sydney, where this piece, of course, was to be performed:

...a tolerable good theatre, superior indeed to many in London, for where you find at home, one or two leading actors in a theatre the rest are for the most part incapable of nothing except dumb show and noise - hem! Shakespeare. Now here, we have an excellent chap as Manager...there is a numerous company ...and I think I may say with judgement,...that some of our native talent, and of those who never saw a theatre but the Sydney one, may vie with those who have been born as "twere upon the stage..."

This framing device, which makes innocent references to theatrical sources, simultaneously legitimizes plagiarism and parody, and legitimizes

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96 Volume II, Catalogue 4: Emmeline, the heroine, resembles Susan Hearty in also assuming different roles; M.Williams (1973) Chapter 1, note 21.

97 Logic also lists the full company of the theatre in 1843; see M.Williams (1973) 66-7 of Chapter 1 and Appendix (np), who discusses 'framing' as a convention.
socially and dramatically the activities of the colonial theatre. Ironically, in theatrical convention, the frame or the play-within-a-play, also serves to distance the work from its borrowed source at the same time it presents its credentials - which might also be a colonial ruse to disarm the censor.

Cross-referencing between Australian comedies in part betrays their common sources; this is so in the competitive comments in Life in Sydney about Billy Barlow, as both are contemporary pirated burlesques. In part, it also seeks to disguise in parody a self-consciousness about the act of parody-imitation. Charles Thatcher's Operatic Servant Girl (1861) is opera-parody; Mary Trillit, like Sally Scraggs in Mrs. Hetherington's The Stage-Struck Digger (1854), is "opera mad"; her employer, Mr. Quaver, complains:

I allowed her to go out two evenings last week, to see Trovatore and the Traviata, and she's been singing the music ever since.... Bless me if she doesn't come the recitative business and bothers me to get her an engagement at the concert room where I'm employed, and when she's finished her work for the day, she dresses herself up and struts about and sings as if she were a prima donna...\(^\text{98}\)

Parody, in this instance, is underscored by the interpolated music, culled from current operas in the commercial repertory in the manner of ballad opera.

Much of the humor and satire in the colonial comic operas, operettas, and musical farces, is derived from their caricatures of real local people, recognizable places, and contemporary incidents. There is little doubt that the immediate reason for banning the burletta Life in Sydney was its fearless caricatures of well-known Sydney identities, yet the tradition was long in English domestic satire and social burlesque,

\(^{98}\) Script, p.6. Both works are listed in Volume II, Catalogue 5; see also M. Williams (1973), Chapters 2, 9.
especially in the works of Moncrieff, Kenney, and O'Keeffe. Charles Nagel set his earliest comic operetta, described as a burletta, in
operatic frame; his *Mock Catalani* (1842) is a parody of the real
cantatrice, internationally-famous soprano Angelica Catalani. Nagel
burlesques her as a transvestite counter-tenor. He also employs parody
in his musical 'arrangements' of a Mozart canon, and in his absurd script
for *Shaksperi Conglomrorofunidogammoniae* (1843), which belongs to a long
tradition of Shakespeare burlesque. Moritz Heuzenroeder's short 'singspiel' operettas are also
burlesques, but in a German style, language, and 'frame' to treat the
theme of the Faust legend in *Faust und Gretchen* (1863) or to parody musical
conventions (*Singvögelchen*, 1882). In more recent times, the tradition

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99 O'Tlaherty's portrayal of the "Walking Pieman" is probably a
caricature of William Francis King, the "Flying Pieman" whose pedestrian
feats are described in *The Heads of the People*, 7 August 1847, reprinted in
"Sam Lyonson" is undoubtedly Samuel Lyons (1791-1851), former convict
turned wealthy auctioneer whose home was attacked by a riotous mob
angry at his corrupt dealings, in June 1843; *ibid.*, 108-110, and ADB II,
141-3. The Script also lampoons "Windeyer", probably Charles Windeyer,
the first Major of Sydney in 1842; ADB II (on "J.B.Windeyer"), 614-5.

100 CODO, 70; see references under this work in Volume II, Catalogue 1.
Nagel denied intentional plagiarism in a letter to the Editor, *The
Australian*, 19 May 1842, 3. Joseph Simmons was an especially talented
comedian and counter-tenor in this part; ADB II, 446, and OCTh, 165.

101 See *Supporting Documents* to Chapter 1, number 5; this work is listed
in Volume II, Catalogue 4. The "Ghost" is an Irishman called Pat
Carey, "Prospero" is a publican; "Othello" is in debt to "Shylock"
and "Ophelia" is a dairymaid. Nagel makes jokes on cattle, sheep,
bank shares, kangaroos and "black gins". His rearrangement of a
Mozart canon is printed in I. Nathan's *Southern Euphrosyne*, (1824).

102 Volume II, Catalogue 1. Heuzenroeder (1849-1897) was born in Ottersberg,
migrated to Adelaide in c.1865 but returned to Stuttgart for further
studies. He produced light opera with the Adelaide Harmonic Society
(1886), but his own 'Singspiel' operettas were performed by the German
Club members and his own prize pupils. Obituary in *Music*, December
1897; see my article, "Moritz Heuzenroeder; A Musical Pioneer", *LINQ*,

Not all 19th century Australian comedies were capable of making the transition from broad pantomime or absurd farce to the subtleties of parody-travesty-burlesque, which was already far-removed from formal satire. A critic of George Loder's The Lady Killer; or, The Devil in Sydney (1857) drew the distinction:

...this piece, minus its dialogue and regarded as a pantomime, would not be an absolute failure, inasmuch as it is not devoid of business or action...Tested as an extravaganza, it is thoroughly meritless and void of interest, and the class of stage composition to which this piece professes to belong is usually replete with satire, clever in puns, brilliant in humour, and local in incident. Unlike any extravaganza we ever saw or read, it is written in the most commonplace prose. Its dialogue (barring the lack of wit) is such as London cabmen are wont to indulge in. In construction The Lady Killer is a jumble of 'malapropos' scenes, situations and characters...an avoidance of some of its coarse expressions would be an improvement. The majority of playgoers take no delight in foul language, nor do they find it in the sparkling productions of Planché, Talfourd, and Brough...103

The parody-opera framework is at times little more than an excuse to make the legally-required inserted music plausible; Susan Hearty's song and dance routines in The Currency Lass, while designed to show her theatrical versatility as the quality Simile might select in a prospective niece, are dramatically diversionary just as many interpolated ballads in early musical plays are dramatically redundant. A spurious but spectacular underwater scene in Amphibio, the Rhine Queen (1880) enabled John Hall to work the most popular numbers from Wallace's opera Lurline (1860) into a

103 Sydney Morning Herald, 27 August 1857, 5.
topical extravaganza. 104

More often, the music itself provides the satire. Musical
cliché is funnier and more effective than words in, for instance, the
grand, patriotic choruses introduced to pageant finales and scenic
tableaux ending many comedies and pantomimes. Successful examples are
in Burn's Sydney Delivered (1845) and Arthur Adams's The Forty Thieves
(1898), in which pantomimic Britannia embraces Columbine in a patriotic
parody with musical arrangements by Léon Caron and George Pack; or the
wry insertion of an English air to the tune of "Fine Old English
Gentleman" with Irish lyrics sung by Lany O'Liffey in The Currency Lass
(1844). Those same composers of serious formal choral cantatas were not
averse to inserting similar numbers in ridiculous pantomime finales.
Moritz Heuzenroeder concluded his comic opera Immomeena (1893) with his
own earlier choral work, a "Song of Australia". 105

Many performers in touring grand opera companies doubled as
pantomime artists, and the opera composers who also wrote pantomime or
burlesque include, in the 19th century, Plumpton, Giorza, Kowalski, Allen,
Caron, and Hill; and in the 20th century, Orchard, Truman, Hart, Brewster-
Jones, Antill, and Dreyfus. Among surviving manuscripts of scores and
poems by the 'literary' composers Fritz Hart and Louis Lavater are sketches

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104 The former is listed in Catalogue 5; Lurline in Appendix to Volume II, p 490; see also Prince Enterprise (1874), Catalogue 5. John Hall was one of Lyster's opera conductors from 1868, and later a music director for Rickards's Tivoli theatres and Allan & Co. publishers. In the service of Lyster, and later of Williamson, he arranged and composed over 400 orchestral settings for pantomimes and stage productions. The underwater scene is, of course, a parody of Wagner's Rhine scenes. G.R. Davies (1935), 16; Orchard (1), 139; Brewer (1892), 69; S.A. Theatre Programmes for 1871, 1872 and Pamphlets, iv; SSL:A. Thomas Thiodan imitated Hall's watery scenes in Horo and Leander (1881), an extravaganza.

105 This song, with words by C.C. Presgrave, was published separately (nd); SSL:A. Thomas Zeplin added a similar chorus to Australia Felix (1873), John Hall to Prince Enterprise (1874), Plumpton and Harrison to their Harlequin (1891), and Léon Caron to The Forty Thieves (1892), all in Catalogue 5. These were usually described as "Grand Patriotic Tableaux with Chorus."
for burlesque, and their own librettos for proposed farces. Sometimes, their exotic comedies are more stageworthy than their serious works: W.A. Orchard had little commercial or artistic success with his three operettas, but one, *Coquette* (1905), was received with far greater enthusiasm than were the performed excerpts of his sustained music-drama, *Dorian Grey* (1917), with its labyrinthine, Wagnerian leit-motif scheme and melodramatic theme. The librettos for serious Australian operas are too often verbose and dense in texture, as if the posture of writing 'grandly' forced writers into a self-conscious prose-straitjacket. Their formal prose is a poor servant of music. In contrast, comedies are among the liveliest of Australian play scripts. Outstanding examples are *The Currency Lass*, the satiric pantomimes by Marcus Clarke: *The Happy Land* (1880) and *Goody Two-Shoes* (1870), and Garnet Walch's felicitous "original extravaganza", *Australia Felix* (1873), which is the finest of the 19th century pantomimes.

106 Hart's *The Dead Heat* and *The Fiancées* (1931), Volume II, p.164; Lavater's *The Sultan of Toobad* (1904), II, Catalogue 1, p 87. Fritz Hart contributed to literary journals like *Art in Australia*, *Art and Letters*, *Hassell's Australian Miscellany* (1921-2) and published prose and poems e.g. *Appassionata: Songs of Youth and Love*, Melbourne 1913, and was music critic to the *Age* in 1914. Contemporaries include Hugh McCrae, Bernard O'Dowd, Vance and Nettie Palmer, Furnley Maurice and Louis Lavater who published his libretto translations, lyrics, critical articles and reviews, also in Melbourne, in the 1920s, besides his music. Published poetry includes: *Blue Days and Grey Days* (1915), *A Lover's Ephemera* (1917) and *This Green Mortality* (1922); L.Lavater MSS and *Papers*, VSL:A, EMM II, 952.

107 *The Coquette* (1905) Vol.II, Cat.1, p 90 and see pp 93, 96, 127. Orchard is another 'literary' composer, the first to attempt a history of Australian music in 1952; also *The Distant View*, Sydney 1943. His music for *The Coquette* is well received in unid. *Press Review*, from the composer's collection, lent me by Ruth Goodwin-Hill, Sydney 1974.

108 The librettos and plays by Clarke and Walch are listed in Catalogue 5 of Vol II: pp 375, 378, 382, 385, 386, 392, 394, 395, 401, 407, 409, 410, 412, 416, 423, and 435. Clarke (1846-1881) began to write and adapt plays, pantomimes and burlesques after his marriage to an actress, Marian Dunn in 1869, having been theatre critic for the *Melbourne Argus* in 1867-8; see *Recs* (2), chapter 3, 41 onwards and 67-70; Elliott (1958), 85, 139 ADB III, EMM I, 357. Garnet Walch (1843-1913) was a journalist in Sydney until moving to Melbourne in 1872, where he wrote at least 9 scripts, adapted and collaborated in many others, especially Christmas pantomimes and extravaganzas and wrote ballads, reviews and feuilletons; Elliott (1958), 98, 271; EMM I, 117, 379, ADB VI, and M.Williams (1973) Chapter 2, 27-50.
Clarke, Walch, Akhurst, Nelson, and many others, were contributors to the theatre in Melbourne, which within twenty years of its founding in 1835 had taken the theatre spotlight from Sydney. After the first gold discoveries in 1852, many new theatres were built in Melbourne and in the provincial towns, Ballarat, Bendigo, and Geelong. In Catalogue 5 of Volume II which lists pantomimes and extravaganzas, 43 of the 72 works were written in Melbourne, mostly between 1850 and 1870. In the 1850s, the most prolific figure is London vaudeville artist Sydney Nelson. Much of his music is original, and he collaborated with local writer William Akhurst in eight short, original comedies. Akhurst also wrote over 30 localizations, and with Garnet Walch (15) and Marcus Clarke (at least 6), they together account for more than 50 stage works, of which only 30 are listed in the Catalogue, written between 1860 and 1890.  

109 The best short reference is an anonymous article, probably by Marcus Clarke, "The Melbourne Stage in its Infancy", Colonial Monthly Magazine, (September 1868), 45-53; VSL: A.

110 On the effects of gold discoveries on Australian theatre, see M.H. Abbie (1970), 55 onwards, 135; A. Sutherland (1888), 512-3; Roberts Collection of Goldfields Pamphlets (Ballarat) in VSL:A; W. Furley, Some Recollections of Plays and Players of the Ballarat Stage in the Early 50s and 60s, Melbourne, 1906; EMM II, 904; AE, I, 380. Gold discovery coincided with improved communications, steam ships, and the transition of theatre into commercial enterprise and big business.

111 Nelson (1800-1862) arrived in 1852 with 2 daughters and a son after touring North America and after successfully writing at least 6 works for the English Opera House, London, in the 1820s and 30s. After gaining a dramatic licence in 1852, he introduced 12 works by local writers, for which he wrote and arranged the music, and also toured the goldfields. Volume II, Catalogue 5, 1852-58; Radic (1), 115; Grove's V. His music is in the Wrede HS (Supporting Documents to Chapter 2, Number 1), and NLNM.

Almost one-third of Australian pantomimes are fantastic adaptations with exotic locations and fairy prince-heroes. Another third are based on nursery rhymes, nonsense tales, riddles, and traditional stories, each with an end-Harlequinade and transformation scene. The remainder are localizations or original pieces, usually containing mixed social and political satire and realism, legendary themes and moral fables or historical subjects, in an Australian setting.

The earliest localizations (disregarding Lazar's two pantomimes for the Royal Victoria Theatre, Sydney, in 1846), have goldrush themes and appear first in the programs of the Theatre Royal at Geelong.\textsuperscript{113} They include: \textit{Jackey-Jackey, the New South Wales Bushranger} (31 January, 1853); a series of 'tableaux-vivants' with illustrative music depicting the diggings and called \textit{Diggers and Bushrangers} (12 February 1853); \textit{Spirit of the Goldfields; or, Avarice, Intemperance, and Ruin} (14 February, 1853) described as a fairy morality; and \textit{Harlequin Tom, the Piper's Son} (15 August, 1853). All were performed by George Coppin's company on the lucrative goldfields' circuit. Also, Coppin's own piece, \textit{The Gold Diggings} (1853), Mrs. Hetherington's \textit{The Stage-Struck Digger} (1854), an anonymous \textit{Goblin of the Gold Coast} (1850), Geoghegan's \textit{A Trip to Geelong} (c 1850s) and Charles Thatcher's operettas and farces, were the earliest Victorian pieces with local themes, characters, and settings.\textsuperscript{114}

\textsuperscript{113} Volume II, Catalogue 5; McEwen Papers, VSL:A; the Coppin Collection: Acting editions, playbills, posters and set models, VSL:A; McGuire (1948), 88-9; Montague (1925); \textit{Playbills and Players: an Exhibition of Victorian Theatre History}, VSL:A; Rees (2), 55-73, refer to the following pantomimes.

\textsuperscript{114} A collection of contemporary music of the goldfields is H. Anderson, \textit{The Goldrush Songster: Selected Songs of the Diggings}, Ferntree Gully, Vic., 1958. Allan Sierp's editions of 19th century photographs and daguerreotypes in Victoria and South Australia, with goldrush etchings and paintings by S.T. Gill, are among the earliest iconographical records of the place, period, and of many of these theatrical personalities including Coppin and Thatcher. See also B. McElhill, \textit{National Songs of Australia: Bush Poems, Digging Adventures, Dramas, etc.}, Melbourne, 1893.
They precede later comic operas such as George Allen's Payette, Revels (1892) and Moritz Heuzonroeder's Immomeena (1893), which are models for some 20th century musical comedies which revive themes and characters such as the gold diggers, immigrant miners, Chinese laborers, and bushrangers. Further discussion of the creation of Australian characters and their origins follows in the next chapter, but the way in which Australian folklore was grafted to the transplanted English comic operetta late in the 19th century is an interesting outgrowth from pantomime.

The Savoy operettas, particularly The Mikado, set another precedent for including exotic Oriental features, which, grafted on to the Australian pantomime tradition, influenced the comic but decidedly racist Oriental caricatures in John Dunn's The Mandarin (1896), Luscombe Searelle's Bobadil (1884), David Cope's Our Village (1880), and W.A. Orchard's The Coquette (1905). Geelong-born actor-playwright Oscar Asche produced the most commercially-successful musical comedy with Chinese characters, combining the elements of pantomime and Savoy operetta, in his Chu Chin Chow (1922). After the 1860s, the burlesque tradition in Australia was tempered by the sheer spectacle and allround entertainment offered by an extravaganza-medley "of mirth, music, mischief, and mimicry."

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115 See Volume II, Catalogue 1 for these two operas. 20th century musical comedies on these lines would include John Meredith, The Wild Colonial Boy (1958), Varney Monk, Collitt's Inn (1933), Dick Diamond's Reedy River (1953), Peter Stannard, Lola Montez (1958) and Kenneth Cook, Stockade (1971).

116 O. Asche (1872-1936), His Life by Himself, London 1929; sub-titled "A Musical Tale of the East", the work was published in London in 1931; EMM I, 388.

117 A subtitle of Garnet Walch's Australia Felix (1873); M. Williams (1973) 22-30.
Even local characters began to inhabit fairyland; Marcus Clarke may have chosen fantasy as a deliberate device to avoid political censorship, but he failed, despite the anonymity of *The Happy Land* authorship (1880), which he ascribed to "T. Tomline and a 'Beckett", alias W.S. Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan and *Iolanthe*. The piece was banned by the Victorian Government for its daring dramatization of Government officials.118 Political and military satire sweetened by fairyland fantasies, and epitomized in European operettas such as Offenbach's *La Grand Duchesse de Gérolstein* (1867), is palatably handled by Alfred Hill in his gentle satire on Australian Federation, in the pantomime *Sleeping Beauty* (1903), which is also one of very few dramatic-musical works on the subject.119 It is not until the 1970s that political satire is again permitted in the musical theatre; examples are *The Legend of King O'Malley* (1970) and *Cash* (1972), which both revive the best features of 19th century Australian extravaganza.120

Pantomimes based on history and legend retained their popularity throughout the 19th century. Perhaps the best example is *Alfred the Great* (1879), which combines many original features with hybrid borrowings. The adapted music it lists reads like a repertory list from the imported operas of the 1870s.121

118 The original London version, *The Wicked World* (1873), satirized Gladstone, Lowe and Ayrton as the three statesmen, and Clarke represented ministers in Berry's Victorian Government. *Melbourne Leader*, 10 January, 1880. See notes to this item, Volume II, pp 410-11, and Elliott (1958) 222-3. Contemporary with Clarke are Hoare's *Polling Day* (1883) and Delaney's *The Panting Patriot* (1869); see EMM 1, 377 and Rees (1) 33.

119 Volume II, 433, and see also Thomas Hanson (1885) p 38, and Louis Bayer (1887) p 42, whose works both precede Australian Federation.

120 Michael Boddye and Robert Ellis and the Jane Street Theatre, Sydney, created the first as an improvised extravaganza set at the time of Federation. The music, arranged by Richard Connolly, is for brass quartet and piano, based on traditional folk and popular music. *Cash*, also by Boddye with Marcus Cooney, is a political satire on the actual career of Frank Macnamara, "Trank the Poet" - see this Chapter, note 25. Other musical satires include Boddye's *Biggles* (1971), Peter Batey's *Adelaide Happening* (1971), Ellis and Hall, *The Duke of Edinburgh Assassinated*; or, *The Vindication of Henry Parkes* (1971).

121 See overleaf.
Just as Henry Bishop's adaptations helped promulgate English folksong and dispersed folk elements through later romantic European opera, so the late 19th century English fantasy-pantomime and musical melodrama adapted Italian opera and French opérette in a reverse acculturation of popular artforms in mass entertainment.\protectcite{122} In Australia, this coincides with a time when audiences were increasingly stratified and 'opera' was becoming a middle-class fashion.\protectcite{123} However, much of the humorous effect of inserting opera excerpts into pantomime lies in the presumption that the audience will be familiar with the source.

That urban, middle-class Australian audiences after the 1870s were very well-informed, is demonstrated by the popularity of theatre-going in the last decades of the century.\protectcite{124} Further proof is given by the lively state of the sheet-music industry in Australia which promoted

\protectcite{121} Volume II, p 401-6, which lists the musical numbers in detail. Note that its performance was by principals in the Lyster Opera Company, and that Alfred, the hero, is a 'breeches' role for a soprano, in the 18th century tradition. The borrowed music includes Italian grand opera, and the latest French opérette, and the work concludes with "Rule Britannia" as a patriotic finale to the end Harlequinade. This work epitomizes all the elements of extravaganza just described.

\protectcite{122} There are close parallels in the development of American operetta in the late 19th century, especially in works by John Philip Sousa, Reginald de Koven and Victor Herbert, whose music is reminiscent of Balfe, Wallace, Sullivan, as well as of Adam, Lecocq and Offenbach. Sousa's Our Flirtation (1881) is the first North American operetta which also includes Latin-American dance measures; see G. Hughes (1962), 239.

\protectcite{123} H. Kippax, "Drama", in Australian Society, a Sociological Introduction, 2nd ed by A.F. Davies and Sol Encel, Melbourne 1970, 496.

\protectcite{124} Press Reviews draw special attention to the popular taste for burlesque, pantomime, and comic opera; see for example Advertiser, 5 December 1890, 6, and D. Quinn (1895), 395.
familiarity with the transplanted repertory. In earlier colonial times, publishers encouraged composers to write occasional and topical songs, dances, and keyboard pieces related to current events; now, theatrical fashion in turn prompted rapid publication of the most popular numbers from both transplanted opera and from new local pantomime and burlesque. This market further persuaded composers to abandon their serious opera for more rewarding commercial entertainment, and lured Australian dramatists into melodrama. This was eventually to exile 'Art' music into academia and the small, amateur art theatres, leaving monopolistic managements to maintain their control over popular commercial theatre entertainment.

Despite the enormous success of pantomimes and extravaganzas, the majority of 19th century Australian semi-operas with original music are regular, romantic comedies. *Merry Freaks in Troublous Times* is but the first of many romantic-historic comedies with plots, settings, and characters from the international pool. Like English comic opera of the 1860s, mid-century Australian operas illustrate the common features of the 'era of adaptations', when styles from French opérette and vaudeville compete with Italian opera, and...

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125 Many printed sheet-music examples are preserved in the Hince Collection of Australian Sheet Songs, 9 boxes of 851 items catalogued by composer, ANL, Canberra. Composers of opera represented in this collection include Caron, Monk, Hill, Packer, Marshall-Hall, Dudley Glass, Giorza, Truman, Chanter, Weierter, Allen, and McBurney. To give one example, Giorza's music written for the pantomime *Around the World* was published in 1878 as a medley of themes; Box 3, Hince, ANL. Published albums of opera numbers by both Australians and overseas composers, include: *The Australian Melodist*, containing "most popular songs sung at the theatres and concert halls", nos 1-6, Melbourne 1884; *Cole's Treasury of Song*, a "collection of the most popular songs", Melbourne 1906, and D. Sladen, *A Century of Australian Song*, London 1888, repr. 1891; EMM II, 945, 247. Often the sheet music or anthologized printings of excerpts or arranged medleys are all that survive of 19th century Australian theatre music. See also W.H. Williams, (ed) *Williams Musical Annual and Australian Sketchbook*, Melbourne 1858 -, whose wife is probably the "Mrs. W.H.W." who copied out *Alfred the Great*, see note 126 above, and Vol. II, p 401.
Italian burlesque, sentimental ballads in 3/8 or 6/8, the 'ensemble de perplexite', the 'chanson à boire', and other stock ingredients such as the Tyrolean 'Ländler', the dreamy waltz, the polka, the Can-Can, military ensemble with 'ra-tap-trump' refrain...\(^{126}\)

Offenbach's visit to London in 1874 and to North America in 1875-77, had stimulated popular demand for the frivolities and sumptuous settings, the satiric wit and elegance of French opérettes.\(^{127}\) Offenbach, Hervé, Halévy, Lecocq, and their opérette or opéra bouffe reached an Australian heyday in the late 1880s; immigrant or visiting French composers like Henry Kowalski, Oscar Commettant, Alice Charbonnet-Kellermann, Jules Meilhan, and Léon Caron, formed French Clubs, opened warehouses to sell French music and conducted performances of French opérette, often with visiting companies such as the Emily Soldene Company which devoted its entire repertory to French comedies. J.C. Williamson rapidly followed their lead.\(^{128}\)

Late-19th century Australian comedies and operettas imitate the French style, even when applying it to a local plot with indigenous characters. Hector Maclean's *Populaire* (1884) was "believed to be the first opéra bouffe written in Australia;" - he was also favorably compared with Flotow, Offenbach, Sullivan, and even Weber.\(^{129}\) Henri Kowalski's

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\(^{126}\) G. Hughes (1962), 19-22, who quotes Berlioz's opinion of earlier French Vaudeville composers whose "music is admirably suited to the requirements of the Opéra Comique, for it is stylish, fluent, undistinguished, full of catchy little tunes which one can whistle on the way home." *Ibid*, 21. The convention of building upon and adapting stereotypes is also obvious in Donizetti, Verdi and Sullivan.

\(^{127}\) Offenbach and his contemporaries use stock ingredients which cover a range of farcical, satiric, provincial, sentimental and sophisticated situations. He also lampoons the classics (e.g. *Orphée*, 1858). His London opérette includes the satire, *Dick Whittington and His Cat* (1874); his American successes include two Jules Verne adaptations, and *Robinson Crusoe*; see H.E. Johnson (1964), alphabetical listing.


\(^{129}\) *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 April 1884, 5, and see Volume II, p 34-5. The theme is a contest between mind and muscle, and the treatment combines (Continued overleaf...)
Moustique (1880) appears to have been a regular reverse-plot with Lecocq's Les Cents Vierges (1875).

The majority reveal their mixed Anglo-European heritage.

Predatoros (1894) by the musical Queen's Representative, Sir William C.F. Robinson, and the three comic operas by Luscombe Searella, continue bandit-rebel themes from romantic comedy, echoed in Alfred Hill's early operettas, The Whipping Boy (1893) and A Moorish Maid (1905). Searella, the first colonial composer to have an opera performed in England, as well as in North America and Australia, wrote Estrella (1884) with a Venetian setting, bird-like Donizettian imitations, and a romantic plot, and his Bobadil (1884) is an Arabian Nights' adaptation. Composers like Beaupuis, Alpen, Lardelli, Truman, Dunn, Juncker, and Moulton, all adhere to conventional comic themes for their 1890s operettas. There is a small group with local plots. Cope's Our Village (1880) satirizes the Victorian Premier, and introduces a Zulu Chief and those 'colonial necessities', the Chinese chorus. Brunton Stephens's libretto for George Allen's original opera Fayette (1892) harks back to Thatcher and the goldfields' dramas with a cast of diggers entertained by a touring theatrical group. Immomeena

(Continued) satiric burlesque with social realism and comedy of manners. It appears to be the first Australian opera to take the subject of gambling and horse-racing. "Long Odds", a character who "looks upon animated creation in the aggregate as simply things to bet on or as gambling implements", may be descended from Marcus Clarke's first novel, Long Odds (1868).

On the earliest, convict-theatre treatment of "banditti" dramas and operas, E.W. White, "The Usual Banditti" in Canon, VII / 5-6 (Dec-Jan 1953-4) 203 also in Opera, III/12 (Dec.1952) 731. All these Australian bandit-rebel-hero libretti are descended from Schiller's Die Räuber which is also the basis for Verdi's I Masnadieri: see also Opereti's I Ladroni (1879). Works described in this paragraph are all listed in Vol.11, Catalogue 1.

Searella (d.1907) was New Zealand-born where his first opera, The Wreck of the Pinafore (1882) was performed by Horace Lingard's troupe, who came with conductor Searella to Australia. By 1886, Searella left for South Africa with his own company, and gave the first Rand goldfields' performance of W.V. Wallace, Maritana (1845) in 1889. Some of his printed sheet music survives in the Mitchell Library, with a published elegy The Dawn of Death (1889) in memory of his wife, "Miss La Fontaine", a Sydney singer; Brewer (1892) 84; EMM I, 383; R. Campbell (1967), 278.
(1893) casts station-hands, stockmen, a crazed "Billy-the-Hatter gone daft in the sun," a squatter, and an eccentric academic who looks for the mythical Bunyip in a River Murray setting. German-born Hugo Alpen's *El Dorado* (1896) locates a lucky digger in both Hill End goldfields and, in the middle act, in Swiss mountain scenes, to depict the rags-to-riches adventures of the immigrant hero.132

All of the above comic operas retain the basic number scheme with spoken dialogue that Nathan introduced to Australian composition in the 1840s. By the 1890s, opera composers were invariably attracted to the successful formulae of the Savoy operettas. Dramatically, these might include eccentric, fantastic, romantic, and realistic ingredients in flimsy dramatic structures combining traditional farce, comedy, romance, with nonsense. Alfred Hill's *Lady Dolly* (1898) is a whimsical - and absurd - example. Cecil Sharp combines the techniques of French opérette with Savoy operetta structure in his two Adelaide comic operettas, *Dimple's Lovers*, and *Sylvia; or, The Marquis and the Maid* (both 1890).133 The first is a short London farce for four; the second has an involved plot, three pairs of lovers, intrigue, disguise, and comic misunderstandings before a happy ending. Sharp's music is inventive and varied: there are several strophic songs, mixed choruses, drinking songs, a patriotic chorus, serenade, dances -- including a "Moorish" -- and a conventional but competent ensemble.

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132 The melodrama and sensational romance is, in these 1890s' works, giving way to domestic, social drama; 'straight' Australian drama precedents, modelled on the 1890s' London comedies of Pinero, Haddon Chambers and others, include local-subject 'verismo' plays by Hubert Stewart and Arthur Bateman; EMM I 358, 363.

finale. His Overture is more sophisticated than Nathan's; four sections introduce and develop four related melodic ideas which reappear and are extended in subsequent numbers. A Coda to the Overture draws these themes together. The 'da capo' arias are accompanied by ostinato string patterns with an obligatory wind instrument, and Sharp's choral writing, in close chordal harmony, is frequently echoed by block brass and string chords at the unison. The vocal score of Sylvia survives intact, unlike the majority of those Australian comic operas which achieved one performance - usually by amateurs - and were never heard again; but survival of the score has not meant revival, and despite its competence, perhaps the work does not command revival. 134 More light operas were written in the decade of the 1890s when Sylvia was performed, than in the entire earlier history of Australian opera, (despite severe economic conditions hastened by drought and depression) when audiences for Australian works were at their peak. 135 The brief first productions, the lack of later revivals, and the widespread loss of scores and materials is discouraging.

134 Sylvia was compared with Cellier's Dorothy (Vol.II, App. p 445); see Advertiser, 5 December 1890, L., which describes the crowded, critical, fashionable audience as enthusiastic, and the "gratifying present-day love for more light, tuneful music...(which has) taken the place of the old-fashioned burlesque, being more refined...and more enjoyable to cultured ears." See Volume II, p 45-7.

4. **New Directions: Effects of Choralism and Expatriatism**

Several excellent examples of lyric drama written in Australia represent what appears, at first, to be a new direction for Australian dramatic musical composition. From the 1850s, both English and German choral societies flourished in Australia and shared an inheritance of 18th-century Italian dramatic cantata, Händelian choralism, and church music traditions. In Victoria, a Melbourne Philharmonic Society began in 1853. The first male-voice Liedertafel - a German Benevolent Society - was founded in Melbourne in 1850 for and by newly-arrived political and religious refugees. This became the official Melbourne Deutscher Liedertafel (1860) which began English-language performances as the Melbourne Liedertafel in 1879. Meanwhile, in 1869, the Melbourne Metropolitan Liedertafel had also formed. Both eventually combined into the Royal Victorian Liedertafel in 1905.\(^{136}\)

In South Australia, German-born composers Carl Linger, Carl Püttmann, and Moritz Heuzenroeder, were active in forming male-voice choirs (männergesanger) in Adelaide and in the German settlements of the Barossa Valley.\(^{137}\) In Sydney, a Philharmonic Society was founded in 1845.\(^{138}\)

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\(^{137}\) No comparable work to Radic has been done on South Australian choralism. The Adelaide Choral Society began in 1844; the Adelaide all-male Liedertafel in 1858; the Adelaide Philharmonic Society in 1862 which merged with the Choral Society in 1886; the Adelaide Harmony Society (1897), and other shorter-lived groups arose. Information is compiled from Brewster-Jones (1936) 2, 29; mainly from *Uncatalogued Press Clippings and Programs*, SSL:A and "Material Relating to Music in S.A., 1836-1900", compiled September 1961, PR580, SSL:A.

\(^{138}\) A Sydney Liedertafel was probably formed earlier than the surviving "Alphabetical List of Artists and Musical Items", in *Concert Programs, 1882-1892*, in MS, Fol. 164, NLN:M and Concert Programs nos. 15-169 (15 March 1887 - 17 June 1914), NLN:M. The Sydney University Musical Society (SUNS) began in 1878, and its programs after 1889 are held in Syd. Univ. Archives together with *Newspaper Clippings, 1884-1902*. 
Around these and many more choral groups grew chamber music ensembles, and instrumental and singing teachers who were the nucleus of most 19th century theatre orchestras. German-trained, they emigrated with German musical traditions: street serenades, outdoor band concerts and competitions, private garden musicales. German musicians were caricatured in some of the earliest-surviving dramatic fragments known to Australian research, and there are numerous pictorial records of German street and goldfields musicians.

German Liedertafel groups held regular annual concert seasons, at which sacred and secular cantatas, oratorios, odes, chorales, and traditional four-part songs were performed, with solo items and orchestral numbers, usually of German extraction. The Philharmonic organizations ran similar programs but with an English bias. Later, French Clubs premiered the oratorios and cantatas of Gounod, Massenet, Saint-Saëns, and Delibes, whilst Welsh settlers maintained their own eisteddfodau choral heritage, especially in the Victorian goldfield settlements.

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140 Püttmann's Mordgründbruch (1870), in German, performed by the Liedertafel to an audience of German colonists, in aid of the Franco-German War Relief Fund, had the following German orchestral musicians: Schrader, Heidecke, Weber, Klaver, Proktor, Wiedenhöfer, Pappin and Gruneckle; Advertiser, 23 November 1870, 2. An Early dramatic depiction is Edgar Mute (?), The Mysterious Bandbox, a MS farce, possibly written for amateur military theatre in early colonial days in Sydney, NLN:A; see Vol.II p 354. For iconographical data, see note to preceding section 114.


143 R. Campbell (1967), 250.
Both German and English choral societies encouraged and performed locally-written music. The Melbourne Liedertafel, for instance, might assure a composer of performance of a new work if it was suitably dedicated and presented in score to the Society, without payment of course. M.T. Radic lists local works performed in this manner and their surviving scores in society libraries.\textsuperscript{144}

One of the most successful choral composers in Australia was Charles Horsley, who achieved performances in Melbourne of several of his London choral works, and his Australian compositions, \textit{The South-Sea Sisters} (1866) and \textit{Euterpe} (1870) with the Melbourne Philharmonic Society.\textsuperscript{145} \textit{The South-Sea Sisters} (1866) is a lyric drama with libretto by Richard Hengist Horne;\textsuperscript{146} \textit{Euterpe} (1870) is a choral ode to words by Australian poet Henry Kendall.\textsuperscript{147} Both are sectional, large-scale works for massive forces. Both have thematically-developed Overtures, alternations of solo, solo-ensemble, and choral densities, organ accompaniments for recitative, and choral divisions for timbre contrasts. They combine fugue and counterpoint with linking orchestral numbers. Horsley’s acknowledged models are the choral works of Haydn, Mendelssohn, and Beethoven, and above all of Händel.\textsuperscript{148} Other significant choral composers writing in Australia in

\textsuperscript{144}Radic (1968), II, p 343 lists works performed between 1853-87 composed by: Allen, Elsässor, Horsley, Lavenu, Plumpton, Robinson, Rutter, Schott, J. Siede, A.T. Turner; also p.550.

\textsuperscript{145}Radic (1968), 193, 218-9. He was chief conductor in 1862-5. The London works are \textit{Comus}, a cantata, performed 7 December 1862 and \textit{David}, an oratorio, performed 30 June 1863. ADB IV, 427-8; Grove’s V, 381.

\textsuperscript{146}Volume II, 15 describes the work, one of the first to be commissioned in Australia for opening ceremonies for official State or national festivities.

\textsuperscript{147}\textit{Euterpe} is not listed in Volume II. It was commissioned for the opening of Melbourne’s new Town Hall, 9 August 1870. Horsley conducted an orchestra of 75, leading opera singers Fanny Simonsen, Lucy Chambers and Armes Beaumont were soloists. There are 18 numbers. The original MS survives in vocal score, dated 7 July 1870, 136 p., presented to the Philharmonic by Horsley on 27 August 1870, now in VSL:A. Kendall’s libretto was first printed in the program, then reprinted in 1870. Pam.II, VSL.

\textsuperscript{148}He was a pupil of Moscheles in Leipzig, Moritz Hauptmann in Cassel, and Louis Spohr, and a friend of Mendelssohn, and he lived in Australia from 1861-71. The first chorus of \textit{Euterpe} is indebted to Mendelssohn’s \textit{Antigone}, Age, 10 August 1870; Radic (1968), 226-9, 250-78, 315-6.
the 19th century include Charles Packer, Paolo Giorza, Hugo Alpen, George Allen, Charles Stevens, and Carl Elsässer, all of whom were associated with opera and choral societies.  

In a sense, choralism provided an outlet for operatic aspirations. Composers of opera who also conducted choirs include: Henri Kowalski, Paolo Giorza, Léon Caron, Alfred Plumpton, Ernest Truman, Alfred Hill and Marshall-Hall. Other opera composers attached to academic institutions, conservatories, and universities, who included Edgar Bainton, W.A. Orchard, Eugene Goossens, Winsloe-Hall and Fritz Hart, also had trained, capable student choristers at their command. Their contact with amateur choral groups seems to have spurred their opera composition as well as their regular choral music. Heuzenroeder's 'singspiel' operettas are a case in point.  

Choral societies occasionally performed opera in concert productions - mainly in the hope of raising money, or simply to compete with commercial theatres. The choirs in commercial as well as in amateur opera were mainly drawn from the ranks of society members. In

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149 Packer, Vol II, App. p.480-3; Giorza, ibid. p.450-3; Alpen, Vol II, p.58; Allen, Vol II, 49-50, 437. Stephens arrived in Adelaide in 1887 and founded the Choral Society and Orpheus Club. His dramatic cantata, The Golden Key (1895) was performed with scenery and linking spoken dialogue, and represented Australia, Art, Industry and Science; Orchard (1) 58; Pam II, HLS: A. Elsässer (1817-1885) conducted both the Melbourne Philharmonic (1861) and the Turnverein (1862) and wrote 5 cantatas between 1860-1882. EMM I, 106; ADB IV, 136; Radic (1968), 470, 494, 649. This is a representative list of many choral composers in Australia. 

150 References to the abovementioned composers, which substantiate their contributions to choralism, may be consulted after the Catalogue entry of their operatic works in Volume II. There is a substantial body of choral music awaiting bibliographic and historical research, which is beyond my intention here. 


152 For example, the Melbourne Philharmonic's production of Ermac with Lyster's Royal Italian Opera Company, 8 September 1869; Radic (1968) 193, 286. Their production of The Bohemian Girl was a financial disaster; Argus, 19 January 1870.
return, star soloists from the opera companies gave reciprocal recitals in some major works with the societies, and helped out with premiers of large-scale Australian choral pieces such as *Euterpe*. Society programs might include opera Overtures, operatic solo and choral excerpts, and locally-arranged popular airs and tunes from the repertory harmonized for mixed or male choirs. The effect was to further familiarize concert audiences, renowned for their "more refined taste and judgement", with the opera repertory.

A direct link between choralism and opera is found in the scores. Among several different species of choral music written in Australia, there are daring examples of dramatic and 'operatic' conception. First, among biblical (sacred) oratorios, Charles Packer's *The Crown of Thorns* (1863) approaches a stage depiction. Twentieth century opera-oratories and small biblical operas have been written by Fritz Hart, John Antill, James Penberthy, Donald Hollier, Ross Edwards, and Malcolm Williamson which have been staged in church settings and have been written for church choirs to perform.

Second, secular dramatic choral works written in Australia include music written for classical plays, and historical-classical lyric dramas.

153 Radic (1968) App D: Supplementary List of Performers, 641-5; and App. K: Soloists with the Melbourne Liedertafel, 696-704. They also joined in Interstate combined choral productions; Radic, 498.

154 Radic (1968) Appendices listing program items; 343, 419, 598, 617, 634, 645, 649.

155 *Herald*, 25 November 1854, and *Argus*, 9 September 1869. Again reciprocally, concerts of sacred music were given in the theatre; *Herald*, 11 July 1856; Radic (1968) 197, 151.

156 Volume II, App 481 and note 5.

157 Volume II, pp 458-9, 130; 213; 203; 186 and 297; 199-200; and 261 respectively; some of these are for children's choirs. Related to them, but intended for secular rather than sacred performance, are allegories and morality-operas such as Colin Brumby's *The Seven Deadly Sins* (1970), 215-16.

158 These might include Plumpton's *Endymion* (1882), *Apotheosis of Hercules* (1883) which are not listed in Volume II.
Kowalski based his *Vercingetorix* (1881) on the Gallic Wars, and gave it highly operatic treatment. Hector Maclean (*Agamemnon*, 1886), Marshall-Hall (*Alcestis*, 1898; *Aristodemus*, 1902, and Felix Werder (*Agamemnon*, 1967) wrote classical music dramas on an operatic scale. 'Literary' dramas which sit between opera and oratorio include the patriotic pageants and masques and some cantatas devised by opera composers who include Hugo Alpen, Frederick Packer, Alfred Plumpton, Léon Caron, and Florence Davidson Ewart, and, in the twentieth century, Ernest Truman (especially his dramatic cantata *The Pied Piper*, 1911), Malcolm Williamson, and Colin Brumby. Many of the 19th century works were written for specific national or patriotic occasions, coronations, Royal visits, and State and Federal competitions. Large numbers of original entries to song and choral competitions: to the 1866, 1870, 1880, and 1888 national and intercolonial exhibitions in the various States; for the industrial, mercantile fairs; and also for regional and local festive occasions, demonstrate that composers eagerly sought every opportunity to write large works, hopefully

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159 Volume II, 25-8, a work closely associated with Bellini's *Norma* (1831).

160 Volume II, pp 39, 66-8, 74-5 and 201-2 respectively. Maclean's, the first of its kind in Australia, was prompted partly by then-contemporary English and American University revivals of classical plays; it was "merely a matter of course that our own scots of learning would follow suit," G.L. Fischer, "Greek Drama in the Great Hall, 1886", *Sydney University Cassette*, September 1971, 26-7. This production was in Greek; and marks the first use of electrical lighting in an Australian stage production; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 June 1886, in *Newspaper Cuttings* G3/85/1, p 31, SU:A.

on commission or for reward and at least for performance. Most of the Australian opera composers listed in Catalogue I entered the choral music arena.

Dramatic choral works adopted a sectional number scheme, scored for soloists, solo ensembles, with many choral numbers, and usually with orchestral or organ accompaniment. Some had spoken dialogue. Most texts were printed as programs. A few successful prize-winners or specially-commissioned works were published in vocal score, handsomely bound, and presented to the commissioning body. More of these works survive than do operas and operettas.

Their librettos often have formal, rhyming, strophic schemes which rarely inspire the best creative composition, even in the case of collaboration between leading poets and composers; Henry Kendall's poems for Horsley, Giorza, Allen, and Plumpton are not among his best, nor are Horne's scripts for Horsley and Carl Schmitt, nor Marcus Clarke's with

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162 A sample of special occasions for which music competitions were held is: 1859, Sydney University Great Hall; 1866, Melbourne Inter-Colonial Exhibition; 1870-1, Metropolitan Intercolonial Exhibition; 1870, Melbourne Town Hall; 1879, Sydney International Exhibition; 1880, Melbourne International Exhibition; 1881-2, Perth International; 1887 South Australian Intercolonial Jubilee; 1888, Centenary Celebrations; 1888-9, Melbourne Exhibition; 1894, Hobart International Exhibition; 1895, S.A. Exhibition of Art and Industry. In part, these occasions have been replaced in the past decade by State Arts Festivals.

163 Of course, some choral composers were frustrated opera composers. John A. Delany's "one great ambition" was to write grand opera, but he never found a suitable librettist and sufficient publishing or performing inducement. His Captain Cook Cantata (1888) which survives in original MS, is an outstanding example of Australian dramatic music; NCon; see ADB IV, 41-2; D. Quinn (1895), 393; EMM 1, 384, and my forthcoming article in Grove's VI.

164 Publication of oratorio, cantata or sacred music was still less assured, however, than sheet-music printing of salon songs and dances, of which Nathan's "Why dost thou wander here" and Juncker's "I was dreaming" sold thousands of copies. Yet Auguste Wiegand could not get his organ music published and after being told to "give us a polka or a waltz - that will pay," despaired of the 1890s Australian "epidemic of waltz"; D. Quinn, (1895), 396.
Giorza. As the choral works are often ephemeral and occasional pieces, they have dated rapidly, and their once-topical formality seems to have restricted their musical vitality.

However, some dramatic choral subjects show interesting parallels to themes in melodrama and quasi-tragic opera of the 19th century. Both Alfred Hill and Henry Tate tried to depict operatically the story of several serious cantatas which describe the mythological, semi-mystical origins of Australia from its discovery to whichever appropriate stage of development the cantata celebrated. Their stage efforts will be described in the next section, but the operatic nature of many choral cantatas is clear from their story-telling texts, their imagery, their use of chorus for narrative and commentary, their dramatic exploitation of contrasts in both density and structure (by alternating, for example, choral-solo-orchestral numbers). Their sectional form is essentially the same, with or without spoken dialogue, as most serious operas written in Australia in the 19th century. In one sense the 'poor man's opera', dramatic choralism offered a similar compositional challenge without the problem of finding - and funding - scenic, acting, and costumed production.

This point is illustrated by comparing the cantatas and lyric choral works by Alfred Hill with his operas. Especially in the Maori-subject cantatas and in operas like Auster (1922) and Teora (1913), he applies similar formal and stylistic techniques as in his earlier, overtly choral

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165 Henry Kendall's (1839-1882) collaborations include song texts for C. Peck (1859) and G.W. Allen (nd), Euterpe with Horsley (1870), Honor the Heron with C. Packer (1872), Sydney Exhibition prize cantata with Giorza (1879), and he wrote memorial poems to composers L.H. Lavenu (in 1859) and W.V. Wallace (in 1865). Horne collaborated with J. Summers in The Death of Marlowe (1860) and A Spea in China; with Horsley in The South-Sea Sisters (1866) and Summers in Galatea Secunda (1867), with Schmitt in the opera Casile (1872), Vol. II p 19. Marcus Clarke collaborated with Copin, Kowalski, Cope, Plumpton, Giorza, see Volume II, pp 375, 401-6, 410-12, 23-4, 452.

166 Hill's Auster (1922) and Tate's The Dream of Diag (1924) are discussed in the next section 5 of this Chapter.
pieces, *The New Jerusalem* (1892) and *Tawhaki* (1894). It might also be said that the incidental music written to classical Greek plays by Maclean and Marshall-Hall approaches the style and form of the lyric drama with large chorus and orchestral accompaniment in a number scheme which also follows a classical dramatic structure. In the cantatas and in the operatic mytho-musical works by Alfred Hill and Henry Tate, the chorus particularly takes the main musical and narrative part.

Another direction to Australian composers of opera was presented by the opportunity to train overseas, and to seek to attain overseas creditation through performances. For most of the 19th century, Australian composers were immigrants. Probably the best-trained were German conductor-composers who began to arrive in the 1850s, and who included Julius Siede and his son August, Carl Elsässer, Alberto Zelman, 'Herr' Buddee, 'Herr' Herz, and Carl Schmitt of Victoria, and Carl Linger, Carl Füttmann, Moritz Neuenroeder, and Carl Heinecke in South Australia, as well as Hugo Alpen in New South Wales. The first choice of native-born composers who began to make their way overseas for further training was Frankfurt, Hamburg, or Leipzig, to the 'hochschulen' and rigorous conservatory standards in 19th century German musicianship. Young composers among the first to study in Germany include: Alfred Hill, Ernest Truman, Ethel

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168 Radic (1968) for example lists founders, office-bearers, choristers and members of the Melbourne Deutscher Liedertafel (1866) (1893) and Metropolitan Liedertafel, in which German musicians predominate; 585, 634, 643, 651, 707.
Richardson (later Henry Handel Richardson, the novelist) and Bryceson Treharne. Some had early works published in Germany. As English composers had found it helpful - even mandatory - to first have a new opera performed in Germany before trying to interest the London theatre managements in risky sponsorship, so too Australian composers looked to the overseas stage to premiere their works. Marshall-Hall, anticipating future success in both England and Germany, provided English-German text underlay and translations to two of his opera vocal scores. Mrs. Davidson Ewart translated her Ekkart into Italian for an assault on La Scala. Most of these efforts failed.

Several Australian-born opera composers did achieve brief English productions, but these were mostly of works written there during temporary overseas residence; these composers would include William G. James, Luscombe

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169 The list is not exhaustive, and should include Archie Fraser at Leipzig in the 1880s, whose manuscripts are held in ABC:NA. Richardson studied at the Leipzig Conservatorium in 1889-92 with Ludwig Thuille, and H. Reinecke; her songs are in GE 057398, no.146/14, ANL. Her novel, Maurice Guest (1922) fictionalizes this period of her life; useful notes on her music are in Appendix B, Dorothy Green, Ulysses Bound, Canberra 1973, 551-2 and other references, and H.H.R's 1895 article, "Music Study in Leipzig", Southerly no 1 (1963) 38, reprint. She was a Wagnerian and used a leit-motif technique in her novels. Treharne (b. Wales 1879) who founded the Adelaide Repertory Theatre in 1908, studied in Leipzig in 1898; McGuire (1948), 166, Rees (2), 63; Glennon (1968) 179. Truman studied under Homeyer, Zwintschen and Jadassohn at Leipzig in 1888-93 and had some songs published in 1892 by Breitkopf and Härtel; ABC:NA. Sydney Morning Herald, 23 March 1935; McCredie (4) 5, who also discusses Hill's training and similar professionalism.

170 A contemporary precedent is Ethel Smyth (1858-1944) whose operas The Forest (1901) and The Wreckers (1906) were translated and premiered in Dresden and Leipzig before becoming interesting to London managements in 1902 and 1916 respectively; the efforts of Marshall-Hall are discussed in the following pages of section 5 to this chapter.

171 Volume II, p 100-2. Lardelli, for instance, took Katharine (1895) to London and was refused by 17 music publishers; he then abandoned composition and became a publishing agent; Quinn (1895), 395.
Searelle, and Neo Theakstone. Another group of Australian composers form an expatriate group whose overseas successes are recorded in Catalogue 2 in Volume II. While residents abroad for a significant period during their careers, the productions by these composers including Arthur Benjamin, Peggy Glanville-Hicks, Keith Humble, George Clutsam, and Malcolm Williamson contrast sharply with the Australian record. Clutsam had his operas produced in both Germany and England at the turn of the century; Benjamin's operas have been performed in most English-speaking countries as are Williamson's, and Glanville-Hicks has had American and European productions; ironically, the difficulty for these expatriates has been to achieve Australian recognition, although that situation has improved in the last decade. Nevertheless, the overseas experience these composers enjoyed beckoned other Australians abroad. By the end of the 19th century, most young composition students went, usually on scholarship, to London's Royal Academy of Music or the Royal College of Music for further training and higher degrees. After the second-wave immigration of Europeans to Australia just before and during World War II, Australian composers again looked to continental Europe for experience and performance of their works; German-born Australians like George Dreyfus and Felix Werder are two examples.

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173 Other expatriates (in musical comedy) not listed here include Dudley Glass, Albert Arlen, John Gough and Ron Grainer; Glennon (1968), p 141, 155, 247.


5. Early Twentieth Century Developments

Two stylistic trends emerge in the early decades of the 20th century in several of the thirty new operas written before the first World War. While most of their works were still derivative and traditional, some composers consciously began to explore ways of expressing a national Australian image, and means of greater formal flexibility. One direction came from the Italian Puccini-Giordano school of 'verismo' opera and naturalistic drama; another was overtly nationalist, attracted to mythological and symbolic dramas on national origins, history, or legend. Both directions are found in full-length serious operas, and also - towards the 1920s - in through-composed chamber operas. A very few operas consciously expressed an 'Australian' identity.

After Federation in 1901 ended political colonial dependency at the conclusion of the most robust decade of national expression, it might have been anticipated that utopian ideas for a national school of Australian arts would flourish. However, crippling economic conditions late in the 1890s contributed to a period of consolidation. For many creative

176 Some of the following discussion developed from my papers: "The Colonial Composer and Radical Elements in Australian Music", read at the annual conference of the American Musicological Society, (Abstracts), Minneapolis, Minn. October 1978, t.s. 12 pp, and "Expatriatism and the Composer", read at the Music Colloquium, Graduate Center of the City University of New York, April 1977, t.s. 8 pp.

177 An account of the 1896 drought, unionism and the impulse to stabilize is given by V. Palmer (1963), 162-3, 167. Several pleas for Government patronage for the arts began to appear in the 1890s; D.J. Quinn reports that Kowalski, Auguste Wiegand and other composers in New South Wales were pressing for national schools of music in 1895. Quinn adds, "...when Federation paves the way for the establishment of a national school of music there can be no reason to doubt the growth of a style of music that shall be as characteristic of Australia as the Italian, French and German schools are of their respective countries", (20.4.1895), 391.
artists in Australia this also meant isolationism, from changes then
taking place in the arts in Europe, and also within a young society which
showed considerable distrust towards any challenge to its newly and
tenuously acquired traditions. Traditionalism was entrenched especially
in academic institutions, where most active composers worked, and it was
a conservative British traditionalism.\(^{178}\)

Intellectuals, writers, painters, and musicians who debated the
question of a national identity often met with "an embarrassed scepticism"
or were ignored by a largely indifferent Press and public.\(^{179}\) The debate
also involved artists who queried the adequacy and relevance of a supremely
British credo for a developing Australian ethos, and artists whose works
represented a marked departure from the past - that is, the recent, remembered,
colonial past.\(^{180}\) The 'cultural cringe' manifested itself in defensive
parochialism towards anything new from within, anything critical from
outside.\(^{181}\) Between their critics and their works, artists met a thin,

\(^{178}\) R. Covell assesses the effects and reactions to conservative British
musical institutions in his chapters, "Jindyworobakism", and
"Australianism? - Grainger and Tate", especially on "the lack of free
circulation for regenerative ideas (which) went hand in hand with the
feelings of cultural inferiority inescapable in a neo-colonial or
provincial society", which also seemed, until the 1960s, to have
"stifled the sort of intellectual curiosity that would have opened up
new areas of expression and technique for composers with a tendency to
reproduce only those principles that were first presented to them as
students with the force of Mosaic law"; (1967), 145-6.

\(^{179}\) The late Eunice Hangar described the conflicting ideologies facing
creative artists at the turn of the century, between those who felt an
urgent need to define and express their 'Australian' identity, and those
who saw this tendency as chauvinistic and impoverishing, and who
demanded universal rather than national standards in arts; "Australian
Drama" in G. Dutton (ed) The Literature of Australia, Melbourne 1964,
441-459.

\(^{180}\) Especially voiced in the pages of The Bulletin during the 1890s, but
the most articulate composers were Percy Grainger (an expatriate) and
Henry Tate, Melbourne music critic and composer, in the 1920s and 30s; see his Age music criticisms, 2 vols, (1924-6), Hince Papers, MS 2891,
ANL.

\(^{181}\) Neville Cardus, Arthur Jacobs, and visiting English critics were appalled
by "the inability of Australian music authorities and audiences generally
to appreciate home-born talent until it had been recognized overseas.
The cultural climate was...a mixture of eager appetite and touchiness
to criticism. I have often marvelled how an artist has ever emerged
from Australia;" Cardus, Full Score, London 1970, 170, also see A.Jacobs
(1953), 442-8 and K.Hince's reply (1954), 300-3.
resentful veneer; an ambivalent but highly critical form of social censorship. Some were personally victimized or faced artistic impotence. Others departed overseas. To the artists who stayed, there seemed a limited choice between institutional conservatism or a personal, fringe bohemia.

The poet Christopher Brennan was misunderstood both in his lifestyle and in his artistic endeavour. The composer George Marshall-Hall, might also be described as a victim of his time. He seems a gifted

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182 In the previous century, composers' criticism was often directed against the Trinity College of Music Annual examination system (as it operated in Australia from the 1870s) by composers including Kowalski: "the system of harmony taught in England lags so much behind that of the continental conservatories", see Quinn (1895), 393; Rafael Squarise (quoted by Dean Fitchett, Review of Reviews (20 July 1895), 36; and especially Marshall-Hall. In reply, critics treated Australia's writers and composers with particular severity, attitudes which were summarized as early as 1878 in the Melbourne Review: "Almost every colonial author has been harshly treated by the colonial press at first, and...only after great persistence, supplemented by the good opinion of English critics, as a rule obtained press recognition here", quoted by Ian Turner in "The Social Setting" in G. Borton, (1964), 20, 28.

183 Katherine Susannah Prichard, referring to letters from Henry Tate, writes: "Are we a civilized people to have forced a man like this to scrounge for a living...? He had infinite gifts...and was done to death by the huckstering folly of the age." She quotes him as writing, "I feel that those who should have known better have received (my work) with unnecessary brutality"; "A Reverie in Memory of Henry Tate", Manuscripts no.3 (November 1932), 46-50.

184 Artists' complaints in the late 19th century are numerous, perhaps best summarized by Augustus Juncker, deploring the "snobocracy" in music in the 1890s: "If a work comes from England with the hallmark of European approval, it is accepted without question, but let a local artist produce something, be it ever so good, the 'snobocracy' ask if there is 'anything in it', and without taking the trouble to find out, conclude at once that it cannot be 'up to much'. I once submitted an opera to the late Signor Majeroni, and he assured me that were it even ten times better than any of Gilbert and Sullivan's, he could not think of producing it in Australia until it had been stamped with European approval", quoted by Quinn (1895), 397. Quinn here added comments by an ex-Colonial Treasurer, Bruce Smith, who said it was a sad reflection that few works of art, music or literature were accepted in Australia until they had received the seal of recognition in England... "It was this mental attitude of the average Australian which had driven away such novelists as Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Mrs. Campbell Praed, and others. Madame Melba was amongst those who were not appreciated in her own country."

185 Brennan, like Marshall-Hall, was scandalized in the press for his second marriage, his drinking, his pro-German attitudes. Marshall-Hall drew attention to the destructive role of the press and the parsimony of the (Continued overleaf...)
composer with some heroic and prophetic qualities. In 1910, on the completion of his opera Stella "in the tail of Halley's Comet", he believed with fervor that he would blaze a new trail for Australian opera. By 1915, he was dead. His music is among the most competent and thrilling ever written in Australia before the 1960s, yet it has not been revived since his death. Fortunately his life and work has recently come to scholarly notice, which may in turn renew performances of the music and operas.\textsuperscript{186}

Marshall-Hall arrived in Victoria in 1890 as first Ormond Professor of Music at Melbourne University.\textsuperscript{187} Here he established a theoretical school and, against opposition, began a practical school which was housed eventually off-campus in Albert Street. He assembled an orchestra and gave regular public concerts. With Madame Elise Wiedermann, he directed an opera school which premiered some of his operas and later those of Fritz Hart, his successor at the Albert Street Conservatorium.\textsuperscript{188}

\textsuperscript{185} (Continued) public, and suggested: "Isolated as we are from the variety and comprehensiveness of the Old World, we must unite - Press, public, and artists - to encourage the good that is in us respectively, in order to arrive at any permanent excellence", in "Music in Australia", Australia Today (1 November 1910), 69. But this composer was publicly censured for his poems Hymns, Ancient and Modern (printed in Melbourne, 1898) and University and Presbyterian pressure-groups forced his resignation after two Professorial terms at Melbourne University, and after much discreditation in the public press; E. Scott, A History of Melbourne University, Melbourne 1936, 138-159.

\textsuperscript{186} In 1977, J. Rich in Victoria and London was examining the sociological and biographical background, especially the Victorian Presbyterian church and Melbourne University in their relationships with Hall; Warren Bebbington has written on the operas (1978); Julja Szuster on the instrumental music (1970). Kay Dreyfus and her research staff at the Grainger Museum are preparing Catalogues of their materials (1979). M.T. Radic includes a study of the Marshall-Hall Orchestra in her thesis on Victorian Music Institutions (1979). For the "melancholy and tragic" history of Stella, see Supporting Documents to Chapter 2, number 4.

\textsuperscript{187} Biographical data is from AE, IV 414; J. Sutton Crow, "Marshall-Hall, 1862-1915" in Melba Conservatorium Magazine no. 12 (1945), 4-7 and J. Szuster, The Instrumental Music of C.W.L. Marshall-Hall (Adelaide 1970), Chapter 1 (np). Many materials relating to the Albert St. Conservatorium, Melbourne, University Conservatorium, and Marshall-Hall Concerts are in the Rūnanga Papers, ANL, MS 2691, series 3 (1149-1200), 4 (3126-3157; 3158-3166; 3549-3559 and 3560-3692); 5 (newspaper cuttings and other folios) and 6 (albums) also including many of the letters between Marshall-Hall and Sir John Barrett (items 575-4353). Other letters and newspaper cuttings are held (Continued overleaf)
He arrived with a reputation as one of London's bright "young lions" having written three historical operas and several instrumental works and songs for which he mainly set 19th century English and German poetry as well as his own verses. His dramatic and musical tastes, like those of his contemporaries including F.H. Cowen, were passionately Wagnerian. His romantic dramas include a blank-verse historic tragedy

(continued) in the Victorian University Archives where they are uncatalogued; the remaining Marshall-Hall materials, including his surviving music, are in the Grainger Museum collection, housed in a separate cupboard. At the time of my study of the music, during 1970-4, this collection was not catalogued, but scores, printed materials, letters, and cuttings were loosely stacked in cupboard Folios and wrapped paper parcels. I retain those Folio numbers which were adopted by the Melbourne University Library when it transferred its Marshall-Hall holdings to the Grainger Museum. The score of Alcestis was transferred to the Grainger Museum from its former home in the library of the Melbourne Liedertafel in 1976. Some printed songs by the composer are in the Hinde: Australian Sheet Songs Collection at ANL.

J. Sutton Crow (1945), 7; several operas were rehearsed and performed in her home, Studley Hall, Kew, Victoria.

The description is George Bernard Shaw's in London Music in 1888-89 as heard by Como di Bassetto, with some further Autobiographical Particulars, London 1937, who also refers to Marshall-Hall's letter on "The Music of the People" by "a representative of young genius, denouncing the stalls, trusting to the gallery, waving the democratic flag and tearing round generally", in an item dated 31 May 1889, 131, 339. From 1885 to 1888, the composer taught at Newton Abbey School in Devon, when his operas Leonard, Dido and Aeneas and Harold were written, although the first two may be earlier. Volume II, Appendix 469-75 lists these London operas. His instrumental works, songs, choral music, poetry, letters and papers are described in Supporting Documents to Chapter 2, number 5.

Newspaper cuttings refer to his powerful dramatic energy and the influence of Wagner on his style; e.g. The Musical News, London reviewing "Dramatic Study" said: "It lacks originality. Wagner's themes and methods are constantly drawn upon, and there are sundry reminiscences of Weber", 11 March 1893; VU:A. Another described this work as "rugged, heroic, yearning, struggling - forced out of (him) in resolution, longing and pain", Whitehall Review, London, 11 March 1893, also in VU:A. For Cowen, see Volume II, Appendix p 446-50.
set in the 11th century called *Dramatic Fragment* (1898)\(^{191}\) and a three-act 16th century Florentine melodrama in both English and German, *Bianca Capello* (1906).\(^{192}\) His theoretical and philosophical orientation towards Goethe and Schopenhauer and his musical predilection for Wagner, Verdi, Weber, and Beethoven, can be traced through his letters, translations, critical essays and reviews, program annotations, and personal selections for the Marshall-Hall Orchestral Concerts.\(^{193}\) It is also revealed through his scrapbook

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191 This is included in the published volume, *Hymns, Ancient and Modern*. The characters include Sweyn, son of Earl Godwin, his friend Beorn, Algîve, the Abbess of Leominster and formerly betrothed to Sweyn, Bishop Stigand, and chorus of nuns and men-at-arms, set in the 11th century Abbey of Leominster. It is a conventional melodrama. An autographed copy presented to H. Brookes is in VU:A.

192 Subtitled "A Tragedy", there are copies in VSL:A and in Folio 28 of VU:GC. There are 6 copies of the English version, published in Melbourne 1906, and a German translation made by H.J. Wertheimer dated July 1906. Characters include the Duke of Florence, a Cardinal, Leantio, Fabricio, Bianca Capello who is a Venetian noblewoman and later Duchess of Florence, her Nurse, and a company of ushers, servants, soldiers, musicians and dancers. The melodramatic plot includes disguise, assassination, escape, a play-within-a-play, and a final dramatic 'Liebestodt' indebted to *Hamlet*. There are many textual indications of his intentions to include incidental music, such as a masque with solo song, choruses, dances, madrigals and 'effects'. Both these dramas may have been originally conceived as opera librettos. The *Dramatic Fragment* may have been envisaged as a sequel to his London opera *Harold*, whose scenario is similar, as are their textual references to musical effects and stage directions. Both dramas have an archaic idiom and passionate declamation. E. Morris Miller writes of *Aristodamus* (1900) and *Bianca Capello* that they were "not successful verse plays, stiff in movement, heavy in utterance, forced in rhythm. His ideas were inadequately articulated, resort to hyphenated epithets being all too frequent. But they are interesting historically as indicating the trend of themes which appealed to many Australian writers of dramatic verse", EMM I, 358.

193 His liking for a Wagnerian dramatic style and subject is seen in a literary fragment surviving as a 'prompt libretto' of *King René's Daughter*, in one act, one scene, Folio 23, VU:GC. Characters include Bertrand, Almeric, Martha, Count Tristan, Iolanthe, Ebu Jahis, the king's physician, and King René. Pencil additions in Marshall-Hall's hand indicate horn effects and a 'vintage song'. Whether he wrote this libretto or music for it is uncertain, but it was possibly rehearsed by his students. The drama was originally written in 1845 by a Danish playwright Henrik Hertz (1798-1870) which was first performed in London as *King René's Daughter* in 1908. London composer Julian Edwards (b 1855) composed a serious opera by the same name, which may be the source for this libretto in Marshall-Hall's collection; OCTh, 364.
collection of scores, and Press clippings.\(^{194}\)

German styles pervade his dramatic orchestral works written before he chose to devote himself to opera in 1900. He was also interested in contemporary arts: in Ibsen's dramas;\(^{195}\) in the music of Debussy, Rimsky-Korsakov, Delius, and Grieg, which he introduced to his Melbourne audience.\(^{196}\) He became a personal friend of the Heidelberg group of Australian impressionist painters, especially of Arthur Streeton, and shared their aesthetics and bohemian style.\(^{197}\) He worked energetically with Henri Verbruggen in Sydney,\(^{198}\) and later with Nellie Melba in...

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\(^{194}\) This is particularly evident in his article, "The Essential in Art", printed in The Glean, Vol.I (October 1900), 196-200, and II (20 November 1900), 269-273 where he compares the "barbarousness of our modern skin-deep British civilization" with Classical and German aesthetics, and discusses at length the idea of music as "dematerialized energy". This he equates with Schopenhauer's definition of the world as the objectification of the Will, and he refers to the symphonies of Schubert and Beethoven which exemplify indefinite but colossal forms of energy, and to the imagination in art. He refers to Goethe, and his descriptions of Beethoven are close to those attributed to Goethe by Bettina von Arnim. As a strong supporter of Bismarck, he dedicated to his memory a second performance of Alcestis at a Melbourne Liedertafel Concert on 1 August 1898, which prompted an Editorial in the Argus condemning his speech in favour of Germany and for simultaneously daring to criticize musical tastes in Melbourne, 3 August 1898, VU:A.

\(^{195}\) He gave an admiring speech on Ibsen after a Melbourne press attack on that dramatist's ideas on social realism, gave him equal status with Shakespeare, and promptly dedicated a performance of the Egmont Overture to Ibsen in a Marshall-Hall Orchestral Concert on 24 July 1893. The speech was printed in the Argus the same day; VU:A.

\(^{196}\) From press cuttings and programs, VU:GC. Opera scores in his own possession include the Overtures of Rossini, Mozart's operas (Folios 31 and 32). His concert programs also include one, if not two, selections from Wagner's operas and overtures, songs and orchestral music by Brahms and Schubert, Beethoven's symphonies, and incidental music by Mendelssohn. After his first visit to London, he returned with scores of Grieg, Debussy and Delius in 1912, and introduced music by his London friend the Scottish composer, H. MacCunn. He kept press cuttings reviewing the London première of Pelléas et Mélisande by the Beecham-Denhof Company, Theatre Royal, Birmingham on 19 September 1913, and wrote to A.E.J. Lee in London asking him to send the scores of orchestral music by Debussy (a "mad man like Schoenberg") and Rimsky-Korsakov; letter from Melbourne, 1913, VU:A.

\(^{197}\) See Strike to Bulldog, (Letters from Sir Arthur Streeton to Tom Roberts), ed. R.H. Croll, Sydney 1946; there are amusing recollections of "The Prof" conducting a storm at the Heidelberg campsite. There is a fine portrait of him by Roberts hanging in the Grainger Museum, and a bronze bust by Streeton. Streeton wrote to Verbruggen on 28 June 1912 to say he was the first painter in Australia to know Marshall-Hall, and lived with him at St. Kilda "when he was unhappy" and "together in my tent on the shore of Sydney harbour about 1894-5" on Hall's first visit to Sydney. Lionel (Continued overleaf...)
Melbourne, to train, rehearse, and improve orchestral, choral, and opera performance standards. His pupils in composition included future opera composers Henry Tate, Margaret Sutherland, Mona McBurney and Peggy Glanville-Hicks.

If Isaac Nathan's life embodies the essence of Byronic romanticism in a manner that his music could not convincingly sustain, so Marshall-Hall personally represents a bravely bohemian avant-gardism which his music cannot fulfill. He was an articulate critic of the prevalent public taste for ballads and comic opera, and of the "nauseous British oratorio sentimentality" of the 1890s. In 1888, he wrote that there was no such

197 (Continued) Lindsay also knew him. Streeton adds a postscript: "I'd be glad... I dreamt of a fine bronze monument to him set up in Melbourne somewhere... but where's the capable Australian sculptor?", VU:A.

198 Belgian conductor Henri Verbrugghen was appointed first director of the New South Wales State Conservatorium of Music in 1916. His orchestra, like Marshall-Hall's, set new standards of performance. He left Sydney in 1922 for North America, after he had concentrated on chamber music with his own string quartet at the Conservatorium. R.Covell (1967), 109, 134. Verbruggen and orchestra visited Melbourne in 1918; possibly he offered Marshall-Hall a teaching post; a letter from Hall indicates he applied for a post in 1914 but the scheme was dropped in July. At that time, Sydney's Government was supporting the Verbruggen orchestra with Government grants, but the Marshall-Hall orchestra in Melbourne was almost at a standstill through lack of funds; by September 1914, after the death in June of Professor Peterson, the successor to Hall after he was dismissed in 1900, Marshall-Hall had accepted the Melbourne Chair for the second time, which he filled for less than a year before he died. Verbruggen supported Alfred Hill who was violist in his string quartet, his deputy conductor, and teacher of composition. Verbruggen also played Hill's compositions in Sydney and with the Minneapolis Orchestra and the Chicago Apollo Choir in 1926. He died in 1934. Prospectus for NSW State Conservatorium dated 1965, Hinde Papers, MS 2691/3785 in ANL; also 3776-3798 (including "Repertoire of Works performed in Victoria by NSW Con. Orchestra", various Prospectuses and papers, and a History by Leo Keegan, July 1959). See also Hall's letters in VU:A.

199 He met Melba during the Melba-Williamson Grand Opera Season when he conducted performances of Lohengrin in October 1911, his only venture into the commercial theatre. He was disappointed in the season, feeling too little time was devoted to proper rehearsal and preparation. Later he rejected Barrett's proposal that he should conduct opera in Melbourne for the Williamson Firm with overseas guest artists and his own students in the chorus which he would train and recruit locally. But his meeting with Melba was fruitful for the Albert Street Conservatorium. Hall's letter to Barrett from Sydney, October 1911 (Fol.26) and 21 July 1909 (VU:A); and see Mackenzie (1967), 8, 10-14, 53, 56, which refers to Hall's welcoming speech to Melba in 1902 and their 1911 season together, p.59-61. He used to rehearse his own orchestra over eight four-hour calls per week before a concert and did the same when conducting Verbruggen's Sydney orchestra during a visit in 1909.

(Continued overleaf...)
thing as 'English Opera' because a national opera must be based on national characteristics; that there was a gulf between "the old feeble form" of traditional opera and modern music-drama - a gulf that modern national English opera, "with its commonplace debased dialogue (and) indifference to the contemporary" - had failed to bridge.

At the same time, his was a classical stance, not unlike that of Brennan in poetry. In his writings and music, he held that the emotive and expressive qualities of the voice, and the inner significance of words, are the core of opera's educative, expressive function through which it offers "stores of knowledge and experience, love and sympathy...(in) words of thought, action, and suffering":

Opera educates the higher nature by stage action, by dialogue which is the origin and motive of action, and by music which fixes the author's meaning and depicts fluctuating emotions.

Although he was among the first Australian composers to speculate upon - and attempt to practice - formal experimentation which might signify

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200 Speech given in Melbourne Town Hall at a Liedertafel Concert, reported in the *Age*, 6 August 1898; Press cutting in VU:A.


202 He upheld "the living theatre as the real foundation of a national opera which is also the church, teaching us to be noble and unselfish", in an untitled article, printed in *The Musical World*, 14 September 1895, 99; Folio 32, VU:GC. See also his letter to the Editor, "National Music", *School*, London (nd) in the same Folio, in which he argues against a national English school or national style but in favour of universalism, and see his article "The Essential in Art" (*op.cit.*), 269-73.

203 *Magazine of Music*, quoted above, note 201. He also maintained that opera had a function to provide "mental change, rest and refreshment for the finer emotions of love and sympathy"; see above and his article "The Voice; its Uses and Cultivation" in *Magazine of Music*, September 1892, VU:A. A Greek ideal is reflected in his own settings for *Aloestis* and *Aristodemus*, and his early opera *Dido and Aeneas*. 
a break with the past, his own music does not fully demonstrate his theories. *Stella*, nonetheless, with an Australian setting and 'real' characters, is the first 'verismo' original Australian music-drama, and the first to combine a sense of contemporary materials and attitudes with a serious 'literary' dramatic form in equal balance and partnership with a musical structure which is continuous, and which uses variation techniques to develop its musical motives and materials.

His own libretto is set in an Australian seaside town in 1910, in ten scenes or three acts, for a small ensemble of three male and two female singers, with several small mute vignettes and a wholesome chorus of mixed voices who appear as bush picnickers and members of a Social Purity Society. The Mayor Mostyn Chamley is also President of this temperance group and is the dramatic villain. He admires the respectable Mrs. Chase in whose home the action occurs. Stella is her nurse, employed on Dr. Noel Kirke's recommendation, who cares for her sick child. Chamley was once Stella's lover who betrayed and deserted her. Now married, he is appalled on recognizing her, lest discovery of their former liaison could ruin his reputation. She in turn is fearful because she is in love with Kirke. An unctuous minister, Rev. Weldon, who dislikes Kirke for his atheism and Stella because he knew her family when she was a 'fallen woman', denounces her to Chamley for 'polluting' Mrs. Chase's home where the Society meets under her moral tutelage. Kirke is bewildered, an innocent hero who cannot understand Stella's hesitancy and who

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204 McCredie (1969), 5. Henry Tate described the opera as "a most imposing work we have yet had on partially Australian lines" in Chapter 5, "Bush Harmony", of *Australian Musical Possibilities*, Melbourne 1924, 25.

205 Volume II, Catalogue 1, p 103-6, and *Supporting Documents to Chapter 2*, number 6, which describes the final scene in detail.
unwittingly becomes the agent of her suicide when she finds herself unable to face the inevitable revelation of her 'shame'.

Marshall-Hall promised a work which was modern and socially relevant:

...a piece belonging to a musical genre for which no suitable name has yet been invented... *Stella* is neither opera, opéra comique, nor musical comedy in their conventional usages. Rather is it a social drama in which vocal expression is given to their feelings by the characters, whose actions are continually accompanied by the orchestra. Nothing of an heroic nature is attempted; the incidents in the story, like the persons introduced, are entirely modern...in a tragedy set in an everyday commonplace atmosphere...

When it was performed in London, in a mutilated version in 1914, the critics noted his 'subversive' intentions with some indifference, finding instead that the drama was:

not peculiar to modern life at all: its main essentials (have) done duty on the operatic stage (before)...the only practical difference is that the scene has been laid in different countries and different ages. The public has often had, both musically and dramatically, something that is very like it indeed. This is a little lurid melodrama...there is no question of plagiarism, but one is reminded of Puccini, of Leoncavallo and of Mascagni. He has a decided sense of the dramatic and a very pretty gift of melody (but) he needs a libretto which treats of modern life as it is, and not as it is conventionally supposed to be in certain types of melodramas.

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206 The character of *Stella* is related to Charpentier's *Louise* (1900) and to Hawthorne's Hester Pryynne, discussed in *Supporting Documents to Chapter 2*, number 2 on "Gothic melodrama". H.E. Johnson lists 7 American operas on Hawthorne's 1850 novel, written between 1855-1961; Australia's Clive Douglas also set it in 1928; Vol.II, p.156. OC Lit, 701.

207 Interview with Marshall-Hall in *Daily Telegraph*, London 14 June 1914, VU:A.

208 For details of the cuts made, see *Herald*, Melbourne, 18 July 1914, and data in Catalogue 1 (1910), VU:A; the cuts are shown in a vocal score in Folio 5, VU:GM, in the composer's hand, pencilled with the comment, "N.B. - the stage action is all changed". In a letter to Barrett, Hall writes: "there were 2 performances a day for a two-week season; 25,000 -30,000 people saw it" but it was condensed from 1½ hours to 40 minutes "to rectify by judicious, improving alterations minor disproportions" (quote from *Herald, ibid*); in letter dated 25 June 1914, VU:A. Hall hated cutting the opera "to suit Music-hall exigencies: 1 simply omit most of the last act, which musically was the best, or at least the most intense"; letter to Barrett, 8 April 1914, VU:A.

Melbourne reviewers had already decided there was nothing particularly Australian in the music, story or production. His "melodic felicity and sense of drama" was applauded, but:

*Stella* lacks sufficient consecutiveness in the orchestration to create the illusion of unity of effect. Numbers come too spasmodically and disconnectedly, but (with) an appropriateness and forcefulness...Were the Professor equipped with a more live libretto, he might very well justify his theory of modern opera.  

These criticisms are probably just. The weakness in the plot and its sensational melodramatic ending work to its disadvantage. Praise for Marshall-Hall's "attempt to get back to melody" and his "good sense of stage effects" recognized the lyrical and imaginative qualities of the score, but critics did not fully appreciate the first appearance in an Australian opera of flexible motivic variation as a form which could develop narrative, characterisation and dramatic irony.

All the dialogue is set in orchestrally-accompanied recitative, but structural seams do show between dialogue and the extended numbers. An informal 'parlante' style is used, based on the rhythm of the words, for conversations, dramatic asides, as well as in the longer lyrical sections. This naturalistic setting bursts into more traditional melodic passages, for example, in the duet in section 2; in Chamley's solo aria with horns and woodwind in section 3; and in the Trio in section 5 between Mrs. Chase and Weldon (in contrary-motion counterpoint) with Chamley muttering dramatic asides accompanied by woodwinds, horns, cellos and bass.

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210 Melbourne reviews include *Punch*, 9 May 1912 (by 'Orfeo'), and 16 May 1912; *Age*, 13 May 1912; *Argus*, 13 May 1912; ("there can be no doubt that Professor Marshall-Hall has produced a great work that ought to be heard as soon as possible in the European musical centers"); *Table Talk*, May 1912; *Ladies' Letters*, May 1912; all in VU:A. See also *Hinace Papers*, NLA MS 2691. Australian critics unanimously praised the music but noted weaknesses in the plot.

211 Quoted from *Sunday Times*, London, 14 June 1914, in Press cuttings, VU:A.
The accompanied recitative also expresses intense, intimately private insights. In section 6, divided strings and a rhapsodic horn motif, echoed by flute and solo violin, open the scene in which Stella confesses to Kirke that their affair must end. As the emotional intensity between them rises, his impatience is depicted by dynamic contrasts and urgent percussive effects which intrude upon the horn theme. As the lovers seem temporarily to resolve their differences in a unison duet, a servant's brief appearance introduces a lighter, cathartic effect. Kirke, in 'sotto voce', warns Stella that the medicine he is prescribing for her to give the Chase child is a deadly poison. She does not reply to his proposal of marriage, and his sad sigh is mirrored by clarinet before the coda, in which sustained string motifs recall the initial mood and horn theme of this scene. Here is an intimate, cohesive section in which recitative is descriptive and evocative and the accompanying orchestra is ironically supportive.

The final scene, 10, is the most musically effective and complex, and is the only scene in which motivic variations have a truly cementing function in the overall structure. It is described in Supporting Documents to this chapter, at number 6. This last act (which really begins at section or scene 9) is too long, and some of the stage business is overplayed, but the dramatic effect is achieved through building and dispersing density, and thus intensity, with skilful musical strokes. If both style and sustained emotional tension are reminiscent of operas by Puccini or Mascagni, and the convention is an echo of earlier melodramas, the work is still unmatched by opera written in Australia before 1910.

Marshall-Hall's operas thus span late 19th century English historical drama, and its accommodation of 'verismo' elements, towards a
gradual renovation of form and style.\textsuperscript{212} In Australian Opera history, he is a pivotal figure. His Australian contemporary Alfred Hill was also a persistent opera composer between 1892 and 1914, during which time he wrote thirteen dramatic works: four cantatas, a pantomime, six romantic comedies, and two serious romantic dramas. His output is greater, and more varied, than Marshall-Hall's, and he has a more successful performing record, yet his achievement now seems uneven and his operas have dated badly. After 1914, he wrote no more opera for eight years until he produced \textit{Auster} in 1922 and \textit{The Ship of Heaven} in 1923; in that interim he concentrated more on chamber works and on their orchestral transcriptions after the 1940s, a task which absorbed him until his death in 1960.

Where Marshall-Hall was the first to write Wagnerian music dramas in Australia, especially in his music to the classical plays, \textit{Aloëstis} (1898) and \textit{Aristodemus} (1902), and was the first to introduce English national opera to Australia in \textit{Harold} (1888), Hill was the first composer, who was also native-born, to explore allegorical opera and to introduce the legend and folklore of Maori culture into his theatre music.\textsuperscript{213} His Maori cantatas and operas anticipate transplanted Celtic folklorism in

\textsuperscript{212} "First Australian Opera Night in London", \textit{Harold}, (Melbourne), 18 July 1914, in \textit{VU:AU}. The English chorus, "in spite of its desire to let itself go with the 'coo-ees', had but slight resemblance to a hand of Australian picnickers". It was performed in London at the same time as the premiere of Sir Alexander Mackenzie's opera \textit{The Cricket on the Hearth} at Duke's Hall. Both 'native operas' were produced under unsatisfactory conditions which was felt to prove "the parlous state of native composers of opera", according to A.E.J. Lee (1925), 123.

\textsuperscript{213} A resurgence in the subject of English history is found for example in Sullivan's \textit{Ivanhoe} (1891), Mackenzie's \textit{Troubadour} (1886), Stanford's \textit{Canterbury Pilgrims} (1884), and the four operas based on themes from the Norman Conquest by Frederick Cowen, including \textit{Thorgrim} (1890) and \textit{Harold} (1896). This group of English romantic operas is serious in dramatic and musical style, in comparison with the then-popular comic operas, but most have poor stage sense, especially in the librettos. Marshall-Hall's London operas have a close affinity with them, especially those of Cowen; see vol.II, Appendix, p 446-9 and 469-75; MacKinley (1927), 254-63.

\textsuperscript{214} Biographical and analytical studies of Hill's life and works are A.D. McCredie, "Alfred Hill, 1870-1960; Some Backgrounds and Perspectives (Continued overleaf...)"
Australia in the 1920s: in the comedy Tapu (1903) and Teora; or, The Enchanted Flute (1913); as well as in his earlier cantatas, Tawhaki (1895) and Hinemoa (1896). These cantatas, written in New Zealand between 1892 and 1896, and another choral work, an Exhibition Ode (1906) were traditional number schemes with orchestral preludes and recurrent motivic ideas. Hill claimed that Hinemoa, "an epic of New Zealand", was based on a traditional Maori air which he sets in the Introduction and


215 Hill's Maori-inspired music includes songs, published by Southern; an orchestral Rhapsody, two 'Maori' String Quartets, no 1 in Bb and no 2 in C minor, and a Sonata for Violin and piano; Alfred Hill Catalogue of Music, ABC:N.

216 Tapu introduced Maori dances, the Poi and the warlike Haka, to the stage for the first time. Subtitled "A Tale of a Maori Pah", it mingled ancient legend with modern elements. J.C. Williamson saw the commercial value in its exotic story and produced it a year after its New Zealand premiere, importing a group of Maori dancers and assisting personally in the stage management. Program, Hill Papers, Set 528, Item 1, NLN:M and review in Theatre Magazine, 2 March 1914, 528/5, NLN:M; Vol. II, p 77-8.

217 Teora is a genuine chamber opera, a love story between rival tribes. A "magic flute" crafted by chief Tainui from the armbone of his slain rival Pomare, is the avenging instrument. Hill introduces many off-stage musical effects such as calls, echoes, spirit voices, to enhance the magical atmosphere. Age, 5 March 1914, 528/5, NLN:M. Vol. II, p 114-5.

218 Tawhaki, "a Maori Cantata" sets in a Prelude and Chorus with eight more numbers including orchestral intermezzo, a text by Alfred Dommett, "Kanolf and Amohia", on the translations of Maori texts by John White. Australian performances include the Australian Broadcasting Commission on 1 September, 1931; Townsville Orchestral and Choral Society on 30 November 1931; North Sydney Choral Society on 15 December, 1947. The score is in ABC:N.

219 This was Hill's first commissioned work for the New Zealand International Exhibition in Christchurch, 1 November, 1906. To a patriotic text by Johannes C. Anderson, Hill wrote a large-scale choral ode performed by the Christchurch Musical Union, Exhibition Orchestra, and the Woolston Brass Band. An earlier cantata, The New Jerusalem (1891-2) has 6 numbers including orchestral Prelude, solos for tenor and baritone, a quartet and a choral fugue. Press reviews praised it for Wagnerian instrumental grandeur; Evening Post, Wellington, 14 March 1892; score in ABC:N. I am indebted to Professor McCredie for this information.
repeats during the work.\textsuperscript{220} His arrangements are doubtless as sincere as were Isaac Nathan’s salon-style arrangements of aboriginal melody and rhythm, reworked in an inflexible European harmonic and instrumental context.\textsuperscript{221}

The remainder of Hill’s stage works has been classified into:

(i) conventional European themes: *The Whipping Boy* (1893), *Lady Dolly* (1898), *Don Quixote* (1904), and *Giovanni, the Sculptor* (1914);

(ii) Oriental exoticism: *A Moorish Maid* (1905) and *The Rajah of Shivapore* (1914); and (iii) mythological or allegorical Australian themes: *Auster* (1922) and *The Ship of Heaven* (1923).\textsuperscript{222} In fact, most of his librettos are curious hybrids of melodrama; of eccentric, fantastic, and exotic elements; of Gilbertian comedy, local coloring, and conventional love-interest, in a style which is dramatically and musically whimsical and romantic.

Roger Covell finds echoes in Hill’s symphonies and chamber works of Dvorak, Grieg, Bruch and Brahms. He writes of their “charm, euphony, nostalgic delicacy”,\textsuperscript{223} and also likens Hill’s music to the poetry of

\textsuperscript{220} Quotation, together with the original Rarotonga melody which Hill dates as post-1868 and calls a ’hymn’, in his Preliminary Note to the published vocal score; *Hill Papers* 528/1, NLH: M. Hill’s widow, Mirrie Hill, informs me that 60 members of the Whakarewarewa tribe took part in the first performance in Wellington in November 1896; corresp. 1970. Hill’s musical treatment of this romantic legend sets a text reminiscent of Longfellow’s *Hiawatha*, using especially flute and horn motifs for atmospheric and symbolic effects. A Melbourne writer and musician Isaac Selby wrote a pantomime on the same legend, *Hinemoa; Memories of Maori-Land* by ”Paul Peritas”, (1925); EMM I, 393, original MS portions of which survive in VuA. McCreedie discovers a Leipzig influence through Hill’s teacher Gustav Schreck (1849-1918) on Hill’s early choral cantatas, (1968), 185.

\textsuperscript{221} Nathan’s arrangements of e.g. ”Koorinda Braia” (1842), and other melodies, appear in *The Southern Euphrosyne* (1848); Wentzel (1963), 55-6, 274; ADB II, 279-80. On Hill’s conventional harmonic and formal arrangements of Maori melodies, see McCreedie (1968), 206, especially regarding the possible effects of Christian mission music and European acculturation. Some of his Maori songs are in *Hince Australian Sheet Songs*, Boxes 3, 4, 5, ANL.

\textsuperscript{222} These operas are all listed in Volume II, Catalogue 1; the categories were first distinguished by McCreedie (1968), 204-6.

\textsuperscript{223} Covell (1967), 23, 26-7. Hill played with the Gewandhaus Orchestra under Brahms. Covell adds, ”the reflection of established European (Continued overleaf)...
fellow Australian, Hugh McCrae (librettist for *The Ship of Heaven*, and whose words inspired Hill's orchestral piece, *The Moon's Gold Horn*).  

Both Covell and McCredie agree that the liberating influences on Hill's conservative, Leipzig background are Maori and Celtic poetic and musical symbolism. Hill's operas provide an opportunity to examine these transplanted musical associations and the manner in which these can charge a personal, traditional style:

> The limitations of Hill's music are not in his faithfulness to the models of his youth but in the moderate extent to which he was able to give renewed life to these reminiscent idioms.

The formulaic dramatic subjects which predominate, even though all his librettists are Australians (including the nationalist, Arthur H. Adams, and Margery Browne, J. Youlan Birch, Harriet

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(Continued) ...styles in music is not confined to Australian composers of Alfred Hill's generation. The second-hand sound of most Australian music is a by-product of the unavoidably provincial nature of Australian society"; p 25 and 141-3. See also McCredie (1968), 245.

Hugh R. McCrae (1876-1958), son of G.C. McCrae, was a Victorian poet of the "school of Vitalism" in the 1920s, a prominent group of poets formed in reaction to the militant nationalist school of Bernard O'Dowd, Miles Franklin and others. The Vitalists turned to myths and legends, centaurs, satyrs, nymphs and dryads. McCrae's works include *Satyrs and Sunlight* (1909) which inspired Hill's orchestral work "The Satyr", published by Chappell; *Columbine* (1920) and *Idylidia* (1922), both illustrated by Norman Lindsay, and the plays *Joan of Arc* and *The Ship of Heaven* (published 1951). On the latter, and excerpted from the manuscript score, Hill arranged a poem for orchestra, "The Moon's Gold Horn" and "Moon's Reply to Pierrot" (nd), both in ABC:N. McCrae, John Wheeler, N. Lindsay, Kenneth Slessor and Jack Lindsay put out 4 issues of *Vision*, a Vitalist quarterly; see J. Lindsay on "Australian Poetry and Nationalism", *Vision* I, 1923, 30-5; EMM I, 360; McLeod (1963), 62, 74.

R. Covell (1967), 25.


Callan, and David Souter maintain many of the 19th century transplanted trappings of European romantic opera. *Don Quixote*, for instance, revels in gloomy Spanish settings; in predictable effects such as cracking whips, jingling bells, guitar serenade, castanet dance, and a graveyard scene with gong and fire; and in visual clichés: masks, phantoms, apparitions of Spectral Knights, processionals of Penitents and monks, and jovial domestic and village scenes among peasants and muleteers, which would gladden a Nathan or a Marsh. To these conventions he adds exotic and comic touches: in *The Whipping Boy* a witch; fairies in *Hinemoa*; a mesmerist who makes ghostly satanic entrances in *Lady Dolly* while 'rustics' dance a welcome to the hero's American fiancée, Beryl Brooklyn. Spies and assassins crowd the romantic Arabian Nights' scenes of *A Moorish Maid*; fairies, gnomes, trolls and water-sprites practise enchantment in *Teora*; an Indian temple and minarets decorate *The Rajah of Shivapore*, which also features a swordfight, a blind beggar, and a 'wailing' trio. *Giovanni the Sculptor* is perhaps the most stereotypical of all Hill's scenarios, and at the same time the most consistently derivative. It resembles Donizetti's *Linda di Chamonix* (1842), with a tenor-hero wavering between two lovers — one a rich courtesan, the other a poor, simple country girl; a wise village priest;


230 Librettist for *The Rajah of Shivapore* (1914) and also *The Grey Kimona*, an operetta with music by F. Wynne Jones (1902); Vol. II, p 76, 119; EMM I, 387; *Lone Hand*, 1 February 1909; Rees (2), 60.

231 Hill's only opera which does not seem to have been performed but which survives complete except for some sections of text; Vol II, 82-6; ABC:N.

232 The villainous hypnotist Juan Castello becomes in Act II a melodramatic Florentine Svengali akin to Marsh's *The Gentleman in Black*, "resplendent in velvet cloak, grass-green tights and snowy hair"; (Sydney Morning Herald, 2 April 1900, Hill Papers 528/6).
an aristocratic patron; a dying mother; an 'Ave Maria' for the heroine abandoned by young Giovanni as he heads for Florence and fame, with an offstage church choir and organ sustaining her in their psalm, "O sentissima, O purissima"! A students' drinking song and a comic Porter complete the ingredients of hackneyed romantic drama.\(^\text{233}\)

Musically, too, Hill's operas depend on formulae. All are colored with exoticism: Spanish dances such as the bolero, pavana, and cachuca in *Don Quixote*; entrances always heralded by gongs, trumpet fanfares and thrilling pipes; and, of course, dramatic storms at the climaxes. Lady Dolly's 'operatic' features amount to an incongruous checklist of 19th century theatre conventions: a fancy-dress ball; a nautical song; a serenade; an echo chorus; costumed gavotte; patter songs for the comic servants; cavatinas and imitative duets for the lovers; choral refrains and rousing ensemble finales.\(^\text{234}\) The Maori war dances introduced into *Tapu* are 'novel' extensions of conventional European exoticism. The novelty is immediately undercut by burlesque; for instance, in *Tapu*, there is an interpolation of 'framing' devices: two members of a stranded opera company suddenly appear in the plot and introduce some straight operatic numbers; another character sings a mock-operatic scena accompanied by his bicycle bells.\(^\text{235}\)

Hill's habit of interpolating irrelevant comic elements produces a "kind of jumble, a yes-no affair, a sort of plaid."\(^\text{236}\)

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\(^{233}\) *Bulletin* review, 6 August 1914, *Hill Papers 528/5*, NLNM: and see *Supporting Documents* to Chapter 2, number 7 at the end of this volume.

\(^{234}\) *Program*, Sydney Liedertafel, 31 March 1900, *Hill Papers 528/1*, which claims the field of opera in Australia by native-born composers has been "hitherto untouched" [sic]. McGuire notes that other Sydney entertainments that month included the Hland-Holt Company with *Women and Wine*, J.C. Williamson with *Roberts to Pretoria* and his opera company in *The Old Guard*, Alfred and Lily Dampier in *For the Term of His Natural Life*, and Harry Rickard's Martinette Company in pantomime; (1948), 156; McCredie (1968), 213.

\(^{235}\) Review in *The Australasian*, 27 August 1904, *Hill Papers 528/1*, NLNM.

\(^{236}\) *Ibid.*, which criticizes Williamson's program note to *Tapu* describing the plot as unpretentious and the story trifling: but "the terrible law of *Tapu* has been applied to all rhyme and reason in plot and dialogue... (Continued overleaf)"
Many contemporary reviewers concluded that his operas were "barely comprehensible" and "incongruous," or that all he needed was a good libretto to be "one day responsible for an opera that will enjoy the popularity of Dorothy," or which might be an advance guard of that new school of Australasian drama which, it is fondly hoped, will one day be established. Hill himself wished the same for his colleagues John Delany, and Ernest Truman; all three had consistent difficulty finding suitable librettos.

Hill's most accomplished librettist is Hugh McCrae for his final opera, *The Ship of Heaven*, which adapts the concept of the "Ship of Fools" to a part-satiric, part-whimsical fantasy and treats it substantially as pantomime. McCrae describes the plot as:

(Continued)...(their) failure to be sincere and coherent...though in opening scenes the opera originally presented a well-intentioned, single-minded little plot of the romantic type, its aims at sentiment were thwarted early, so it grew common and rather vulgar."

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236 Sydney Morning Herald, 24 March 1900, and Daily Telegraph, 2 April 1900, both referring to Lady Dolly, Hill Papers, 528/6, NLNM:M.

237 Sydney Morning Herald, 2 April 1900, Hill Papers 528/6, NLNM:M. And see Cellier's Dorothy, Vol II, Appendix p 443-5.

239 Program to Tapu, Hill Papers, 528/1; The Australasian, 27 August 1904, in 528/1, NLNM:M.

240 Interview with Alfred Hill, "Opera by Australians: Is it a Feasible Project?" The Theatre Magazine, 2 March 1914, Hill Papers 528/5, NLNM:M. Hill recalls that Juncker, Caron, Delany, had written unperformed operas which had since disappeared; his colleagues Truman and Orchard were still awaiting suitable librettos. This complaint was voiced by the 1890s generation; see D. Quinn's interviews with Kowalski, Lardelli, Juncker and others, (1895), 391-8.

241 Sebastian Brant (1458-1521) wrote an Alsatian medieval satire *The Ship of Fools* in 1494; G. Highet, The Classical Tradition (1968), 310 and OC Lit, 720. This musical fantasy was completed in November 1923 but not fully performed until October 1933; Sunday Sun review, 8 October 1933, and see Vol II, p 145-7. The following quotations in the text above are from McCrae's preface to the published text, Sydney 1951, ii, which he dedicates to Hill and to the first producer Doris Fitton of Sydney's Independent Theatre; see also note 224 above.
a plotless fairytale written for authentic children... young or otherwise. Sunshine, salted with sham thunder and lightning; pretty girls and boys; the Devil, joining horns, amorously, with the Moon; Pierrot and Columbine. Obscurantists find no rebus here; playfield, only, for butterfly nonsense dreamed by Jeremy Jessamy, below a hay-cock 'en Espagne' "all on a sommers dae"[sic]

The English pantomime characters include: Sir Gorgeous Cobble, a Queen Anne fop, attended by Soot, a rascally black footboy. Pairs or classes of lesser characters become ship's boarders: the old man and child; Happiness; Moon; Doctor and boy; Porter; Angels; Devils; Witches; a jailor; Mary ('who had a little lamb'), Siamese twins; Henry VIII and a Headless Queen; Beast and Beauty; Noah; Badness; and Englishman with Bulldog. The stage machinery calls for a flying machine reminiscent of Jacob Montefiore's balloon in *Marguerite* (1847) for Columbine's ascent to heaven. The hero is Cupid, "a gold-brown creole boy...[who] has a fair tincture of malice" and speaks only French.

Hill treats the story as pantomime, in the style of his much earlier work, *Sleeping Beauty* (1903), and inserts a traditional mimed Harlequinade in its proper place as an interlude between the two acts. He also adds a 'false' final curtain before an epilogue. In this play, Hill found at last an ideal vehicle for his personal style. Here, incongruity is conscious; absurdity is deliberate; whimsy is charmingly effective, even if "caviar to the general."

Hill's artlessness disarms satire in this fantasy, just as his patriotic scenes in *Sleeping Beauty* and the allegorical tableaux of *Auster* deflate pomposity. The number scheme with spoken dialogue was exploited.

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244 *Sunday Sun*, 8 October 1933, *Hill Papers* 528/2, NLNM; the reviewer considers it is an important work musically, calling for admiration that, in "this day when so many composers are writing opera in atonic harmony and chromatic melody...which bores one to tears...Hill has kept to diatonic range in songs musically beautiful and robust...he does not Debuss nor Stravinsk, (and although) it is not likely to become a popular success like *La Traviata*, it is none the worse for that."
by him as an ideal, flexible structure in which to assemble many unrelated
but contrasting ideas. Most of his operas introduce Overture melodies
which he later uses, or conclude with ensembles which recall melodic
or rhythmic patterns heard previously.\textsuperscript{245} The only operas which are
through-composed are Giovanni and Auster, and of all his opera scores,
Giovanni is the most accomplished, with effective motivic development
and rhapsodic vocal melodies. Hill's melodic gift can rise outside
conventional formulae and beyond his apparent need to attach heroic or
pretentious qualities to otherwise hack pieces.\textsuperscript{246}

Giovanni is also a chamber opera, the first successful Australian
one-act ensemble work (produced in three short acts) for a small cast of
six soloists and a chamber orchestra which might be reduced effectively
to a wind quintet and string quartet. Its chief distinction lies in
strongly-knit motivic relationships in a taut continuous structure. The
climax is perhaps the only occasion where he loses control of dramatic tension
and lapses into banality, but he recaptures direction and energy here,
unlike the remainder of his operas which exhaust themselves before their
endings.

Hill does not develop or vary musical motives as dynamically as
Marshall-Hall or Hart. His own form melodic shapes which he weaves into
differing vocal and orchestral textures, and which have a binding effect

\textsuperscript{245} The Overture to The Whipping Boy (1893) introduces three lively themes in
A major which reappear later in recapitulations at refrains and ensemble
finales; in Auster (1919) Hill's mature technique is clear in, for
example, the horn motif for the character of Gnomus, Spirit of the Past,
first heard in the Overture, whose intervallic relationships and timbre
are frequently recalled. In this later work, all the Overture materials
are subsequently utilized; see Supporting Documents to Chapter 2, number 8.

\textsuperscript{246} Supporting Documents to Chapter 2, number 7; see McCredie's summary of
Hill's technique, (1968), 206.
rather than a dynamic, dramatic function. His tender, tuneful vocal lines are not transformed so much as relocated in contrasting keys, accents and textures, always within conventional harmonic and instrumental contexts. Hill's lyricism is domesticated, nostalgic, and better suited to the intimate scale, setting and atmosphere of *Giovanni* than to the diversified, endlessly dislocated structures posed by his other romantic librettos. Here, he works in a compact form, over a short duration, and with limited resources; consequently both music and text are more consistently controlled.

It is not certain why Hill chose to abandon opera after 1914, unless it was hastened by the collapse of his hopes for a national opera scheme, or gloom at the onset of a World War.\(^{247}\) He had then achieved an encouraging record: all his earlier operas had been performed, some even revived;\(^ {248}\) he had wrung a greater financial reward from opera than any previous composer in Australia.\(^ {249}\) In fact, in 1914, three of his original plays were produced by the Sydney Repertory Theatre with his own incidental music; a visiting English professional producer, A.Cunningham

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\(^{247}\) See review of *Giovanni*: "the claims of Mars are at the moment paramount, and the peaceful arts must therefore receive less than their due," Sydney *Sun*, 4 August 1914. McCredie examines the likely effect of the 1st World War on the fledgling Australian Opera League, (1968), 197-8.

\(^{248}\) Hill's operas which were revived are: *Himenea* (1896, 1897 and 1934); *Tapu* (1903, 1904, 1953/4); *A Moorish Maid* (1905, 1906, 1952); *Auster* (1922, 1935); *The Ship of Heaven* (1923, 1933).

\(^{249}\) It was not, however, substantial. J.C.Williamson bought half the performing rights to the music of *Tapu* for 100 pounds; *Theatre Magazine*, 2 March 1914, *Hill Papers*, 528/5, NLNM. In New Zealand productions of *A Moorish Maid*, Hill later recalled taking 1,000 pounds per week for the company of professional principals and an amateur chorus; *Theatre Magazine*, *ibid*. He had agreed to form a syndicated company to tour this opera, with George Stephenson, theatre manager of Dunedin, signed on 1 February 1906, giving Hill a conductor's salary of 10 pounds per week for 7 performances, a similar fee for each performance with 10% share in gross receipts for a planned Australian tour, for which, however, Hill agreed to pay up to 15 pounds towards any required "improvements"; *Prospectus*; also *Memorandum of Agreement*, 1 February 1906, *Hill Papers*, 528/1, NLNM. Compare these frugalities with, for example, the profits Brewer reports singer Catherine Hayes made of 30,000 pounds at 400 pounds each night in the 1850s. Brewer (1892), 4 and Abbie (1970), 69. Marshall-Hall had received only 25 pounds for the 15 London performances of *Stella*; letter to J.Barrett, London 25 June 1914; VU:A.
Bridgeman, had praised highly *A Moorish Maid*;²⁵⁰ he had been engaged by J.C. Williamson to conduct *Madame Butterfly* in Melbourne for the 1910 season; he had successfully helped promote in Sydney and in Melbourne an ambitious scheme for an Australian Opera League.²⁵¹

However, his teaching appointment in 1916 to the staff of the New South Wales State Conservatorium of Music began to make new demands on his time. While he was also a member of Henri Verbruggen's Conservatorium string quartet, he wrote mainly chamber music in the manner of a practical 'musicus', as a part of his employment.²⁵²

It is possible he stopped writing opera for artistic reasons or because he faced a creative dilemma. Andrew McCredie has established that Hill failed to perceive the contemporary cultural significance of both 'verismo' opera and of expressionist musical theatre in central Europe.²⁵³

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²⁵⁰ Hill was a member of the Repertory Theatre Board; using the Maori nom-de-plume "Arapeta Hira", his plays were *The King's Command*, *Life, the Jester*, and *Oh, the Pity of it*. Hill also composed incidental music for several productions including G.B. Shaw's *The Devil's Disciple* in 1913; Rees (2), 189. Bridgeman hoped, but failed, to produce *A Moorish Maid* in London; English bass singer Watkin Mills also tried to encourage a London production for *Tapu*, and also failed; correspondence with Mirrie Hill, Sydney 1970.

²⁵¹ Williamson also engaged Marshall-Hall as opera conductor in 1911, but apart from Hill's *Tapu* in 1904 and Hart's *Deirdre in Exile* in 1928 the Firm ignored indigenous opera; B and F. Mackenzie (1967), Chapter 2, 12. *The Australian Opera League* is discussed more fully in Chapter 3 following.

²⁵² While professor in harmony and counterpoint at the Conservatorium (1916-34), he also wrote a theoretical manual and conducted the orchestra, while maintaining his direction of the Sydney Liedertafel begun in 1898-1902 (also called the Royal Apollo Club). Other members of the quartet were Gerald Walenn, Lionel Lawson and Gladstone Bell; Hill was violist. McCredie (1970), 39-42; and (1968), 207-213, 214, 224. Verbruggen, first director of the Conservatorium, introduced the new works of many Australian composers, Grainger, Benjamin, Orchard, Hill, Marshall-Hall, as well as his own; see repertory of works played by the N.S.W. Conservatorium Orchestra in Victoria in 1918 conducted by Verbruggen, in *Hinno Papers*, MS 2691, no 3776, ANL. Hill resigned from the Conservatorium in 1934. In the following 4 years, he composed 8 quartets, 7 of which he later transcribed as symphonies.

²⁵³ McCredie (1968), 205-6.
Certainly, none of his operas has either dramatic or musical contemporaneity with events on the international stage. What is most puzzling is his withdrawal from Australian opera at the precise moment it began to develop a new interest in the gentle, lyrical Celtic themes that his colleagues Fritz Hart, Hooper Brewster-Jones, and Edgar Bainton found so attractive in the English opera revival. In the evocative twilight themes of Irish and Gaelic legend, Hill might have pursued the most appropriate milieu for his personal style. The Australian allegory of Auster is an acculturation of the concepts of the Celtic national revival and Hill's only opera which demonstrates that process. Hill's music is continuous in an orthodox structure and harmony, with typically naive melodies, descriptive orchestral passages, and reappearing themes. The story is a mythological account of Australia's history in the tradition of Horsley's The South-Sea Sisters (1866) and Giorza's Pröi (187?), which anticipates Henry Tate's The Dreams of Diaz (1924), and Kaditcha (1938) or Ashmadai (1930) by Clive Douglas. The libretto, adapted from Emily

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254 Hill's Celtic works include the "Celtic" string quartets in B♭ and in C, a "Celtic Symphony" for strings, 2 Gaelic Sketches for orchestra, Gaelic and Scotch airs for string orchestra, and arrangements of Gaelic as well as Maori songs for string quartet, all of which are in MS, ABC Catalogue of Music p 4-5, ABC:N. In the same vein, he orchestrated not only several Maori songs (e.g. "Waiata Poi") but traditional folksongs both transplanted and acclimatized, e.g., "The Last Rose of Summer", "Annie Laurie", "Eumerella Shore", "Hold Jack Donahoo", and "Frank Gardiner", all of which were published by Allan's music.

255 It is necessary here to clarify two main arteries of this Celtic movement in Australia. One is the personal contact between W.B. Yeats with Victorian dramatist Louis Esson prior to the latter's return to Australia in 1921 to try to establish Australian national drama; V. Palmer, Louis Esson and the Australian Theatre, Melbourne 1948; Rees (2), 68, 73, 82, on the Dublin Abbey Theatre influence. The second is the infiltration of the ideas and musical styles of English opera composers and librettists who created the Glastonbury Festivals held annually from 1914 to 1925 (excepting 1917-18 and 1923), including Edgar Bainton, Trevor Dunhill and especially Rutland Boughton, which influenced the Australian composers Hart, Brewster-Jones, Ewart, Orchard, and Hill; E. Walter White (1951), 148, 150-1; P. Lovell, "The Proposed National Opera House at Glastonbury, 1913-15", Music and Letters Vol. 50 no. 1, January 1969, 172.
Coungeau's poetic text *Princess Mona* (1916), is in two acts. Hill's setting is more in cantata than operatic form, as an allegorical narrative in a series of musical vistas which depict Australia's origins. Partly sharing common ground with such German fantastic operas as Lortzing's *Undine* (1845), this symbolic work also resembles Australian allegorical cantatas, lyric dramas and masques, although it is marred by irregular, comic intrusions which come near the brink of absurdity.

The "dangerous road" of symbolism attracted other opera composers contemporaneous with Hill. Henry Tate was a "visionary searcher for an Australian musical identity", a poet and playwright, critic and composer.

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256 Emily Conneau's (1870-1937) "romantic poetical drama" *Princess Mona* is the basis for Hill's libretto adaptation, and was published in Sydney in 1917. EMH I, 391. Other published works are *Palm Fronds* (1927), *Fern Leaves* (1934). *Princess Mona* was rewritten and reprinted as *Stella Australis* in 1922. Interview, and access to papers and Press clippings, with Miss Una Howard, Adelaide 1972.

257 His adaptation simplifies Conneau's allegory, especially in Act III which carried the story to the Gallipoli battle, where the five sons (States) of now-crowned Mona die for their country, and where the new Capital City (Auster) commemorates Anzac Day. *Press cutting* (unid.), 3 September 1922. See Volume II, Catalogue 1, p 138-40. The first (concert) performance presented *Auster* as a cantata (1922). For comparisons between Hill's *Auster* and Tate's *The Dreams of Dias*, see *Supporting Documents* to Chapter 2, number 8.

258 For example, in the Gilbertian Pirates' Chorus concluding Act I with rhymed couplets and "heigh-ho" refrains; f.sc. p 106, and the buffa song for a demon in Act II, p 20.

259 Quoted from George Matthews's review, *Australian Women's Weekly*, 6 April 1935. Other allegorical (lyric) dramas are John Antill's *Endymion* (also 1922), Volume II, Catalogue 1, p 141-2; Brewster-Jones's *Undine* (1918-28), *ibid*, p 131-2; Ewart's *Nala's Wedding* (1933), an Indian epic, p 165-6; and Douglas's aboriginal legend *Kaditcha* (1938) p 168-9 and his historical trilogy, *Eleanor*, *The Maid Rosamund*, and *Henry of Anjou* (1940) p 170-1. Apart from *Endymion's* performance in 1953, not one of these lyric dramas has been performed.

260 R.Covell (1967) 104, also Notes, p 301. Tate (1873-1924) is also discussed in McCreedie (1969), 7; DAB II, 408; *The Spinner*, July 1926, 111-2; *ADB* (John's, 1934), 352.
In a posthumously published epic poem, *Aurora Australis* (1928), he expresses his abiding interest in the voyages of discovery to Australia. In his songs, tone poems and orchestral suites, he explores the "musical possibilities" of Australian bush, bird, and natural sounds, aboriginal song and dance, and the alternative scale patterns he had himself devised in an abortive attempt to vitalize traditional harmony and musical vocabulary with distinctively Australian elements. A member of the leading national group of artists and intellectuals in Melbourne, he lectured and demonstrated his theory for a national school of Australian music and mythology. His own music was largely ignored outside those circles.

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261 He completed the Prologue, Epilogue and 8 of a projected 10 books of 10-line rhyming stanzas. Other literary publications by him include: *Lost Love*, 1918; *Poems*, 1928, and *The Rune of the Bunyip*, nd. containing 4 "grotesques" and other verses, NLNM; his collected music reviews and articles written for the *Age* (1924-6), *Hince Papers*, MS 2691, ANL, and his two theoretical books, *Australian Musical Resources*, Melbourne 1917 and *Australian Musical Possibilities*, Melbourne nd. (c 1924?).

262 Little music survives. There are two short pieces, "Morning in the Gully" and "The Australian Thrush" in *Australian Musical Possibilities* as an Appendix; and two late orchestral works, *Bush Miniatures* (1925) and the rhapsody, *Dawn*, first performed by the Melbourne University Symphony Orchestra conducted by Bernard Heinze in 1926; *Age*, 4 February 1926. These adapt his scale in orchestral counterpoint, in which "genuine novelties" such as bird song appear. The latter is in sonata form and uses canon, fugal and imitative techniques.

263 He gave lecture-demonstrations, for example, at William Moore's Melbourne Drama Nights in the early 1920s; Rees (2), 63-4, 71. He was a former pupil of Marshall-Hall, wrote incidental music to an Australian drama, *Yin-Yin* by Mrs. E. Coulson Davidson which won a Triad award. She was a member of the Pioneer Players of Melbourne, who rehearsed and performed at her Oakleigh home. Her works and historical dramas (Eureka Stockade, Prisoners, The Roverrunners, Murra) explored Australian legend, aboriginal myth. *EMM* I, 391. Tate's friends include Fritz Hart and Louis Lavater, also both poets, and an eloquent testimonial was written by writer Katherine Susannah Prichard, who quotes from his letter describing his work on *Dawn* (1926), as "a dream of Australian mythology and early promise...dreamed in a real dawn in the bush. It is based on material from the bird calls with a chorale melody here and there as the organ breeze that gathers all sound to itself", in K.S. Throssell, "A Reverie in Memory of Henry Tate", *Manuscripts*, November 1932, 46-50.
His short, simple symbolic story, told as a dying man's hallucinations, is more effective than other preceding choral cantatas, lyric dramas and operas on the same theme. Tate's innovatory uses of natural and descriptive sounds contrast ruggedly wild Nature with man-made work sounds, bushscapes with seascapes, in ways not attempted again until the 1970s by Peter Sculthorpe and Barry Conyngham. Tate's impressionism is less derivative and conventional than Clive Douglas or Brewster-Jones.264

It is surprising that Fritz Hart did not write an opera based on Australian legend or nature, although at one stage he had approached Louis Esson to write a mystical bush play for him, to capture the 'terror' of the lonely, mysterious landscape.265 Hart migrated to Australia in 1909 initially as an operetta conductor for J.C. Williamson and as an experienced opera composer.266 He is chiefly responsible for redesigning mainstream transplanted traditions in Australian music and opera around Celtic drama and English choralism. Of his 18 operas written in Australia between 1913

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264 The Dreams of Dias is discussed with Hill's Auster in Supporting Documents to Chapter 2, number 8. See also Appendix II to Tate's book, Australian Musical Possibilities compiled by Vida Lenox, who agrees that this play illustrates precisely Tate's theories of "characteristically Australian musical images" and is "founded on an incident of the long-drawn maritime search for the Great Continent in the South." (p 58). The Prelude and Epilogue to Tate's earlier book (1917) describe the elements of Australian myth and nature which captivated him: "We are in a position to wrench our music from silence by sheer intellectual power." His views echo those of other nationalists whom he admired, including Maurice Furnley, Henry Lawson, Arthur Streeton, Bernard O'Dowd, Louis Lavater and Alfred Hill, (p 37). The theme of the explorer has been set in traditional opera, e.g. Meyerbeer's L'Africaine (1865) with a text by Scribe on the journeys of Vasco da Gama. But no Australians: treated specific explorers until Conyngham's Edward John Eyre (1970); Volume II, 219-20. Peter Sculthorpe's Rites of Passage (not listed) is discussed in Chapter 3, together with other operas developing a landscape-and-bush ethos and using Aboriginal myth for opera subjects. Brewster-Jones's music which explores birdsong and natural sounds in the manner of Tate, is collected in manuscript in the Elder Music Library, Adelaide University.

265 Interview with Hart published in Wireless Weekly, 25 August, 1933, 12. He loathed what he called the "sham sentiment" of the nationalist school: "I am sick and tired of sliprails and gumleaves", referring to A.B. Paterson and the naturalist and folk movements. His music prepared for a proposed opera with Esson was eventually performed as a Symphonic Suite in 1933.

266 He is said to have collaborated in student opera composition with Holst; see notes in Volume II, Appendix, p 457-60; see also Melba Conservatorium Magazine, no 16 (1949), 3.
and 1935, nine have Celtic subjects in his own libretto adaptations of works by Synge, Yeats, Lady Gregory, James Stephens, Edward Arlington Robinson and AE.\textsuperscript{267} Six more are his own biblical adaptations, especially from old Cornish and Coventry plays with interpolated traditional carols. In Melbourne his large output includes many songs and some sacred-text choral cantatas and anthems mainly for women's voices.\textsuperscript{268} In these, and in his operas, his work follows closely the style and aesthetic of Rutland Boughton (1878-1960), his contemporary and friend, especially in his use of the "orchestral chorus".\textsuperscript{269} Edgar Bainton is another expatriate British composer who, after an opera was produced in Glastonbury (\textit{Oithona}, 1915), continued to write in the Celtic revival aesthetic, although his later opera, \textit{The Pearl Tree} (1927), translates Celtic to Hindu settings.\textsuperscript{270}

\textsuperscript{267} Volume II, Catalogue 1 at pp 116, 118, 122, 125, 126, 130, 133, 134, 136, 148, 149, 154, 157, 160, 164, 167. The four or five operas written in Hawaii are listed in the Appendix, p 457-60. For biographical references, Grove V, 120-1; and MGC entry by A.D. McCredie. Most of his operas have continuous musical texture and accompanied recitative with the exception of his operettas with spoken dialogue.

\textsuperscript{268} He claimed to have written over 300 songs. Among many choral works are \textit{Salve Caput Cruentatum} (1924) for double female choir; and 3 works in 1925, \textit{O Gloriosa Domine}, \textit{Nunc Gaudet Maria}, and \textit{New Year's Eve}, all performed by the women's chorus of the Melbourne Music Club, whose patron was Nellie Melba; H. Tate, \textit{Music Criticisms for the Age} (1924-5), \textit{Hinze Papers} MS 2691, series 3, ANL.

\textsuperscript{269} Boughton and his librettist R. Buckley devised the concept of cyclic performances of English music drama a la Bayreuth, and between 1914-1925 had 7 of his operas produced at Glastonbury including \textit{Alkestis} (1922), and several Arthurian-legend and Oriental-revival works, biblical adaptations, and English folklore pieces. Glastonbury composers include: Lawrence Housman, Clive Carey, Clarence Raybould (with an adapted Japanese Noh play, \textit{The Swanida River}, 1916, with text by Marie Stopes), and of course Edgar Bainton. Boughton, like Hart, captured a classical Greek idea of the chorus as narrator but used like an orchestra to accompany and back the lyrical drama in the foreground, E.W. White, (1951), 82-3, 151; R. Boughton and R. Buckley, \textit{Music Drama of the Future}, London 1911; and P. Lovell, "The Proposed National Opera House at Glastonbury, 1913-15" in \textit{Music and Letters}, Vol.50, no.1, January 1969, 172.

Hart's most successful short opera is *Even Unto Bethlehem*, composed in Honolulu after he left Australia. This is extremely reminiscent of Boughton's *Bethlehem.* Like Boughton, Hart revived productions of English opera by Purcell and Blow; premiered productions of works by his English contemporaries Trevor Dunhill, Vaughan-Williams, and Boughton, and of classical chamber operas while he was Director of the Albert Street Conservatorium (renamed the Melba Conservatorium). Here, with Elise Wiedermann and later Melba herself, he developed an excellent Opera School. It was the means, too, for performances of his own operas; of some seventeen operas it produced between 1898 and 1928, six are by Hart (all of which are either one-act or were reduced to that length) and the School also performed Marshall-Hall's *Alcestis* and scenes from *Romeo and Juliet.* Melba helped initiate a commercial production of Hart's *Deirdre in Exile* by the Williamson-Melba Grand Opera Company in

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271 See Volume II Appendix, p 460. When Boughton's *Bethlehem* (1916) was revived in London in 1972, it was then described as "a synthesis of mock-modality, neutered Delius, and rags and tatters of clichés from the late 19th century and early 20th century operetta and settings of traditional carols." *Musical Times*, February 1973, Vol.114, no.1560, 170.

272 These repertory selections parallel those of Glastonbury, and were likewise produced on a very modest scale with reduced orchestras, mainly piano scoring, and student performers and singers, but nevertheless the operas were adventurous in terms of the commercial theatre at the time. They include: *Dido and Aeneas* (1915), *Orpheus* (1914), *Iphigenia* (1919), *Costa fan Tutti* (1928), *Hin und Zurück* (1931), *The Immortal Hour* by Boughton (1932) which is really the source of Bainton's *The Pearl Tree* (1927), and Trevor Dunhill's *Tantivy Towers* (1934). Several Mozart and Gluck operas were staged, and also what was claimed as the first Australian production of Beethoven's *Fidelio* in 1927. Mackenzie, (1967), 13; *Melba Conservatorium Magazine*, nos. 10, (1943), 3-4; No.12 (1945), 3-4, 7-8; and no.16 (1949), 3-5.

273 Wiedermann was a singer whom Marshall-Hall met in Europe; on her marriage she came to Melbourne and directed his vocal classes and opera school after 1894; many rehearsals were held at her Kew home, Studley Hall; she stayed on at the Conservatorium after Marshall-Hall's death, under Hart's leadership. (see *Melba Conservatorium Magazine* references above). Melba met Hart in 1915, gave advanced coaching classes to his staff and pupils, and bequeathed £8,000 for a singing scholarship in her name, on her death in 1931. Another director at the school was Clive Carey (from 1942-5), a former Glastonbury composer. See Editorial, *Melba Conservatorium Magazine*, no.10 (1943), 3-4 and no.5 (1938), 3; also Mackenzie (1967), 59.
1928 for one performance with I Pagliacci.274

Although fewer of his operas were performed than of his contemporary, Alfred Hill, with whom he established the short-lived Australian Opera League, Hart persisted in writing one-act chamber operas (and several full-length) in the style of his English friends, Holst, Dunhill, Ireland, Boughton and Vaughan-Williams.275 This was a deliberate attempt to maintain and refurbish English traditions in Australian opera. Although parallel to the Celtic-influenced drama movement led by Australian nationalists,276 Hart's polemics for a national 'Australian' opera are strictly British; his argument for an 'Australian' national idiom is Celtic; his aesthetic for an 'Australian' sound is Romantic:

We must not be chauvinists, but Percy Grainger is more directly of interest to us (than Bach), for his music is at least of definitely English character....
Australian music must not endeavour to interpret the cruder aspects of Australian life. It must find its own poetry in the vast open spaces, in the mystery of the lonely bush. 277

It is largely due to an academic base that his operas were performed at all. With the same affiliation, his contemporaries W.A. Orchard, Clive Douglas, and Edgar Bainton had some difficulty in achieving even academic productions

274 The Melba Conservatorium Opera School first performed this in 1926; Melba admired it, and persuaded Williamson to put it on at His Majesty's Theatre in 1926; Age, 24 September 1926; J.C.W. Magazine, 22 June, 1928, which describes Williamson's pride at so-furthering the interests of Australian opera and music by his generous gesture.

275 Chapter 3 continues the discussion of the 1914 Australian Opera League. On his English roots, see L.W. White (1951), 151-2; G.R. Davies (1935), 30. Note that Vaughan Williams also set Synge's Riders to the Sea; Holst wrote Indian Legend in Savitri; Karl Rankl set Deirdre of the Sorrows in 1951, although it was never performed; and Arnold Bax wrote an unfinished 5-act opera called Deirdre and a libretto for an Irish comedy as well as settings of Yeats's songs; see R.L., Foreman, "The Musical Development of Arnold Bax", Music and Letters, Vol.52, no.1, 1971, 59-68; E.W. White (1951), 148-51.

276 Contemporary with his Pierrette (1914), for example, are Roy Newmarch's dramaus, Here is Faery, The Pierrot of the Bush, and Fairyland for All, written in collaboration with Furnley Maurice and published in 1915; EMM I, 390. See also Notes on Essom and the Pioneer Players in the preceding section, and to Chapter 3.

277 Hart's two articles on nationalism are printed in Art in Australia, Vol. 1, series 2 (May 1922), and 3 (November 1922), only the former is pagd. (Continued overleaf...
of their operas. All four composers were drawn to the English and Celtic revival movement, ambitious for an English music-drama using Arthurian, biblical, Celtic and exotic legends for subjects and atmosphere. Australian composers such as Florence Ewart and Hooper Brewster-Jones who did not have academic affiliation had even fewer chances of amateur or student productions, and their operas remain unperformed.

In comparison, the success of Arthur Benjamin, George Clutsam, Peggy Clunville-Hicks and Malcolm Williamson, all Australian expatriates living overseas, is remarkable. Of twenty-four operas written between

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(Continued)...These quotations are in series 3. Roger Covell comments on the effects of English conservatism on Australian academic composition (1967), 145, describing them as institutionalized "obsolescent idioms".

Volume II, Catalogue 1, p 90, 93, 96, and 127 (Orchard); who also wrote Celtic and legendary works such as the Scandinavian-based cantata, *Yller the Bowman* (1909); see W.A. Orchard (1943), 38. Also p 156, 158, 168, and 170 (Douglas), whose *Eleanor Trilogy* (1940) is indebted to Glastonbury's Arthurian, neo-Wagnerian idioms, e.g. J. Holbrooke's Welsh mythological trilogy, *The Cauldron of Annwn* (1912-1929), and even uses the same symbolic scarf, forest-gleade, and magic rose imagery as Barnett's *The Mountain Sylph* (1834), which is one of the models of the English romantic revival of the 20th century. For references to Bainton, see note 270 above.

Ewart's operas are listed in Volume II, Catalogue 1, p 100, 161, 165, 172, 225, 226 and are chiefly on conventional European romantic drama, excepting *Nala's Wedding* on Indian legend (p 165) and her setting of Longfellow's story of *Miles Standish* (p.161). She was trained in Leipzig, but emigrated in 1904 to Melbourne. Although her husband was first Professor of Botany at the University there, her marriage ended in 1920; she subsequently travelled abroad to London, Brussels, and Italy, trying to get performances for her first long opera *Ekhart*. None of her operas was fully performed, but her music written for an Empire Pageant (1914-18) and a prize ode of 1907, *God Guide Australia*, were performed. My thanks to Dr. Kay Dreyfus of the Grainger Museum for this information, and for loaning the scores which are held in the Museum, GM:VU. Brewster-Jones of South Australia is listed in Catalogue 1, at p 123, 129, 131, 135, 137, 152, 153, 224; his works are on Celtic, European, romantic, and comic contemporary themes; not one has ever been performed, and only the first, *Deirdre in Exile* is complete, p 123. His MS music is in SU:Con. In 1921 he formed a symphony orchestra in Adelaide and performed works by Ravel and Debussy never before heard in Australia.
them, all but Glanville-Hicks's *Sappho* (1965) have been performed and revived.\(^{280}\) Their success points to the futility of Hart's persistence in writing opera in Australia in the 1920s through the 1950s, with its ground barren for any attempt at creating a lively national opera movement. The Australian Broadcasting Commission was established in 1932, and the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust in 1956, but only rarely did they produce indigenous operas.\(^{281}\) When the situation began to improve in 1965 and in the early 1970s, it was largely one-act chamber opera which attracted commissions and, sometimes, performances, a form to which Hart has undoubtedly made the largest and most persistent contribution. It is still a fact that most of the full-length operas written in Australia in the 20th century await full professional performance.

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\(^{280}\) For these composers, see Volume II, Catalogue 2. Benjamin's operas treat conventional European and English themes, but his opera for television, one of the first especially written, *Manana*, (1956), is surely derived from the idiom, technique, style and content of Wolf-Ferrari's opera, *I Gioielli dalla Madonna* (The Jewels of the Madonna) of 1911, which was a success in Covent Garden in 1925. CDDO. Benjamin's 'intermezzi-style' operas in one act, *Prima Donna* and *The Devil Take Her*, are probably the best-known of any opera written by an Australian-born composer. Glanville-Hicks has probably set the most prestigious librettos of any Australian, on literary sources by Thomas Mann, Lawrence Durrell, Robert Graves, and Lord Dunsany. See references under her works in Catalogue 2. Williamson, now Master of the Queen's Music, is a successful Australian contemporary expatriate; his music is described more fully by B. Chatterton in *Australian Composition in the Twentieth Century*, eds. F. Callaway and D. Tunley, Melbourne 1978, Chapter 18, and in Catalogue 2.

CHAPTER 3

DISTINCTIVE AUSTRALIAN FEATURES AND IDEOLOGY

1. The Question of a National Image and Identity

Introduction

To assess from musical and dramatic elements what is especially Australian in the works which have been described can invite an artificial distinction between the universal and the national; or, perhaps an equally dubious undertaking, can suggest an attempt at their reconciliation. With this in mind, this chapter begins by examining some attempts to form a national opera. It describes some problems encountered by artists who wished to create a generating climate for Australian opera and drama, and comments on how far they advocate or deny a distinguishing Australian ideology and what role the Press has played in the process.

It then recalls aspects of the image of Australia on the overseas stage at the time of the earliest settlement and first contact with the colony, as if to recapture some likely reactions of the first settlers on reaching Australia, but also to show that a preconception might color, even override, reality by influencing ways in which dramatists and creative artists might describe that reality and express their own sense of it.

From the first cultural contact in 1788 to the present, there has been a continuous process of acculturation. The Chapter will survey the meaning, the context, and the components of this process through which Australian opera has been shaped, and will summarize its

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1 Charles Seeger, "Music and Society; Some New World Evidence of their Relationship", Lecture for Pan American Union, 13 May 1952, 9 p, especially p7.
special characteristics which project an image and ideology of Australia and Australians in the musical theatre. It introduces some theoretical considerations about acculturation; some motivations which have activated it; some literary and then dramatic models and the chief modes by which these have been integrated with an Australian identity. Finally, it concludes with an overview of the main features, especially of quite recent Australian opera, which suggest where it may be leading.

The purpose of this chapter is to present some general observations and also to raise some general questions, especially about the nature of a theatre ideology and the criteria for the process of acculturation. Ideology can mean a system of beliefs, statements, and symbols that interpret reality. Acting as a rational system of explanation - even legitimation - of the social situation in which an individual and groups find themselves, ideology can both provide symbols which help to reconcile the many contradictions which result from the complexities of societies, and can afford a means of reducing these complexities. An ideology which provides a system of symbols for a relatively small group, such as the theatre audience, can offer an immediate but transient interpretation of reality and of contradictory realities.

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2 This chapter summarizes patterns I have observed in Australian opera, so I shall not be referring in footnotes to works already cited in the chapters or Catalogues. Many ideas result from a reading of cultural histories and studies of Australian arts which I list in my Introduction, at p 6, note 8. Some of the following discussion has been developed from earlier papers I have read, including: "Australian Opera: Search for a Profile", for the Musicological Association of South Australia, April 1971; "Precedents and Problems for Australian Opera Composers", for the I.S.C.M. Symposium on Opera and the Australian Composer, May 1973; "The Colonial Composer and Radical Elements in Australian Music", for the conference of the American Musicological Association, Minneapolis, October 1978; and "Aspects of Australian Acculturation", prepared for the 3rd Symposium of the International Musicological Society, University of Adelaide, September 1979, and read to the Post-Graduate Seminar, Department of Music, University of Adelaide, August 1979.
This kind of ideology is limited and short-lived. It can be intense. As its audience is not otherwise a related or organized permanent social group, it is fragmentary or instant without an enduring community to guide it or be guided by it. The validity or strength of an ideology which speaks to a theatre audience, therefore, may be narrow, questionable in the light of broader social realities, brief in endurance, and its 'objectivity' may need to be checked through other sources.

These limitations are not necessarily handicaps, however. The purpose of this chapter is to attempt to identify the ideology itself and to discover the main features and directions of the 'roadmap' which that ideology may provide to an emerging social order and to cultural patterns. That identification seems an especially valid task for a relatively new society which lacks traditional formal credentials.

It is with this concept and with these provisions that the following argument proceeds.

2. Towards a National Opera: A Commentary

The earliest proposal for a 'national' opera came in 1866, when a Prospectus appeared in the pages of the Melbourne Argus, inviting subscribers to an Australian Opera Association "to fulfill the Australian public's knowledge and love of the lyric drama". Based on estimations of W.S. Lyster's profits in commercial management, the scheme was entirely financial in motivation, and nothing came of it.

Then, in 1906, Marshall-Hall proposed the formation of a limited liability Australasian Grand Opera Company to Dr. James Barrett and George Musgrove, then-manager of the Princess Theatre in Melbourne. Together, they issued a Prospectus and Shareholders' Applications, in a

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proposal to build a commercial repertory almost exclusively around Wagner's operas. They gave no indication of any obligation or policy towards indigenous opera. This scheme was also abandoned, probably due to insufficient public subscription. Marshall-Hall raised the idea again privately shortly before his death in 1915, in anticipation of making money in England and Europe with his operas Stella and Romeo and Juliet. He hoped to build a National Opera House in Melbourne with his profits.

In 1914, plans for a national opera culminated in the formation of the Australian Opera League. It was an association led by Alfred Hill and Fritz Hart, with other artists involved in opera including composer-conductor George Allen and singer-producer Elise Wiedermann on the managerial Board. Their chief objectives were: first, the encouragement

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4 The Prospectus was issued for capital of £4,000 in 2,000 shares, dated 8 May 1906. Musgrave's preliminary expenses were not to exceed £2,000 prior to the first performance in Melbourne, proposed for Easter 1907. The company was to tour Australia and New Zealand for 12-18 months. Hince Papers, MS 2691, Series 2319, ANL.

5 Marshall-Hall, enroute to London, Letter to J. Barrett, 12 March 1913; uncat. VU: A. See also Sir J. Barrett's Letters, Hince Papers, MS 2691, Series 6, Items 575-4353, ANL. At that time, the composer expected to write two more operas including As You Like It; Letter to J. Barrett, in London, 12 December 1913; VU: A.

6 McCredie (1968), 195-204; (1969), 5-6, who summarizes the events with reference to Press clippings in the Alfred Hill Papers, MS 528, Item 5, NLN:M.

7 Age, March 6, 1914, which lists members present at the Melbourne Branch meeting. After discussion, those present agreed "the League should not confine its operations exclusively to Australian productions." Donations offered by private members then present totalled 52 guineas; Hill Papers, MS 528, Item 5, NLN:M.
of new opera written by Australians, both native-born and resident immigrants; second, professional performances of operas by Australian composers resident in Australia integrated with regular seasons of imported, 'suitable' operas; third, provision of regular opportunities for practical experience and employment for Australian singers, conductors, and musicians.⁸

The Constitution was framed in Sydney and submitted to the Victorian branch for ratification on 5 March 1914. It incorporated these three objectives. These proposals were then debated in the Press which urged a public awareness of the financial plight of Australian composers and creative artists.⁹ The problems they faced were raised then for the first time: first, their need for financial security through subsidy; second, the obstacle they encountered in public prejudice and apathy; third, the failure of all Australian States to support and maintain first-class professional orchestras and choristers in general. The "waste" in Australian music was deplored. John Delany was cited as an example of the gifted trained composer who wanted to write opera but had been forced into other, more profitable, forms by the difficulty of finding suitable librettos and the expectation that overseas recognition was essential before attempting an Australian production - and that expatriatism as a proving-ground was expensive.¹⁰

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⁸ *Age*, 5 March 1914, *Hill Papers*, MS 528, Item 1, NLNM; McCredie (1968) 197.

⁹ See lengthy articles in the Sydney *Sun*, 21 and 28 February 1914; *Bulletin*, 26 February 1914; "Opera by Australians: Is It a Feasible Project?" in *The Theatre Magazine*, 2 March 1914; Melbourne *Argus*, 6 March 1914; 9 March 1914; *Hill Papers*, MS 528, Item 5, NLNM.

¹⁰ Hill's comment in an interview in *The Theatre Magazine*, 2 March 1914; *Hill Papers*, MS 528, Item 5, NLNM.
The chief reason given to underscore the fragility of an indigenous tradition was "lack of local encouragement". Some predicted that if an Australian Opera League had popular support, Government subsidy must follow, for:

without a permanent trust fund or subsidy, any such scheme for opera is doomed to failure. 11

When the first season of the new League opened in 1914, the New South Wales Government was said to be considering its form of financial support. When the advent of the first World War seems to have suddenly ended the scheme, that Government's decision was deferred. The League went out of existence. 12

The principles advocated by Hill and Hart, the chief spokesmen for establishing a national opera through the League, seem contradictory both in utterance and in terms of their own works. Hart especially stressed "the Australian voice in British music":

It is absolutely impossible for a school of Australian creative music to arise that is not founded directly upon British music. 13

and as late as 1933, he was still speaking of a national image:

...we hoped to create a definitely Australian opera. Although war put a stop to it, neither Alfred Hill nor I myself have given up hope. 14

However, Press reviewers noticed that neither Hart's Pierette nor Hill's Giovanni, the Sculptor, which were first and last productions under the banner of the Australian Opera League in 1914, was identifiably 'Australian'.

11 "Need for Subsidized Seasons", Sun, 21 February 1914; Hill Papers, MS 528, Item 5, NLNM:

12 Orchard (1952), 157.

13 "Australian Music", Art in Australia, Vol.1, 3rd series, November 1922, (no), NLNM:

14 Interview with Fritz Hart, Wireless Weekly, 25 August 1933, 12.
even in subject matter.\textsuperscript{15}

Hart in 1922 would repudiate more directly what he called the
"sham sentiment" of Australian nationalists:

a small section of somewhat aggressively national Australians
that cried aloud - at odd and unexpected moments - for Australian
music. A man belonging to this group will probably labour under
the delusion that verses dealing with slippers and wallabies are
necessarily Australian poetry. He will be one of those who
desire to 'cut the painter', thanking God he is not an Englishman...
So long as the vast majority of Australia's population is of
British descent, the only genuinely creative music we produce
will be of British origin.\textsuperscript{16}

Yet in the same article, Hart falls into the trap of cultural chauvinism
towards universal values and criteria:

Brahms was a very great composer; but while he possessed
many universal qualities, his music can never be really
popular with the people of Australia....could never serve
as a model for the music which we all look to Australia to
produce ultimately...if its growth is to be genuine it must
always exhibit signs of its British parentage.

What the reaction of his colleague, Leipzig-trained Alfred Hill was to
this attitude is not recorded. Hart would not accept that even Marshall-
Hall's \textit{Stella}, so "obviously influenced by Puccini" and enjoyable, was
a "contribution to Australian art - in spite of the fact that the scene
was laid in Sydney" - because:

\textit{It is obviously impossible for (Australian music)
to be born of any but Anglo-Saxon or Celtic parents.}\textsuperscript{17}

The irony of Hart's attitude is two-fold. First, \textit{Stella} already embodies
verismo elements which Hart and Hill failed to perceive were vital forces
for change in early 20th century European opera which were also attracting

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Bulletin}, 6 August 1914; \textit{Hill Papers}, MS 528, Item 5, NLN:M. See
also \textit{Argus}, 9 March 1914; \textit{Sun}, 4 August 1914; \textit{Herald}, 8 August 1914;
all in \textit{Hill Papers (ibid)}.

\textsuperscript{16} "Australian Music", \textit{Art in Australia}, Vol.1, 3rd series, November 1922,
(np), NLN:M.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Ibid.}, and also his first part, printed in \textit{Art in Australia}, Vol.1, 2nd
considerable commercial investment and a popular audience, the very conditions they sought for an Australian national opera. Second, his own Celtic, Biblical, English operas failed to achieve even the local patronage and applause that Marshall-Hall had won. His prejudice in favour of his own cultural roots betrays an ignorance about the diverse European acculturation of both English and Australian music, and an ambivalence towards Australia in his position there as an English expatriate.

What Hill and Hart planned differed very little from conventional English and North American proposals for a subsidized national theatre with fully-professional productions and regular seasons. Their policy towards indigenous composition was really superimposed on assumptions about traditional Anglo-European repertories and managements. As with other similar schemes, it was presumed that once an audience and structure for opera was stable and financially sound, it might follow, logically, that there would be a flow-on to the local, active composers. This has never been demonstrated in Australia; Hill and Hart already had personal knowledge of that.

One conclusion to be drawn from this and previous schemes is that polemicists and activists failed to create a policy suited to experimentation.

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18 McCredie (1968), 201, 202-4.
19 See previous Chapter 2, note 265.
20 North American National Opera schemes that eventually failed include Theodore Thomas's American Opera Company (1886); the Emma Juch Grand Opera Company (1889), and Henry M. Savage's plan for a Metropolitan English Grand Opera Company (1900); some English National companies and theatres survived, some briefly, to promote English opera composers and their work: e.g. the Pyne-Harrison Royal English Opera (1856-64); the Carl Rosa Company (1875), revived by the Goossens father and son (Eugene) in the 1920s; Thomas Beecham's British National Opera Company (1922-); Lilian Baylis and Charles Corri at the Old Vic (1898; 1900-31); the Sadler's Wells Opera (from 1931) and Glastonbury Festivals (1914-27); see C. Forsyth, Music and Nationalism: A Study of English Opera, London 1915.
21 McCredie (1968), 203.
- supportive even to failure through experimentation - essential for local composers if they were to acquire experience without going overseas, and essential for building both a repertory and an audience for new opera along-side the established repertory. They also failed to appreciate what that new opera might be.

A more imaginative, more experimental approach is found in Australian national drama schemes, mainly in Melbourne in the 1920s and 30s. William Moore, Leon Brodzsky, Louis Esson, and Vance and Nettie Palmer wrote and sponsored Australian plays, especially one-act plays with local settings, characters, themes, and idioms. Margaret Williams has disclosed the 'split-level' dichotomies in many of these movements and their products, their difficulty with national versus naturalist concepts, their inability to devise new forms. Yet many dramatists did explore realistic as well as legendary, symbolic aspects of Australian culture and folklore;

All that had distinguished Australians from other peoples, whatever was preserved in folk memory, became a defiant assertion of the uniqueness of their kind.  

Since the 1890s, alongside Ibsen and Shaw, and the Celtic plays produced by the little art and amateur theatres, there developed a commitment to Australian plays. The problem was to develop an audience:

Australia had no culture - it was crude, materialistic, Philistine... and to develop a sure sense of identity in the prevailing spirit of 'snobocracy' in theatre audiences,

23 Ian Turner, The Australian Dream, Melbourne 1968, xviii-xix; several manuscript plays by these groups are collected in the Campbell Howard Collection, University of New England Library, Armidale, NSW; and Hangar Collection, Fryer Library, University of Queensland.
limpid in apish imitation after London ideas, habits, and manners.25

National movements seem to have collapsed when they lost an identity - or could not initiate one - with their audience.

Australian audiences in the 1920s may have been still confused about standards, still ambivalent towards newly-won independence and the stirring of radicalism without the measuring rod of tradition and the bondage of dependence on a parent culture. In this, they had a voice and an echo in the Australian Press. Occasionally, the Press could penetrate beneath the debate to suggest intrinsic motivations and alternatives, and could reassure by locating external models and traditions:

...a national opera scheme will require educating the public. We have not yet reached a real patriotic art stage when we are willing to thrust our own artists. The Herr or the Signor is all-powerful with us yet. The musical history of Australia is full of (a) distressing waste of "art" enthusiasm.26

...prejudice has to be overcome and the public induced to have confidence in their music makers. We are like most other comparatively small communities, our own worst enemies when it comes to the question of progress in art (or) departing from the beaten track in music...We fall to adequately support or maintain a first class permanent orchestra or a great representative choir in any of the States... what the inhabitants of Europe look on as actual necessities of art life.27

More often, the Press itself was ambivalent towards Australian artists and intellectuals.

Colonial Press reviews of early plays and music, while conscious of their derivation and wary of too-direct plagiarism, echoed the popular enthusiasm for Australian creativity.28 As isolation lessened in the 1860s,


26 Sun, 28 February 1914, Hill Papers, MS 528, Item 5, NLN:M.

27 Sun, 21 February 1914; Hill Papers, (ibid).

28 S.E. Napier and P. Allen (eds), A Century of Journalism; The 'Sydney Morning Herald' and Its Record of Australian Life, 1861-1931, Sydney 1931; and A. Birch and D.S. Macmillan (eds), The Sydney Scene, 1788-1960, Melbourne 1962, which both reprint Press articles from colonial Sydney on which I base this observation.
and increased wealth helped establish cultural institutions, the transplanted traditions stabilized, at the same time permitting importation of what was then new or different in Europe.\textsuperscript{29} Still without established local tradition or identity, the colony showed a willingness to accept others without tradition. Yet, as the social groups swelling the cities became both more respectable and more stratified, by the 1890s when the culture needed to acquire its own identity, its own tradition and national credentials, it became increasingly attached to the sources of those established traditions. The paradox is that the tension-filled, hostile convict society, involuntarily severed from the parent culture and punished and rejected by it in both the literal and symbolic sense, strove to create its own rebellious arts. It was then less, not more, dependent on the parent culture than when, after the 1850s, it was freer to be both physically and psychically closer to the parent culture, whose standards and approval it sought the harder to emulate and win. With a newly immigrant population after the 1850s, the native-born, previously despised and despicable, now had a class to despise other than soldiers and penal administrators. The 'new chum' and the immigrant Chinese were among the classes now despised by the native-born, who also had rewards to offer. Both are positions of power; the one psychic, the other material. By the 1890s, they converge into a single cultural phenomenon: institutional conservatism.

These patterns are voiced in the Press. It is an 'articulate echo' of the native population.\textsuperscript{30} When this was restive and rebellious under early colonial authoritarianism, the Press voiced this spirit, in

\textsuperscript{29} Chapter 1, this Volume, p 43, 48 and the Supporting Documents to Chapter 1, number 11, demonstrate the way in which W.S. Lyster closed the time-lag between a European premiere and its Australian importation, and introduced then-avant garde operas to the commercial repertory.

\textsuperscript{30} These ideas were first discussed in 1978 with Catharine Stimpson of New York, whose phrase this is.
the guise of supporting indigenous artists. When it became stratified, gained material power, and looked to the parent culture for creditation, the Press was utterly supportive towards borrowed traditions, this time at the expense of restless (nationalist) rebels. It insisted that local art must be validated by the parent culture, and that to do so, local artists must serve what might best succeed 'at home' (meaning in the parent or 'Mother' country):

The exotic element is more likely to distinguish a colonial opera in London and succeed as a novelty at home (by introducing local 'specimens of the soil'): a patter song from King Billy or a love duet between him and his lubra in the real aboriginal tongue would be amusing if not entirely new...  

Where in 1861 the Press could lament with some irony that Stephan Hale Marsh would need to have an exotic foreign name to be noticed 'at home' - meaning Australia - no matter how talented his work, in 1911 Marshall-Hall's experience with a censorious Australian Press led him to believe that no matter how successful he was in Australia, it was now essential to assume a foreign name, reputation, and performance record to succeed in England.

31 The colonial Press was supportive towards the arts and the theatre, especially in response to moral tracts on theatrical evils, such as a lecture by Rev. J. MacDonald, "What is the Theatre?", Examiner, Launceston 1856; also see George Scott Hough, Brown the Great; or, Press and Stage; A Colloquy, Melbourne 1868, VSL:A.

32 Advertiser, 9 October 1893, advising Moritz Heuzenroeder, composer of Immomeena. Compare with the critic of the Adelaide Register on the same day, who warns against Australian 'knockers' of local art, and those who are "upt to gush over a Gaiety crowd or accept at their own price any new importations simply because they come from London or Milan or some place a long way off from over the water", Registrar, 9 October 1893, SSL:A.

33 See Chapter 2, p 70, note 37.

34 Marshall-Hall, article, "Musing in Berlin", published in Melbourne's Argus, nd, und, uncat. frag. VU:A. He asks: "Is the game worth the candle?" See also a letter from A.E.J. Lee to J.Barrett, 28 January 1911 written in London: Lee suggests Marshall-Hall shall have to call himself "M.Marschal-Salla" and translate Stella into French to succeed in obtaining a London performance; uncat, VU:A. Much of his depression in Melbourne was caused by the severe Press and Presbyterian Church censorship of his verses in Hymns, Ancient and Modern, Melbourne 1898; see E.Scott, A History of the University of Melbourne, Melbourne 1936, Chapter 11, 138-59.
Another paradox in the relationship of the Press to local artists, is that the more insistently it stressed the public consolidation of acquired traditions, the less well-informed it became about contemporary events and changes overseas. As the time-gap in physical distance between parent and colony lessened, the repertory solidified, and fewer contemporary works both from abroad and from within were admitted. Those that did were received with suspicion.\textsuperscript{35} In these processes, the Press, arbiter of taste and tradition, helped to discourage or at least disturb the confidence of both the public and the local creative artist.

The final irony is that it was difficult for every Australian artist to always put complete trust in the accreditation system of reigning Anglo-European cultural values, especially when these themselves were resisting internal challenges from the forces of change, and when, too, these had at least initially established for themselves an image of Australia which seemed to be at variance with reality. Again paradoxically, 20th century establishment conservatism drove several Australian composers into expatriatism - back to the 'Mother Country'\textsuperscript{36} The image of Australia on the overseas critical and theatrical stages continued from the early days, however, to be admired and desired by local composers unsure of their credentials at home and abroad.

\textsuperscript{35} R. Covell describes how a new work by Larry Sitsky hissed in Hobart in 1963, was a 'breaking of the drought' (1967), 195-200. As late as the 1960s, some composers considered themselves self-taught as they had to import contemporary scores and recordings unavailable in Australia; see my chapter on "Richard Meale", in \textit{Australian Composition in the Twentieth Century}, eds. F. Callaway and D. Tunley, Melbourne 1978, Chapter 17.

\textsuperscript{36} L. Lavater in two articles, "Commercialization of Music", \textit{Meanjin}, Vol.V, no.1 (1946), 62-4, and "Musical Composition in Australia", \textit{Australian National Review}, August 1939, 16-22, where he examines the reasons for expatriatism, especially the local failure to sponsor and publish Australian music. Felix Werder criticizes the clichés, decadence, musical cliques, and Philistine critics who corrupt local composers, and "the public refusal to think", in "Composing in Australia", \textit{Meanjin}, Vol.XVI, no.2 (1957), 140-9. Expatriate composer Malcolm Williamson describes the difficulty of earning a living as a composer in Australia, (Continued overleaf)...
3. The Image of Australia on the Overseas Stage.

New-found Australia as interpreted on the European stage late in the 18th century conjured new images for the theatre of romance and spectacle. In very much the same way that historical periods and places remote in time and experience lent exotic color to 19th century melodrama and pantomime in Australian theatres, the land itself, with its strange flora and fauna, vast landscape, and ancient tribal inhabitants, intrigued Anglo-European writers and playwrights.

Captain Cook's voyages inspired the London pantomime, *Omai; or, A Trip Round the World*, written by John O'Keeffe in 1785. It has an Oceanic setting and a 'noble savage' hero, Omai, who had actually visited England in 1775 but later returned to his home in the Society Islands in the South Pacific. O'Keeffe transplanted his idealized Omai, together with a fairy-Oberon figure of Oberea, a Tahitian enchantress, to the pantomime world of Columbine, Harlequin, Don Struttolando, and Clown.

Philip de Loutherbourg's decor backed the harlequinade with a realistic landscape and accurate depictions of the peoples, and the cast includes a crew of English sailors to sing a patriotic finale in salute to Cook.

The work was so successful in London that it crossed the Channel

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(Continued)...

36 and the difficulty of retaining an Australian identity in London, in "A Composer's Heritage", *Composer 19*, Spring 1966, 69-72; these are some of numerous examples of these attitudes.

37 M.A. Williams lists English plays (1820-1906) featuring Australia, especially melodrama. C.Haddon Chambers (1860-1921), an expatriate Australian writing London plays late in the 19th century, reverses the acculturation process, especially in *Captain Swift* (1888). Played by Beerbohm Tree at the Haymarket, it has an Australian heroine called Stella and some similarities to Marshall-Hall's social realist opera-melodrama; (1973), App.11, and p 38; also Rees (1953), 5-6.

38 J.O'Keeffe (1747-1833), "A Short Account of the New Pantomime called *Omai; or, A Trip Round the World*, London 1785. It was first performed on 20 December 1785 at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden for 50 performances and revived in 1786 and 1788. Its great success was due to its combination of realism (the source is Cook's *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*), nautical spectacle, exoticism, patriotism, and the ideally heroic figure of Captain Cook; costume illustrations are reproduced in Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific; 1768-1850*, London 1961, plates 66, 67, 68 and also see p 80-3.
to enter Parisian spectacular theatre.\textsuperscript{39} Here, it possibly influenced "le Citoyen Games", writer of a French Revolutionary drama, \textit{Les Emigrés aux Terres Australes}, Paris 1792. This also casts a comic, idealized Rousseauan savage, called Oziambo.\textsuperscript{40}

O'Keeffe's pantomime possibly helped shape the stage characteristics of Aborigines in the earliest Australian dramas, where they are figures of absurdity or curiosity, even pathos, and only rarely seen as tragic victims of white intrusion and aggression. A European perception of the Australian landscape and native population as exotic and comic theatrical images, may well have reinforced the very real sense of cultural isolation experienced by the first settlers and the first immigrant dramatists such as David Burn.\textsuperscript{41}

Burn uses burlesque in a similar manner to O'Keeffe, Games and Moncrieff. His foppish French Prince leading a fleet manned by buccaneers and "Flibustiers" stationed in Tahiti, in \textit{Sydney Delivered} (1844), is set to take Sydney Cove in the manner of Gomes's comic French immigrants in the French drama. Burn's character of Pomare is a transplanted pantomimic Oberon figure like O'Keeffe's Oberea. In an introductory note to his script (using a non-de-plume), Burn is knowledgeable about burlesque traditions, perhaps to disarm any potential offence his caricatures might give to a touchy colonial administration; the play depicts Sydney's Mayor and Aldermen and makes a thinly-disguised quip at

\textsuperscript{39} B. Smith (1961), \textit{ibid.}, 82.

\textsuperscript{40} Rees (1973), 1-3; McGuire (1948), 61-2, who suggests it was inspired by the adventures and tragic death of French explorer La Perouse in 1788, and who claims it is extant in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

\textsuperscript{41} The earliest stage Aborigines are those in David Burn's \textit{The Bushranger} (1829), Henry Melville, \textit{The Bushrangers} (1834), and Charles Harpur, \textit{The Bushranger} (1835); Vol. II, Catalogue 4, 301-2, 306, 308. Burn's play features a corroboree in Act III, scene 1.
then-Governor George Gipps. He also reflects on English and French performing and licensing practices and theatre conventions, again perhaps to show his credentials, and regrets that:

Extravaganzas like this being in a great degree dependant for breadth of effect upon the quaint grotesqueness of Stage mounting, and musical embellishment, it must needs follow that this (viz: the printed script) must be shorn of some of its most whimsical colouring; but a fear that the lavish seasoning of French pepper might prove too pungent to obtain the Dramatic Licensor's permission for Stage representation prevented the attempt being made.\[42\]

W. T. Moncrieff, a prolific English playwright, and one of the most popular dramatists played on the colonial Australian stage, had, like O'Keeffe, depicted Australian and Pacific Islanders as exotica fit for parody. In his series of "Don Juan" burlesques, one is set in Sydney, Giovanni in Botany; or, The Libertine Transported, and is a two-act extravaganza premiered in London in 1822.\[43\] It belongs to his formulae-plays on the theme of Don Juan; or, The Libertine Destroyed (London, 1787) and Giovanni in London; or, The Libertine Reclaimed.\[44\]

Moncrieff's series on another theme, Pierce Egan's Tom and Jerry escapades, also selects different locales for a sequence of continuing

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\[42\] By "Tasso Australasiatticus", Sydney 1845, NLNM; see further information in Vol.II, 329-30.


\[44\] Giovanni in London (1817), a three-act "operatic extravaganza", possibly an imitation of W.Macready's The Irishman in London (1792), was first performed at Sydney's Theatre Royal, 4 September 1834; J.Hall, article 5, Canon, V (1952), 444; J.P. McGuane (1886-1916), 24. It was billed in Sydney as "the first opera" ever given there. Giovanni was a 'breeches' role, and other characters include Proserpine, Firedrake, Pluto, and Leporello. His Don Juan (1799) was a "heroic pantomime" with music adapted by Henry Bishop; Irvin (1971), 238. It was performed in Sydney's Theatre Royal on 21 August 1837.
adventures. These are models for those locally-devised "Tom and Jerry" burlesques by O'Flaherty in *Life in Sydney* and the author of *Jemmy Green in Australia* - models which were as familiar to the colonial Sydney audience as to the professional actor-managers who copied them.\(^5\) Some forty-five years following O'Keeffe's London pantomime, Moncrieff wrote an "operatic drama" on Australian life for the London Surrey Theatre in 1830. His *Van Diemen's Land* is, however, not idealized but realistic in casting convicts, aborigines, and bushrangers in natural Australian scenes, with interpolated traditional songs and choral finales.\(^6\)

These overseas forerunners of operatic drama depicting Australia establish images, idioms, and characters which precede locally-written imitations. As they were highly successful both in England and in the earliest repertory of colonial theatres in Australia, there can be little doubt they helped shape the style and approach to playwriting among the Australians Burn, Harpur, Melville, Nagel and the actor-managers Coppin, O'Flaherty, Knowles, Lazar, in the 1840s.\(^7\)

\(^5\) C.B. Christeson, "Jemmy Green in Australia", *Meanjin*, Vol.XIV no.1 (1955), 139-40. Moncrieff also wrote *Jemmy Green in France*, and *Jemmy Green in Ireland*. His first *Tom and Jerry* was performed at London's Adelphi Theatre, 26 November 1821.

\(^6\) First performed at the Surrey Theatre, 11 February 1830; McGuire (1948), 33,62. Rees quotes from the first printing in 1831: "a serio-comical, operatical, melodramatical, panomimical, characteristic extravaganza in three parts"; reprinted the next year, it was then a "celebrated semi-comical extravaganza in two parts", Rees (1973), 4-6; a copy is in NLM:N.

\(^7\) "The immigrant's contribution to the formation of the permanent characteristics of a society may be said to depend on four things: his expectations of the new country, his circumstances there, the ideas he brings from home, and the experiences he has undergone since leaving it," Nadel (1957), 29.
4. Acculturation: Models and Modes.

The uses and choices of transplanted formulae in 19th century Australian operas and plays are not accidental or whimsical. What might be absurd and exotic on a London stage was uncomfortably real in the Pitt Street Theatre Royal. An Australian O’Flaherty might write burlesque for reasons that differ from a London Moncrieff's sheer stage spectacle and entertainment. The selective process through which acculturation takes place is framed by both intrinsic and extrinsic factors. In colonial Australia, intrinsic forces include a real physical and cultural isolation experienced from traditional sources, the nature of the colonial society, and the effect of being 'colonized' upon its members. External factors would include the contact white Western European groups and their cultural system made with non-Western Aboriginal culture. As this in itself was so alien, so incomprehensible to the newcomers, there was very little two-way cultural transmission. In fact, Aboriginal music suffered extensive losses because of the high degree of incompatibility between the two cultures, and there was a low, extremely modest degree of integration between them.

A definition of acculturation still eludes an unshakeable theoretical framework. It is a process of change, of modification, between different groups or different strata within a group, or among

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differing cultural phenomena which interact. It is a two-way (between donor and recipient cultures) but not necessarily an equal process. Its factors, groups, phenomena, and modes of contact and interchange are variables. In the Australian context, for example, the intrinsic factors just described bred a dualism and ambivalence towards tradition and change; required a definition of 'home', self, group, and national identities.\(^{51}\) Chronologically, acculturation in the case of Australian opera has followed a sequence: from initial transplantation from parent to colony and initial contact with non-traditional culture; then, a period of acclimatization, when distortion, rejection, or adaptation might occur; to the period of interchange with a non-traditional culture.\(^{52}\) At first and comparatively spasmodically this was with Aboriginal systems; only in the last decade has it extended to cultural contact with Asian systems. These broad chronological sequences have demarcated the process of cultural change in Australia.

The chief Australian social patterns, its characteristic spirit and tone, were developed in the first half-century of its history. T. Inglis Moore, writing of the "ecology of an ethos", suggests they had formed by 1850 but:

were not fully formulated until the 1890s, when Lawson, Paterson, Purphy, and O'Dowd elevated them into national traditions.\(^{53}\)


\(^{52}\) Compare with the four stages in an emerging national culture proposed by H.G. Kippax: transplantation, adaptation, revolt and experiment, towards self-reliant, autonomous and established culture; "Drama", in Australian Society; a Sociological Introduction, eds. A.F. Davies and Sol. Ence, 2nd ed. Melbourne 1970, 499.

\(^{53}\) T. Inglis Moore, Social Patterns in Australian Literature, Sydney 1971, Chapter 2, 28-30. His book has been extremely thought-provoking for this Chapter.
The social patterns were sculpted by internal factors: the convict system; the pastoral age and appearance of a squattocracy; gold discoveries which strengthened the main social patterns but, through an enormous increase in population and wealth, widened them and hastened change especially towards opening up the land. These patterns are reflected in colonial opera and drama, in folksongs, and ballads. They were expressed, however, through the language, customs, ideas, and beliefs of the 'Mother Country' or parent culture. Clearly, a technical problem for Australian artists would be to find forms, idioms, and images which might express a national identity and liberate a developing ideology from its cultural attachments.

The motivation or activating forces behind acculturation were two-fold in Australian musical culture. First, they were in terms of the reigning Anglo-European cultural values. These were established initially through the image of Australia on the overseas stage; that is, within the traditions of the parent culture. During transplantation of tradition to the new society established values were stabilized, whilst new and changing patterns in the parent source were also transported to Australia alongside the old. As previous discussion demonstrates, the process constantly underwent checks and balances, especially those articulated by the Australian Press, but also through changing political, social and economic conditions.⁵⁴

Another important activating component has been the need to legitimize local artistic endeavour both within Australian society and still in a way creditable to overseas cultural evaluations. One means to this end might be to adopt models seemingly appropriate for the new context,

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and to select modes of expression which might simultaneously distance and familiarize the developing work of art, the role of the artist, and the expression of the new society, both from its traditional sources and in terms of its own ideology. Before discussing this concept, it may first be useful to summarize the chief models adopted by Australian dramatists and composers.

The most frequently adapted models in Australian opera stem from literary forms. These are: the picaresque narrative, the 'bildungsroman', and the Gothic novel. From each issues a dramatic tradition, each with its own themes, atmosphere, characters, idioms, and actions, and it is to these dramatic models the majority of Australian composers were drawn.

A picaresque society is a fringe group of vagrants and scoundrels, beggars and swindlers. In the literary genre, autobiographical picaresque novels tell stories of fortune and adversity, 'high' and 'low' life, of characters and their traits often caricatured through the eyes of the vagabond raconteur, and in idiomatic jargon and settings. An Australian colonial literary example, based on English models such as Tom Jones, Moll Flanders, or Oliver Twist, is J.R. Houlding's Christopher Cockle's Australian Experiences which is set in the 1840s. Cockle, a colonial 'new chum' hero, undergoes much the same perilous adventures,  

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56 Discussion of these elements and the literary genre is in B. J. W. Hill, Background to Spain, London 1969, Chapter 3, 65; and Gerald Brennan, The Literature of the Spanish People, Cambridge 1951.

57 J. R. Houlding, Christopher Cockle's Australian Experiences, Sydney 1913. I am grateful to Dr. Brian Elliott for bringing this to my attention.
adversities, and triumphs, as "Jemmy Green" or "Tom" and "Jerry", in unsavoury gin shops, brothels, risky land auction marts, and theatre bars in Sydney. This novel and the operettas *Life in Sydney* and *Jemmy Green in Australia* imitate "Tom and Jerry" comedies by Egan and Moncrieff, and are derived from the picaresque genre. Australian 'picaros' include characters such as the swagman and itinerant peddler (the Walking Pieman in *Life in Sydney*), the 'cabbage-tree mob' or urban larrkin, and the cynical, sometimes anti-social eccentrics of later 19th century librettos in local operettas, melodramas and pantomimes; "Long Odds" in Maclean's *Populaire* is a typical example.

At the other extreme of the picaresque character hierarchy is the 'salteadore' or highwayman and his dangerous escapades. Macheath of the *Beggar's Opera*, the highwayman in *Paul Clifford* (1832), and the housebreaker in *Jack Sheppard* (1825) are the models for Australian characterizations of bushrangers, criminal outlaws, and convict-rebels, just as they are operatic representatives of the bandit-rebel heroes of traditional European melodrama.\(^\text{58}\) The generous outlaw Karl Moor of Schiller's *Die Räuber* (1781) is prototypical. Through the infiltration of 19th century Gothic novels and romantic drama on picaresque traditions, brigands and their actions develop a swaggering nobility. They often have a double personality; their romantic charm is sinister and often fatal; they have satanic force. Rebels in the grand romantic and Gothic manner have heroic energy only matched by their equally strong heroines.\(^\text{59}\)

\(^{58}\) P. Hartnoll writes on the influence of J.J. Rousseau and Schiller on melodrama, *OCTh*, 525, and see *Supporting Documents* to Chapter 2, number 2 in this Volume, which outlines my approach here.

\(^{59}\) Mario Praz, *The Romantic Agony*, London 1950, in trans. by E. Davidson; he explores the influence of Byron and the Maquis de Sade on 19th century romantic heroes and heroines.
From the "Gentleman in Black" in Marsh's opera (1847) to the cannibalist-convicts in Dreyfus's *Garni Sands* (1965), there are innumerable Australian character and plot derivatives from bandit and rebel models in both picaresque and Gothic literature and the theatre of sinister melodrama.

The adaptation of 'bildungsroman' themes to drama and opera in Australia, which illustrate such initiation, apprenticeship for life, and formation experiences as found, for example, in Furphy's *Such is Life*, is less frequent in occurrence. But the genre has several themes in common with the picaresque and the Gothic novel: a journey of adventure, isolation, the experience of a new and often hostile environment among the lowest social strata, eviction from home and family, and survival through solitude, hardship, and self-knowledge. This chapter will shortly discuss some examples of Australian types from this genre.

All three genres have in common a juxtapositioning of social realism with fantasized idealism, even utopianism. Their expressions of both longing for adventure yet weariness with heroics, their disillusion with virtue and honour yet the code of honour they engender 'among thieves' or among socially disadvantaged groups (something akin to the Australian ethos, so-called, of mateship), their preoccupation with individual survival and the fragility of romance, suggest singularly appropriate themes for a society founded upon an oppressive convict system and initially composed of expatriates. It is scarcely surprising that the first comic picaresque operetta, *Life in Sydney*, was censored by colonial authorities in 1843. It embodied an act of defiance and open rebellion which might threaten social order; so too did Marcus Clarke's *The Happy Land* (1880), thinly disguised in fantasy, but still rebellious. Nor is it surprising that some serious Australian operas have presented intense, melancholic, and ironic dramatic and musical images of the darker implications of the 'bildungsroman'.

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The most paradoxical of the transplanted literary genres is Gothic melodrama and its antithesis, pantomime-extravaganza. This 18th century heroic form which flourished in an anti-heroic 19th century age of Romanticism, represents a countervailing force in culture. Gothic melodrama, in common with the picaresque genre, is built on adventure and alarm. Its themes are of the wanderer far from 'home', of escape and rescue through physical heroics, risk-taking and courage-proving. Its settings are scenes of ruin, decay, or foreign exoticism. It maintains the idea of horror, hardship, persecution, fear, and isolation. What matters are not details so much as atmosphere.

The reverse side or parody of Gothic melodrama is the 19th century pantomime, extravaganza, and burlesque hybrid genre. Here are the same themes but set in fantasy, rooted in children's literature and legend, folk stories, dreams, and archetypes. Their main features are fairyland locations - or some similar exotic faraway time and place - their use of selfconscious comedy, and their dramatization of real social situations and real characters thinly-cloaked in satire.

Between these two approaches, the quasi-tragic, and the quasi-ridiculous, there is an interplay of real and imaginary elements, of folk memory with personal experience, of terror with humour. These are ideal models for 19th century Australian playwrights, for, ironically, the terrors, restraints, and dangers of the Gothic imagination are colonial realities rather than fantasies, from which no idealized 'rescue' could be expected in such a remote, dependent penal colony isolated from the rest of the human world. The Gothic imagination metaphorically shudders as if from a colonized state of mind, which is nervous about its status, insecure about its image, cautious about its (newly-acquired) traditions, starved of information, and limited to very few alternatives.

Margaret Williams and Leslie Rees have already recognized that melodrama has had the most lasting popular support from Australian theatre
audiences. Its other equally popular side is pantomime. In both, there are the most characteristic Australian settings, characters, language and actions. Local characters include bush types, larrikins, bushrangers, goldmining itinerants, and the 'currency lads and lasses' (the native-born). Local settings contrast the bush with coastal cities and their newest public institutions. Local anti-heroes are those with authority: policy, judiciary, militia, landowners, and politicians. The figures of absurdity are 'new chums' or 'greenhorns', foreigners, and the true native-born, the Aborigines. The harlequinade, like the 'bildungsroman', ends the drama with rapid scenes miming a process of initiation and transformation following adventure, challenge, and danger.

In structure and themes, both forms provide wide scope for contrast, and well-demarcated points of climax and catharsis. They also invite close contact with the audience through verbal exchange and participation. They assume familiarity; they offer escapist entertainment.

In musical terms, the melodrama and pantomime forms are the liveliest and most flexible. Borrowed or original music, folk music and ballads, adaptations, imitations, cliché and caricature are the norm. The music itself might be said to mirror the literary models. The formal usage of overtures and finales with recurring themes corresponds to dramatic initiation and transformation; the contrasting alternations between rhapsodic romantic and heroic music with simple folk tunes follow the play of dramatic themes; the use of pastiche and parody reflects the borrowed sources of the dramas and their satirical or fantastic treatment.

61 M.A. Williams (1973), Chapter 3; and L.Rees (1973), Chapters 3 and 4.
62 H.G. Kippax points to the importance of examining the history of the Australian theatre as it originates in cities, and the relationship of an urban middle-class audience with its playwrights. He considers the lack of established and highly-developed social forms in urban Australia, which in turn might have produced distinctive responses from intellectuals and artists; (1970), 496, 503-4.
Using borrowed traditional music legitimizes the new and original, displays the composer-arranger's knowledge and skill, makes contact with an audience already familiar with those sources, and imitates the dramatic device of theatrical framing and the 'play within a play'. The music chosen from folk and especially from patriotic sources offers points of familiarity, community, and laughter when it accompanies satire. The many clichés in these popular forms can emphasize social and artistic classes, and can underline the dichotomy between art or fine music and popular music, especially for satirical purposes. Clichés, too, are familiarizing devices. Used satirically, musical clichés like dramatic clichés, offer a safe way to debunk tradition.

Dramatic and musical elements filter from melodrama and pantomime into Australian comic operas, operettas, and social or verismo operas by the close of the 19th century, and may still be found in recent operas by James Penberthy, John Gordon, George Dreyfus, and most of all in the operas written for children's theatre since the 1950s.

Pantomime and melodrama models provide, too, opportunities and examples of distortion which is one of the necessary processes involved in acculturation. Australian imitations frequently introduce themes based on, illustrating, exploring, and exposing Australian folk, historical, national, and recognizable realities and symbols. They have accommodated traditional folk materials, acclimatized or modified folk idioms, as well as native indigenous music and dance, into original music and adapted or borrowed materials. Many of these works first develop the distinctive components of an Australian ethos. Although there have been other musico-dramatic models - Celtic or Asian myth, neo-Wagnerian motivic forms, German 'Singspiel' or French opérette elements, intermezzo and verismo forms from Italian opera, - the most commonly adopted throughout the 19th century are those of the transplanted melodrama, burlesque and pantomime.
A common mode in the Australian operas and semi-operas has been the satiric, which, on reflection, might be the dominant voice of a colonially-based society. Colonial dramatists discovered a dual use of satire: first, it was itself a form of sarcastic censorship which could be used to ridicule their society, environment, and the authorities who might in turn, censor their art; second, by using dramatic and musical frames, parody-satire could distance a new work from its original source, to differentiate it, substantiate it, and legitimate it. For satire is both a distancing and familiarizing mode: one which can integrate the paradoxical and incompatible, a screen through which a sense of reality might be safely and palatably conveyed. By this means, through estrangement or alienation, the characteristics of traditional, transplanted literary and musical models, on which local works were based, might be transformed. Through a satiric realization, these materials might be de-sentimentalized, redynamized, and reassembled after distortion and modification.

In terms of both acculturation theory and a theatre ideology, estrangement may be especially pertinent to a colonial culture. As a device or a theory, it may help account for the dichotomy which arose in 19th century Australian theatre between serious (equals 'overseas') and superficial or ridiculous (equals 'local') values. This appears in choices of themes. The same dichotomy appears in the use of formal blank verse

63 T. Inglis Moore looks briefly at satiric forms, especially early colonial 'pipes', lampoons, epigrams, and pasquinades, many of which are libellous and pugnacious; (1971), 131; also see his Chapter VIII, which discusses some literary aspects of Australian humor, wit, farce, and irony; 173-196.

64 R. Nettl suggests that 'satyr' [sic] and forms of exaggeration and distortion are components of acculturation; (1978), 133.
for serious plays, but colloquial prose idioms for the 'colonial' dramas; in the use of exotic foreign settings in tragedy and melodrama but realistic social panoramas of the actual colonial settlements and their landmarks in local comedy and burlesque; in the depiction of heroic or mythic characters in serious dramas, but identifiable, 'natural' characters and caricatures in the comedies. 65 Satire provides a mocking frame to the familiar (whether a local idiom, character, setting or action), making it appear ridiculous against equally-absurd but fully-legitimate imported theatre conventions. Satire enables local artists to comment critically on both art and on society, to mirror their follies and foibles without incurring official wrath or public (audience) displeasure, just as musical parody and the use of folk music traditions both distance and familiarize a new local composition.

A preference by Australian makers of opera and drama for exotic settings and classical or historical subjects, and their adherence to and parody of formal models, is more than mere imitation. Their choice of Gothic romance, European myth and legendary sources of folklore may have been compensatory or escapist, and may stem from their real psychic and physical alienation from tradition and familiar social situations - an isolation reinforced by the real "tyranny of distance" shaping their harsh, strange, forbidding and unknown landscape with its own inaccessible pre-history; an isolation felt physically by new settlers. 66 Also, classical, legendary, biblical, and historical themes of past civilizations might be seen as part of a civilizing process through acculturation.

65 The dichotomy is explored by M.A. Williams in her chapter 4, "The Split Level", (1973).

66 The title and the perspective is Geoffrey Blainey's, The Tyranny of Distance; How Distance Shaped Australia's History, Melbourne 1966, to which these paragraphs are indebted.
However, remote time and place and culture are no more peculiar properties of an Australian stage than of an English or North American one. Romantic Rutianias, Gothic glens, wild Corsican bandits, or Trojan triumphs, were equally foreign in substance and equally remote in setting for the dramatist in London's Sadler's Wells Theatre, the Park Theatre playwright in New York, and the actor-manager writing for Sydney's Royal Victoria Theatre in the 1840s.

The paradox for the Australians is that - given the same access to the same sources as their English and American contemporaries - they were also faced with similarly remote exotic realities in their own environment, certainly more so than the American colonists whose climate and natural environment is closer to the European. In the mode of an O'Keefe or a Moncrieff, or of a Washington Irving, colonial Australians might express their sense of reality through satire which, at once capable of evading or manipulating colonial censorship laws, might also permit a face-saving personal identification with the new surroundings. Neither motivation is of any force or consequence for an Irving, or a Moncrieff.

Parody incursions on an existing style have tended usually to lead to a new style or synthesis; for example, in the ways opera buffa influenced opera seria in Italy and opéra comique in France. Satire in 19th century Australian comedy and melodrama, if not forging a new style, helped transform a perception of reality and a sense of identity into dramatic images. Satire is the most popular, effective Australian mode, especially during the period of adaptations after initial cultural transplantation, when the imported models were slowly modified to accommodate new experiences and realities. Burlesque is the most distinctive colonial form, when what was merely colorful on an overseas stage was for Australians a reality remote from previously apprehended realities, a different, emerging social situation without traditional credentials despite continuous access to, and competition with, traditional sources.
Satire is conscious. It could not begin to be expressed until colonists felt comfortable about their identity, which began with the act of possession of the land. Possession meant a redefinition of 'home'. A literary historian, John Barnes, suggests that:

the confusion over where 'home' is located characterizes the colonial outlook. (Whereas) the nationalist did not admit any alternative place to Australia.  

Satire was one means of realization of 'home', although, paradoxically, its distancing and debunking effect might deny and dispossess 'home', whether that 'home' was real, imaginary or the 'Mother Country'.

An interesting feature of theatre satire in Australia is its usage by Irish colonists. Irish wit, imagination, humor, romanticism, lawlessness, and radical Catholicism, offset predominant English cultural and class ideologies and the refined, middle-class sentiment of mid-19th century Anglo-Australian settlers. The poor and working-class Irish had a major influence in shaping social patterns, in stimulating Australian nationalism, and in creating 19th century theatre satires and folk balladry.

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68 In the 1840s, approximately one-half the total assisted migration to the Australian colonies was Irish: "The bulk of the human cargo (was) formed (by) redundant artisans, dispirited unskilled laborers, unwanted females, orphans, and victims of Irish distress", Nadel (1957), 26. He adds that the Irish political prisoners subsequently became the most patriotic party in early colonial politics; p 32.

69 Russell Ward, using the 1841 NSW Census, considers the high number of Irish Catholics helped establish a cultural dichotomy in NSW alone, between 'cultured' wealthy pastoralists, importers, bankers, and professional people (4,477, a very small but articulate group of English background), and the 'less cultivated' working-class people, mechanics, laborers, servants, and manual workers, one-third of whom were Irish (among 50,158). This is significant in terms of the history of folksong and folk tales; "The Social Fabric" in G.Dutton, op. cit. (1964), 24-5; see also T. Inglis Moore (1971), 48, 53, 55; and also Ward's earlier study, The Australian Legend, Melbourne 1960. M.A. Williams discusses the inherent problem, that Celtic-style nationalism is essentially urban and to do with people and their interactions; but the Australian nationalists were naturalists wanting to use the bush and bush ethos; she considers the two are incompatible; (1973), Prologue 1: 5; see also H.G. Kippax (1970), 502.
The 20th century attempts by Hart, Bainton, Brewster-Jones and others to revitalize Celtic myth in Australian chamber opera, while unsuccessful in the longterm, in part recognized cultural parallels between Ireland and Australia. Louis Esson's success was due largely to exploring Australian folk themes in socio-realist plays modelled on the spirit rather than on the letter of the Celtic movement. It is noticeable that contemporary Australian operas by these composers above chose not to adapt Celtic myth and image to Australian contexts, just as they ignored Australian social-realist novels and plays for libretto materials.

5. Conclusions: Distinctive Australian Features and Recent Developments.

The foundation for "a real patriotic art" was laid in the few operas and musical plays with conscious Australian dramatic and musical features. Although received more enthusiastically at some times than at others, they have presented themes and images with which a local audience might identify. On the whole, they are descriptive works. They explore external features - through social types and occupational groups - rather than internal, individual features. T. Inglis Moore has similarly remarked of Australian fiction:

...[it] has often lacked the depth and universality of individual characters, but has shown an abundance of social description and criticism...Relatively few novelists - with exceptions like Richardson, Eleanor Dark, and Christina Stead - concentrated on the psychology of the individual.

The stock characters and social types cast in musical plays since colonial times have remained relatively stable. The colonial paradigm has also been consistent: throughout the period discussed in this study, there has

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70 A phrase from the Press discussion of the needs and aims of the Australian Opera League, Sydney Sun, 28 February 1914; Hill Papers, MS 528, item 5, NLN:M.

been interplay of a romantic mode with realism, of imagination tempered by social observation. Rarely have the paired modes been integrated with comfort, consistency, or conviction, excepting in parody forms. Realism has grounded imagination and satire in a hard-edged sardonicism through which the musical theatre has presented the more sombre aspects of Australian life. Realism has tempered utopianism, undercut as much as complemented a sense of wonder or mystery at the Australian landscape or in visionary explorations of the 'new' society. Yet realism has been difficult to incorporate into more imaginative or insightful treatments of local themes and into creating universal theatrical images.72

English characters from the early transplanted repertory were initially simply adapted to an Australian locale. They typically include a hero, heroine, villain, other family members (such as a father-in-law who distrusts the hero) and servants. Australian dramas preserve class and gender distinctions especially those between the main protagonists and the sub-plot characters who are usually comic and low-class. These distinctions are clear, for example, between squatters and settlers, and the Aborigines. Aborigines are not merely lower-class comics; they might also be portrayed as grotesque, pathetic, even tragic victims of white man's brutality, as, for example, in David Burn’s The Bushrangers (1829). The dramatic character of the settler is joined by his spunky daughter, usually a native-born colonial girl, and romance enters with the often-raw 'new chum' lately arrived from England, who is initiated into colonial realities by native-born, 'currency' lads. Irish servant girls, bands of roistering larrikins, bush rouseabouts or 'cabbage-tree' types, make up lesser characters (and opera choruses) who terrorize the elite, destroy property, flout authority, and proposition settlers' daughters, often to lose to the despised 'new chum' in the end.

72 This point is made in several studies of the reasons for failure of the nationalist playwrights of the 1920s and 30s. Kippax (1970), 501; Williams (1973), Prologue 1: 5-7; and I.Turner (1968).
Margaret Williams has discussed how local Australian characters fit neatly into late-18th century English classes and categories. Language and form in the Australian works during the 19th century are also tailored to models. Australian vernacular idioms are usually confined to sub-plots and comedies. In the caricatures and vernacular of early burlesques and extravaganzas, a shrewd debunking style and idiom hints at colonial realities and the inappropriate adoption of traditional social values and class hierarchies from the old to the new world. Local characters, like the 'Yankee' stage characters in *Jim Rice* or *Struck Oil*, are comic representatives rather than individuals. A 'Billy Barlow' in Sydney, Charleston, or London, is a caricature with distinctive idioms and appearance, but is not a dramatic character depicted with psychological insight or subtlety. This applies equally to the rather colorless English heroic models - upper-class or aristocratic heroes - in the melodramas and tragedies. As Australian 'new chums', these characters could be ridiculed; or they might be educated through their own folly and misfortune in a 'bildungsroman' sequence: a bankrupt, bigamist, convicted or failed family heir, exiled to the colony, might suffer through his own mistakes and misery until his final redemption in parables of the prodigal son.

There appear to be few examples of 19th century noble heroes who exert a Byronic, sadistic, or sexual force, although there are several.

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73 American precedents are described by Williams (1973) in her first Chapter, 18-19, 58, 61. The same principle applies to the Australian dramatization of comic Chinese. It is interesting to see romantic, mythic plays depicting the Maoris, by Alfred Hill (*Tapu, Teora, Hinemoa*) and by Douglas Stewart, *The Golden Lover* (1943) which show Celtic influences in the treatment of Maoris and their legends. Rees (1973), 226. In these latter works, the comic characters are the whites.

74 Fortune-hunting in goldmining themes is another facet. Among colonial composers and playwrights discussed previously, Nathan immigrated in a state of bankruptcy and some political disgrace, Geoghegan was a convicted forger, Charles Packer a bigamist, and R.H. Horne was a failed dramatist. Marcus Clarke was a sickly younger son, who died at 36 years. These are examples of the many ways in which an Australian reality often meets the romantic imagination.
striking examples of persecuted but valiant heroines. Erotic sexual imagery is not found in Australian opera until the 1970s, but interestingly enough, a polite version of Gothic romantic sexual imagery pervades the dramatic cantatas, lyric dramas, and allegorical operas. Admittedly, their erotic sexuality is blended with reproductive imagery. It is also interesting that these are the works which first consciously explore national identity. Australia is personified as an inert and virginal goddess. Her 'Nature' and her body, rich in gold and minerals, are described in the same terms and images of the despoiled virgin or persecuted heroine of Gothic melodrama. The villains are pirates, plunderers and thieves modelled on melodramatic bandit-rebels, or, less forcibly, on picaresque scoundrels. 'Terra Australia' or 'The Spirit of the Virgin Bush' is 'rescued' from her primitive, secret, isolated 'prison' (a sea-shell, a bush cave, or a state of unknowing). A romantic duel is played out between rapacious 'foreign' pirates who first threaten her, and the purest heroes of Anglo-Saxon imperialism - British explorers or 'princely' settlers who land on her shores. Convicts rarely enter the myth. Her symbolic 'rescue' inevitably ends in her rape and conquest. Eager immigrants plough, mine, farm, industrialize her, clear the bush, build flourishing cities, prosper, and multiply. Their actions are couched in images of rape, conquest, possession and reproduction. Procreative metaphors describe patriotic expectations for a glorious, profitable future among the nations of the world. The individual Australian States or colonies appear in these oracular birth-rituals as assistant priestesses, 'sisters', or 'offspring'. Against painted scenic tableaux which also end many Australian pantomimes and a few operas, the

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75 Susan Griffen, Woman and Nature; The Roaring Inside Her, New York, 1978, Book One. She explores in a prose-poem the imagery described here, especially in terms of the exploration, possession, and use of land which, with women and nature, is seen as passive and inert; p 49.
proud feminized symbols of Australian maturity pass in stately solemn procession through the final bars of the Grand National Finales of dramatic cantatas.

One of the late-19th century manifestations of Australian national identity is paradoxical: urban creative artists turned to the bush and outback as a rich source uniquely Australian. Already, an oral literature and folk balladry had celebrated the spirit of the bush and the kinship which developed among isolated bush dwellers. Now, as if 'cutting the painter' with the 'Mother Country' entailed possession or recapture of the frontier - which was hitherto known intimately only by explorers, adventurers, and itinerants ('picaros') who included shearers, miners, convicts, swagmen, bushrangers, and station hands, and of course Aborigines - the bush became part of the Australian ethos. Unlike literary dramas, however, old bush songs and ballads - while also derivative - are direct expressions of bushmen's ideas and feelings. Their wealth of social history was uncovered and celebrated in the 1890s by urban literary balladists who wrote for the "bushman's Bible", The Bulletin. Their works contribute to a national ideology which is humanist, democratic, radical, and realist, on which a national theatre ideology might be based.

The bush ethos took two directions. One was through the folklore movement which produced "the most distinctively national sentiment Australian poetry has yet made", which underwent a revival in the 1950s, and in which

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76 "Cutting the painter" savors of republicanism, which, as Ian Turner suggests, "was submerged by the first World War which itself squandered the sense of purpose and community" which had flowered in the nationalism of the 1890s; immigration halted after that War, which increased a self-centered isolationism. (1964), 40. The term was also used by Fritz Hart, see preceding Chapter.

77 The slogan of the Bulletin was racist: "Australia for the Australians - the cheap Chinaman, the cheap nigger, and the cheap European pauper to be absolutely excluded", Russell Ward, "The Social Fabric", in A.L. McLeod (ed): The Pattern of Australian Culture, Melbourne 1963, Chapter 1, 35-6. Writers like Lawson and Daley were close to the people then; see Vance Palmer, The Legend of the Ninettes, Melbourne 1963, 31, 52-8, 63. The utopianism of 'Australia Felix', or the 'lucky country' prior to 1914 is discussed by T.Inglis Moore (1971), Chapter X: (Continued overleaf...)
composers like Henry Tate, Margaret Sutherland, Louis Lavater and Percy Grainger had long been interested.\(^7\) The musical comedy, *Reedy River* (1953), for which Sutherland arranged some folksongs, is an outstanding example of the impetus bush balladry and bush incidents gave to indigenous theatre via folklore societies and bush music groups.\(^7\)

The second direction was through the Jindyworobak movement, so-called in the 1930s, whose adherents share a "fervent nationalism in their cult of the Aborigine and mystique of the soil."\(^8\) There is an additional

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\(^7\) (Continued)... "Radical Democracy", 239-53; and XI: "The Great Australian Dream", 266-288, especially 282.

\(^8\) E. Waters, *Some Aspects of the Popular Arts in Australia, 1880-1915*, D.Biss, t.s., ANU, Canberra 1962; the quotation is by Douglas Stewart, from T. Inglis Moore (1971), 129. Bush ballads were read, recited, collected, e.g. in the *Bulletin* in narratives by Harpur, Kendall, A.L. Gordon; by Paterson, Lawson, Ogilvie, and Brady. Over 200 folk poems, ballads, anonymous parodies and existing tunes were collected by D. Stewart and Nancy Keesing in their editions of *Old Bush Songs* and *Australian Bush Ballads*, Sydney 1957. 1950s collectors include Percy Jones, Russel Ward, John Meredith and Hugh Anderson. Groups at that time include the Australian Folklore Society, Bush Music Club, Bushwackers Band, and Wattle Recording Company. P.J. Gresser, *Compilation of Bushsongs and Dances, c1820-1920*, MSS 1378 (made in 1962-6), NLN:M. See Phyllis Campbell, "Nationalism in Australian Music", *Advance! Australia*, (July 1, 1928), 29-31.

\(^7\) *Reedy River* (1953) by Dick Diamond and Miles Maxwell, is a folk musical premiered on 11 March 1953, and since published and recorded (*Australian Theatre Workshop Series*, Melbourne 1970, and *W & G Records*). The orchestra is a bush band with 'lagerphone', bass, mouth organ, fiddle, tin whistle, concertina, and piano. Characters include bullock drivers, shearsers, Brodie the squatter, Rose the barmaid, a swaggie, and schoolmarm. The plot deals with the shearsers' union strike in 1891 in Barcaldine, Queensland, when the old Eureka flag was flown in memory of an earlier political uprising; see Ian Turner's historical *Introduction* to the printed text, vii-ix. Folksongs included arrangements by Margaret Sutherland (of 'Banks of the Condamine' and 'The Road to Gundagai') and Alfred Hill (of 'Widgeegoearea Joe'), as well as Lawson's 'new' folksong, 'Reedy River', and Nettie Palmer's find, 'Ballad of 1891'. By 1959, some 130,000 people had seen the musical in the New Theatre, Melbourne (a workers' theatre) and Unity Theatre, London. M.A. Williams (1973), 12, 24. Others followed: e.g. Douglas Stewart, *Red Kelly* (1943), Clarke and Meredith, *The Wild Colonial Boy* (1957), Underhill, *The Ballad of Angel's Alley*, and *Lola Montez* (1958); see P.O'Shaughnessy, "Development of Theatre in Australia; a Survey 1956-7", *Meanjin*, Vol.17' no.1 (April 1958), 60-66; Rees (1973), 245, 484.

\(^8\) These paragraphs have gained much from T. Inglis Moore, (1971), 12 (quote above), and Chapter 4, "The Spell of the Bush", 67-91; and R. Covell (1967), Chapter 4, 64-87.
element in their longing to be rid of transplanted overseas influences. One way out seemed to be present in the neglected culture of the Aborigines. Possession of the land had literally meant a dispossession of Aboriginal culture. Nationalism offered opportunities for cultural reparation. In musical and dramatic terms, however, this is usually a cult of mystification in the terms of Western European cultural values. In another sense, the movement hallowed the bush, experienced in colonial days as alien, harsh, and destructive, by locating sacred tribal grounds and lore, and by invoking the lost spirits of the Dream-Time.

An almost religious mystique of the bush recognized the cultural damage wrought by Anglo-Europeanism on indigenous Australians at approximately the same time that nationalists sought that release from familial conflict and dependence implied in their symbolic rejection of the yoke of cultural ties with England and Europe. Unlike the bush ballad and folklore movement, Jindyworobaks are romantic, utopian, idealistic. The bush they write of is a source of nourishment as well as death, the sun is for life and joy as well as harbinger of drought and despair. Aboriginal myth might be reworked and acculturated in the same manner as classical, biblical European myth. A Greek past is more remote to the Jindyworobaks than the pagan, religious, ritualistic, and exotic symbolism of Aboriginal pre-history. Nationalists found this a more rewarding source of new images and idioms than the Celtic heroes and fairies, elves and leprechauns in the literature of Daley, O'Dowd or McCrae, or in the operas of Hart, Bainton, and Brewster-Jones.

81 Douglas Stewart sees it as part of the need for history, myth and heroes, a need to "create the myths: from a past with ancestral heroes, such as voyagers, explorers, pioneers, and folk heroes" which is what he does with his Ned Kelly verse drama (1943). "The Playwright in Australia", AETT: The First Year, Sydney 1956, 9-10.

82 "Australian realist drama (of the 1920s and 30s) had to project an antagonist which was not human - the country and its climate", H.G. Kipax, quoted by M.A. Williams, (1973) Chapter 1, 35-6. Landscape presents a technical problem dramatically, scenically, and musically.
Interpolated Aboriginal dance and song is rare in Australian operas. Corroborees appear in David Burn's *The Bushrangers* (1829) and Charles Horsley's *The South-Sea Sisters* (1866), which "electrified" audiences. Some late-19th century pantomimes and melodramas also crudely adapt Aboriginal musical features. It is not until recently that more-authentically transcribed ethnic dance and song and Aboriginal instruments are integrated into Australian opera, in Margaret Sutherland's *The Young Kabbarli* (1965), James Penberthy's short operas on Aboriginal themes, and George Dreyfus's children's operas. Similarly, dramatic portrayal of Aborigines has developed from early exotic, grotesque, comic caricatures, through the mythic or fantastic modes of the late 19th century, to recent realistic explorations of race relationships and an actual casting of Aborigines in the opera *The Young Kabbarli*. The stage treatment of Aboriginal music and peoples shows an uneasy interchange, until now, between the extremes of realism and romanticism; Clive Douglas's *Kaditjka* (1938) is at the latter extreme, Penberthy's *Larry* (1954) is realistic.

An uneasiness in Australian librettos is habitual. An authentically ironic symbol for it is the Poet in James Penberthy's *Ophelia and the Nine-Mile Beach* (1965). Throughout the two acts, he lies asleep and inarticulate, while the heroine, symbolically an Ophelia, almost drowns in the surf. With her 'rescue' by a team of husky lifesavers, Australian realism and satire, with a wry nod to tradition, combine naively yet poignantly in an odd collage of literary and musical symbolism.

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83 Based on an episode in the life of Daisy Bates, ('Kabbarli', or grandmother), a true legendary heroine, circa 1900. The work was revived by New Opera South Australia in 1972 with didjeridu player and dancers. See *Hinoe Papers* MS 2691, item 2863 on the Hobart discussion after the 1965 premiere of this opera, ANL. M.A. Williams considers the play *Bunyip Innes* by Katharine Susannah Prichard (1940) one of the few successful, sensitive aboriginal dramas, especially in its final act. Here, an aboriginal child dances to gramophone music and re-establishes the rhythm of the corroboree which was performed in Act I; James Penberthy also makes this point in contrasting the artificiality of European music with Aboriginal music: he too shows the white man is out of tune and intrusive. Williams (1973), I: 58-63 and Note 107. An experimental work, by David Ahern, is his *Ned Kelly Music* (1968), (Continued overleaf)...
Realism is tough and bitter in David Gallasch's short opera *The Missus* (1968), which depicts men struggling against the land, and bonding together against a woman in a foreground conflict against the abysmal desolation the land represents. Land and bush have a haunting mystery and symbolism in Dreyfus's *Garni Sands* (1965). It is the theatre itself, within which the idealized, romantic longings of the hero Kane are played, and within which the gruesome acts of the other escaping convicts are depicted with horrifying realism. The interplay between a symbolic, romanticized landscape, and real characters is a striking feature of several recent Australian operas.

These works have begun to expose realistically and symbolically aspects of racism and sexism in the Australian ethos. Where before the bush might be symbolized as virgin, goddess, or persecuted victim, and the Aboriginal as a supernatural symbol akin to the Celtic troll, Maori fairy, or devil-spirit and magician, among whom 'real' Australian characters such as bushrangers, bandits and convicts were the true heroes, recent operas reveal a deeper cynicism towards a bush and mateship ethos.

The bush is a symbolic spiritual wasteland in Dreyfus's *The Takeover* (1968), Penberthy's *Dalgerie* (1959), and Sutherland's *The Young Kabbarli*.

Mateship can be destructive in *The Missus*, in Felix Werder's *Kisses for a Quid* (1960), or in *Garni Sands*.

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83 (Continued)... and *Journal* (1969), a setting of short quotations from the journal of Captain Cook and set for 6 singers, with didjeridu, happy sticks, violin, bass and ring modulator, which A.D. McCredie describes as within "the genre of instrumental theatre", (1969), 25.

84 The same theme, conflict between city and country, between the group and the land, is in Australian Outback plays such as *Rusty Bugles*; Rees (1973), 169-173. In *The Missus*, the music is suitably dissonant. For the general context, see Brian Elliott, *The Landscape of Australian Poetry*, Melbourne 1967.
Recent Australian operas represent the landscape in subtle, romantic ways which contrast sharply with early colonial fantastic or exotic settings. Their images are of melancholy, suffering, loneliness and fatalism which the land has demanded of the individual. Barry Conyngham's 'bildungsroman' opera, *Edward John Eyre* (1970), projects in the role of the explorer the heroic - potentially tragic - dualism felt by both explorers of the land and artists in society. He is seen to be poised, on his journey, between a passionate affirmation of life and achievement, and a fearful, impotent pessimism and fatalism. Intense images of physical horror, human cruelty, and humiliation, and the destructive power of impersonal natural forces permeate *Ganni Sands* and *Edward John Eyre*. Larry Sitsky's *Lenz* (1970), although its literary source and setting is European, explores the psychological tension between internal and external spiritually desolate states; his previous dramatic opera, *Fall of the House of Usher* (1965) is also an intense psychological study of madness and destruction. Solitude and melancholy are comparatively recent themes in Australian opera.

Humor and fantasy offer a means of escape from the darker side of realism. Much of Hugh McCrae's or Arthur Adam's whimsical fantasy is escapist (*The Ship of Heaven*, 1923). On a more superficial but robust level, so too is a great deal of the exaggerated comedy of action in Australian farce. There are however few examples of the comedy of ideas; Marcus Clarke's 1870 dramas are sophisticated, witty, and elegant; Len Radic uses the genre in his librettos for Werder's *The General* (1966) and *The Affair* (1969). These are urbane, detached, and cultivate an understated irony which Werder's cell-structured sparse musical textures support superbly.

Parody and crude buffoonery survive out of 19th century pantomime-burlesques in several recent sophisticated operas: Larry Sitsky's adaptations with Gwen Harwood of two tales from Chaucer and Boccaccio in *Fiery Tales*.
(1974), the three experimental Parisian absurdist operas written by
Keith Humble and Marc'o (1963-65), and the anti-Establishment satires by
Dreyfus, The Gilt-Edged Kid (1970), and The Lamentable Reign of Charles IV
(1974), both of which revive the style and idiom of political satires
penned by Clarke and Garnet Walch. John Gordon's comic ballad opera,
Fisher's Ghost (1960), revives with little alteration the period flavour
and action, characters, settings and balladry of colonial domestic comedy.
Many successful comedies exist in the genre of Australian musical comedy
written since the 1950s; these tend to maintain 19th century comic
traditions; the larrikins of Life in Sydney in 1843 are revived in a
Melbourne musical of 1962, The Ballad of Angel's Alley. Serious opéras
have transformed colonial characters, however: the convicts in Garni Sands
are vicious, misogynist, treacherous even to their mates, and killers.85

Dreyfus's Garni Sands with a libretto adapted from Frank
Kellaway's play, had its first full performance in 1972, when reviewers
remarked that its music, far from functioning as passive support, takes
charge of the movement of the opera, maintains dramatic tension, and
sustains it structurally.86 Instrumental motifs and timbres represent
emotional states and denote individual characters, e.g. horn and viola
for Kane, the tenor convict hero; piccolo or flute for sinister Joe Ayres;
clarinet for the baritone Miles Buckstone, and bassoon for Emmanuel Hook.
The heroine, a squatter's daughter called Eve, often sings unaccompanied,
or with string ensemble. In her love duets with Kane, there is a
shimmering accompaniment on vibraphone, celeste and strings; in contrast,
the second scene has an unaccompanied vocal quartet; the commentator-
narrator who links sections and acts as a Greek chorus, is matched by double

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85 This approach returns to the realism, horror, and naturalism of Marcus
Clarke's novel, His Natural Life, which Brian Elliott shows is influenced by
Victor Hugo's Les Misérables (1862) and Dostoevsky's Crime and Punish-
ment (1866); (1958), 143-6. Convict plays and stories in the later
19th century were mostly sentimental melodramas; see Rees (1973), 48;
or comedies, e.g. Varney Monk's musical, Collitt's Inn (not listed),
broadcast 1943; McGuire (1948), 178; Porter (1965), 218; G.R. Davies
(1935), 15.

(Continued overleaf)
bass and viola settings for his deep baritone. A storm, stampede, and Kane's death take place offstage to dramatic orchestral interludes; on stage, the flesh-eating scene by campfire is accompanied by starkly dramatic percussive effects; textural contrasts are also achieved through the occasional use of spoken dialogue, whispers, and 'sprechstimme'. For the time it was written, *Ganji Sands* represents a marked advance in opera in Australia in its serious treatment of indigenous themes, images and idioms, its varied textures, and its musical characterization, and above all for the manner in which musical rather than dramatic principles govern its form.

It is beyond the scope of this final Chapter to describe in detail the major musical features of all recent Australian operas. As Marshall-Hall incorporated a Wagnerian leit-motif technique and verismo dramatic elements in *Stella* because he was highly-trained, skilled, and worked in then-contemporary styles, so present-day Australian opera composers select from the full array of idioms and techniques of their time. Donald Hollier's aleatoric devices, Peggy Glanville-Hicks's early usage of electronic sound effects, Ross Edwards's revival of many medieval techniques, Larry Sitsky's symbolic, motivic, and structural use of 12-tone rows, Keith Humble's 'made' instruments, are the international signs of an Australian musical maturity.\(^6\) As none of these composers has written opera to any specifically Australian theme, their works cannot be interpreted as distinctively 'Australian' in the context this Chapter has developed. Rather do they demonstrate that an Australian

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86 Observed before it was performed by R. Covell (1967), 266-7; see also *Bulletin*, 26 August 1972, 44; *National Times*, 21 August 1972; *Observer*, 27 August 1972, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 August 1972.

Opera has begun to take its place in an international post-modernist community, if not through the experience of actual performance, certainly in technical skills and maturity.

In the terms this Chapter has chosen, an Australian Opera with a new direction is Peter Sculthorpe's *Rites of Passage* (1974). This is the first successful integration of romantic, sensual, and mythic modes with themes celebrating renewal, joy, and vigour, which really creates a new form in Australian opera. It is a synthetic form, which integrates elements of oratorio, opera, dance and mime, just as it interchanges two languages, both of which are monumental and archaic, with Latin in the chorales and Aboriginal Aranda in the Rites. The entire company is present onstage: two choruses, dancers, two instrumental groups, and two conductors, who assume the characteristics of tribal elders and magicians by controlling all the events on stage. The work also integrates pagan, ritualistic, symbolic, and dramatic 'bildungsroman' images. Paradoxically, Sculthorpe achieves hypnotic suspension of time - or an impression of timelessness - through inherently dynamic elements.

His opera expresses many of his personal convictions about the nature and direction of a distinctive Australian music. In a lecture broadcast on radio from Sydney in October, 1975, he spoke of the visual aspects of the landscape which attract him musically: of space, microtonal yet vast; of repetition and the patterns of endless configurations; of the clarity of light - sharp, defined, and vivid in color; of natural forces which, in the absence of a mythology - of an 'angst' of suffering - are external and impressionistic rather than expressionistic.

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\*\*Not listed in Volume II, as it falls outside the end-date chosen, but it may have been under consideration by the composer for some time, as he had been variously reported as preparing an opera which would "return to the liturgical origins of musical drama"; R. Covell (1967), 266; Callaway (1962), 81; Peart (1966), 75; and clearly the work continues in the idioms and techniques of Sculthorpe's *Sun Music II*; see McCredie (1969), 20-21. Various librettists have also been announced in the past, including Roger Covell, Tony Morphett, Alan Moorehead; various themes also suggested themselves, mostly on Australian legend or history, and it appears he was first (Continued overleaf)...
Philosophically and creatively, Sculthorpe responds to Australian features which might seem antithetical to musical representation. He describes these elements which govern his music and aesthetic: the absence of ideas or of a climate of thinking in Australia; a pragmatism which accepts a 'useful' music rather than an intellectual, abstract 'fine' art; an openness, a frankness, and a general illiteracy among Australians, whose music might lack complexity yet have a refreshing simplicity; whose music might shun heroic gestures and powerful rhythms; whose music might thematize a persistent loneliness which he finds echoed in both the landscape and in the solitary figure in the landscape.  
Sculthorpe suggests that Australian music might have links with Asian and Pacific musical cultures; it might have a "Pacific sound."

In Rites of Passage, but more so in his instrumental music, he uses what he calls 'sound-posts' from the environment: sounds of birds, wind, cicadas, sea. He seeks the musical equivalent of flatness and finds an analogy in flattened English vowels and the elongated tones of Aboriginal music. In this, his ideas do not deviate significantly from those of Henry Tate or Hooper Brewster-Jones, naive and tentative though they were in the 1920s, but who also tried to evoke natural sounds and non-Western systems in a then-contemporary impressionism. The same earnest naivety is found in the more traditional but sincere impressionism of Clive Douglas (Kaditcha), as well as in ballets by John Antill (Corroboree), Malcolm Williamson (The Display), and Robert Hughes (The Forbidden Rite). Peter Sculthorpe's music, however, is technically advanced and his quasi-Asian, quasi-Aboriginal impressions are effortlessly

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88 (Continued)...commissioned for an opera as far back as 1965: "Trust News", AETT Bulletin, September 1965, 8, in Hincæ Papers, MS 2691, item 2365, ANL. The opera was finally performed in 1974 at the Sydney Opera House by the national company, The Australian Opera.

89 Echoed, too, in paintings by Russell Drysdale, Sidney Nolan, or Clifton Pugh, or in the prose of Patrick White and Randolph Stow. At the time of writing, composer Richard Meale is working on a full-length opera to a libretto created by White on the theme of the explorer-mystic, Voss.
and convincingly integrated into contemporary Western traditions. Like his pupil Barry Conyngham, he is attempting to transform worn operatic conventions, - the traditional instruments, vocal resources, lighting patterns, movements, groupings, stagings, atmospherics and dramatic effects of the past, into a new image and ideology which will project in Australian opera a stark, flat, featureless, impressionistic surface against which he might express whatever dramatic event his theme or character suggests, and upon which he bases an Australian musical identity.

These post-1960s evocations of landscape, ritual, dance, distinctive language, and symbolism, are making what seems the most characteristically Australian contribution to 20th century opera and music theatre.
APPENDIX

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS TO THE CHAPTERS

Chapter 1: numbers 1-13
Chapter 2: numbers 1-8
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name and Description</th>
<th>1st Appearance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td>Miss Reman, later Mrs Clarke, founder of first opera company</td>
<td>Argyle Rooms, later Th R, Hob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>Mrs Chester, soprano from Drury Lane, Covent Garden arrived.</td>
<td>Th R Syd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>W.V. Wallace and family, opera composer and musician, arrived.</td>
<td>Hob T 1835 Syd 1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Gautrot company: French opéra comique and vaudeville</td>
<td>RVTh Syd Melb 1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>Isaac Nathan, composer, became resident.</td>
<td>Melb - Syd 1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>Miss Theodosia Yates (later Mrs Stirling/Guerin/Stewart) across-singer, arrived.</td>
<td>Hob T ThR with Clarke company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>Signor Jerome Carandini, singer-dancer from Moderno Opera House; counter-tenor, arrived.</td>
<td>Hob T. Clarke Co. later to RVTh Syd 1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>Mme. Carandini (Marie Burgess) soprano, later founder of the Carandini Opera Company 1859-1870s, debut</td>
<td>Hob T 1843 RVTh Syd 1845 - Melbourne 1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>George Coppin, actor-manager founder of theatres and companies (also Fred Coppin, musician) arrived.</td>
<td>RVTh Syd Hob T 1845 Melb QuTh 1845 Adel 1846 Melb 1854-1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Clarke company, including F. and J. Howson, Carandinis, Mrs Stirling, J. Lazar, transfer to Sydney</td>
<td>RVTh Syd Melb 1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Sara Flower, contralto, debut</td>
<td>RVTh Syd, Melb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Name and Description</td>
<td>1st Appearance</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Mrs Testar, soprano, debut</td>
<td>Melb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>Catherine Hayes, Irish soprano with Louis Lavenu, composer and M. Emile Coulon (Bar), debut</td>
<td>Syd until 1857, Melb to 1855,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>Charles Packer, composer, resident in Sydney, from Hobart Town (arrived at Norfolk Island, 1840)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Mme. Anna Bishop, soprano, arrived with Signor Bochsa, harpist</td>
<td>Syd P of W to 1857, Adel 1856, Melb 1857; returned 1868-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>English Opera Company, (J. Black): many remained</td>
<td>QuTh Melb to 1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Mme. Clarisse Cailly, soprano</td>
<td>Syd 1856-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Bianchi Italian Opera company with local artists</td>
<td>Syd P of W, Melb Adel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861-1867</td>
<td>W.S. Lyster Opera Company</td>
<td>ThR Melb, Syd, Adel, Brisb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Charles Horsley, composer, arrived</td>
<td>Melb 1861-71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>F. and J. Howson opera company with J. Torning company, toured</td>
<td>Syd RVTh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Loder-Neville company, later joined Lyster in 1864</td>
<td>Syd 1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Lyster and J. Smith Grand Opera Company: also 1870-1, toured under Lyster's management</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Cagli-Pompei Italian opera company</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Mme. Agatha States Opera Co. with Paolo Giorza, conductor under Lyster's management</td>
<td>Syd, Melb (1872)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Simonsen Opera Company toured 1871, 74,</td>
<td>Syd, Melb, Adel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Name and Description</td>
<td>1st Appearance</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1871 | Simonsen Opera Company (Continued)  
77, 82, 87, 89, 92 |                |
| 1871 | Miranda Light Opera Company | Melb |
| 1872 | Lyster-Cagli Grand Italian Opera Company, 1872-74 - toured | Syd, Melb |
| 1874 | English Opera Company with G.B.Allen, conductor | RVTh Syd |
| 1875 | English Opera Bouffe Company with Emilie Melville, 1875-8, toured under Lyster's management |                |
| 1875 | Pompei Italian Opera Co., toured |                |
| 1875 | Farley-Bracy Comic Opera Co., toured under Lyster's management |                |
| 1875 | Ilma di Murska, Soprano, arrived | Syd |
| 1875 | J.C. Williamson, arrived | Melb |
| 1876 | Lyster Italian Opera Co. 1876-77 |                |
| 1876 | Lingard's Comic Opera Co | ThR Syd |
| 1876 | Thompson-Bracy Opera Bouffe Co  
1876, 78, 89, 90 |                |
| 1877 | S. Lazar Opera Co. | Syd,Adel |
| 1877 | Emily Soldene English Comic Opera Co. to 1878 |                |
| 1878 | Leon and Kelly Burlesque Opera Company | Syd |
| 1879 | Lyster English Opera Co. to 1880  
(also called London Comedy Company) |                |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name and Description</th>
<th>1st Appearance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Cagli Royal Italian Opera Co</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>J.C. Williamson English Opera Co</td>
<td>Melb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Williamson-Musgrove London Opera Comique Co. 1880-82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Lewis Juvenile Opera Troupe</td>
<td>QuTh Syd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Montague-Turner Opera Company, also 1883-4, conductor Caron</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Leon Caron Comic Opera Co</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Williamson, Garner, Musgrove Royal Comic Opera Company, 1882-5, 1886-92</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Pollard's Lilliputian Opera Co (Juveniles) also 1883</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Melville Opera Company to 1884, also 1886</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Dunning's London Comic Opera Company to 1885</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Majeroni-Wilson Comic Opera Company to 1885</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Farley's English Opera Company and visit of Alfred Cellier, conductor, composer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>George Rignold's Comic Opera Co</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>London Burlesque and Gaiety Co., also 1891</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Nellie Stewart Comic Opera Company</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Evangeline Opera Company</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Name and Description</td>
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<td>-------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Juvenile Opera Company</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Williamson-Musgrove First Italian Opera Company</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Rickard's Tivoli Company</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>J.C. Williamson Opera Company formed.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

**CHAPTER I, NUMBER 2** (Footnote 5, page 22)

**COLONIAL THEATRES: A Summary of Licensed Theatres and Venues Used for Public Performances of Opera and Plays, from 1789.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Theatre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td>Convict theatre opened 4 June 1789.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1793</td>
<td>Theatre Royal convict theatre, Norfolk Island.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Robert Sidaway's Theatre, Bell St, Sydney, opened 8 March.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td>Emu Plains Convict Theatre, opened 16 May, closed by order of Gov. Bourke, 22 November 1830.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>Barnett Levey's Royal Hotel saloon opened for 'At Home's', 20 August 1828 to 10 September 1832. Known as the Royal Assembly Room.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>Theatre Royal, Sydney: Levey's licence granted by Gov. Bourke for a theatre, 22 December 1832, opened 26 December 1832, closed 22 March 1838, destroyed by fire 18 March 1840. Seating 1200.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>(Royal) Victoria Theatre built by Joseph Wyatt, opened 26 March 1838, destroyed by fire 27 July 1880, seating approximately 1900.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>Olympic Theatre opened by Joseph Simmons, February 1842, closed May 1842.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>City Theatre opened by Joseph Simmons and James Belmore, 24 May 1843, closed after a few weeks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>Maitland Amateur Theatre, Northumberland Hotel, West Maitland, licensed 21 August 1843, still playing in 1846. Amateur theatres c.1845-6 at Singleton and Parramatta, N.S.W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Prince of Wales Theatre, Castlereagh St, Sydney, opened by Joseph Wyatt March 1855, reopened as the new Prince of Wales Theatre, 23 May 1863 destroyed by fire 7 January 1871.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Date | Theatre
---|---
1861 | Lyceum, Sydney, opened 14 November 1861.

II. *VAN DIEMEN'S LAND (TASMANIA)*

1833 | Freemason's Tavern, Hobart Town leased by Samson Cameron for public performances.
1834 | Argyle Rooms, Hobart Town leased by Mrs. Clarke, opened January 1834; foundation stone laid for a Theatre Royal on this site, 1834.
1835 | Theatre Royal, Launceston opened 1835, later renamed Royal Victoria; leased by Cameron, Clarke, Coppin.
1837 | Theatre Royal, Hobart Town, opened 8 March 1837 and originally called The Victoria, or, Royal Victoria Theatre; leased by Mrs. Clarke 1842-45, then by G.Coppin; still in operation, 1978.
1843 | Theatre Royal Olympic, Launceston, opened by F.B. Watson.

III. *SOUTH AUSTRALIA*

1838 | Theatre Royal, Franklin St, Adelaide opened 28 May; closed 16 June 1838.
1839 | Victoria Theatre, North Terrace, Adelaide opened by S.Cameron, 25 November; rebuilt 16 May 1840 as Royal Victoria Theatre, opened 1841 by Cameron.
1840 | Argyle Rooms, Gilles Arcade opened by George Buckingham 4 May 1840; closed shortly afterwards.
1841 | Queen's Theatre, Gilles Arcade opened by E. and V. Solomon, manager John Lazar, 11 January 1841; closed 28 November 1842; converted into a Courthouse, 27 October 1843; seating 1300.
1845 | Pavilion, Currie Street, previously Solomon's Rooms, opened 1845.
1846 | Royal Adelaide Theatre, Franklin Street opened by Henry Doering 22 June 1846; closed October 1846; reopened February 1847.
1846 New Queen's Theatre, Gilles Arcade (formerly the Shakespeare Tavern adjoining the old Queen's Theatre) opened by E. Solomon; lessee G. Coppin, 2 November 1846; closed 1849.

1850 Royal Victoria Theatre, Gilles Arcade (formerly old Queen's Theatre) opened by E. Solomon, 23 December 1850; Coppin and J. Lazar joint lessees; closed 1868.

1851 Port Adelaide Theatre opened by G. Coppin, June 1851.

1851 Taylor's Royal Amphitheatre, or, Olympic Circus, (previously Circus Royal) opened at Currie Street, 1851.

1856 White's Rooms, King William Street, opened 26 June; closed 1880. Rebuilt by Garner, renamed Garner's Theatre, opened 17 May 1880; renamed Hudson's Bijou (1893); Rickard's New Tivoli (1901); Star Theatre (1911); Majestic Theatre, opened by Benjamin Fuller 3 June 1916; bought by the Federal Government (1950); leased to Celebrity Theatres Ltd. (1952); converted to the Celebrity Theatre Restaurant opened 24 November 1967; Warner Theatre (cinema) since 1969.

1868 Theatre Royal, Hindley Street opened by John Lazar, lessee G. Coppin 13 April 1868; rebuilt by E. Chapman (1878) and reopened 25 March 1878; leased by J.C. Williamson Theatres Ltd. 1913; remodelled and reopened 11 April 1914; closed 14 July 1962; demolished for a carpark, 1963.

IV. VICTORIA

1839 Lamb Inn, used for concerts and amateur plays.

1840 Caledonian Hotel, Melbourne.

1841 Adelphi Hotel, Melbourne.

1841 The Pavilion, Bourke Street, Melbourne; renamed the Royal Victoria Theatre, November 1843; closed April 1845.

1843 Queen's Theatre opened by J. Smith 1843; closed circa 1856.

1847 Geelong Theatre Royal opened, rebuilt by G. Coppin in 1852.
Date               Theatre

1854               Astley's Amphitheatre, Spring Street, Melbourne, built by C.B.W. Lewis; converted by J. Black as The Princess Theatre (1857); demolished by J.C. Williamson (1887) and rebuilt; still in operation, seating 2,500.

1854               Theatre Royal, Bourke Street, Melbourne, opened by J. Black 6 July 1855; destroyed by fire 1872; reopened 6 November 1872 as the New Theatre Royal.

1855               The Olympic (Iron Pot), Lonsdale Street, Melbourne, opened by G. Coppin, 26 February 1855.

1862               The Haymarket, opened by G. Coppin 15 September 1862; renamed the Duke of Edinburgh Theatre; destroyed by fire 1871.

Other sites and buildings occasionally used for theatrical performances, and later 19th century theatres: (opening dates in brackets):

New South Wales:

Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts (1833); the Great Hall of Sydney University (19 July 1859); the Masonic Hall, York Street, Sydney (1871); Theatre Royal (first lessee Samuel Lazar, February 1875); Queen's Theatre (July 1876); Gaiety Theatre (16 April 1881); Garden Palace (1881); the new Olympic (1886); The Criterion (1886); Her Majesty's Theatre, Pitt Street, Sydney (1887); the Tivoli, formerly The Garrick (1893); also the Centenary Hall, Exhibition Building, Town Hall.

South Australia:

Adelaide Town Hall (1866); Elder Conservatorium Hall.

Victoria:

Wilkie's Warehouse (1851); Mechanics Institute (1849?); Town Hall (1866); Exhibition Concert Hall (1868); the Athenaeum, St. George's Hall, People's Theatre; the New Town Hall (1870); also numerous goldfields theatres in the 1870s.

To this list should be added concert halls, Assembly Halls, and meeting rooms frequently adapted from saloons and recreation rooms in hotels and taverns; Mechanics' Institutes, Schools, and Colleges of Arts, which offered facilities for theatrical and musical recitals in both city and country areas in the 19th century.
Occasionally, performances were held in private rooms such as those of the French Club (Sydney and Melbourne) and German Club (Adelaide) Carrick Club (Melbourne) and Yorick Club (Melbourne); Government Houses, Court Rooms and Military Barracks, used for both amateur and private performances.

Street venues with tents, and improvised outdoor sites also provided opportunities for performances and concerts, as did the official buildings especially constructed for Centenary celebrations, Exhibitions and other festivities, and later the Memorial and Council halls erected in most Australian country towns and suburban districts.
Examples of Transplanted 18th Century English Semi-opera.

The Mock Doctor
(Henry Fielding):
London 1750
New York 1751
Sydney 16 May 1825, Emu Plains,
Convict Theatre

The Virgin Unmask'd
(Fielding)
London
New York 1751
Sydney 8 March 1800, convict theatre

The Beggar's Opera
(Gay and Pepusch)
London 1728
New York 1750
Sydney 30 March 1846, Royal Victoria
Theatre

Love in a Village
(Arne, Linley, Arnold)
London 1760
New York 1787
Sydney 22 February 1836, Theatre Royal

The Duenna, ballad opera
(Linley Storage and Sheridan)
London 1775
New York 1786
Sydney 22 September 1845, Theatre Royal

Maid of the Mill, pastiche
(Arnold, Bickerstaffe)
London 1765
New York 1769
Sydney 11 April 1836, Theatre Royal

The Banditti (later
The Castle of Andalusia)
(Arnold)
(i) London 1781
New York 1788
(ii) London 1782
New York 1797
Sydney 19 October 1837, Theatre
Royal
Norfolk Island 1840, convict theatre

The Padlock
(C.A.Dibdin and Bickerstaffe)
London 1768
New York 1769
Sydney 11 September 1837, Theatre Royal

The Poor Soldier
(Shield and O'Keeffe)
London 1783
New York 1786
Sydney 23 July 1796, Sidaway's Theatre

Don Juan; or, The Libertine
Destroyed, pantomime; pastiche
including music by Glück
(W.Reeve and W.Moncrieff)
London 1787
New York 1793
Sydney 21 August 1837, Theatre Royal
Examples of Transplanted 18th Century English Plays

**The Recruiting Officer**
(Farquhar)  
London 1706,  
New York 1732  
Sydney 4 June 1789, convict theatre

**The Irishman in London; or, The Happy African**
(Macready)  
London 1792  
Sydney 5 October 1833, Royal

**Jane Shore**
(Nicholas Rowe)  
London 1714

**The London Merchant**
(Lillo)  
London 1731  
Sydney 28 December 1833, Royal

**The Rivals**
(Sheridan)  
London 1775  
Sydney 14 November 1833, Royal

**St. Patrick's Day**
(Sheridan)  
London 1775  
Sydney 18 March 1835, Royal

**School for Scandal**
(Sheridan)  
London 1777  
Sydney 26 January 1835, Royal

**Pizzarro**
(Sheridan, from Kotzebue)  
(Music by Kelly, Dussek, and Linley)  
London 1799  
Sydney 19 January 1835, Royal
Productions of Shakespearean Drama and Shakespearean Burlesque,
Theatre Royal, Sydney

Shakespeare

Richard III 26 December 1833
Othello 26 July 1834
Hamlet 18 August 1834
Macbeth 7 September 1835
Merchant of Venice 17 September 1835
Romeo and Juliet 28 September 1835
Henry VIII 7 January 1836
Henry IV, Part I 14 April 1836
King Lear 23 January 1837.

Shakespearean parody-burlesque

Catherine and Petruccio
Garrick, London 1756
22 February 1834

The Lear of Private Life
Moncreiff, London 1820
21 November 1835

Oberon; or, The Elf King's Oath
Planche, London 1826
26 December 1836

Shakespeare's Festival; or, The New Comedy of Errors
Moncrieff, London 1830
11 March 1837

Othello Travestie
Dowling, London 1834
20 March 1837

The Peerless Pool; or, The Early Days of Richard III
Almar, London 1833
9 October 1837

Charles I.M.P. Dibdin (1768-1833)  8 plays and semi-operas
Thomas John Pitt Dibdin (1771-1841)  11 plays, operas, burlesques
James Kenney  5 plays (see I. Nathan)
Edward Fitzball (1792-1873)  12 melodramas, romantic plays and nautical dramas
Douglas Jerrold (1803-1857)  12 plays, comedies, melodramas, farce and nautical burlesque
M.G. ('Monk') Lewis (1775-1818)  5 melodramas
William G.T. Moncrieff (1794-1857)  11 plays, semi-opera, burlesque and pantomime
John Howard Payne (1791-1852)  6 plays, romantic comedies
Isaac Bickerstaffe (1735-1812)  6 pastiche plays
John O'Keeffe (1747-1833)  4 pastiche plays and operas
SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

CHAPTER I, NUMBER 7 (page 36)

Dramatists of Early 19th Century English Semi-Opera in the Theatre

Royal Repertory: A Selection

Isaac Bickerstaffe:
The Hypocrite
The Spoiled Child
The Sultan; or,
A Peep into the Seraglio
London 1768; Sydney 26.10.1835
London 1790; Sydney 17.6.1833
London 1775; Sydney 16.1.1837

Charles A. Dibdin:
The Waterman; or,
The First of August
The Chelsea and Greenwich Pensioner
London 1774; Sydney 24.5.1834
London 1779; Sydney 6.4.1837

Charles I.M.P. Dibdin:
The Farmer's Wife
The Lord of the Manor
Paul Pry
The Rake's Progress
Salamagundi; or, The Clown's Dish of all Sorts
What Next?
No. 23 John Street
London 1814; Sydney 12.6.1837
London 1812; Sydney 19.6.1833
London 1826; Sydney 13.2.1837
London 1826; Sydney 13.2.1837
London 1818; Sydney 20.2.1837
London 1816; Sydney 23.3.1833
London 1817; Sydney 15.8.1835

Thomas J.P. Dibdin:
The Banks of the Hudson;
or, The Congress Trooper
The Heart of Midlothian;
or, Lily of St.Leonard's
(music by H. Bishop)
Humphrey Clinker
The Jew and the Doctor
Lodoiska
(music by Storace)
The Man and the Maquis;
or, The Three Spectres of the Castle of St. Valori
Paul Jones; or, The Solway Mariner
The Pirate; or, The Wild Woman of Zetland
The Ruffian Boy; or, The Russian of Bohemia
The Two Gregories; or Where Did the Money Come From?
Valentine and Orson;
or, The Wild Man of Orleans
London 1829; Sydney 5.6.1837
London 1819; Sydney 11.5.1835
London 1818; Sydney 11.8.1835
London 1798; Sydney 15.12.1836
London 1811; Sydney 18.9.1834
London 1825; Sydney 5.12.1836
London 1827; Sydney 23.4.1836
London 1822; Sydney 3.11.1834
London 1819; Sydney 6.2.1837
London 1821; Sydney 4.1.1834
London 1804; Sydney 3.11.1834
James Kenney:  
The Blind Boy  
Ella Rosenborg  
Love, Law and Physick  
Raising the Wind  
The Illustrious Stronger; or,  
Married and Buried  
(music by I. Nathan)  

London 1807; Sydney 2.7.1834  
London 1807; Sydney 24.3.1834  
London 1812; Sydney 13.4.1833  
London 1803; Sydney 19.4.1834  

London 1827; Sydney 28.5.1835  

Edward Fitzball:  
Jonathan Bradford; or,  
Murder at the Roadside Inn  
The Red Rover; or, The  
Mutiny of the Dolphin  
The Flying Dutchman; or,  
The Phantom Ship  
The Innkeeper of Abbey-ville; or, The Ostler and the Robber  
Robert le Diable  
(music by Barnett)  
The Devil's Elixir; or,  
The Shadowless Man  
Edda; or, The Hermit of  
Warkworth  
Father and Son; or, The  
Rock of La Charbonniere  
The Floating Beacon; or,  
The Norwegian Wreckers  
The Inishmaan Bell; or,  
The Dumb Sailor Boy  
The Three Hunchbacks  
Wardock Kennilson; or,  
The Outcast Mother and  
Her Son  

London 1833; Sydney 26.12.1834  
London 1829; Sydney 29.6.1835  
London 1827; Sydney 14.9.1835  

London 1822; Sydney 25.1.1834  
London 1832; Sydney 9.1.1836  
London 1829; Sydney 4.4.1836  

London 1820; Sydney 25.6.1834  
London 1825; Sydney 8.2.1836  
London 1824; Sydney 20.8.1835  

London 1828; Sydney 12.10.1835  
London 1826; Sydney 31.12.1835  

London 1824; Sydney 16.1.1837  

Douglas Jerrold:  
Black-Eyed Susan; or,  
All in the Downs  
Paul Pry  
(see also C.1.M. Dibdin)  
Ambrose Gwinett; A  
See-side Story (sic)  
Bamfylde Moore Carew  
Pride of Ludgate  
The Devil's Ducat; or,  
The Gift of Mannaun  
More Frightened than  
Hurt  
The Mutiny at the Nore;  
or, British Sailors in  
1797  

London 1829; Sydney 26.12.1832  
London 1827; Sydney  

London 1828; Sydney 9.5.1836  
London 1824; Sydney 21.4.1836  
London 1831; Sydney 20.11.1837  

London 1830; Sydney 22.9.1834  
London 1821; Sydney 18.9.1837  

London 1830; Sydney 10.10.1833
The Kent Day
Sally in Our Alley
The Tower of Lochlain; or, The Idiot Son
Wives by Advertisement; or, Courting in the Newspapers

London 1832; Sydney 8.9.1836
London 1830; Sydney 28.2.1835
London 1828; Sydney 24.8.1837
London 1828; Sydney 6.3.1837

M.G. ('Monk') Lewis:
The Castle Spectre
Timour the Tartar
Raymond and Agnes
One O'Clock; or, The Knight and the Wood Demon
Rugantino; or, The Bravo of Venice

London 1797; Sydney 16.2.1833
London 1811; Sydney 26.12.1835
London 1809; Sydney 4.10.1834
London 1811; Sydney 20.10.1836
London 1805; Sydney 10.10.1836

William G.T. Moncrieff:
Tom and Jerry; or, Life in London
Giovanni in London; or, The Libertine Reclaimed
Don Juan; or, The Libertine Restored
Shakespeare's Festival; or, The New Comedy of Errors
All at Coventry; or, Love and Laugh
Eugene Aram; or, St. Robert's Cave
The Jewess; or, The Council of Constance
The Lear of Private Life
Monsieur Tonson
The Somnambulist; or, The Phantom of the Village
The Spectre Bridegroom; or, A Ghost in Spite of Himself
The Vampire
Giselle; or, The Night Dancers

(music by E.Loder)

London 1821; Sydney 4.6.1834
London 1817; Sydney 4.9.1834
London 1787; Sydney 21.8.1837
London 1830; Sydney 11.3.1837
London 1816; Sydney 6.2.1837
London 1832; Sydney 5.12.1836
London 1835; Sydney 4.12.1837
London 1820; Sydney 21.11.1835
London 1821; Sydney 16.12.1833
London 1828; Sydney 20.6.1835
London 1821; Sydney 22.5.1833
London 1820; Sydney 16.4.1836
London 1841; Sydney

John O'Keeffe:
The Highland Reel
Peeping Tom of Coventry
Wild Oats; or, The Strolling Gentleman
The Poor Soldier
The Castle of Andalusia

London 1788; Sydney 18.4.1836
London 1784; Sydney 25.4.1836
London 1791; Sydney 19.6.1834
London 1783; Sydney 23.7.1796
London 1782; Sydney 19.10.1837
John Howard Payne:
The Lancers
Love in a Humble Life
Clari; or, The Maid
of Milan
(Music by H.Bishop)
The Two Galley-Slaves;
or, The Mill of St.
Aldervan
Brutus; or, The Fall
of Tarquin
Charles II; or,
The Merry Monarch
The Maid and the
Magpie
London 1827; Sydney 26.2.1835
London 1822; Sydney 16.10.1837
London 1823; Sydney 31.10.1834
London 1822; Sydney 19.4.1834
London 1819; Sydney —
London 1824; Sydney 19.1.1833
London 1815; Sydney 11.4.1836
Four English Composers of Opera and Semi-Opera of the late 18th Century
Performed at the Theatre Royal, Sydney, in the 1830s

CHAPTER I, NUMBER 8 (footnote 46, page 37)

Thomas Arne (1710–1778)

Love in a Village
3 acts. (Bickerstaffe)
pastiche opera with music also by Arnold and Linley.
Libretto adapted from Charles Johnson's ballad opera, The Village Opera (London 1729)

London 1762
Sydney 22.2.1836

Samuel Arnold (1740–1802)

Maid of the Mill
3 acts. (Bickerstaffe)
pastiche opera with music arranged from 18 different composers
Libretto adapted from Richardson's Pameila (1740)

London 1765
Sydney 22.3.1836

The Maid and the Magpie
3 acts
libretto by J.H. Payne

London 1815
Sydney 11.4.1836

The Revenge
Libretto by Edward Young adapted from the play by Chatterton (1770)

London 1770
Sydney 16.1.1796 (at Sidaway's Th)

The Banditti
which, when it failed, reappeared as:
The Castle of Andalusia
3 acts. Libretto by J.O'Keeffe, comic opera

London 1781
London 1782

Stephan Storace (1763–1796)

No Song, No Supper
ballad opera, 2 acts
Libretto by P. Hoare

London 1790
Sydney 23.1.1836

Lodoiska
Libretto by T.Dibdin adapted from the opera by Cherubini (1791)

London 1811
Sydney 18.9.1834

Henry Bishop (1786–1855)

Guy Mantering
Libretto by D.Terry, adapted from W. Scott

London 1816
Sydney 25.9.1834

Rob Roy
Libretto by I. Pocock
adapted from Scott

London 1818
Sydney (i) 8.5.1830 Emu Plains (ii) 13.10.1834

The Miller and His Men
libretto by Pocock

London 1814
Sydney 5.10.1833
Clari: The Maid of Milan
Libretto by J.H. Payne
London 1823
Sydney 31.10.1834;
1.10.1835

John of Paris
Libretto by I. Pocock,
adapted from Boieldieu,
Jean de Paris (Paris 1810)
London 1814
Sydney 21.9.1835

Aladdin; or, The Wonderful Lamp
Libretto by Sloane,
Music for the Sydney performance probably arranged and
adapted by W.V. Wallace
London 1826
Sydney 26.12.1837

The Heart of Midlothian
Libretto by T. Dibdin
adapted from Scott
London 1819
Sydney 11.5.1835

Le Nozze di Figaro
libretto by T. Holcroft
pastiche adaptation of
Mozart's original, with some new
music
London 1819
Sydney 11.5.1833

See also Don Juan by W. Moncrieff and E. Reeve
which Bishop adapted as Giovanni in London with
Moncrieff,
London 1817
Sydney 4.9.1834
First Performances of Opera: a Chronological Selection from the Repertory of the Royal Victoria Theatre, 1842-1846.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Opera</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31.3.1842</td>
<td>Bishop</td>
<td>Guy Mancring; or, The Gypsies' Prophecy</td>
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<tr>
<td>19.6.1843</td>
<td>Rossini</td>
<td>Il Barbiere di Siviglia</td>
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<td>18.12.1843</td>
<td>Bellini</td>
<td>La Sonnambula (again, fully on 8.12.1845)</td>
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<td>12.2.1844</td>
<td>Rossini</td>
<td>La Cenerentola (again fully on 19.1.1846)</td>
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<td>29.5.1845</td>
<td>Auber</td>
<td>Le Lac des Fées</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.6.1845</td>
<td>Bishop</td>
<td>Rob Roy</td>
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<td>3.7.1845</td>
<td>Bishop</td>
<td>The Miller and His Men</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.8.1845</td>
<td>Auber</td>
<td>Fra Diavolo</td>
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<tr>
<td>25.8.1845</td>
<td>Weber</td>
<td>Der Freischütz</td>
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<td>22.9.1845</td>
<td>Storace</td>
<td>The Duenna</td>
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<td>13.10.1845</td>
<td>Braham</td>
<td>The Siege of Belgrade</td>
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<td>20.10.1845</td>
<td>Auber</td>
<td>Gustavus III; or, The Masked Ball</td>
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<td>3.11.1845</td>
<td>Bishop</td>
<td>The Lord of the Isles</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.11.1845</td>
<td>Auber</td>
<td>Masaniello; or, The Dumb Girl of Portici</td>
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<tr>
<td>27.11.1845</td>
<td>Braham</td>
<td>The Devil's Bridge</td>
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<td>24.1.1846</td>
<td>Spohr(?)</td>
<td>Faustus</td>
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<td>30.3.1846</td>
<td>Pepusch</td>
<td>The Beggar's Opera</td>
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<td>30.3.1846</td>
<td>Rhodes</td>
<td>Bombastes Furioso</td>
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<td>20.4.1846</td>
<td>Nathan</td>
<td>Triboulet; or, The King's Jester</td>
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<td>12.5.1846</td>
<td>Barnett</td>
<td>The Mountain Sylph</td>
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<td>14.7.1846</td>
<td>Balfe</td>
<td>The Bohemian Girl</td>
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<td>3.12.1846</td>
<td>Macfarren</td>
<td>The Devil's Opera</td>
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<tr>
<td>Composer</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Year(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daniel Auber (1782-1871)</td>
<td><em>Fra Diavolo</em> 3 acts (Scribe)</td>
<td>Paris 1830</td>
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<td>London 1831</td>
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<td>New York 1831</td>
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<td>Sydney 4.8.1845</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Masaniello; La Muette di Portici</em> 5 acts (Scribe and Dalavigne)</td>
<td>Paris 1828</td>
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<td>London 1829</td>
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<td>New York 1831</td>
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<td>Sydney 10.11.1845 (except) 24.2.1850 (full)</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Le Lac des Fées</em> 3 acts (The Fairy Lake)</td>
<td>Paris 1839</td>
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<td>Sydney 26.5.1845</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Gustavus III</em> 3 acts (The Masked Ball) (Scribe)</td>
<td>London 1833</td>
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<td>Sydney 10.10.1835 (except) 29.1.1838 (except) 20.10.1845 (full)</td>
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<td><em>Le Cheval de Bronze</em> 3 acts (The Bronze Horse) (Scribe)</td>
<td>Paris 1835</td>
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<td>London 1835</td>
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<td>New York 1837</td>
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<td>Sydney 3.3.1850</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vincenzo Bellini (1801-1835)</td>
<td><em>La Sonnambula</em> 2 acts (Romani)</td>
<td>Milan 1831</td>
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<td>London 1831</td>
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<td>New York 1835</td>
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<td>Hobart July 1842 (except) Sydney 10.12.1843(except) 8.12.1845 (full)</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Norma</em> 2 acts (Romani, after Soumet)</td>
<td>Milan 1831</td>
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<td>London 1833</td>
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<td>New Orleans 1836</td>
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<td>Sydney 1852</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>I Puritani</em> 3 acts (Pepoli, after Scott's <em>Old Mortality</em> (1816))</td>
<td>Paris 1835</td>
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<td>London 1835</td>
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<td>Philadelphia 1843</td>
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<td>Sydney 1866</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guetano Donizetti (1797-1848)</td>
<td><em>Lucrezia Borgia</em> prologue, 2 acts (Romani, after Victor Hugo, 1833)</td>
<td>Milan 1833</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>London 1839</td>
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<td>New Orleans 1844</td>
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<td>Sydney 1855</td>
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<tr>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Composer/Author</td>
<td>Production Locations</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>La Fille du Régiment</em></td>
<td>(Vernoy de Saint-Georges/Bayard)</td>
<td>Paris 1840, New Orleans 1843, London 1847, Sydney 1851</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>La Favorite</em></td>
<td>(Royer, Vacz, Scribe)</td>
<td>Paris 1840, New Orleans 1843, London 1843, Sydney</td>
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<td><em>Don Pasquale</em></td>
<td>(Ruffini)</td>
<td>Paris 1843, London 1843, New Orleans 1845, Sydney 1847</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Linda di Chamounis</em></td>
<td>(Rossi)</td>
<td>Vienna 1842, London 1843, New York 1847, Sydney 1855</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Friedrich von Flotow</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>4 acts. (W. Friedrich after Saint-Georges' Ballet-Pantomime)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Gioacchino Rossini</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>2 acts (Sterbini, after Beaumarchais)</td>
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<td>2 acts (Ferretti, after Etienne's text for Stiebelt's opera)</td>
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<td><strong>Guiseppe Verdi</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 acts (Piave after Dumas, 1848)</td>
<td>Venice 1853, London 1856, New York 1856, Sydney 1862</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>La Traviata</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>3 acts (Piave after Dumas, 1848)</td>
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</table>
Guiseppe Verdi
* Il Trovatore *
4 acts (Cammarano)
Rome 1853
New York 1855
London 1855
Sydney 1862
Rigoletto
3 acts (Piave after Hugo's Le Roi s'amuse)
(1832)
Venice 1851
London 1853
New York 1855
Sydney 1860

Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826)
* Abu Hassan *
one-act, operetta
(Hiemer, after The Arabian Nights)
Munich 1811
London 1825
* New York 1827
Sydney 10.10.1835
Der Freischütz
3 acts (Kind)
Berlin 1821
London 1824
New York 1825
Sydney 25.8.1845

(* The London production was translated by W. Dimond with music added and arranged by T.S. Cooke. It was the Dimond/Cooke version which was performed in Sydney in 1835 at the Theatre Royal, with extra songs of G.A. Lee).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Composer(s)</th>
<th>Production</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Wallace</td>
<td>Maritana</td>
<td>1845</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Balfe</td>
<td>Lurline</td>
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<td>Marsh</td>
<td>The Bohemian Girl</td>
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<td>Donizetti, Auber</td>
<td>Lucia di Lammemoor</td>
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<td>Auber</td>
<td>Fra Diavolo</td>
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<td>Donizetti, Bellini</td>
<td>Diamants de la Couronne (1841)</td>
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<td>Bellini</td>
<td>Lucrezia Borgia</td>
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<td>La Sonnambula (1831)</td>
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<td>1862</td>
<td>Balfe, Mozart, Auber</td>
<td>Satanella; or, The Power of Love</td>
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<td>Le Nozze de Figaro</td>
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<td>Don Giovanni</td>
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<td>Amilie</td>
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<td>Verdi, Troto, Flotow</td>
<td>Il Trovatore</td>
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<td>Martha</td>
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<td>1863</td>
<td>Meyerbeer, Bellini</td>
<td>Les Huguenots</td>
<td>1836</td>
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<td>I Puritani</td>
<td>1835</td>
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<td>1864</td>
<td>Gay/Pepusch, Meyerbeer, Counod</td>
<td>The Beggar's Opera</td>
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<td>Le Prophète (1849)</td>
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<td>Faust (London 1863, New York 1864)</td>
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<td>1865</td>
<td>Benedict, Weber, Balfe, Auber, Donizetti, Bellini</td>
<td>The Lily of Killarney (1862, Phil. 1867)</td>
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<td>Oberon (London 1826, New York 1828)</td>
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<td>The Rose of Castile</td>
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<td>L'Elixir d'Amore</td>
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<td>1866</td>
<td>Donizetti, Bellini</td>
<td>La Fille du Régiment (1840)</td>
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<td>Rossini, Weber</td>
<td>Don Pasquale</td>
<td>1843</td>
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<td>Rossini, Meyerbeer</td>
<td>Norma (1831)</td>
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<td>La Semiramisde (1823)</td>
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<td>Il Barbiere di Siviglia (1816)</td>
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<td>Der Freischütz (1821)</td>
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<td>L'Africaine (1865)</td>
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<td>Robert le Diable (1831)</td>
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<td>1868</td>
<td>Verdi</td>
<td>I Due Foscari</td>
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<td>Verdi</td>
<td>Un Ballo in Maschera</td>
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<td>Verdi, Rossini</td>
<td>Rigoletto</td>
<td>1851</td>
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<td>Guillaume Tell (1829)</td>
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1870: Verdi, \textit{Ermani} (1844)  
Verdi, \textit{Les Vêpres Siciliennes} (1855)  
Cimarosa, \textit{Il Matrimonio Segreto} (1792)  
Verdi, \textit{Attila} (1846)

1872: Verdi, \textit{Macbeth} (1847; rev. 1865)  
Verdi, \textit{Luise Miller} (1849)  
Offenbach, \textit{Orphée aux Enfers} (1857)  
Offenbach, \textit{Le Barbe Bleue}

This year also saw revivals of \textit{Maritana}, \textit{Lucia di Lammermoor}, \textit{Der Freischütz}, \textit{Un Ballo in Maschera}, \textit{Il Barbiere di Sevilla}, \textit{L'Africaine}, \textit{Faust} and \textit{Norma} in a total repertory of 39 operas still in production from previous seasons. The first appearance of Offenbach is the beginning of regular seasons of opéra bouffe.

1873: Rossini, \textit{Mosé in Egitto} (1818)  
Donizetti, \textit{Poliuto} (1840)  
Donizetti, \textit{La Favorita} (1840)  
Appolloni, \textit{L'Ebreo}  
Wagner, \textit{Lohengrin} (1850; NY 1871, London 1875)  
Wagner, \textit{Tannhäuser} (1845; NY 1859, London 1876)

1874: Ricci, \textit{Crispino e la Comare} (1850)  
Verdi, \textit{I Lombardi alla Prima Crociata} (1843)  
Halévy, \textit{La Juive} (1835)  
Offenbach, \textit{La Grand Duchesse de Gérolstein} (1867)  
Offenbach, \textit{La Princesse de Trébizonde}  
Offenbach, \textit{The Brigands}  
Offenbach, \textit{Geneviève de Brabant}  
Offenbach, \textit{La Périchole}  
Lecocq, \textit{Girolfol-Girofla}

1875: Lecocq, \textit{Les Cent Vierges}  
Lecocq, \textit{La Petite Mariée}  
Hervé, \textit{Le Petit Faust}

1876: Gilbert and Sullivan: \textit{Trial by Jury} (1875)  
Lecocq, \textit{Les Prés St. Gervais}  
Offenbach, \textit{La Belle Hélène} (1864)

1877: Verdi, \textit{Aida} (1871; NY 1873, London 1876)

1878: J. Strauss, \textit{Die Fledermaus} (1874, London 1876)

1879: Bizet, \textit{Carmen} (1875; London 1878, NY 1878)

The last Lyster season in Sydney ran for 67 nights, and revived operas by Wallace, Balfe, Barnett, Benedict in a repertory of 14 operas, including this premiere of \textit{Carmen}.  

CHAPTER I, NUMBER 12 (footnote 94, page 53)

New Productions in the Touring Repertories of Visiting Professional Opera Companies, 1870s-1880s

1871: Cagli-Pompeii Company: Pipile (The Mysteries of Paris) Sappho

1871: Agatha States Company: Il Trovatore Faust

1875: Parley-Bracy Comic Opera Company: Les Cents Vierges (Lecocq)

1875: Emily Melville Opera Company: Giroflé-Girofla Barbe Bleue (Offenbach)

1877: Emilie Soldene English Comic Opera Company: Madame L'Archduke La Fille de Mme. Angot (Lecocq) Grand Duchess Gerolstein Giroflé-Girofla Barbe Bleue La Belle Hélène Chilparia (Hervé) Poulet et Poulette

1877: Simonsen English Opera Company Merry Wives of Windsor (Nicolai)

1880: Montague-Turner Comic Opera Company: La Fille de Tambour-Major (Offenbach) Pirates of Penzance

1881: Musgrove's London Opera Comique Company: Olivette (Audran) Madame Favart (Offenbach) Manola (Lecocq) Patinitza (Lecocq) La Fille de Tambour-Major

1881: Pollard's Lilliputian Opera Company: The Princess of Trébizonde (Offenbach) Manteaux Noirs (Bucalossi) The Little Duke (Lecocq)

1882: Williamson, Garner and Musgrove Royal Opera Company: La Mascotte (Audran)

1882: Emily Melville Company: The Little Middy Patinitza

1882: Simonsen's Royal English Opera Company: Boccaccio (von Suppé)

1883: Emilie Melville Opera Company: The Royal Middy (Genée)
1884: Montague-Turner Opera Company: Estrella (L. Searelle, Australian) Carmen
1884: Dunning's London Opera Company: The King's Dragoons (John Crooke)
1885: Signora Fabris' Opera Company: Niccolo di Gioso Don Checco Maritana
1885: Dunning's Comic Opera Company: Barbe Bleue The Mikado
1887: Simonsen's New Royal Italian Opera Company: Belisario (Donizetti)
1915-1956: Australian Opera Companies and Their Repertory

(A = Australian; * = an Australian premiere)

NEW SOUTH WALES

State Conservatorium of Music, Sydney:

1924: The Immortal Hour*
1925: Le Rosse di Figaro
1927: Euryanthe
1929: Hugh the Drover
1930: Fidelio
1935: Orpheus and Eurydice
1936: The Magic Flute
1936: The Bartered Bride
1937: Don Giovanni
1938: Orpheus. The Devil Take Her (A)
1938: Tales of Hoffmann
1939: Hugh the Drover
1939: William Tell
1940: Carmen
1940: Merry Wives of Windsor
1941: Tales of Hoffmann
1941: Euryanthe
1942: Don Giovanni
1942: Carmen
1943: The Magic Flute
1943: Orpheus
1944: The Pearl Tree*
1944: Tales of Hoffmann
1945: The Pearl Tree
1945: Eugene Onegin
1946: The Bartered Bride
1946: Pique Dame*
1947: Eugene Onegin
1947: The Magic Flute
1948: Cavalleria Rusticana
1948: I Pagliacci
1948: Louise*
1949: Falstaff
1949: The Marriage of Figaro
1950: Falstaff
1950: Pelléas et Mélisande*
1950: Maestrichter
1951: Judith*
1951: Gianni Schichi*
1951: Othello
1952: Boris Goudonov
1952: Orpheus
1953: Die Walküre
1953: The Bartered Bride
1954: Romeo and Juliette
1954: Suour Angelica*
1954: The Boatwain's Mate*
1955: Force of Destiny
1956: Così fan Tutte
National Opera, Sydney

1951: Il Seraglio
1951: Carmen
1951: The Masked Ball
1952: Lohengrin
1952: Lucia di Lammermoor
1952: The Masked Ball
1952: Tosca
1952: Don Giovanni
1952: Cavalleria Rusticana
1952: I Pagliacci
1953: Carmen
1953: Endymion (A)
1953: The Devil Take Her (A)
1953: La Bohème
1953: The Barber of Seville
1953: Cavalleria Rusticana
1953: I Pagliacci
1953: The Flying Dutchman
1954: The Devil Take Her (A)
1954: La Bohème
1954: Il Trovatore
1954: Gianni Schicchi
1954: Il Tabarro
1954: Il Seraglio
1954: Faust
1955: The Barber of Seville
1955: Die Fledermaus
1955: Rigoletto
1955: Il Trovatore
1955: La Bohème
1955: Madame Butterfly
1955: La Traviata

VICTORIA

Melba Conservatorium of Music, Albert Street

1915: Dido and Aeneas*
1916: Iphigenia in Aulis*
1919: Iphigenia in Tauris*
1920: The Marriage of Figaro
1924: Dido and Aeneas
1925: The Magic Flute
1926: Orpheus
1927: Fidelio
1928: Così fan Tutte
1930: Il Seraglio
1932: The Immortal Hour
1934: Tannhäuser
1942: Riders to the Sea (*)
1943: Die Fledermaus
1944: Dido and Aeneas
1947: The Bartóred Bride
1951: Merry Wives of Windsor
National Theatre Movement,
Victoria:

1939: The Flying Dutchman
1939: The Marriage of Figaro
1940: The Marriage of Figaro
1940: The Beggar's Opera
1941: Hansel and Gretel
1941: Orpheus
1942: Monsieur Beaucaire *
1942: Il Seraglio
1943: Così fan Tutte
1943: Tales of Hoffmann
1944: Martha
1944: Rigoletto
1945: Faust
1945: The Magic Flute
1946: The Beggar's Opera
1946: Iphigenia in Aulis
1947: Carmen
1947: Orpheus
1948: Aida
1948: Faust
1948: Rigoletto
1948: Carmen
1948: The Marriage of Figaro
1949: Tales of Hoffmann
1949: Martha
1949: The Magic Flute
1949: The Barbered Bride
1949: Fidelio
1949: La Traviata
1949: Eugen Onegin
1949: Tannhäuser
1949: Don Pasquale
1950: Madam Butterfly
1950: Rigoletto
1950: The Barber of Seville
1950: The Flying Dutchman
1950: Hansel and Gretel
1951: Aida
1951: The Marriage of Figaro
1951: Carmen
1951: The Barber of Seville
1951: Rigoletto
1952: Lohengrin
1952: Lucia di Lammermoor
1952: The Masked Ball
1952: Tosca
1952: Don Giovanni
1952: Cavalleria Rusticana
1952: I Pagliacci
1953: The Consul *
1953: The Barber of Seville
1953: La Bohème
1953: Tosca
1953: Così fan Tutte
1954: Tales of Hoffmann
1954: Hansel and Gretel
1954: Amahl and the Night Visitors
1954: The Consul
1954: La Traviata
1954: Madame Butterfly
1954: Albert Herring
1954: La Belle Hélène
1955: The Marriage of Figaro
1955: The Magic Flute
1955: Cosi fan Tutte
1955: Don Giovanni
1955: Il Seraglio
1956: La Traviata
1956: Carmen
1956: Madame Butterfly
1956: The Marriage of Figaro
1956: Tosca
1956: The Telephone
1956: The Medium

NSW Rockdale Municipal Opera Company:
1948: Faust
1949: Carmen
1950: Rigoletto
1951: La Bohème
1952: Hansel and Gretel
1952: La Traviata
1953: Martha
1953: Rigoletto
1953: Madame Butterfly
1954: Manon Lescaut
1955: Tosca
1956: Susanna's Secret
1956: Amahl
1956: Burning to Sing
1956: Carmen

Queensland State Opera Scheme:
1948: Maritana
1948: The Bohemian Girl
1949: The Bohemian Girl
1949: Faust
1949: Hansel and Gretel
1950: Il Trovatore
1950: La Bohème
1950: Rigoletto
1951: Carmen
1951: Romeo and Juliet
1952: Madame Butterfly
1952: Cavalleria Rusticana
1952: I Pagliacci

Queensland National Opera,
Brisbane Opera Company:
1953: Tosca.
1953: La Traviata
1954: La Bohème
1954: Faust
1955: Rigoletto
1956: Cavalleria Rusticana
1956: I Pagliacci
SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Conservatorium of Music

1925: **Dido and Aeneas**
1926: **The Marriage of Figaro**
1926: **Carmen**
1927: **The Marriage of Figaro**
1927: **Orpheus**
1928: **Lochiniwa(A)**
1929: **Iphigenia in Aulis**
1930: **Merrrie England**
1931: **Maritana**
1932: **Merrrie England**
1933: **Faust**
1943: **The Marriage of Figaro**
1943: **Hansel and Gretel**
1945: **The Marriage of Figaro**
1946: **Cosi fan Tutte**
1946: **Faust**
1946: **The Barber of Seville**
1947: **Hansel and Gretel**
1948: **Carmen**
1949: **The Beggar's Opera**
1949: **Cosi fan Tutte**
1950: **Hugh the Drover**
1950: **Faust**
1950: **Cosi fan Tutte**
1951: **Faust**
1952: **Don Giovanni**
1953: **The Magic Flute**
1954: **Don Pasquale**
1955: **The Marriage of Figaro**
1955: **Bastien and Bastienne**
1956: **Bethlehem(*)**
CHAPTER 2, NUMBER 1

(Footnote 19, page 65)

THE WREDE MANUSCRIPT: W.R. WREDE MS 9207, VSL:A: A Note:

The works were copied between 1839 and 1842 on board the barque 'Anna Watson' (1839), schooner 'Samuel Baker' (1840), barque 'Briton' (1840) and the 'Eagle' (1842). The author's record of location, in latitude and longitude, and date during the making of his MS suggests that much of the music was actually performed on board and possibly copied from memory, although one, 'The Masaniello Quadrilles', was copied from a printed set belonging to a Miss Amelia Long, Capetown, 14 October 1840, p.32-6. See (vi) below. Another was copied from Captain J.W. Buckley's manuscript on the Eagle, 4 January 1842, p53, also p64, called 'Let us Drink to Old Friends'. Of 35 musical items in vocal or pf. score, there are examples of (i) French chansonnets: 'La Bérégère Delage' p14, and 'Mon rocher de St. Malo' p89; (ii) German lied: 'Zur Nacht' p21, 'Es war ein König in Thule' from Goethe's Faust, p24, 'Du, du liebst mir dein Herz' p37, 'Das Heimweh' p91, the final item in the book and copied off the coast of Australia, 17 February 1842; each has German text underlay; (iii) songs with guitar or flute accompaniment: see pp 14, 27, 28, 77, 78; (iv) waltzes by Strauss, p25, Weber, p38, Labitzki, p70, and other dances and popular English ballads of the type sung in operas of the day. (v) a set of Lancers' Quadrilles contains an air from Rodolphe Kreutzer's Lodoiska of 1791 which was first played in Sydney on 20 August 1829, see J. Hall, article 5, Canon IV, 470; and an air from The Beggar's Opera, dated July 1840, pp.15-19. (vi) Miss Long's Masaniello Quadrilles is another set of 5 dances including the overture and music from this opera by Aubert of 1828. (vii) there are songs with several verses by Sydney Nelson: 'The Ploughshare of Old England' p22; and 'The Rose of Allendale' with guitar accompaniment, p77: words to this song were by the Australian C. Jeffreys. Nelson was later resident in Melbourne from 1852, where he wrote and produced a number of his own farces and vaudeville, also with Akhurst; see Catalogue 5; (viii) a song by John Braham, 'The Sailor's Grave' nd, p1-6; E.J. Loder, 'The Brave Old Oak' p42-4; Henry Bishop, 'This wind to sleep' p45-7; Charles E. Horn, 'I know a bank whereon the Wild Thyme blows' dated 20.1.1842, p58-63, and 'The Moorish Maid', with guitar accompaniment, copied 4.2.1842, p78-80; and William Moncrieff, 'Pretty Star of the Night', copied 7.1.1842. Many of these songs are drinking songs or have nautical themes; they are by some of the best-known and most prolific opera composers of the day. (ix) there are also dances, including the 'Polacca' from II Puritani called 'Son Vergin Vezzosa' in v.s.c. copied September 1839, pp3-9, and the 'Taglioni' waltz, copied 18.10.1839, pp13-14. This collection has not previously been examined. It is unique for its additional enclosure of two anonymous gold-digging polkas, possibly original; 'The Cradle Creek' and 'The Clunes', which are not dated, ink, 3pp, pf. score (incomplete) in loose MS inserted in this bound volume. Items are indexed alphabetically and the copies are in ink. 91 pp. Ms 9207, VSL:A (1976).
A Note on Gothic Melodrama and Romantic Opera

The components of Romantic Opera - conditioned by Revolutionary France (1791-1805) and arising in Gallic 'rescue' opera - combine German techniques, Italian melodies, and French esprit as epitomized in the grandly romantic operas of Meyerbeer. The major composers are Rossini, Bellini, Verdi, Donizetti, Wagner, Weber, and Auber, who provide the most durable models for English and English-colonial romantic opera of the 19th century.

The rapid acclimatization of romantic opera in England and the mutual exchange with English literary traditions - especially the Gothic novel - really dates from Rossini's visit to London in 1823; for example, the first extensive London season of German romantic opera was in 1832, with performances of Weber's Der Freischütz (1824) and Beethoven's Fidelio (the 1814 version).

The transplantation of romantic opera to England was reciprocated in the exchange to European opera of English and Gaelic historical themes and Gothic modes in the novels of Sir Walter Scott, the plays of Lord Bulwer Lytton, and the poetry of Lord Byron. During the 19th century alone, there were at least 100 international operas which adapted Scott's Waverley novels.

However, the literary forerunners of Gallic 'rescue' opera and melodrama and of Scott's creation of atmosphere, adventure, excitement, and heroism, are the novels by Ann Radcliffe (1764-1823), which include: A Sicilian Romance (1790), A Romance of the Forest (1791), The Mysteries of Udolpho (1794), and The Italian; or, The Confessional of the Black Penitents (1797). Radcliffe was herself influenced by the dramas of Schiller, especially Die Räuber (The Robbers, 1781) which set the models for the Gothic form: the heroes, villains, heroines, bandit-chiefs, haunted castles, and fearful atmosphere of this essentially escapist genre.

The Gothic deals with vicarious fear. In the Gothic mode, fantasy predominates over reality, the supernatural over the natural, with the intent to scare and to arouse physical terror. Ann Radcliffe
became the most popular 18th century English novelist, and set standards by which 19th century melodramas might be enjoyed for their qualities of blood-curdling, flesh-tingling, thrilling adventure in graveyard lusts, wandering ghosts, tyrannical fathers, foundling sons, doomed families, sibling revenge, suffering captive heroines, and the 'aroma' of incest.

Ellen Moers, in her study of Literary Woman, New York 1977, refers to novelists who helped make the Gothic mode a "substitute for the picareseque":

For Mrs. Radcliffe, the Gothic novel was a device to send maidens on distant and exciting journeys without offending the proprieties. In the power of villains, her heroines are forced to...scurry up the top of pasteboard Alps, spy out exotic vistas, penetrate bandit-infested forests. And indoors, inside Mrs. Radcliffe's castles, her heroines can scuttle miles along corridors, descend into dungeons, and explore secret chambers. In [her] hands, the Gothic novel became a feminine substitute for the picareseque, where heroines could enjoy all the adventures and alarms that masculine heroes had long experienced, far from home, in fiction. (p 192)

Moers also points out an interesting link between Gothic melodrama and pantomime:

For outdoor travel, the Radcliffe heroine becomes, in Bronte's phrase, "the enchanted lady in the fairy tale", who flies through the air independent of the laws of gravity, time, perspective, and certainly of real travel. (p 193)

This link helps establish the popularity of many similar components of pantomime and extravaganza, as much as melodrama, such as giants, vampires, savage freaks (including 'noble savages'), exotic and satanic villains with supernatural powers, and "monsters that are animaloid humans", (p 155, 163).

Later Gothic novels in Victorian England which treat the theme of travel and adventure, and the dangers and trials of Victorian virtues of self-control, courage and heroism, also have common features with the 'bildungsroman' genre dealing with initiation and transformation, and with the idea of the world as a vast prison, and heroes and heroines as born slaves. Writers like Matthew ('Monk') Lewis, Douglas Jerrold, and Edward Fitzball, emphasize the melodrama of crime and the more sadistic ramifications of the Gothic novel, including elements of satanism, sacrilegious orgy, vampirism, incest, cannibalism, and unbridled sensuality. These Mario Praz has traced to the influence of Byron and the Marquis de Sade (The Romantic Agony, 2nd ed. London 1950, pages 78-81, 129-132, and 138). The development is especially found in the treatment of the persecuted heroine in the raped, garroted, debauched ladies in Monk Lewis
and de Sade, whose sufferings are the source of their erotic fascination.

The Gothic mode occupies many Australian melodramas and romantic operas to a varying extent, but certainly in those themes of betrayal, exile, and escape; of heroic bandit-bushrangers; of suffering but heroic convicts - like Jack Donahoe, or Jefferies, the real-life notorious rapist and cannibal of Tasmania in the 1820s, depicted in David Burn's *The Bushrangers* (1829). Unlike their picaresque counterparts, Australian bandit-heroes betray their mates.

Like the discovery devices of Italian romantic opera, a frequent use of disguise in colonial plots, whether in 'breeches' for burlesque, or in exotic settings, or cloaked actions for mystery, or in frequent insertions of masks and masquerades in the early comedies, is an important aspect of Australian Gothic. Recurring actions include duels, fights, rescue, street war, and domestic crime.

That the Gothic is an apt model for Australia's colonial, isolated, convict-based society is born out by Moers's discussion of the Gothic heroine who also stands for the "dauntless, heroic, decorous British ladies who actually did set sail for distant colonies" (p 211). The several concordances between Australian colonial reality and the Gothic imagination may have been a strong motivating factor in the early proliferation of melodramas by Australian playwrights.

From early operas such as *The Gentleman in Black*, *Merry Fools in Troublous Times*, *Don John of Austria*, to *I Ladroni* or *Predatroros*, and to much more recent themes such as the incest, degeneracy, and moral decay in Larry Sitsky's *Fall of the House of Usher* or the crime and cannibalism in George Dreyfus's *Garni Sands*, the interplay between realism and Gothic fantasy is a major feature of Australian melodrama, pantomime and serious romantic opera. This is discussed further in the summary of models of acculturation, Chapter 3, part 4, page 170.
SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

CHAPTER 2, NUMBER 3

(footnotes 50, 72, pages 74 and 81)

Operas by Isaac Nathan: Some Structural Aspects.

The Overture to *Merry Fœrks in Troublous Times*, like its Finale, is essentially an extended ternary structure. The Overture has five main themes heard later in the opera. It begins slowly in a minor key with two contrasting phrases before proceeding in the manner of an Italian Overture with the main theme in E flat major, a fast 'Allegretto grazioso.' Two slow themes intervene, one in 'tempo di Ballare' in B flat major, the other a rocking 'pastorale' before a reprise of the first allegretto theme again in the tonic. A coda bridges to another slow section, an andante movement in A flat major in 2/4 which ends with a sudden return to the allegretto still in the tonic but minus its middle arioso section. It concludes with tonic-dominant chords and flourishes reminiscent of the opening bars. Each Overture theme has contrasting binary phrases; each, on its reappearance in subsequent vocal numbers, is largely unaltered.

The Overture to *Don John*, like that which begins *The Alcaïd* (1824), introduces six themes later heard in this opera, and is the most musically varied number, even while remaining within established conventions. All six themes reappear in ensemble but not in solo vocal numbers. The first Overture theme in C Major and with two phrases, recurs in the second duet between Agnes and Philip in Act II, scene 4 (at libretto 58, and vocal score 193), and is hinted at in a short orchestral linking passage towards the end of the Finale at v.sc. 256.

The second, in dotted 6/8 rhythm and chromatic in movement, reappears in the first duet between Agnes and Philip where it is no longer dotted, at Act I scene 4 (libretto 39-40; v.sc 149). It also becomes the dominant rhythmic and melodic figure of the orchestral accompaniment to the chorus, "Hail to the Star" which begins the Finale at Act III, scene 4 (libretto 79, v.sc 227, 228, 237, 254 and again at 257 at the reprise), at all times being again dotted. This same theme is also in binary form, with its second phrase more diatonic and flowing which can be heard simultaneously in the chorus lines over the orchestral theme in these sections of the Finale described above.
The third Overture theme, with a key change to G major, (in 4/4 at p 6 of the Overture), is the accompanimental theme in the duet between Philip and Don John in Act I, scene 4 (libretto 25, v sc 98) where it appears only in the orchestral part with a brand-new, highly ornamented vocal duet above. It recurs in the Finale (v sc 250) at the key change from C to G major, and at the reprise of the first Overture theme now in its dominant key of G (at v sc 254-5), which soon returns to its C major tonic (v sc 256). The fourth theme, also binary and in G major, leads with a broad, repeated sequence of legato chords, while its second phrase is more lyrical and melodic in style. This is the theme to the Monks' Chorus in Act II. The first phrase becomes their 'Oremus' refrain (at libretto 47-8, v sc 176) now in B flat. The second phrase of theme 4 is suggested in the Trio in Act II, scene 1 between Don John, Philip, and Don Quexada (at v sc 159 and especially at 164). The "Hail" chorus of the Finale also echoes the sustained chords of the first phrase of this theme.

The fifth Overture theme is in F major, 3/4 (first on p 9 of the Overture), and is the theme of the extended Quintet in Act II (v sc 117). Here, it is introduced by Philip, repeated by Don John, then echoed by their paired voices entering at the fourth bar in imitative sequences. The sixth theme in C major, 4/4 (Overture, p 12), is that of the Duet between Don Quexada and Don John in Act I, scene 2 (libretto 16, v sc 73). After it has presented its string of themes, the Overture to Don John returns to the first, this time denuded of ornaments, to the fifth, and thence back to the second of its themes, which is, of course, the celebratory "Hail" theme which punctuates the Finale and eventually brings the entire opera to a joyous ending.

In both operas, the orchestra frames the whole work, and also frames the sectionalized Finale. There are also orchestral linking passages in both Finales, which - together with the vocal sections there - echo themes, both melodic and rhythmic, first presented in each Overture. However, a brief glance at the diagrams below, which describe the basic events in both Finales, will show how much more complex, extended and varied is the Finale to the later work. This is no longer simply an extended ternary structure but a meshing of binary and ternary forms with many interactions and concordances, which, through a more interesting set of initial themes, has a more diversified and balanced approach to unity and contrast - the principles of dramatic music - in its handling of rhythmic, melodic, and harmonic elements:
**FINALE** to *Merry Freaks in Troubles Times* (1843):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>v.sc.page</th>
<th>Act II, scene 9 (no.17)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Orch. Intro. 8 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SSTTBB Ch. 8 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Solo</strong> (Alfred) 8 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SSTTBB Ch. 8 bars (rep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Orch. link 2 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Solo</strong> (Charles) 8 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SSTTBB Ch. 8 bars (rep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td><strong>Solo</strong> (Alfred) 10 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BB Ch., added SS,TT over 6 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Orch. link 2 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>SSTTBB 8 bars (rep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SSTTBB Ch 8 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SSTTBB Ch 8 bars (rep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>B Major</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>E Major</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with four parts:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(i) Solo (Alfred, S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S.1</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>(ii) S.2 with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T.1 and Charles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(iii) T.2 with Wilmot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(iv) B.1, B2 with Milford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for concerted finale</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for 14 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Orch. coda 12 bars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

= repeat
FINALE to Don John of Austria (1846)

v.sc. page | Act III, scene 4 (no 19) | libretto page
---|---|---
227 | Orch. Intro. 10 bars | 79.
228 | Ch. SSTTBB 2 bars | Grand Ch. 4 lines
(p. nos confused) | Solo (Agnes) 10 bars | Agnes (4 lines)
| Solo (Philip) 10 (rep) | Philip (4 lines)
| Ch. SSTTBB 8 bars (rep) | |
231 | Orch. link 2 bars | |
| Ch. SSTTBB 8 bars (rep) | |
233 | Orch. link 2 bars (rep) | |
| Solo (Don John) 8 bars | 80. Don John (4 lines)
235 | Ch/Quintet 4 bars | |
236 | Orch. link 2 bars | (Dorothy, 4 lines, deleted)
241 | Ch. SSTTBB 3 bars | |
244 | Ch/Quintet 12 bars | Don Q. 4 lines
247 | Solo (Don Quixada) 15 bars | |
249 | Ch. SSTTBB 2 bars | Grand Ch. 4 lines (rep)
| Ch/Quintet 4 bars | |
255 | Orch. link 2 bars | |
| Ch. SSTTBB 3 bars | |
257 | Ch/Quintet 14 bars | |
258 | Orch. Coda 16 bars (reprise of Intro. p. 227 and final tutti chords) | |

= repeat
Performances of *Stella*: Further Documentation

The opera was performed only twice in Melbourne in May 1912, with later 15 performances at the London Palladium in June 1914. Proposed productions elsewhere all failed. Thomas Beecham had thoughts of a production at Aldwych, and later for Covent Garden, but these plans did not eventuate (Marshall-Hall, *letter* to J. Barrett, from London dated 25 June 1914; VU:A).

Dr. Barrett had already set up a London Committee to represent Hall and promote *Stella*, whose members consisted of the writer and musician A.E.J. Lee, Dr. Leland, and Barrett. Marshall-Hall described their efforts as 'hopeless' (Marshall-Hall, *letter* to Barrett, from Melbourne, December 1912; VU:A).

Charles Levey, former horn player and student at the Melbourne University under Hall, took the score of the opera to North America in 1912, and was prepared to risk 2,000 pounds of his own and act as manager, but his scheme also failed (Marshall-Hall, *letter* to J. Barrett, from Melbourne, 12 October 1912, VU:A).

A.E.J. Lee, citing the experience of Ethel Smyth, suggested to Marshall-Hall that he should call himself "M. Mareschal-Salle and translate *Stella* into French", when he correctly forecast the London failure of the opera in its unsuitable location in the Palladium music-hall (Lee, *letter* to J. Barrett, from London, 28 July 1911; and also 3 May 1914; VU:A).

H.J. Wertheimer, formerly a music teacher in Melbourne (1894-1910) who was teaching music in Berlin in 1914, tried to persuade German opera houses to accept *Stella* and also *Romeo and Juliet*, Marshall-Hall's last opera. His daughter Ella Winter, after the composer's death, told Mr. H. Brookes who was collecting memorial documents on the composer's life and works, that the London failure of *Stella* contributed to his intense depression "which, with the failure of all his other attempts to get recognition for his works here (viz: London), made Hubert (his son) fear he had thoughts of taking his life", (Ella Winter, *letter* to H. Brookes, from London, 4 August 1921; VU:A). See also a postcard Hall sent Wertheimer about the failure of *Stella* in London (dated 12 June 1914; VU:A).
There is little doubt *Stella* contains biographical references to Marshall-Hall's second marriage. A.E.J. Lee considered the libretto he wrote was "a confession to the whole world of the weaker side of his character" in his book *Music and Its Creators* (by "Neville d'Esterre"), London 1925, which Henry Tate quotes in an article about Marshall-Hall, *Age*, 2 January 1926 (Press clipping, VU:A). Lee added: "It was a tragic end to his career. The opera was musically not without value, but the libretto...was impossible...an utterly melancholy and tragic affair."
1. **Songs and Choral Works:**

These include translations he made from Persian poetry, French and German texts, and verses by Schiller, Louisa Ayres Garrett, and Shelley. He wrote a sextet for voice and strings called "Flowers" (Schiller) composed in 1886; "La Belle Dame Sans Merci" (Keats) for soprano and orchestra in 1894; "Maud" (Tennyson) for soprano and orchestra, written when he was 17 years, and performed in Melbourne by Elise Wiedermann on 25 August 1906; "The Helena", a choral ode (Goethe) written for the Melbourne Liedertafel in 1898, with both English and German text adapted from Faust; an "Australian National Song" for mixed choir and orchestra; and also settings of psalms and anthems for four-part chorus and soloists. These works are among the **Marshall-Hall Collection, VU:GC.**

2. **Instrumental Music:**

These include "A Harold Overture" (1888); "Dramatic Study" (1891); Overture to "Giordano Bruno" (1892); "Idyll" (1894); two Symphonies, one in C major (1893), the other in E flat major (1903); some keyboard sonata movements; a "Phantasy" for solo horn and orchestra (1905); "Caprice" for violin and orchestra, first performed in Melbourne, 1910; various items of chamber music and, of course, the incidental music to his classical plays, especially *Alcestis* (1897-98), which is described in Vol.II, Catalogue 1. These compositions in manuscript are also in VU:GC.

3. **Poems:**

His poetry was published in several collections including: *A Book of Canticles, Melbourne 1897, 71 p, copy in VU:A; To Irene, Sydney 1896, copy in NLNM; A Hymn to Sydney, Melbourne 1897, and Hymns, Ancient and Modern, Melbourne 1898, both in VU:CC.* From the latter, two controversial poems were censored for obscenity and the book was withdrawn. Two poems were published in Murdoch's edition, *The Oxford Book of Australasian Verse, London 1918:* they are: "To Giansu Corducci" and "On Reading Shakespeare's
Sonnets"; EMM I, 275-6. He contributed poems to Henslowe's Annual, numbers 1-5 (1900-04) together with Melbourne writers Frank Wilmot ("Furnley Maurice"), Leon Brodzky, and W. Ogilvie; EMM II, 951. Other extant poems include "Persephone"; a Notebook containing 9 poems; a typed collection of some 20 translations and original verses, and some other fragments; Folios 32, 31, 23, 27, VU:GC. He spoke German, French, Spanish and had a reading knowledge of Italian; E. Scott (1936), 128-159.

4. Essays:

His published essays include: "The Bayreuth Performances: Parsifal - Its Teaching and Noble Aim", Magazine of Music, London, September 1888 (in Folio 32); "Henrik Ibsen", a speech published in Argus, 24 July 1893, (VU:A); "The Maister-Singer at Covent Garden", an undated, unidentified periodical, (Folio 32); "National Music", in a Letter to the Editor, School, (nd), London (Folio 32); "National Opera", undated unidentified periodical, London (Folio 32); "The Story of Parsifal," in Magazine of Music, September 1888 (Folio 32); "Tristan and Isolde", in Letter to the Editor, The Musical World, 6 February 1888 (Folio 32); "Verdi's Otello," undated, unidentified periodical (Folio 32); "The Voice - Its Use and Cultivation," in Magazine of Music, September 1892 (VU:A); "Weber's Oberon Overture," in Program, Marshall-Hall Orchestral Concert, 24 June 1911, (Hinze Papers, MS 2691, ANL).

5. Other Documents:

Scores: Formerly in his own collection, now in the Grainger Museum Collection, including a scene from Wagner's Rienzi (Folio 28); Beethoven Piano Sonatas (Folio 28); a fragment from Handel's Rinaldo:"Lascia ch'io piange" (Folio 27); and an unidentified orchestral setting of two Mozart songs (Folio 31).

Letters: There are many extant letters to and from Marshall-Hall, mostly written to his patrons and friends Dr. James (later Sir James)Barrett and H. Brookes of Melbourne. Informal correspondence to Barrett after 1903 and dating also from 1909-1915 is among literary sources in VU:GC. Personal letters collected by Brookes after the composer's death from many who knew him personally and who wished to contribute towards the memorial fund established by Brookes, are held in VU:A; they include tributes from students; from painter Arthur Streeton to Henri Verbrugghen dated 28 June 1912; from Henry Tate, dated 7 August 1921; and an anonymous
letter describes the composer's interest in Greek tragedy, his
insistence on the close relationship "between tragedy and romance, romance
and realism" and commenting on the manner in which he tried out ideas for
compositions during instrumental and orchestral rehearsals. Some of
these letters were collected and published as a booklet, *In Memoriam*,
published in Melbourne in 1919 by Brookes and Barrett, which also
encloses some lectures and letters by Marshall-Hall. A copy, in
Folio 26, also contains Press clippings about the composer's death
and burial, dated July 1915; VUGC. For other documentation, see
Bibliography, and also references beneath his works listed in Volume II,
Catalogue 1 and Appendix.
Marshall-Hall's *Stella*, (1910), Scene 10: Word-setting and variation technique

The final act, (scene 10), begins with one of those naive lapses typical of Australian musical melodrama, when semi-comic or naturalistic scenes from the subplot or supporting context function as inserted interludes but are rarely integrated in the main plot and texture. A distant moonlit beach is framed by "ti-tree bush and Australian honeysuckle in Greek-like groves" as a backdrop. Children with flowers, youths with boughs, and families with picnic hampers, form a cheerful procession across the garden. This extraneous activity occurs during a long orchestral introduction, during which offstage "coo-ees" and snatches of laughter are heard, partly as a means of getting the entire chorus on-stage for the first time in the opera, but also within Italian opera convention inherited from earlier melodramas. The company gathers for a five-part chorus, which greets the Committee members of the Social Purity Society meeting under Mrs. Chase's patronage.

Stella is seated in the garden, alone, and the scene properly begins at section 117 of the full score with her soliloquy accompanied by solo flute at unison, with an underlay of broken pizzicato arpeggios on clarinet and strings. At her words, "...could I but die, his arms about me, his voice at my ear whispering...", the oboe takes up her soprano line over a chordal brass choir. Her next words, "...I love thee..." are again echoed by flute (section 118), with the arpeggiated bass line taken now by clarinets and bassoon; the harp enters as a triplet ostinato opens on the strings, oboes, and cor anglais. This ostinato passes through stretto entries among the string and woodwind ensemble members to the point of Stella's unaccompanied phrase (119), "...there's none to care for me, none to pity me..."

Her second verse (120) is a variation on the theme, the voice imitated now by violins, now by trumpets and trombones, while cellos take the arpeggiated figure. A slow section begins on oboes (121) in an inverted variation of the theme. This is taken up by cor anglais and bassoon over a brass accompaniment. A recapitulation of the flute theme (118) is heard at Stella's words "...thus, thus to bid adieu to shame and
fear and heartache..." Over sustained woodwind chords, this theme is developed by clarinet until a cadenza on the oboe over winds and bass ends the section.

Suddenly the rhythm breaks into urgent staccato pulses; a rapidly-descending chromatic figure appears in triplets on the solo flute as Stella picks up the phial of poison (122) and speaks. The clarinet joins flute, but a shudder on the cymbals breaks their theme. For two bars, a solo oboe repeats the nervous descending triplet figure which is derived motivically from the earlier flute theme (of 117). Stella sees Kirke on the verandah of the house, and an ominous tremolando passage on divided strings hovers on the dominant seventh of G major, announcing a reprise of the solo flute motif (of 117-118). As Kirke approaches, the descending triplet theme first heard at (122) is now fragmented into increasingly shorter segments on alternating solo wind instruments, representing Stella's agitation. His eagerness to see her is expressed in an accompanying triplet ostinato which rises in a dramatic crescendo to the seventh chord of E flat. But Stella, "in a moment of supreme desperation", quickly drinks the poison. Flutes in fortissimo with violins in unison now take the descending triplet figure in ominous and heavily-accented semi-quavers (124).

When Kirke is taken-aback at Stella's agitation (125), a strong chordal cadence is played on trombones, slowing the action. Stella sinks on the garden seat and begins her story, and the orchestra repeats the theme (117). Now her melody is broken breathlessly and passes between solo oboe and bassoon, with punctuating accents on the trombone. All the motifs reappear in instrumental variations, contrasting the different timbres, while Kirke questions Stella, accompanied by the underlying triplet figuration. A duet between the lovers (139) unites the melodic motifs in a cantabile phrase as Stella, "feeling herself dying, no longer resists but gives herself over to this last desperate taste of joy in death." At (143), as the poison begins to work, this theme disintegrates in a series of staggered convulsions, only to be arrested in this process by the offstage sounds of the chorus. The Society is rehearsing a new hymn composed by Chamley; a four-part chorale on a deliberately ironic text: "...Mercy thou didst not deny to the wretch about to die..." (146).

Stella finally sings farewell to Kirke, resuming the motif from (117) and (122). When Kirke realizes she is dead, he shouts for help. In the commotion, everyone rushes on stage, and the chromatic triplet figure descends on woodwind and strings. Chamley blames himself for Stella's death, and Kirke simultaneously repeats her 'poison' theme (123) over an
orchestral accompaniment in which strings together gather up the stretto motif (of 119) into a final coda.

Marshall-Hall's dramatic and descriptive writing is confident, as this scene shows. His word-setting, and especially the manner in which he underlines events in the plot or character motivations, is subtle if sometimes overplayed. He has a fine stage sense, however, for the expression of insight, psychological conflict, and emotional states. An example of his handling of a more intimate scene is in scene 9, when Weldon first recognizes Stella. His shock is illustrated by a gathering drumroll to a unison exclamation on the horns, bassoon, and bass clarinet, which expands immediately into an ominous tuba solo. As Weldon passes her by, "cutting Stella dead", a rush of string passages breaks out a fortissimo climax. These techniques and stylistic effects - if derivative or conventional in a contemporary opera context - support the drama imaginatively and boldly, and fuse the elements into a dramatic entity.
SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

CHAPTER 2, NUMBER 7

(footnote 246, page 141)

Notes on Thematic Procedures in Alfred Hill, Giovanni, the Sculptor (1914)

Hill's Overture to the opera introduces the main B flat major theme which is an eight-bar melody, the 3rd and 4th bars of which provide a supplementary or secondary phrase which becomes the theme associated throughout the opera with the farm of Act I, and with Giovanni's mother, Jeanetta. The main theme is associated with "Life and Joy", (theme 1).

Giovanni's opening recitative is typical of Hill's accompanied recitative: the voice is accompanied by woodwind imitations over an arpeggiated string or harp bass. Amina and Giovanni ask his mother to sing "that sad strange song of the wood", which introduces a key change to G minor for theme 3, a pensive motif which becomes more significant in a later appearance at the close of Act II. Giovanni is sent to milk the cow which Hill illustrates with a 'moo-ing' call on bassoon and horns, echoed by violins. The first, main theme of the Overture is then developed by individual instruments under the narrative, until Giovanni sings the full theme in a bright E major over woodwind accompaniment. This contrasts with Amina's timid, monotonous recitative, when she is accompanied by solo violin, flute and oboe. Theme I continues to provide the basic melodic shape of the recitative until Giovanni's "Dream" song which introduces a fourth theme. It is a rhapsodic melody, in which he describes his hopes for artistic success and a wider horizon to his life. (It was first sketched on solo violin but Hill recored for wind quartet with harp). A second verse gives the imitative counterpoint to solo violin against plucked harp chords, and a coda renews the woodwind timbres accompanying solo viola.

Amina and Giovanni sing a rapturous duet titled "Life and Joy" on theme 1 of the Overture, which is then extended in an orchestral allegretto coda linked to the entrance of the Padre. The Count, Alberto, enters to the second Overture theme, now with dotted notes and staccato accents. Giovanni describes to Alberto how the Padre has helped his career; intervals relate to the "Dream" theme 4. He accepts the Count's invitation to study in Florence (in unaccompanied recitative in a variation of theme 1) before an orchestral bridge blends Alberto's entrance-theme into an "andante religioso" theme, in which tubular bells and strings play a chorale
accompaniment to Amina's "Ave Maria". Intervals and note-values resemble the "Dream" theme 4, especially in the off-stage male chorus. This passage broadens into a coda with a descending bass ostinato on organ and strings and chorale-style harmony on horns and woodwind. Alberto, in a variation of theme 2, announces Giovanni's decision to accompany him to Florence. The finale to Act I, a quintet in E major, introduces the fifth and final theme, a confident melody played by the full orchestra.

Act II again begins in E flat major with a restatement of theme one from the Overture. It introduces the comic character of the Porter who sings a 'patter-song' with a conventional refrain. The theme I again links this with the next solo song from Giovanni, but in this orchestral bridge there is added irony in a reference to the Act I duet between Amina and Giovanni ("Life and Joy" theme I) now symbolically fragmented between solo violin and clarinet and dispersed among the woodwinds.

Giovanni's solo uses elements from the Finale quintet to Act I (theme 5) over an ostinato bass. Violetta, his aristocratic model, arrives for a sitting, and while he works tells Giovanni about a coming civic competition for a piece of sculpture. Her song is based on the Finale theme 5 from Act I, varied rhythmically to adapt to her speech-recitative. A telegram from his home reintroduces the second Overture theme 2 with dramatic intensity on the clarinets and violins, as Giovanni's reaction is closely related to the theme which recalls his mother and the farm.

This procedure of adapting Act I melodic materials for musical recall and contrast continues; for example, when Alberto enters the studio, exactly the same theme is used as his theme 2 in Act I, but now in E flat major. Flirtatious dialogue between Giovanni and the Princess develops theme I and contrasts with Giovanni's unaccompanied recitative when he muses on his divided loyalties. "Let me go back to the home of my childhood" brings back the third, pensive theme originally sung by his mother, set against Violetta's pleading-theme which combines the melodic phrases from the second and fifth themes. His indecision is expressed by broken chords. When he elects to remain in Florence in spite of his mother's illness, the act ends with their extended lyrical duet based on the final fifth theme of Act I.

Act III (originally opening with an orchestral interlude) leads immediately into a drinking song, jauntily recalling Giovanni's
"Dream" theme 4; the irony may be unintentional. Giovanni gloomily breaks away into an introspective solo in B flat minor which alludes briefly to both the "Dream" motif 4 as well as to the more robust elements of the drinking trio and the lyrical phrases of his Act II duet with Violetta (theme 5). An orchestral linking passage in C minor refers, in the flute part, to the first theme, followed by strings with elements of the second, illustrating Giovanni's divided spirit. These links continue under his outbursts which distractedly refer to the drinking song theme and snatches from other themes. At the climax, as he counts to three before killing himself rather than make a decision, fragments of the first theme are tossed agitatedly between solo strings, and imitated in flurries on woodwinds. At precisely the last moment, Amina is heard calling to Giovanni off-stage. Over a gathering orchestral crescendo, his wild response settles into ostinato rhythmic patterns which are disturbingly pedantic at this point in the drama. Amina makes a timely entrance, to remind him of his home and the farm and his mother (with the third and fourth themes), and the work concludes with another duet in E major as in Act I, uniting the first and fifth ("Life and Joy") themes before a sustained chordal string coda.
Australian Allegory: Scenarios of Hill's *Auster* (1922) and Tate's *The Dreams of Diaz* (1924):

*Auster* is an allegorical narrative of Australia's origins. Stella Australis (Auster) is a sea-nymph, daughter of the Sun and fair Oceania. The Spirit of the Past, Gnomus, the only witness to her birth, has been sworn to silence by Oceania who has begged Fate make Stella Australis a mortal. Auster is made Ruler of the Great South Land, also called the Island of Dreams, and is attended by companions, her friend Camoola and a company of elves. By night, she sleeps in a huge nautilus shell, which opens - like Botticelli's - to the dawn rays of the Sun as she wakes.

This is a scenario for the descriptive overture in which first slow, sombre bass strings have woodwind bird-like interjections which create a theme heard first on horns. A bush dawn is on harp figures, decorated by alternating flute and oboe over plucked strings, as the shell opens. Auster sings a florid, tricky aria which is linked melodically with the Overture themes. After a brief Elfin dance, Camoola calls on Gnomus who then tells Auster the secret of her birth. Offstage, a Demon interrupts in Hill's version of 'sprechstimme'.

Auster sings a sentimental strophic song, then joins Camoola and Gnomus in a trio as a codetta, related to the theme of Gnomus's first song, and also structured on the horn intervals of the overture and the triplet string figure of the descriptive 'dawn' opening.

Gnomus warns Auster that a lover will soon come to her. She will see his face reflected in the waters of the Mystic Pool. Here, his song adopts the theme from the elves's chorus which ended the overture. An ominous trombone codetta now echoes the first overture theme, as Auster is left alone. Her next aria is interrupted by a chorus of approaching pirates (in a theme which parallels the elves's chorus) who sing a spirited Gilbertian chorus with 'heigh-ho' refrain. The crew plunder Auster's precious jewels, and she shrieks for help.
Act II shows Auster at the Pool, awaiting the arrival of the promised lover. She sings another 'da capo' aria, linked to the main overture theme. Suddenly, a Demon appears in 'buffa' verses, but Auster patiently ignores him. In a following waltz, also based melodically on the initial theme of the overture, Camoola tells Auster a buccaneer is approaching. Don Pedro and his evil ruffians try to capture Auster by force. A storm accompanied by percussion and string ostinatos underlines their actions. Lightning sends the band away, and Don Pedro falls to his death from a high rock. Auster calls for her elves, but hears instead the answering echo of her lover - a Prince - in her aria, where woodwind accompany his echo over the transparent string setting for Auster. Two cantabile 'da capo' arias follow, as the couple meet and court, like Narcissus and Echo, around the Mystic Pool. The act ends with a slow rapturous duet.

The third act, which Hill wrote into his Act II, depicts in Cougneau's text a tableau with separate vocal numbers which celebrate the union of Auster and the Prince-lover, but, "reminding them of sterner things than love's dalliance", also shows them in tableau-vivant sequences the coming themes of work, diligence, depression, doom in battle (accompanied in Hill's finale by the Demon's offstage laughter over the 'destiny' theme of the overture, from Gnomus's first song and the horn motif). The act ends with a patriotic ensemble finale.

Tate's scenario for *The Dreams of Diaz* is set in the pre-dawn and depicts a Portuguese explorer, Diaz, delirious with thirst, exhausted, and shipwrecked somewhere on the coast of Australia in the 16th century, as he tells of his long adventures in the search for lost Atlantis. This story is accompanied by an overture which introduces various motif-phrases identified with characters and atmospheric conditions. The Spirit of the Virgin Bush enters as a vision to Diaz. She describes her undiscovered primeval continent to him as a paradise of "stainless peace". Next, the Genius of Mankind, "laden with tragedy" and "the restless heart of man", comes with the "certainty of Fate" to disturb the peace. While Diaz writhes with misery, the Spirit of the Virgin Bush watches and narrates a series of tableaux, which show the progress of future explorers, farmers, miners, settlers - as lights proliferate and cities grow. She then looks down at Diaz who has fallen asleep, and prophecies that she will soon be "rifled" by hands of men greedy for gold. To him, she mutters, "he, too is numbered with my children and soon will sleep in my abode." Diaz wakes, half-dreaming that Captain Cook's ship is on the horizon. To the music identified with the Spirit of the Virgin Bush, the vision
of modern Melbourne appears and Diaz, with visions of his distant wife scanning the seas for his returning sail, and visions of the future - "Raleigh! - Americus! - da Gama! - Columbus! -" falls back and dies just as the dawn breaks.
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