AUSTRALIAN OPERA, 1842 - 1970;

A History of Australian Opera with

Descriptive Catalogues

by

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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 under-standing shown me by my friends and colleagues, especially those engaged in Australian studies or 19th century music research. These include

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 Grainger 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 Music Center, Sydney; Musica Viva, Sydney; the New York Public Library and the Music Division of the Lincoln Center Library of the Performing Arts; and several State Opera companies, especially those in South Australia, Queensland, and Victoria. Publishers have kindly lent me study 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

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Alto
a	author
ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission
ABC:N	Federal Music Library, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Sydney
ABC:NA	Musica Australis Archives, ABC Federal Music Library, Sydney
ABC:S,	ABC:V, ABC:Q (SA, Victorian, Queensland branches of ABC, Music Libraries)
ABD	*Australian Biographical Dictionary.* ed. F. John. Melbourne. 1934.
ACA	Australian Council for the Arts. Sydney
ACP:L	Library of Australian Consolidated Press, Melbourne
ad	adapted, adaptation
ADB	*Australian Dictionary of Biography.* gen.ed. D. Pike (dec); G. Serle and N.B. Nairn. Melbourne -
	I (1788-1850, A-H) 1966;
	II (1788-1850, I-Z) 1967;
	III (1851-1890, A-C) 1969;
	IV (1851-1890, D-J) 1972;
	V (1851-1890, K-Q) 1974.
Adel	Adelaide
adv	advertised
AE	*Australian Encyclopedia,* gen.ed. A.H. Chisholm, B.W. Pratt, Sydney, 1965, 10 vols.
AETT	Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust
ANL	National Library of Australia, Canberra
AO	The Australian Opera
AOO	*Annals of Opera,* A. Loewenberg; rev. ed. Walker, London 1953
App	Appendix
APRA	Australasian Performing Rights Association

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
CBLO	*Complete Book of Light Opera,* M. Lubbock, London, 1962
cel	celeste
Ch	Chorus
Char	Character(s) or Dramatis Personae
clar	clarinet
COB	*Complete Opera Book.* G.Kobbe; rev.ed. Harewood. London, 1966
CODO	*Concise Oxford Dictionary of Opera,* eds. H. Rosenthal, J. Warrack. London, 1955
Col Sec	Office (or Papers) of the Colonial Secretary, Sydney
comm	commissioned
comp	composed

compl   completed

con   conductor

corres   correspondence

cp   concert performance

cym   cymbal

DAB   *Dictionary of Australasian Biography. 1855-1892*

               ed. P. Mennell. London, 1892

DCM   *Dictionary of Twentieth Century Music*, ed. J. Vinton. London, 1974.

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, 5th ed. London, 1954, 9 vols.
gui	guitar

HAOP	*Handbook of American Operatic Premieres, 1731-1962*, ed. J. Mattfeld, New York, 1963
harm	harmonica
harps	harpsichord
HDM	*Harvard Dictionary of Music* ed. W.Apel, 2nd ed. London, 1970
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

Laun	Launceston
lib	libretto
lic	licence(d)
Lond	London
Melb	Melbourne
Mezzo S	Mezzo Soprano
min	minute(s)
MS & MSS	Manuscript(s)
N/A	not available
NCon	Library of Conservatorium of Music, Sydney
(nd)	(not dated)
N/L	not located
NLN	Library of New South Wales (NSW)
NLN:M	Mitchell Library, Library of NSW
NLN:D	Dixson Library, Library of NSW
NLN:A	Archives Authority, Library of NSW
NMU	Macquarie University Library
no(s)	number(s)
np	no pagination
NSPL	City of Sydney Public Library
NSW	New South Wales
NU	Fisher Library, University of Sydney
NU:A	Archives, University of Sydney
NU:M	Dep. of Music Library, University of Sydney
NUN	Library of University of NSW, Kensington
NUNE	Dixon Library, University of New England, Armidale
NZ	New Zealand

O   original (as in O/MS)

ob   oboe

OCEL *Oxford Companion to English Literature,* ed. P. Harvey,

     3rd ed. Oxford, 1958

OCM *Oxford Companion to Music,* ed. P. Scholes, 9th ed. Oxford, 1960

OCTh *Oxford Companion to the Theatre,* ed. P. Hartnoll. Oxford, 1951

op   opus

OPI & II *Opera Production, a Handbook,* Q. Eaton, 2 vols., Minnesota,

     1961, 1974

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

QSL: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
timp	timpani
t.p.	title page
Tr	Treble
tran	translated, translation

trbn	trombone
tri	triangle
trpt	trumpet
t.s.	typescript
TSL	Tasmanian State Library
TSL:C	Crowther Library, State Library of Tasmania
TV	television
uncat	uncatalogued
unid	unidentified
Univ	University
v	vocal
vc	violin cello
vib	vibraphone
vla	viola
vln	violin
VLU	La Trobe University Library
VMoU	Monash University Library
VMS:L	Library of the Musical Society of Victoria, Melbourne
Vol(s)	Volume(s)
VSL	State Library of Victoria
VSL:A	La Trobe Library, State Archives of Victoria
VU	Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne
VU:A	Archives of Melbourne University
VUCon	Conservatorium of Music Library, Melbourne University
VU:GM	Grainger Museum, University of Melbourne

WA   Western Australia

ww   woodwind

xyl   xylophone

VOLUME I

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'[1] --
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 domiciled[2] 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.[3]

(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.[4] 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

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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 focusses 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'[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'.[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. [7]

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

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

6   *The Australian Tradition: Studies in a Colonial Culture*, Melbourne
     1966, 89-95.

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, (*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 inter-pretative 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

Esson, friend and admirer of Yeats.[9]   His credo illuminates, in several

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8   This perspective has been demonstrated in Geoffrey Serle *From Deserts the Prophets come; The Creative Spirit in Australia 1788-1972*, Melbourne 1973. I have drawn on many of the same critical sources, especially Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific, 1768-1859*, Oxford 1960 and *Australian Painting, 1788-1970*, Melbourne 1971, and Robert Hughes, *The Art of Australia*, Penguin 1970, on the visual arts; Leslie Rees' *Towards an Australian Drama*, Sydney 1953 and *The Making of Australian Drama*, Sydney 1973; in literature, A.A. Phillips, *The Australian Tradition*, Melbourne 1958; Brian Elliott, *The Landscape of Australian Poetry*, Melbourne 1967; T. Inglis Moore, *Social Patterns in Australian Literature*, Sydney 1971; Judith Wright, *Preoccupations in Australian Poetry*, Melbourne 1965, and *The Literature of Australia*, edited by Geoffrey Dutton. Pelican 1964. Two earlier cultural histories are A.L.McLeod (ed), *The Pattern of Australian Culture*, Melbourne 1963, and C.Hartley Grattan, *The Southwest Pacific to 1900*, and *The Southwest Pacific since 1900*, both Ann Arbor, 1963. Others consulted are R.M.Crawford, *An Australian Perspective*, Melbourne 1960, Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend*, 3rd ed. Melbourne 1970, and Ian Turner, *The Australian Dream*, Melbourne 1968.

9   Vance Palmer, *Louis Esson 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,[10] Dennis Arundell,[11] and Harold

Rosenthal,[12] or to the pioneering documentation of America opera begun by

Oscar Sonneck.[13]   There has been a growth of historical scholarship on the

Australian drama, initiated by the late Dr. Helen Oppenheim,[14] Alec Bagot,[15]

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.

11   Dennis Arundell, *The Story of Sadler's Wells, 1683-1964*, London 1965.

12   Harold Rosenthal, *Two Centuries of Opera at Covent Garden*, London 1958.

13   Oscar G. Sonneck, *Early Opera in America*, New York 1915; repr. 1963.   see
      also his *Early Concert Life in America*, Leipzig 1907;   repr. New York 1949.

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.[16]   Their work provides essential foundations to the task of

documenting colonial theatre especially.

Important archival research has been undertaken by Gerald Fischer[17] and

Margaret Abbie,[18] and two works on early theatres are indispensable for the

present study: Ross Thorne's architectural research,[19] and Eric Irvin's

history of the Theatre Royal, Sydney.[20]   Colin Roderick[21] and Roger Covell[22]

have published editions of two Australian musical plays dating from the 1840s

which have both been revived.   A recent dissertation by Margaret Williams[23]

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,*II/4 (March 1960) 79-97; (3) "The Australian Scene and the Theatre Royal, Adelaide 1868-1914" in t.s., author's possession, Sydney 1974, 15 pp.   He edited "Research Materials Relating to the Theatre in Adelaide", no.486 A, PRG 58, South Australian Archives, SSL:A.

18 M.H. Abbie, *Professional Theatre in Adelaide,* B.A. Hons. thesis, t.s., 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 Settlement 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 *Jemmy 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 "Jemmy Green in Australia", *Meanjin* XIV/1 (1955) 139-40.   Because of unresolved doubts about James Tucker/alias Giocomo di Rosenburg, I continue to describe *Jemmy 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 Geoghegan,* 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 reper-
tory 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 stand-
> point, to remove unmusical misconceptions and to
> make corrections and additions.[24]

Margaret Williams has previously deplored the scarcity of systematic research,
the poverty in accurate documentation in theatre histories in Australia.[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.

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24   O.G. Sonneck (1963) 3;   see also Virginia Kirby-Smith, "The Need for
      Research in Theatre History", *Meanjin* 95, XXIII/3 (1964).

25   See her Preface, *ibid.*, viii .   Some useful but inadequately documented
      sources for the present work include I. Kardoss, *A Brief History of the
      Australian Theatre*, Sydney 1955;   Paul McGuire with B. Arnott and F.M.
      McGuire, *The Australian Theatre*, Oxford 1948; L. Rees , *Towards an
      Australian Drama*, Sydney 1953 and *The Making of Australian Drama: an
      Historical and Critical Survey*, Sydney 1973; and Hal Porter, *Stars of
      Australian Stage and Screen*, Adelaide 1965.

The task of specialist musical documentation was begun in the series of articles by James Hall,[26] in Ann Wentzel's documentation of 19th century newspaper records,[27] and in the substantial, detailed theses on Victorian music institutions, compiled by M.T. Radic.[28] The first large study of any opera has appeared during the course of this research in Warren Bebbington's analytical investigation of *The Operas of G.W.L. Marshall-Hall* (1978)[29] which benefits from the spring-cleaning currently taking place in the archival accumulations of the Grainger Museum, University of Melbourne.[30] Surveys which have offered ideas for this study include Andrew McCredie's

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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 *Canon*, 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.

27   Ann Wentzel, *The First Hundred Years of Music in Australia, 1788-1888*, M.A. Thesis, t.s. University of Sydney 1963, also two other useful papers by her, (1962, and 1968-9).

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.

29   Warren A. Bebbington, *The Operas of G.W.L. Marshall-Hall*, M.Mus, Thesis, t.s. University of Melbourne 1977, which relates his early operas to Puccini and explores his obsolete but attractive personal style after the 1900s.   Earlier research by Julja Szuster, *The Instrumental Works of G.W.L. Marshall-Hall*, B.A. Hons Thesis, University of Adelaide 1970, T.S. unpaged, and my work on Marshall-Hall were both conducted at a time the Grainger Museum was closed to the public and its holdings uncatalogued.

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[31] and Roger Covell's earlier critical, popular history.[32]

McCredie's scholarly and critical appraisal of the works of Alfred Hill

remains a model for Australian musicological research.[33]

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.[34]

Other historical texts on 19th century music in Australia are frequently

unreliable or poorly documented.[35]   They demonstrate that the indispensable

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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).

32   Roger Covell, *Australia's Music: Themes of a New Society,* Melbourne 1967.

33   A.D. McCredie, "Alfred Hill 1870-1960:   Some Backgrounds and Perspectives for an Historical Edition", *Miscellanea Musicologica,* III (Adelaide 1968) 181-257.

34   E. Morris Miller, *Australian Literature 1795-1938; A Descriptive and Biblic-graphical 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*).

35   e.g. B. and F. Mackenzie, *Singers of Australia, from Melba to Sutherland,* Melbourne 1967; W.A. Orchard, *Music in Australia,* Melbourne 1952 and *The Distant View,* Sydney 1943; Percy Brier, *One Hundred Years and More of Music in Queensland,* t.s. Brisbane 1969; James Glennon, *Australian Music and Musicians,* Adelaide 1968; E. Keane, *Music for a Hundred Years,* Sydney 1954; I. Moresby, *Australia Makes Music,* Melbourne 1948.   Articles by Clifton, (Perth 1930), Brewster-Jones (Adelaide 1936) and F.C. Brewer's *The Drama and Music in New South Wales,* 2 vols. Sydney 1892, while based on newspaper records, are selective and do not cite sources.

monuments of bibliography and scholarship in, for example, American

musicology, such as the works of Sonneck,[36] Wolfe,[37] Lowens,[38] and Chase,[39]

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",[40]

that the derivative culture drew "almost no inspiration from its immediate

environment" and is musically "of negligible importance".[41] 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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36 O.G. Sonneck, see note 15; see also his *Bibliography of Early Secular American Music*, Washington 1905, rev. ed. New York 1964.

37 R.J. Wolfe, whose *Secular Music in America 1801-1825*, New York 1964, extends, updates, and completes Sonneck's.

38 I. Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America*, New York, 1964.

39 Gilbert Chase, *America's Music*, 2nd ed., New York 1966. Richard Crawford's forthcoming work on American Sacred Music will stand beside Sonneck and Wolfe.

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

41 G. Serle, *From Deserts the Prophets Come*, Melbourne 1973, 30, 43, and see my review of his book in *Miscellanea Musicologica* VIII (Adelaide 1975) 165-9.

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

42 A. Ringer, "Musical Taste and the Industrial Syndrome; a Socio-
Musicological Problem in Historical Analysis", *International Review of
Aesthetics and the Sociology of Music* (IRASM) V/1 (June 1974) 148.

value attributions are articulated."[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.[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.[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.[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

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

44   An example is Janos Maróthy, *Music and the Bourgeois: Music and the
      Proletarian*, trans. by Eva Róna, 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.

45   see Serle (1973) (note 41).

46   H.G. Kippax, "Drama" in *Australian Society, A Sociological Introduction*,
      edited by A.F. Davies and Sol Encel, 2nd ed. Melbourne 1970, 499.

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.[47]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

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47   Serle, (1973) 228-9.

with their culture and into an ultimate deadend or back-water.[48]   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.[49]

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48   Douglas Stewart in "The Playwright in Australia", in *The Australian
      Elizabethan 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
      constricting.   See also R. 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*, 18
      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 46,000 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 entrepreneur 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 Cross and writer Len McGlashen to create an ensemble opera around a

professional group of experienced performers, while it did not fully realise 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 Sitsky'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.[50] 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.[51]

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.[52]   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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52   K. Hince, "Reformers call for more Australian Opera", *The Australian*,
10 February 1973.   Earlier, critic Curt Prerauer had asked "What is wrong
with opera in Australia?" in "Operatic Airs", *Nation*, March 11, 1967, 19.
See also Brian Hoad, writing on "The Arts Down Under" for London's
Financial Times, 16 September 1972, 21.   A transcript was made of a
symposium, *Opera and the Australian Composer* held at the Pram Factory,
Melbourne 24-25th February 1973, sponsored by ISCM Melbourne (its Report
was published in 1973/4, ed. by Kay Dreyfus), which includes the dialogue
between composers, administrators, and members and sympathisers of the
Reform Group.   pp. 63-100.

CHAPTER 1

SURVEY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TRANSPLANTED 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 platform[2] 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

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1   Joseph Wyatt's (Royal) Victoria Theatre opened 26 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 1600
    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,* II/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.[4]

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[5] -- 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.[6]

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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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7   Sterling Mackinley, *Origin and Development of Light Opera,* London 1927, 192 onwards, and Sharyn L. Hall, *English Comic Opera, 1750-1800,* D.Diss. University of Toronto (1969) Univ. Microfilms 51 op-HalS.

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

9   V.C. Clinton-Baddeley, *The Burlesque Tradition in the English Theatre after 1660,* London 1952. For the development of Italian comic traditions on the English stage, see K.M. Lea, *Italian Popular Comedy: A Study in the Commedia dell'Arte 1560-1620 with special reference to the English Stage,* 2 vols. Oxford, 1934, and M. Willson Disher, *Clowns and Pantomimes,* London 1925.

theatre.[10]   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 accompani-

mental 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'", (1966) 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."[11] 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

11 H.G. Kippax, "Drama", in *Australian Society; A Sociological Introduction*, eds. A.F. Davies and Sol Encel, 2nd ed. Melbourne 1974, 494, 496-7. Roger Covell also writes of "an insatiable appetite for the lyric theatre", Chapter 8, *Australia's Music* (1967), 235.

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

Shaksperi Conglommorofunnidogammoniae (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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12   Ruth L. Hausman, *Australia - Traditional Music and its History*, Christopher
     Pub. House, 1976; most of the early Australian plays used traditional
     British folk traditions.

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 1885; 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, VSL.   The song is
     printed in H.Anderson, *Colonial Ballads*, 2nd ed. Melbourne 1960; see
     also John Manifold, *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
     performances both in the play and of the song with the same name; Bagot
     (1965) 4-7, 74-77, 79.   It is interesting to compare the first appearance
     in Australia of this ballad (in *Billy Barlow*, 1843) with Roderick's
     publication of the "Maitland" 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.[15] G.A. Lee's popular airs might slip into a mutilated version of Weber's *Abon Hasson* (sic),[16] and three months later substitute for Stephan Storace's original music in an early colonial production of *No Song No Supper*.[17]

This was no colonial aberration brought about solely by shortage of the specified materials.   It was common and accepted practice.[18]   Not only was there no copyright protection for composer or dramatist until 1842;[19]

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15   For example, in Bishop's *Clari. 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 (*Canon V*) 54.

16   Hall, *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, *Abu Hassan* (Munich 1811).   It is more likely to have been the pastiche production made by Tom Cooke (1782-1848) for productions of *Oberon* and *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 *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 (*Canon V*) 107.   Some of Storace's original music was retained.

18   Another example is the first Australian performance of Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* on 19-23 June 1843.   Rossini's Overture, some duets, trios and the 'Largo al factotum' of Act 1, scene i, were played, but several concerted pieces omitted.   Balfe's song, 'The Blighted Flower' from his opera *The Siege of Rochelle* (1835) was interpolated, presumably in the "Lesson Scene", Act II.   *The Siege of Rochelle* was not itself premiered in Australia until 1845 (see p 34).   For other customary interpolations in Rossini's opera, see Kobbé (1954) 361-3, and J. Hall, article 18 (*Canon V*) 504-8.   Hall also notes that after this premiere, the printer Frank Ellard hastily printed Balfe's song and advertised it for sale in *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.[20] 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*.[21] Even

the Drury Lane dialogue was said to be intact.[22] 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.[23] There was also no reason why a composer or

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20   American impressario Max Maretzek quotes a typical example: English
     composer Balfe was awarded a commission for a new opera from Jullien,
     for Drury Lane in 1847 (Balfe 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)
     Balfe, 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, *Sharps and Flats* (1890), reprinted in *Reflections of an
     Opera Manager in 19th Century America*, New York 1968, 73-80; also CODO, 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.[24]   George

Coppin's 'new' dramatic versions of his "Paul Pry", "Jim Crow" and "Billy

Barlow" caricatures were legion.[25]   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:[26]

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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 OCTh (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(melo)drama.

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.[27] 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.[28]   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".[29]

All are late 18th and early 19th century forms, which were transplanted from the English stage.[30]   All are found in the lists of imported plays presented at the Theatre Royal, Sydney in the 1830s[31] 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 Theatre,* London 1967, 66.

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.G. 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, NLM: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;[32] in Adelaide[33] and later, in Melbourne.[34] Examples were played by convict companies earlier than the 1840s.[35] Moreover, all may be found also in North American repertories.[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

32   A. Wentzel (1963), L. Rees (1973), 6-16, and M. Roe, *A History of the Theatre Royal*, Law Society of Tasmania, Hobart 1966, 48 pp.

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

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

35   Roderick's Introduction (1955) 1-30; W. Farmer Whyte (1912) 27-29; M.T. Mason, "Sydney's Early Theatres - The First Fifty Years", *Drylight*, (1962) 44-8, and E. Walter White's article on the Norfolk Island penal colony's short-lived theatre in 1840, in "The Usual Banditti - a Note on *The Castle of Andalusia*, in *Opera* III/12 (December 1952) 731.

36   E. Walter White, "English Opera in North America: 18th and early 19th centuries", *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.[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.[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.

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37   Catherine Hayes, Sara Flower and Anna Bishop are three such examples;
      See Notes to this *Chapter* (73-5) and M. Maretzek, *Sharps and Flats* (1890)
      and *Crotchets and Quavers* (1855) both reprinted New York 1968; Ronald
      L. Davis, *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. Gagey,
      The San Francisco Stage; A History New York, 1950, and see also
      Appendix, *Volume II* in this study.

38   M.A. Abbie shows the interstate movements of Coppin, Samson Cameron, John
      Lazar and the Solomon brothers in the 1830s and 1840s, in Chapter 1: "The
      Period of Residence". A study of trends in England between 1865-1914
      is Frances Donaldson, *The Actor-Managers,* London, 1950.

The overall pattern in the imported repertory shows identical traits to the English minor and provincial theatre repertory[39] and the London stock companies at Drury Lane and Covent Garden.[40] 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.[41] If a comparison is made between some of the earliest Australian premieres from 1796 (with the first-known theatrical production, *The Poor Soldier*) and selections from Sonneck's list of early American premieres, the process of transplantation is demonstrable.[42]

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.[43] The playwrights include O'Keeffe, Moncrieff, Kenney,

39   W. Macqueen-Pope, *Haymarket: Theatre of Perfection*, London, 1948.

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) 1931-1851, 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.
Julius Mattfeld, *A Hundred Years of Grand Opera in New York*, New York Public Library, 1927; George Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, New York, 1927-1949.

42   *Supporting Documents*, Chapter 1, no.3.
O.G.Sonneck, *Dramatic Music Catalogue*, Library of Congress, Washington, 1908; O.G. Sonneck with Albert Schatz, *Catalogue of Opera Librettos before 1800*, 2 vols., Library of Congress, Washington 1914, and *Early Opera in America*, New York 1915; also John Towers, *Dictionary-Catalogue of 28,000 operas and operettas which have been performed on the Public Stage from Earliest Times to the Present*, Morgantown, Va. 1910 (np).

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,
Storace 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.[44]

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:

1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838
3	47	71	59	54	80	10

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

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44   *Supporting Documents,* Chapter I, numbers 4 and 5.
     The first locally-written Shakespeare burlesque was by Charles Nagel,
     Shaksperi Conglommoro Funnidogammoniae 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...[45]

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.[46]   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.[47]   His operas were certainly influential

in propagating English and Celtic folklore, historical and national mythology,

and English romanticism to the European theatre.[48]   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 I, 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 Flotow 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) 722; Rosenthal (1958) 26. For other descriptions of early Austral-
ian performances of Bishop, see McGuire (1948) 70; Wentzel (1963) 34; and
J. Hall in *Canon IV,* 166-71; 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.

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49   The dramas of August von Kotzebue (1761-1819) had extensive operatic
      vogue.   *The Stranger* is B. Thompson's translation of *Menschenhaas 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 OCTh, 525; Bagot (1965) 61; Porter (1965) 27-8; for his influence in
      America, H. Taubman (1967) 54.   His librettos, with those of Planché
      and Scribe, are discussed further in Chapter 2.

50   Macfarren (1813-1887) had two pastiche comedies premiered at the Theatre
      Royal, *Guy Fawks* (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 Planché and Buckstone, appeared
      at the Theatre Royal in 1837, and *Robert the Devil* (London 1832) with
      libretto by Fitzball in 9.1.1836.   *Fair Rosamund* (Libretto by J.Faucit,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 reper-
      tory, 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.[53]   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.[54]   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*,[55] *The Mountain Sylph*,[56]

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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 accom-
     panied 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; Kobbé (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 begin-
     ning 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 Braham.[58]

After 1846, there were expansions of this romantic opera

repertory, seen in *Supporting Documents*, Chapter I, 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 Chamonix*, 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 impressario William Saurin Lyster.   As the century proceeds,

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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 Braham,
   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 Braham, in Sydney 27 November
   1845; and all the music for his tenor roles in Thomas Dibdin's semi-operas
   The Cabinet(1802) and *The English Fleet in 1342* (1803-4). His most famous
   song was "The Death of Nelson". J.Hall 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.[59]

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.[60] 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

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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.Abbie (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 Abbie, 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 NLN: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.[61]

In 1869 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.[62]

It is significant that the only support he gave a locally written work

was during his first season, when Marsh's *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.[63] By 1865, his Melbourne theatre

orchestra numbered 17, with 14 principal singers and a chorus of 25.[64]

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61 Brewer (1892) 69; the tour was a financial failure.

62 Brewer (1892) 71; Radic (1968) 62

63 Lyster opened with *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 *Faust, Carmen, L'Africaine, Aida, Die Fledermaus, Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin,* soon after their English or European reputation was established.

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 immig-
     rants 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. Mcleod: *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.[68] 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.[69]

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 (1945), Launceston, Adelaide (in 1846), the Victorian goldfields (1851), and finally with his main base

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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 Bo'ieldieu's *Jean de Paris* (1810) which Bishop adapted for Covent Garden in 1814: McGuire (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. Hudspeth, *The Theatre Royal, Hobart, 1837-1948: A Brief History*, t.s. in *Hince Papers* MS 2691/2896, ANL.

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 (*Canon VI*) 53-7; Wentzel (1963) 42.

in Melbourne theatres from 1854.[70]

Ann Wentzel has shown there were annual seasons of opera in Melbourne from 1855 until the first Lyster season in 1861.[71] A small visiting French company, the Gautrot troupe, first introduced French vaudeville and opéra comique by Scribe to Sydney and Melbourne in 1939-40.[72] The visiting singers Sara Flower[73] and Catherine Hayes[74] presented 'opera concerts'

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70 George Coppin (1819-1906): for biography, Bagot (1965); ADB III, 459-62; and also A. Bagot, "G.S. Coppin: Father of the Australian Theatre", in *Journal and Proceedings* of the Royal Australian Historical Society (March 1961) 34-54. 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 murmurs, and on the third hisses, so we returned to our waltzes, galops and selections", Montague (a player in Coppin's orchestra) 1925, np.

71 A. Wentzel, "The Rapid Development of Music in Australia, 1851-1861", *Musicology III* (1968-9) 69-73.

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) 25; McGuanne (1886) 25.

73 Sara Flower (d.1872), a contralto Brewer thought unequalled 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 Marsh (*Catalogue I*, 1847). She had sung portions of *Maritana* at her first Melbourne concert the previous month. Radic (1968) 52, 173. She was in the first performances of *Norma, Il Trovatore,* and *Lucrezia Borgia.* Brewer (1892) 58-9.

74 Catherine Hayes(1825-1861), Irish soprano, toured Australia after a Covent Garden debut(1849), and tour of North America with Lavenu(see Appendix, Volume II): M.Maretzek(1855)164-6. She arrived in Melbourne in 1853 to begin a two-year tour at the Theatre Royal, thence to Sydney until 1856. In 1855 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 "opera-concerts" for which Mme Carandidni was also renowned consisted of spoken portions of the dialogue of the opera,with selections from the score of the principal songs, accompanied by piano. This was especially-devised touring entertainment; Montague (1925) who played with them; R. Campbell (1957) 270; CODO 175; Wentzel (1963) 142, 213 and (1968-9) 70; Radic (1969) 153; Bagot (1965) 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.[75] 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.[76]

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.[77]

The resident company of the Royal Victoria in Sydney supported these

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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 Coppin 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 1869 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 Jeffreys' 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' art-

ists.   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

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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 *Medée*. 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. Radic (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 *Ernani* for Anna Bishop i
    Sydney *Prince of Wales* in 1857; *Sydney Morning Herald* 28 August 1857, 1,
    col.3.

even composed occasionally.[82] 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.[83] 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-Keiley-Plumpton fantasy, *Alfred the Great*, Melbourne 1878
   (Catalogue 5). I. Dicker (1974) 26, 29, 91; R. Campbell (1967) 265;
   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 suppor-

ting the imported, 'star' principals.[86]

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84   Among the several conductors who appeared with Lyster's companies are
Anton Rieff (1861), Frank Howson, John Hill (1866), A. Siede and G.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) 265; 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 Taits and J.C. Williamson*, Melbourne 1971; and
George Lauri, *The Australian Theatre Story - A Romantic Informal History*,
Sydney 1960.   "JCW" was born in Pennsylvania in 1845, was leading comedian
at the California Theatre, San Francisco in 1871, and first visited Aus-
tralia with his wife, actress Maggie Moore in 1874, returning in 1879, as
sole owner of the Australasian rights to *H.M.S.Pinafore*, which began his
entrepreneurial success.

86   On the progress of J.C. Williamson Theatres after his death, see Abbie
(1970) 90-; Mackenzie (1967) 8-12; R. Campbell (1967) 273-7;   Covell
(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, w hen 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

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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 Sierp'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..[88]

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 1931), but in 1932 there was another imported season with Williamson's

Imperial Grand Opera Company.[89]   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.[90]

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[88] *The Sunday Times,* September 3, 1911 quoted by Dicker (1974), 133.

[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.[91]   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.[92]

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 *Matza* (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. McSweeney (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 1, 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....[93]

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.[94]
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.[95]

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

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93   Dicker (1974) 198.

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.

97   Covell (1967) 246; AETT Press Release 20 December 1967 in *Hince
    Papers,* MS 2691/2403, ANL; and 2330-2416; *Trust News* (Spring 1966) 8;
    Music and Dance (May 1959) and (May 1960) on those seasons; McCredie
    (1969) 16; and R. Quentin, *Opera in Australia;* Australian Theatre
    Yearbook 1 (1958) 21-3. *The Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust:
    The First Year,* Sydney 1956.

1974 opening of its new theatre and home, the Sydney Opera House.[98]

But it has been chiefly the smaller, State-subsidised regional companies

who have continued to build on and also refresh the old standard reper-

tory.[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 conspicious 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.

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98   The Australian Opera has, however, another clearly-defined respon-
     sibility -- 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.

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 Burn[1] 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 play-

writing 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

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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 *McEwen 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.[4]

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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4 Defined politically as ending with colonial responsible Government
(1856), perhaps culturally as ending with Federation (1901); see R.
Ward (1963) 20, and I.Turner, "The Social Setting," in G.Dutton (ed)
The Literature of Australia, Melbourne 1964, 25.

reject or approve by licence any piece of stage entertainment.[5]   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,[6] they also led to suppression, and it is

interesting to see in rejected works such as *Life in Sydney; or, The Ran*

Dan 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.[7]   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 impressarios 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

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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
    4/474 1843-50, *Five Plays submitted for approval,* NLN:M SZ series.
    Also *Plays in Sydney, Vol.I, 1789-1840* in MS. NLN:M and *MS Plays and*
    Prompt Books, A Collection of Undated Plays and Acting Parts, MS B224,
    NLN: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 Deas-
    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.[8]   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.[9]   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

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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 (1/4) and the 'crimp-shops' or back slums of the Rocks (II/3)
    compared to the brilliant ball scene at the Wooloomooloo 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 (1825-1830) see Roderick (1955) Introduction
    1-33, and his edition of the convict novel, *Ralph Rashleigh*, Chapter 12,
    92-6; also Irvin (1971) 10, 11, 62-3, 65, 146.   Their performances
    included *Barissa; or, The Hermit Robber* (London 1793) and the burlesque
    Bombastes 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'Keeffe'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 1793, "once a month
    and on publick days" according to a despatch from Lieut-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".[10]   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 Freaks*

in Troublous Times (1843) both by Isaac Nathan, and *The Gentleman in Black*

(?1847) by S. Hale Marsh;

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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 Perrouse 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 Famine Punishments for Sedition,* London 1794, 16).
     It appears in the *Colonial Plays,* in Act I Scene 2 to *The Currency Lass*
     (1844) by Geoghegan 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

Mordgrundbruck (1870) among many others.   Little of the original music to

these has survived except when printed in separate sheet-form after the

production;

3.   Ballad operas and parodies.

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*

(1845), *The Currency Lass* (1844),*Jemmy Green in Australia* (1845?),*Life in*

Sydney (1843),and *Shaksperi Conglommorofunnidogammoniae* (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]

11 Examples of pantomime and harlequin music on the English stage are re-
produced with an Index of early 19th century pantomimes in David Mayer III,
Harlequin in his Element; The English Pantomime 1806-1836, Harvard 1969,
337-364. See also A. Nicoll, *The World of Harlequin,* Cambridge 1963.
The first Australian examples are found in the anonymous pantomimes
probably adapted by John Lazar for the Royal Victoria, and surviving in
the Colonial Secretary's Papers in the Mitchell Library: *St. George and*
the Dragon, (1846) and *Za Ze Zi Zo Zu* (also 1846), both listed in
Catalogue 4.

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

Heuzenroeder'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 Troublous 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 compositor

himself.[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.[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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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.

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) G.Alary, 'Variations' as sung by Catherine Hayes, pr.
in *Australian Album,* 6 pp, Syd. 1857 (NLN:M); (iii) Albert Denning,
'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 Giorza,
'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) Stephan H.
Marsh, 'Souvenir of Catherine Hayes', a 'brilliant fantasie' for pf,
10 pp, (NLN:M); (ix) Charles Packer, 'City of Sydney Polka' pr. Syd.
1855 (NLN:M); (x) Marmaduke H. Wilson, 'Jeanie 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.[14] 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.[15]

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.[16] Some were printed in separate single-

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14 Some published examples, with their locations, are: (i) Alfred Anderson, 'The Star of Love' valse on themes from *Lurline* by W.V. Wallace, Syd. nd.(NLN: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 (NLN:M): this is the same song Flotow inserted in *Martha* for Lady Harriet in Act II; (iii) Nicholas C. Bochsa, 'Dimmi che questo core', the duet from Pacini's opera *La Schiva in Bagdad,* arranged for S, Bar, pf, originally in the possession of Charles Nathan, pr. Syd. nd. (NLN:M); (iv) Frank Ellard, 'Mozart's Favourite Waltzes' an early undated Syd. publication (NLN:M); and (v) also Ellard, 'Morceau de salon' from *Lucrezia* by Donizetti of 1833, pr. in *Australian Album,* Syd. 1857 (NLN:M); (vi) Paolo Giorza, 'La Juivre: Souvenir de *La Juivre* d'Halévy' for pf, dedicated to Sarah Joske, 8 pp, pr. Melb. nd. (VSL:A). *La Juivre* 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 Siciliennes* 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, Lodiska, and le Native', arranged from *The Beggar's Opera,* pr. Syd. 1839-47 (NLN: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. McGuanne, '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" (185?). 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 (185?), 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.[17]   A meagre few still survive in original personal manu-

script collections, buried beneath carefully handcopied popular airs,

dances and overture selections from current opera and traditional balladry.[18]

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[19] - 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.[20]   Operatic music was published as early as 1826 for band concerts

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17   Examples of colonial dances written and published in Australia are
      found in the subject index (1869-96) of the Public Library of NSW, and
      are by composers including Frank Ellard, Stephan Hale Marsh, C.
      Vorzander, A.S. Hill, George Peck, W.J. Banks, C. d'Albert, Maud
      Fitz Stubbs, John Churchill Fisher, J.M. Winterbottom, M. Levey, Micha
      Hauser, Charles S. Packer, Ernesto Spagnoletti and W.H. Paling.   Others
      are listed in the *Catalogue of Colonial Music Publications* printed by
      Henry Marsh, brother to Stephan Hale Marsh, in Sydney 1854, which
      advertised "songs, Ethiopian Melodies, polkas, schottisches, waltzes
      and galops", A.D. McCredie, *Musical Composition in Australia,* Canberra
      1969, 1.

18   Three extant manuscript collections are: (i) *Pike Ms Collection* (1859)
      which contains songs for voice and piano by S.Nelson, J. Blockley,
      Fricker, Balfe, 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.E.' 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. Tyrer in the *Sydney Gazette,*
      10.10.1835 as *Nourjahad; or, The Mountain Sylph* (1846); selections also
      advertised include the opera *Gustavus III* by Auber (1845); previously
      Tyrer advertised Overtures, solo songs and items for sale from *Roberto
      le Diable* (1836) and others, *Sydney Gazette,* 11 August 1835.

in Sydney,[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.[22]   This concert
practice appears to have welcomed items also from new locally-written opera
and opera-plays.[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.[24]

Early colonial folk balladists like Francis Macnamara[25] and Charles

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, NLN: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.

22 Eight concerts were given by the Theatre Royal singers between 18-29 April
1834, and by the Philharmonic Society of Sydney between 1834-5; 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.

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 Freaks* 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.

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 "opéra comiques" by Scribe;   J. Hall, article 19,
Canon VI, 4-9, and article 17, *Canon* V, 456-60.

25 Macnamara, or 'Frank the Poet' was an Irish convict and folkbard, possibly
author of one of the Donohoe 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.
Geoffrey Dutton, Melbourne, 1964, 260.

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 unadulterated 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]

26 Catalogue 5 and references. His work is found in H.Anderson, *Colonial
   Ballads*, 3rd. ed. Melbourne 1962, and *The Colonial Minstrel*, Melbourne 1960.
   Taped performances of five original ballads by Thatcher are held in the
   ABC Musica Australis Archives. They are: "Colonial Courtship", "The
   Green New Chum", "Look out Below", "Poll, the Grogseller", and "Where's
   your Licence?", *NPM.757*, ABC:NA (May 1970). These are also published in
   H.Anderson, *The Goldrush Songster: Selected Songs of the Diggings*,
   Ferntree Gully 1958, 76, 26, 46, 36.

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, MA4, ABC:NA.

28 Roger Covell, "Introduction" to his edition of Geoghegan's *The Currency Lass*,
   Sydney 1976, xxiii.

29 E.Irvin notes this opera was performed at the Theatre Royal on 4 June 1833;
   (1971) 242. It was by J.S. Faucit, premiered at the English Opera House in
   1821. The music was apparently by Charles Horn, though the surviving parts
   show a "C.R.Hime(?)", O/MS, 5 pp, (nd) in *MS Drama A654*, NLN:A. The two acts
   contained 11 musical numbers (1:8, II:3) including a song with chorus in da
   capo form with 28 bars, a choral 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 inci-
   dental effects. It is cued 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 Freaks in Troublous 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,* I/8 (1930), 17. All early colonial amateur female performers were anonymous in press reviews.

31 These three operas are catalogued in Volume II, no.I 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.[32]   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.[33]   It contrasts the

London world of commerce with a wildly-improbable final 'rescue' scene in a

Bastille prison dungeon.   The Anglo-Gallic 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.[34]

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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 Encyclopedia,* 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-adhered 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, Fanchon, 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, baccanalian
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
ineffective 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.[35]   Suspense, horror, and supernatural elements in the Gothic novel had been spawned by French Revolutionary melodramas with their prison scenes, insurgents, rescues, faraway exotic places and historic times. Cherubini's *Lodoïska* (1791) launched Gallic bourgeois ideology and realistic social themes into the frame of heroic, patriotic, adventure operas.[36] 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.[37]   From

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[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 Gretry, 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 Ballara, and were to produce another *Euryanthe* or *Mosè 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.[38]   When it came, the opera was dated, especially
beside Lyster's imported repertory in the 1860s.[39]   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,[40]both of which
are more inventive, more contemporary with current changes in English opera,

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[38] Other than the first performance, it has never been revived.   The Overture
was played at a concert of colonial music conducted by Charles Horsley in
1867; Wentzel (1963) 226-7.   According to the *Argus* reviewer, the premiere
was "somewhat faulty" as Lyster's 'liberality' did not permit sufficient
rehearsal time, and the libretto "is susceptible of considerable improvement;
it has much of the incoherency which distinguishes librettos generally",
op.cit. p6.

[39] This first season of Lyster's Grand Opera company in 1861, included Balfe's
Satanella; or, The Power of Love, Rooke's *Amilie* and Meyerbeer's *Roberto il
Diavolo,* which, like Auber's *Fra Diavolo* (first produced in concert form in
Sydney 14 August 1845) have many plot similarities to *The Gentleman in Black.*
An opera with the same title is listed in J.   Towers, *Dictionary-Catalogue
of Operas and Operettas which have been performed on the public stage,*
Morgantown, Va.1910, where the author is given as "T.E. Clay" (1840-1889).
This may be another work than Marsh's.

[40] Their rivalry has been noted by Hort (1969) 10; and Mackerras (1963), 149
who describes their competitive memorial elegies to the explorer Ludwig
Leichardt when he was believed lost.   Leichardt was fellow-passenger with
Marsh enroute to Australia.   Nathan was embarrassed when the explorer
returned after Nathan's elegy was performed, but rapidly recomposed himself
with a "Greeting" song, while Marsh counteracted with a piano March in
Leichardt's honor (1846).   Mackerras suggests Marsh even copied Nathan,
to giving lectures, rival concerts, and seeking the same pupils, but they
also performed at concerts together.   See J. Hall, article 24, *Canon* VI,
453-7; O. Mendelssohn, (1966), 130; and the list of 13 printed works by
Marsh in ABC:NA.

and, particularly *Don John of Austria*, more substantial.[41]   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."[42]

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.[43]   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.[44]

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.[45]   His reputation had preceded him; as the pupil of

[41]   As if to underline the interstate rivalry between the two composers,
Nathan's *Don John of Austria* received an angry review in the *Port 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 delletanti [sic] of Sydney, I
shall never again pretend to prate 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.

[42]   S. MacKinley, *The Origins and Development of Light Opera,* London 1927,192.

[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 ADB II, 279-80; R.Covell (1967), 13.   See
major sources on Nathan's Australian career in *Biographical Register,*
Vol.2 (1963), Dept. of History, ANL, 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 Troublous Times* (1843), and *Don John of

Austria* (1846), 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 heros; 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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[46]   He studied with the Italian Maestro (himself a pupil of Porpora) in
London in 1809.   Corri (1746-1825) was father-in-law of Dussek with whom
he ran a London music warehouse; M. Sands, "The Singing-Master in 18th
century England", *Music and Letters* 23 (1942), 69-80, also E.Dent(1949),
176.

[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 Reminiscences 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 pathos and a lavish use of diminished seventh chords," (1967),
13.   John Braham 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 Troublous 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.[49]

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.[50]

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.[51]
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) Vestris 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.

[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), NLN: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, NLN:M; Brewer (1890), 86. An opera
called *Merry Freaks in Troublous 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.[54]   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.[55]   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.[56]

[54]   OCTL, 605; E.Irvin (1971), App.244.   George MacFarren also based an opera
   on Payne's and called it *Charles II* (1849); CODO, 236.   Other Australian
   colonial dramas on this theme are Belfield's *The Rebel Chief* (1849) 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. Taubman (1967), 66.   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

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).[57]   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]".[58]   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.[59]

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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 corres-
pondence is in the Mitchell Library, Sydney SZ57 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 II, 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; excpts. from *The British Weekly,* (1892).

[58] Delavigne and Scribe collaborated in many French melodramas including
La Muette de Portici, or Auber's opera *Masaniello* (Paris 1829, London
1829, New York 1831, Sydney 1835 and 1845); J.Hall, *Canon* VI/7, 267;
CODO (1966), 273.

[59] Operas of the same name, by W.H. Ware (b.1776) and Henry Bishop (*Don
John; or, The Two Violettas*) 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'.[60]

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.[61] *Don John of Austria* has many

parallels in contemporary operas to which it is inferior.[62] 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.[63] 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

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[60] Otway's tragedy, *Don Carlos* (1676), adapted by Schiller (1784-7), and
thence by Méry 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 *Maritana* (1845), to name two contrasting operas.

[61] Kotzebue's *Die Spanier in Peru; 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. OCTh, 525; Irvin (1971), App.244; Farmer
Whyte (1917), 33. Chapter 3 discusses the particular Australian adaptation
of Picaros, 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 14th century,
the plot-ingredients and sets are remarkably similar. Kobbé (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 Pasha at

persecuted Jew.[64] Her natural preference for Don John so enrages Philip

that he incarcerates both in the prison at the mercy of the Alcades 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.[65] Despite the sum of ideal romantic,

melodramatic parts, the libretto for *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.

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[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 *Don Quijote*): see Petrie, Ch.7, 161.

[64] There are many 19th century operas treating the subject of romance with a persecuted Jew, the best-known being Halévy's *La Juivre*, 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 1835. Kobbé (1954), 680-6; Eaton II (1974), 122-3.

[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.[66] Too many interiors closet the drama and physically enclose

the four main characters in their unrelieved conversations.[67]

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.[68] 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.[69] 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 humourous 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 II/i, v.sc. p.159);
Gomez arrests Don John just as Agnes betrays Philip's real identity
to him, (Act II/4, 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 Quixada'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.205).

(69 - overleaf)

the acts.[70] 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.[71]

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.[72] 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 Troublous 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.

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[69] Philip, numbers 7 and 16; *Don John*, nos. 5 and Finale; Quexada, nos. 4 and Finale; Agnes, nos. 9, 14 and 18. 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 6% 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 'Fandango' 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 Follie 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,

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[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 gracenotes are omitted, *Southern Euphrosyne*, p 69 at the words "will ne'er reappear". 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 Troublous 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

Cazille (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 Kapell-

meister in both Wurzberg 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: *Trilby* (1845), *Das Wunduasser*, and *Maienzaüber*; ICMM (1964); 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 Hasett 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 Stephan 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. McCrae, 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). EMM 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 of 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).[78] 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.[79]

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,

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[78] 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 1882-3 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-?), the lyric drama *Endymion* (1882) and Cantata *Apotheosis of Hercules* (1883). EMM I, 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.

[79] 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.[80]
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).[81]   Most of these colonial melodramas are adaptations largely of

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[80] *Supporting Documents* to Chapter 2, number 2. Ellen Moers, *Literary Women*, New York 1977, Chapter 5, "Female Gothic", especially at p 144.

[81] 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 *Zisca 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

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[82] A drama adapted by C.M. Leumone from *Le Juif Polonais* or "The Polish Jew" by Emile Erckmann and Alexandre Chatrian, a Gallic melodrama which also inspired *The Bells,* 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.[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.[85] This production

was possibly the most successful in fifty years of Australian musical

melodramas.

John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* (1728), which combines sensation-

alism and comedy, folk traditions and musical parody, and spoken dialogue

with interpolated musical numbers, is the main catalyst for the various

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 -

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

[85] Walter J.R. Turner (b.1889) also published poetry and at least two
melodramas, *The Man Who Ate the Popomack* (Oxford, 1922) and *Smaragda's
Lover* (London, 1924); was music critic for the *New Statesman* and
literary editor of the *Spectator, London Mercury* and *Daily Herald* as
well as writing his books on Beethoven, Berlioz and Mozart. EMM I, 392;
L. Lavater, "The Commercialization of Music", *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.[86]

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.[87]

Popular English burlesques were played and plagiarized in

North America and Australia with huge success.[88]   For example, *Bombastes*

Furioso 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

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[86]   S. Trussler (ed), *Burlesque Plays of the 18th Century,* Oxford 1969 and
M. Goldstein, *Pope and the Augustan Stage,* Oxford 1958.

[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 1660,*
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-Nonner* 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.[89]   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 Fusbos; 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 Püttmann's Gothic

absurdity, *Mordgrundbruck* (1870), and for the scripts by William Akhurst,

Garnet Walch, and Marcus Clarke dating from the 1860-70s.[90]

Australian burlesques extend from John Lazar's in the 1846

Royal Victoria Theatre repertory to modern works such as John Antill's

The Music Critic (1953), which parodies Sheridan's play, James Penberthy's

The Town Planner (1968), or the Adelaide Festival of Arts-commissioned

opera with words by Tim Robertson and music by George Dreyfus, *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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[89] 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 *The Beggar's Opera* or Fielding's *The Mock Doctor;*
      Irvin (1971) 146, 236; Roderick (1955) 3, 12, 14; Clifton (1930), 16,
      and J. Hall, article 25, Canon VII (1953-4), 145.

[90] EMM I, 357. Püttmann (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 Boosher" - "a distinguished musician who does not know a
      note of music will sing selections from his Grand Opera of *Umbuggiana*'

acquired elements from American burleycue 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.[91]

Some early colonial burlesques with music are more appropriately

described as pantomimes or extravaganzas because of their fantastic

elements.[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).[93]   This model is already a parody-adaptation, which was extremely
popular after 1834 in both North America and Australia.[94]   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 clichésof his time (and) adds a terrific combat to
his script as a matter of course."[95]   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 Phila-
delphia, New Orleans and Charleston between 1816-1831; See Grimstead's
(1968) Appendix tables.

[95] R. Covell, "Introduction", to his edition of *The Currency Lass* (1976)
ix.   The following quotations are from this edition.

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),[96] 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...[97]

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...[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,

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[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.[99]   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.[100]   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 Conglommorofunnidogammoniae* (1843), which belongs to a long

tradition of Shakespeare burlesque.[101]

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* (1883) or to parody musical

conventions (*Singvögelchen,* 1882).[102]   In more recent times, the tradition

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[99]   O'Flaherty'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 A. Birch and D.S. Macmillan (eds), *The Sydney Scene* (1962), 123-4.
"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,*
II/4 (1970) 4-8.

of the 'play-within-a-play' is revived in Felix Werder's opera, *The
Affair* (1970), which librettist Len Radic originally thought to title
"Strictly Operatic".   Werder's television opera, *The General* (1969), is
an overt satire of opera conventions which parodies Mozartian situation
comedy.

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

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[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 Lanty 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 Programs* for 1871, 1872 and *Pamphlets, iv*; SSL:A. Thomas Thiodan imitated Hall's watery scenes in *Hero 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.[106] 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.[107] 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 selfconscious 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.[108]

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[106] Hart's *The Dead Heat* and *The Fiancees* (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*
Ephemeris (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 Rees (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, 22-30.

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.[109] After the first gold discoveries in 1852, many new theatres were built in Melbourne and in the provincial towns, Ballarat, Bendigo, and Geelong.[110] 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.[111] 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.[112]

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[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.Turley, *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 MS* (Supporting Documents to Chapter 2, Number 1), and NLN:M.

[112] William Akhurst's pantomimes, extravaganzas and burlesques are listed in EMM I, 377 and discussed by Elliott (1958), 134, and M.Williams (1973) Chapter 2, 16; and in Volume II, Catalogue 5, pp 358, 360, 367, 369, 371, 379.

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.[113] They include: *Jackey-Jackey, the New South Wales Bushranger* (31 January, 1853); a series of 'tableaux-vivants' with illustrative music depicting the diggings and called *Diggers and Bushrangers* (12 February 1853); *Spirit of the Goldfields; or, Avarice, Intemperance, and Ruin* (14 February, 1853) described as a fairy morality; and *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, *The Gold Diggings* (1853), Mrs. Hetherington's *The Stage-Struck Digger* (1854), an anonymous *Goblin of the Gold Coast* (1850), Geoghegan's *A Trip to Geelong* (c 1850s) and Charles Thatcher's operettas and farces, were the earliest Victorian pieces with local themes, characters, and settings.[114]

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[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); *Playbills and Players*: an Exhibition of Victorian Theatre History, VSL:A; Rees (2), 55-73, refer to the following pantomimes.

[114] A collection of contemporary music of the goldfields is H. Anderson, *The Goldrush Songster; Selected Songs of the Diggins*, Ferntree Gully, Vic., 1958. Allan Sierp's editions of 19th century photographs and daguerrotypes 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, *National Songs of Australia: Bush Poems, Digging Adventures, Dramas, etc.*, Melbourne, 1893.
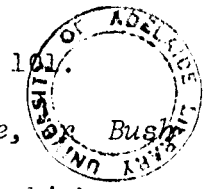
They precede later comic operas such as George Allen's *Fayette, or Bush
Revels* (1892) and Moritz Heuzenroeder's *Immomeena* (1893), which are
models for some 20th century musical comedies which revive themes and
characters such as the gold diggers, immigrant miners, Chinese laborers,
and bushrangers.[115] 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).[116]

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."[117]

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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 "F. 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 (1878), 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]

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[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 I, 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 Boddy 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 Boddy with Marcus Cooney, is a political satire on the actual
career of Frank Macnamara, "Frank the Poet" - see this Chapter, note
25. Other musical satires include Boddy's *Biggles* (1971), Peter
Batey's *Adelaide Happening* (1971), Ellis and Hall, *The Duke of Edin-
burgh 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.[122] In Australia,

this coincides with a time when audiences were increasingly stratified

and 'opera' was becoming a middle-class fashion.[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.[124]   Further proof is given by

the lively state of the sheet-music industry in Australia which promoted

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[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.

[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.

[123] H. Kippax, "Drama", in *Australian Society, a Sociological Introduction*,
2nd ed by A.F. Davies and Sol Encel, Melbourne 1970, 496.

[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.[125] 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 188-; *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, 947. 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 120 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-ta-pan' 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 require-ments 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 operetta 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.

[128] O.Comettant (1890), 180-4, 196-7; J. Meilhan, "On Music", *Journal of the Royal Society of N.S.W.*, XII, (1978) 281-92; D.J. Quin, quoting Kowalski, in *Review of Reviews* (April 20, 1895), 391; "Portrait of Léon Caron", *Australasian Stage Annual* (1901) and in N. Melba, *Newspaper Cuttings* (1905), 41, in NLN:M.

[129] *Sydney Morning Herald,* 21 April 1884, 6, and see Volume II, p 34-5. The theme is a contest between mind and muscle, and the treatment combines

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 Searelle, continue

bandit-rebel themes from romantic comedy, echoed in Alfred Hill's early

operettas, *The Whipping Boy* (1893) and *A Moorish Maid* (1905).[130] Searelle,

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.[131] Composers like

Beaupuis, Alpen, Lardelli, Truman, Dunn, Juncker, and Moulton, all adhere

to conventional comic themes for their 1890's 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*

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[129] *(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).

[130] 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 Operti's
I Ladroni (1879). Works described in this paragraph are all listed
in Vol.II, Catalogue 1.

[131] Searelle (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 Searelle to Australia. By 1886, Searelle 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.

[133] Librettist Guy Boothy wrote 8 novels and 3 other dramas, *Across the World*
for a Wife (nd), *A Bid for Fortune* (1900) and *The Jonquille* (1891).
Sharp (1859-1924) lived in Adelaide, 1882-1892, and conducted the
Government House Choral Society, Adelaide Philharmonic and Cathedral
Choral Society; was organist, and member of the Adelaide String Quartet
(1891) and co-director of the Adelaide College of Music (1889).   He
became director of the Hampstead Conservatory in England in 1896-1905,
when he devoted his time to his folksong collections.   *Cecil Sharp MSS*,
Vaughan Williams Library, Cecil Sharp House, London;   M. Karpeles, *Cecil*
Sharp, his Life and Work, London 1967;   EMM I, 384;   Brewster-Jones
(1936), 29;   Orchard (1), 57-8;   AE VIII, 84.

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.

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[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.

[135] Charles Cawthorne, "Music in the Nineties", *Proceedings* of the S.A. branch of the *Royal Geographic Society of Aust.*, XXIII, 351-68; repr by Cawthorne's Music Warehouse, Ltd., Adelaide 1925. The best general account of the period is Vance Palmer, *The Legend of the Nineties*, Melbourne 1954.

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 (1868) 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]

[136] The most substantial account, with comprehensive documentation, of
Victorian choralism is M.T. Radic, *Aspects of Organized Amateur Music
in Melbourne, 1836-1890*, M.Mus. thesis, t.s. 2 Vols., University of
Melbourne, 1968, a work to which these pages are indebted;   see
especially her Vol.I, 119-300 on the Philharmonic Society, and Vol.II,
457-580 on the Liedertafels.

[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 (SUMS) 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.[139] 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.[140]

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.[141] The Philharmonic organizations ran similar programs but with an English bias.[142] Later, French Clubs premiered the oratorios and cantatas of Gounod, Massanet, Saint-Säens, and Delibes, whilst Welsh settlers maintained their own eisteddfodau choral heritage, especially in the Victorian goldfield settlements.[143]

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[139] For example, an early Barossa mixed-choirs program, "Deutsches Sängerfest in Süd Australien: Erstes allegemeines Deutsches unter mitwirkung des Adelaïder Turnvereins am 27 & 28 Dec. 1874 in Herrn. P.Fischer's Garten, Tanunda", NLN:M. On street serenades, see Radic (1968), 479. An account of the arrival of German political and religious refugees after 1848 is D. van Abbé (1960), 26-34.

[140] Püttmann's *Mordgrundbruck* (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, Wiedenhofer, 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.

[141] Radic (1968) II, App.B, 596-98, and App. C 617; and App.D, 634-40, with details of programs in Melbourne, for example (1873-1888).

[142] Radic (1968) II, App.A, 340 onwards, listing Philharmonic Society programs in Victoria, (1853-1892) and especially pp.343, 348, 355, 419.

[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. [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, *The South-Sea Sisters* (1866) and *Euterpe* (1870) with the Melbourne Philharmonic Society.[145] *The South-Sea Sisters* (1866) is a lyric drama with libretto by Richard Hengist Horne;[146] *Euterpe* (1870) is a choral ode to words by Australian poet Henry Kendall.[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.[148] Other significant choral composers writing in Australia in

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

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

[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.

[147] *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.

[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 *Euterpe* is indebted to Mendelssohn's *Antigona. 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.[149]

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.[150]   Heuzenroeder's 'singspiel'
operettas are a case in point.[151]

Choral societies occasionally performed opera in concert
productions - mainly in the hope of raising money, or simply to compete
with commercial theatres.[152]   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, SSL: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, 138; Radic (1968), 470, 494,
649. This is a representative list of many choral composers in Australia.

[150] References to the abovenamed composers, which substantiate their contri-
butions 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.

[151] Volume II, p 29-31.

[152] For example, the Melbourne Philharmonic's production of *Ernani* 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*.[153]   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.[154]   The effect was to further familiarize concert

audiences, renowned for their "more refined taste and judgement", with the

opera repertory.[155]

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.[156]   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.[157]

Second, secular dramatic choral works written in Australia include

music written for classical plays, and historical-classical lyric dramas.[158]

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[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.[159]   Hector Maclean (*Agamemnon*, 1886), Marshall-

Hall (*Alcestis*, 1898; *Aristodemus*, 1902, and Felix Werder (*Agamemnon*,

1967) wrote classical music dramas on an operatic scale.[160]   '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.[161]

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 seats of learning would follow
suit," G.L. Fischer, "Greek Drama in the Great Hall, 1886", *Sydney
University Gazette*, 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.

[161] Examples include, Elsässer, *Wedding Cantata* (1863), Cutolo, *Triumphal
March and Choral Ode* (1866), F.A. Packer, *The Wreck of the Hesperus*
(1866) and *Alfred of England* (1867), Horsley, *Galatea Secunda* (1867).
Giorza, *Pröi* (187?) and *Cantata* (1879), Caron, *Victoria* (1880) Elsässer,
Victoria's Dream (1880), Beedham, *Perth Cantata* (1880), Fisher, *The
Emmigrants* (1880), A.T. Turner, *Victoria* (1881), J. Siede, *Occultations
of Orion* (1883), Plumpton, *Jubilee Ode* (1887), A. Seal,*Queensland Jubilee
Ode* (1887), Alpen, *Centennial Ode* (1887), E.R.G. Andrews, *Exhibition Ode*,
S.A. (1887), Victorian Centennial Cantatas by G.B. Allen, H.J. King,
L. Caron, C. Püttmann in 1888; Alpen, *Welcome Cantata* (1890), Caron's
Grand Coronation Masque (1902), Ewart's *Empire Pageant Opera* (1912) and
Alfred Hill, *Exhibition Ode* (1906).   Other masks, closely related to
operas like Hill's *Auster* (1922) are listed in FMM I, 380, 388, 389,393-4.
Truman's *The Pied Piper* is a "cantata grotesque" of ten vocal numbers, and
is his finest extant composition, NLN:M.

on commission or for reward and at least for performance.[162]   Most of

the Australian opera composers listed in Catalogue I entered the choral

music arena.[163]

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.[164]

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.[165]   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.[166]   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 G.
Peck (1859) and G.B. Allen (nd), *Euterpe* with Horsley (1870), *Honor the Hero* 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 Spec in China;* with
Horsley in *The South-Sea Sisters* (1866) and Summers in *Galatea Secunda*
(1867), with Schmitt in the opera *Cazille* (1872), Vol. II p 19.
Marcus Clarke collaborated with Coppin, 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 Dreams of Diaz* (1924) are
discussed in the next section 5 of this Chapter.

pieces, *The New Jerusalem* (1892) and *Tawhaki* (1894).[167]   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 credi-

tation 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

Püttmann, Moritz Heuzenroeder, and Carl Heinecke in South Australia, as

well as Hugo Alpen in New South Wales.[168]   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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[167] His chief dramatic choral works are: *The New Jerusalem,* cantata (1892),
6 numbers, T, Bar. and Ch; premiered 14 March 1892 in Wellington;
McCredie (4) 213. *Tawhaki,* Maori Cantata (1894-5), 8 numbers with Prelude
and Interlude; J.M. Thomson, "The Role of the Pioneer Composer; Some
Reflections on Alfred Hill, 1870-1960", *Studies in Music,* IV (1970) 57.
Hinemoa, "an epic of New Zealand", dramatic cantata (1896), published
1935, with 13 numbers and 4 soloists; *Exhibition Ode,* a patriotic choral
ode (1906); McCredie (4) 214, and Thomson, *op.cit.,* 59.

[168] Radic (1968) for example lists founders, office-bearers, choristers and
members of the Melbourne Deutscher Liedertafel (1868) (1893) and Metro-
politan Liedertafel, in which German musicians predominate; 585, 634,
643, 651, 707.

Richardson (later Henry Handel Richardson , the novelist) and Bryceson

Treharne.[169]   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.[170]   Mrs. Davidson Ewart

translated her *Ekkart* into Italian for an assault on La Scala.   Most of

these efforts failed.[171]

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, Zwintzschen 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.[172] 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.[173] 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.[174] 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.[175]

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[172] See Volume II: James's *The Golden Girl* (London 1915); Searelle, Vol.II p 32-3; Theakstone, p 99.

[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.

[174] Volume II, Catalogue 2, pp 227-67.

[175] Covell (1967), 141-50 and McCredie (1969), Chapter 5, 17.

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.[176]   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.[177]   For many creative

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[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,

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[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 2691,* 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.[182]   Some were personally victimized or faced artistic

impotence.[183]   Others departed overseas.[184]   To the artists who stayed,

there seemed a limited choice between institutional conservatism or a

personal, fringe bohemianism.

The poet Christopher Brennan was misunderstood both in his

livestyle and in his artistic endeavour.   The composer George Marshall-Hall,

might also be described as a victim of his time.[185]   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. Dutton, (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

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.[186]

Marshall-Hall arrived in Victoria in 1890 as first Ormond Professor

of Music at Melbourne University.[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.[188]

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[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 dis-
creditation in the public press; E.Scott, *A History of Melbourne
University*, Melbourne 1936, 138-159.

[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.

[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 G.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 *Hince 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 (itmes 575-4353). Other letters and newspaper cuttings are held

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.[189]   His dramatic and musical tastes,

like those of his contemporaries including F.H. Cowen, were passionately

Wagnerian.[190]   His romantic dramas include a blank-verse historic tragedy

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[187] (continued) in the Victorian University Archives where they are uncata-
logued; the remaining Marshall-Hall materials, including his surviving
music, are in the Grainger Museum collection, housed in a separate cup-
board. 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 *Hince: Australian
Sheet Songs Collection* at ANL.

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

[189] The description is George Bernard Shaw's in *London Music in 1888-89 as
heard by Corno di Bassetto, with some further Austobiographical
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.

[190] 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 predeliction 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,
Algive, 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 'Liebestödt' 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 *Aristodemus*
(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 *Kong René's Datter* 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 Verbrugghen 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 Gleam*, 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
premiere of *Pelleas 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 *Smike 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 Verbrugghen 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

Melbourne, to train, rehearse, and improve orchestral, choral, and opera

performance standards.[199]   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.[200]   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.   Verbrugghen 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 Verbrugghen 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.
Verbrugghen supported Alfred Hill who was violist in his string quartet,
his deputy conductor and teacher of composition.   Verbrugghen 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, *Hince 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 *Loehngrin* 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 Verbrugghen's Sydney
orchestra during a visit in 1909.

thing as 'English Opera' because a national opera must be based on national characteristics;[201] 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.[202]

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.[203]

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.

[201] "National Opera" in *Magazine of Music,* London, 1888; Press cutting in Folio 32, VU:GC.

[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 *Alcestis* 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,[204]

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.[205]

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'.[206]

 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...[207]

When it was performed in London, in a mutilated version in 1914,[208] 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.[209]

[206] The character of *Stella* is related to Charpentier's *Louise* (1900) and
to Hawthorne's Hester Prynne, 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: I 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.

[209] *Daily Telegraph,* London, 9 June 1914; see also *The Standard,* London, 7
June 1914, and *British Australasian,* London, 11 June 1914, and *Daily News,*
London, 7 June 1914, all in VU:A. Other London cuttings in this collectio
are from *British Australasian,* 28 May 1914, and *Daily News,* 7 June 1914.

Melbourne reviewers had already decided there was nothing particularly Australian in the music, story or production.[210] 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.[211]

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 *Hince 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.[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 *Auster* in 1922 and *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,

Alcestis (1898) and *Aristodemus* (1902), and was the first to introduce

English national opera to Australia in *Harold* (1888),[213] 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.[214]

His Maori cantatas and operas anticipate transplanted Celtic folklorism in

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[212] "First Australian Opera Night in London", *Herald,* (Melbourne), 18 July
1914, in VU:A.   The English chorus, "in spite of its desire to let itself
go with the 'coo-ees', had but slight resemblance to a band of Australian
picnickers".   It was performed in London at the same time as the premiere
of Sir Alexander Mackenzie's opera *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.

[213] A resurgence in the subject of English history is found for example in
Sullivan's *Ivanhoe* (1891), Mackenzie's *Troubadour* (1886), Stanford's
Canterbury Pilgrims (1884), and the four operas based on themes from
the Norman Conquest by Frederick Cowen, including *Thorgrim* (1890) and
Harold (1894).   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.

[214] Biographical and analytical studies of Hill's life and works are A.D.
McCredie, "Alfred Hill, 1870-1960; Some Backgrounds and Perspectives

Australia in the 1920s:[215] in the comedy *Tapu* (1903)[216] and *Teora; or,*

The Enchanted Flute (1913);[217] as well as in his earlier cantatas, *Tawhaki*

(1895)[218]and *Hinemoa* (1896). These cantatas, written in New Zealand

between 1892 and 1896, and another choral work, an *Exhibition Ode* (1906)[219]

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

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[214] (continued) for an Historical Edition", *Miscellanea Musicologica,* III, Adelaide 1968, 181-257; and "Alfred Hill (1870-1960); A Centennial Appraisal", *Journal,* Australian Society for Music Education, no. 6, April 1970, 39-42. J.M. Thomson, "The Role of the Pioneer Composer: Some Reflections on Alfred Hill, 1870-1960", *Studies in Music,* IV, 1970, 52-61, examines the New Zealand background and Hill's early career.

[215] Hill's Maori-inspired music includes songs, published by Southern; an orchestral Rhapsody, two 'Maori' String Quartets, no 1 in B^b and no 2 in G 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, echos, 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, "Ranolf 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 Woolsten 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.[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.[221]

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

(i) conventional European themes: *The Whipping Boy* (1893), *Lady Dolly*

(1898), *Dox 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).[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",[223] and also likens Hill's music to the poetry of

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[220]   Quotation, together with the original Raratonga melody which Hill
dates as post-1868 and calls a 'hymn', in his Preliminary Note to the
published vocal score; *Hill Papers* 528/1, NLN: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 VU:A. McCredie discovers a Leipzig influence through
Hill's teacher Gustav Schreck (1849-1918) on Hill's early choral
cantatas, (1968), 185.

[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 McCredie (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.

[222]   These operas are all listed in Volume II, Catalogue 1; the categories
were first distinguished by McCredie (1968), 204-6.

[223]   Covell (1967), 23, 26-7. Hill played with the Gewandhaus Orchestra
under Brahms.   Covell adds, "the reflection of established European

fellow Australian, Hugh McCrae (librettist for *The Ship of Heaven,* and

whose words inspired Hill's orchestral piece, *The Moon's Gold Horn).*[224]

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 trans-

planted 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.[225]

The formulaic dramatic subjects which predominate, even though

all his librettists are Australians (including the nationalist, Arthur H.

Adams,[226] and Margery Browne,[227]   J. Youlan Birch,[228]   Harriet

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[223] (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.

[224] 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 *Idyllia* (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 National-
ism", *Vision* I, 1923, 30-5; EMM I, 360; McLeod (1963), 62, 74.

[225] R. Covell (1967), 25.

[226] Adams (1872-1936) was   New Zealand born, and became editor of the
Red Page of the *Bulletin,* of *Lone Hand,* and of Sydney's *Sun.*   J.C.
Williamson engaged Adams to rewrite *Tapu* at a salary of £ 250 per annum;
see Adam's own account in *Lone Hand* , 1 December 1908.   Adam's plays
include *The Wasters* (1910), *The Minstrel* (1908), *Mrs. Pretty and the
Premier, Galahad Jones* and *The New Chum* (all 1912), and a novel, *The
Australians* (1920), NLN:M; AE I, 114; Rees (2), 53-9, 106-10, 113, 116-17,
119-29.   He wrote the J.C. Williamson pantomime *The Forty Thieves,* with
music by Pack and Caron (1898), Vol.II, Catalogue 5.   His work on *The
Whipping Boy* with Hill is listed in Vol.II, p 53-4.

[227] Librettist for Lardelli's opera *Katharine* (1895), Vol.II p 57, and Hill's
Lady Dolly (1898), p 70; EMM I, 386.

[228] Librettist for *A Moorish Maid* (1905), Vol.II, p 88-9.

Callan,[229] and David Souter,[230] 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, castenet 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.[231] 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.[232] 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;

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[229] Librettist for *Giovanni the Sculptor* (1914), Vol.II, p 120-1.

[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 Gentlemen 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.[233]

Musically, too, Hill's operas depend on formulae.   All are

colored with exoticism: Spanish dances such as the bolero, pavanne, 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.[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.[235]

Hill's habit of interpolating irrelevant comic elements

produces a "kind of jumble, a yes-no affair, a sort of plaid."[236]

[233] *Bulletin* review, 6 August 1914, *Hill Papers* 528/5, NLN:M. 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 "hithertoo untouched" [sic]. McGuire notes that other Sydney
entertainments that month included the Bland-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, NLN:M.

[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...

Many contemporary reviewers concluded that his operas were "barely

comprehensible" and "incongruous",[237] or that all he needed was a good

libretto to be "one day responsible for an opera that will enjoy the

popularity of *Dorothy*,"[238] or which might be "an advance guard of that

new school of Australasian drama which, it is fondly hoped, will one day

be established."[239]   Hill himself wished the same for his colleagues

John Delany, and Ernest Truman; all three had consistent difficulty finding

suitable librettos.[240]

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.[241]   McCrae describes the plot as:

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[236] (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."

[237] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 March 1900, and *Daily Telegraph*, 2 April
1900, both referring to *Lady Dolly*, *Hill Papers*, 528/6. NLN:M.

[238] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 April 1900, *Hill Papers* 528/6, NLN: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, NLN:M.

[240] Interview with Alfred Hill, "Opera by Australians: Is it a Feasible
Project?" *The Theatre Magazine*, 2 March 1914, *Hill Papers* 528/5, NLN: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 Gobble, 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.[242]   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),[243] 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."[244]

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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[242] See Volume II, Catalogue 4, p 343-4 and M.Williams (1973), Chapter 1,
55-7.

[243] Vol II, p 433-4.

[244] *Sunday Sun,* 8 October 1933, *Hill Papers* 528/2, NLN:M; 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.[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.[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

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[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.

[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: *Hinemoa* (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, NLN:M. 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, NLN:M. 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 Verbrugghen'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. Verbrugghen, 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 Verbrugghen, in *Hince 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.[254] 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.[255] 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^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", "Bold 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.[256]

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.[257]   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.[258]

The "dangerous road" of symbolism attracted other opera composers

contemporaneous with Hill.[259]   Henry Tate was a "visionary searcher for an

Australian musical identity", a poet and playwright, critic and composer.[260]

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[256] Emily Coungeau's (1870-1937) "romantic poetical drama" *Princess Mona*
is the basis for Hill's libretto adaptation, and was published in Sydney
in 1917.   EMM 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 Coungeau'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 Diaz,* 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 *Ondine* (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 McCredie (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.[261]

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.[262]   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.[263]

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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, NLN:M; 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 Forerunners*, *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 Diaz* 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 "character-
istically 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.[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.[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".[269] Edgar Bainton is another expatriate British

composer who, after an opera was produced in Glastonbury (*Oithona*, 1915),

continued to write in the Celtic revival aesthetic, although his later

opera, *The Pearl Tree* (1927), translates Celtic to Hindu settings.[270]

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[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 MGG 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.

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

[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 *Alkestis* (1922), and several Arthurian-legend and Ossianic-revival works, biblical adaptations, and English folklore pieces. Glastonbury composers include: Lawrence Housman, Clive Carey, Clarence Raybould (with an adapted Japanese Nōh play, *The Sumida 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, *Music Drama of the Future,* London 1911; and P. Lovell, "The Proposed National Opera House at Glastonbury, 1913-15" in *Music and Letters,* Vol.50, no.1, January 1969, 172.

[270] See Volume II, Appendix, p 438-442; see also Peggy Glanville-Hicks, *The Transposed Heads* (1953), Vol.II, Catalogue 2, and Florence Ewart, *Nala's Wedding* (1933), in Catalogue 1. Hindu and exotic myth are of course an outgrowth of post-Wagnerian German opera.

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*.[271]   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).[272]

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.[273]   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), *Cosi 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

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[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 1928; *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 E.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 *Pierette* (1914), for example, are Roy Newmarch's dramas, *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 Esson 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. I, series 2 (May 1922), and 3 (November 1922), only the former is paged.

of their operas.[278]   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.[279]

In comparison, the success of Arthur Benjamin, George Clutsam,

Peggy Glanville-Hicks and Malcolm Williamson, all Australian expatriates

living overseas, is remarkable.   Of twenty-four operas written between

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[277] (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".

[278] 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 Anwen*
(1912-1929), and even uses the same symbolic scarf, forest glade,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.

[279] 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 *Ekkart*.
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 Giojelli della Madonna* (The Jewels of the Madonna)
of 1911, which was a success in Covent Garden in 1925.   CODO.
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.

[281] The ABC has broadcast several concert performances of Australian opera
and has also televised six: Hart's *Even Unto Bethlehem*, Gordon's
Fisher's Ghost, Sitsky's *Fall of the House of Usher*, Werder's *Private*,
(written especially for television), Antill's *The First Christmas*,
and Benjamin's *The Devil Take Her*, out of a televised repertory of 50
operas by May 1970. Mackenzie (1967), 16; *Bulletin*, 23 May 1970, 52;
Australian, 18 May 1970, 5. McCredie (1968), 253.   The AETT produced
several Australian ballets in 1964, and also Antill's *Endymion* and
Benjamin's *Prima Donna; Hince Papers, MS 2691*, Items 2330-2416, ANL;
Covell (1967), 246; 252-4; F. Callaway, "Some Aspects of Music in
Australia", *Composer* no 19, Spring 1966, 80-81.

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.[1] 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 thence 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.[2] 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 Austalian Opera Association "to fulfill the Australian public's knowledge and love of the lyric drama".[3] 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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[3]   *Argus,* 25 October 1866, 3; see Wentzel (1963), 232; and Radic, "Summary of Thesis: Aspects of Organized Amateur Music in Melbourne, 1836-1890", *Miscellanea Musicologica,* IV, Adelaide 1969, 152.

proposal to build a commercial repertory almost exclusively around

Wagner's operas.[4]   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.[5]

In 1914, plans for a national opera culminated in the formation

of the Australian Opera League.[6]   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.[7]   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, NLN:M; 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, NLN:M.

[10] Hill's comment in an interview in *The Theatre Magazine*, 2 March 1914; *Hill Papers*, MS 528, Item 5, NLN:M.

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'.

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[11] "Need for Subsidized Seasons", *Sun,* 21 February 1914; *Hill Papers,* MS 528, Item 5, NLN:M.

[12] Orchard (1952), 157.

[13] "Australian Music", *Art in Australia,* Vol.1, 3rd series, November 1922, (no), NLN:M.

[14] Interview with Fritz Hart, *Wireless Weekly,* 25 August 1933, 12.

even in subject matter.[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 sliprails 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. [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 *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:

> It is obviously impossible for (Australian music)
> to be born of any but Anglo-Saxon or Celtic parents. [17]

The irony of Hart's attitude is two-fold. First, *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

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[15] *Bulletin,* 6 August 1914; *Hill Papers,* MS 528, Item 5, NLN:M. See also *Argus,* 9 March 1914; *Sun,* 4 August 1914; *Herald,* 8 August 1914; all in *Hill Papers (ibid).*

[16] "Australian Music", *Art in Australia,* Vol.i, 3rd series, November 1922, (np), NLN:M.

[17] *Ibid.,* and also his first part, printed in *Art in Australia,* Vol.1, 2nd series, May 1922, 29-31.

considerable commercial investment and a popular audience, the very

conditions they sought for an Australian national opera.[18]   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.[19]

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.[20]   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.[21]

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 alongside 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.[22] 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. [23]

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... [24]

and to develop a sure sense of identity in the prevailing spirit of 'snobocracy' in theatre audiences,

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[22] M.A. Williams (1974), Prologue I, 5-7.

[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.

[24] L.Esson, from "Irish Memories and Australian Hopes", *Australian Quarterly*, June 1939, quoted with additional articles written by Esson for the *Bulletin* in Rees (1), 58-68, 73-6; and see V.Palmer, (ed), *Louis Esson and the Australian Theatre*, Melbourne 1948, 40-1, 44-74.

> 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 fail
> 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,

[25] J.F.Archibald writing in the *Lone Hand* in 1907, and quoted by me in "Precedents and Problems for Australian Opera Composers", *Quadrant 83*, Vol.xvii, no.3 (May-June 1973), 29. The term 'snobocracy' is coined by Augustus Juncker in his interview with D.J. Quinn, printed in *Review of Reviews*, 20 April 1895, 391-8.

[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, 1831-1931*, 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.[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.[30]   When this was restive and rebellious

under early colonial authoritarianism, the Press voiced this spirit, in

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[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.

[30]   These ideas were first discussed in 1978 with Catharine Stimpson of New York, whose phrase this is.

the guise of supporting indigenous artists.[31] 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 'specimins 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... [32]

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,[33] 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.[34]

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[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 "apt 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, unid, 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.Mareschal-Salle" 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.[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'.[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.

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[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 *Australian Composition
in the Twentieth Century*, eds. F.Callaway and D.Tunley, Melbourne 1978,
Chapter 17.

[36]   L. Lavater in two articles, "Commercialization of Music", *Meanjin*, Vol.V,
no.1 (1946), 62-4, and "Musical Composition in Australia", *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", *Meanjin*,
Vol.XVI, no.2 (1957), 140-4.   Expatriate composer Malcolm Williamson
describes the difficulty of earning a living as a composer in Australia,

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.[37] 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.[38] 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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[36] (Continued)...
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.II, 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.[39]   Here, it possibly influenced

"le Citoyen Games", writer of a French Revolutionary drama, *Les Emigrés*

aux Terres Australes,   Paris 1792.   This also casts a comic, idealized

Rousseauan savage, called Oziambo.[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.[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 *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 nom-de-plume), Burn is knowledge-

able 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

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[39]   B. Smith (1961), *ibid.,* 82.

[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 Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris.

[41]   The earliest stage Aborigines are those in David Burn's *The Bushranger*
      (1829), Henry Melville, *The Bushrangers* (1834), and Charles Harpur,
      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 Licenser'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, NLN:M; see further
      information in Vol.II, 329-30.

[43] Described as a musical extravaganza with songs, glees, choruses, played
      at London's Olympic Theatre, 11 March 1822; J.A. Ferguson, *Bibliography
      of Australia, Vol.I: 1784-1830,* Sydney 1941, 328, 863; also J.Hall,
      article 3, *Canon* IV, (1950-51), 373.

[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. McGuanne (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.[45]   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.[46]

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.[47]

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[45] C.B. Christesen, "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.

[46] 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, characteristical
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 NLN:M.

[47] "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.[48] 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 incompatability between the two cultures, and there was a low, extremely modest degree of integration between them.[49]

A definition of acculturation still eludes an unshakeable theoretical framework.[50] It is a process of change, of modification, between different groups or different strata within a group, or among

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[48] Bruno Nettl suggests concepts and criteria for a typology of the processes of acculturation in "Some Aspects of the History of World Music in the Twentieth Century: Questions, Problems and Concepts," *Ethnomusicology*, Vol.XXII, no.1 (January 1978), 123-136.

[49] Charles Seeger, "Music and Society", *op.cit.* (1952), 5.

[50] Discussed by Klaus Wachsmann, "Kriterien für kulturelle Angleichung ('Akkulturation')", in *Report to the Eighth Congress*, International Musicological Society, ed. Jan LaRue, New York 1961, 139-139.

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, Furphy, and O'Dowd
> elevated them into national traditions. [53]

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[51] In the context of colonialism, I have found it useful to read discussions
on theories of dualism and dependancy from the perspective of anthro-
pology: in Carolyn M. Elliott, "Theories of Development: an Assessment",
SIGNS, Journal of Women in Culture and Society, Vol.III, no.1 (Autumn
1977), 5-6; and of socio-sexual psychology: in D.Dinnerstein, *The Mermaid
and the Minotaur; Sexual Arrangements and Human Malaise,* New York 1976.

[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. Encel, 2nd ed. Melbourne 1970, 499.

[53] T. Inglis Moore, *Social Patterns in Australian Literature,* Sydney 1371,
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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[54] A useful source for this discussion is Ian Turner, "The Social Setting" in G.Dutton (ed), *The Literature of Australia,* Melbourne 1964, 12-44, and see his quotation from the *Melbourne Review* of 1878 on the suffering exerted by the Australian Press on Australian artists and the corresponding requirement for a sympathetic English Press; p 28.

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.[55]   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.[56]   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.[57]   Cockle, a

colonial 'new chum' hero, undergoes much the same perilous adventures,

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[55]   The appearance of the picaresque romance at the end of the 16th
century is discussed in M.Defourneaux, *Daily Life in Spain in the
Golden Age,* Paris 1966, in trans. by N.Branch, London 1970, Chapter
11, 51.

[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 larrikin, 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.[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.[59]

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[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'.[60]

[60] T.Inglis Moore (1971), especially his discussion of melancholy and the use of a death motif in Australian literature, Chapter 7: "The Cry of the Crow", 150-165.

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.[61]   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.[62]   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 catharthis.   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 drmaatic themes; the use of pastiche and parody reflects the

borrowed sources of the dramas and their satirical or fantastic treatment.

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[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.[63] 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 legitimize 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.[64] 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

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[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] B.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 Ruritanias, 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. [67]

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.[68]   Irish wit, imagination, humor, romanticism, law-

lessness, 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.[69]

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[67] J. Barnes, "Australian Fiction to 1920", in G.Dutton (ed) *The Literature
of Australia* (1964), 151.

[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] Russel 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.[70]

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. [71]

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.

[71] Chapter 1, "The Social Element in Australian Literature", (1971), 10.

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.[73] 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.[74]

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.[75] 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.[76]   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.[77]

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 national-
ism 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", Russel 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 Nineties*, 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:

composers like Henry Tate, Margaret Sutherland, Louis Lavater and Percy

Grainger had long been interested.[78]   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.[79]

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".[80]   There is an additional

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[77]   (Continued)... "Radical Democracy", 239-53; and XI: "The Great
Australian Dream", 266-288, especially 282.

[78]   E. Waters, *Some Aspects of the Popular Arts in Australia, 1880-1915*,
D.Diss, 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.

[79]   *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,
shearers, Brodie the squatter, Rose the barmaid, a swaggie, and school-
mistress.   The plot deals with the shearers' 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 'Widgeegoweera 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, *Ned
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.

[80]   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.[81] 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.[82]

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[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. Kippax, 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*.[83] The stage treatment of Aboriginal music and peoples shows an uneasy interchange, until now, between the extremes of realism and romanticism; Clive Douglas's *Kaditcha* (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 *Hince Papers* MS 2691, item 2863 on the Hobart discussion after the 1965 premiere of this opera, ANL. M.A. Williams considers the play *Brumby 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),

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.[84]   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 *Garni 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 operas

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 Pun-
ishment* (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.

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, *Garni 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.[87] 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.

[87] The "international consciousness" of the 1970s is discussed by Ann Boyd, "Not for Export; Recent Developments in Australian Music", *Musical Times*, no. 1533, Vol.111, (November 1970), 1097-1100; and R.Covell, 'The Neat Jumps of the Musical Avant-Garde", *Quadrant*, Vol.10, (March/April 1966), 32-8.

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).[88] 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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[88] 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 (1968), 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.[89] 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 *Hince 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

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

Chronological Summary of the main Resident and Touring Opera Companies,
Composers and Artists in the Australian Colonies in the 19th Century.

Date	Name and Description	1st Appearance
1834	Miss Reman, later Mrs Clarke, founder of first opera company	Argyle Rooms, later Th R, Hob
1835	Mrs Chester, soprano from Drury Lane, Covent Garden arrived.	Th R Syd
1835	W.V. Wallace and family, opera composer and musician, arrived.	Hob T 1835 Syd 1836
1839	Gautrot company: French opéra comique and vaudeville	RVTh Syd Melb 1840
1841	Isaac Nathan, composer, became resident.	Melb - Syd 1841
1842	Miss Theodosia Yates (later Mrs Stirling/Guerin/Stewart) acresss-singer, arrived.	Hob T ThR with Clarke company
1842	Signor Jerome Carandini, singer-dancer from Moderno Opera House; counter-tenor, arrived.	Hob T. Clarke Co. later to RVTh Syd 1845
1843	Mme. Carandini (Marie Burgess) soprano, later founder of the Carandini Opera Company 1859-1870s, debut	Hob T 1843 RVTh Syd 1845 - Melbourne 1855
1843	George Coppin,actor-manager founder of theatres and companies (also Fred Coppin, musician) arrived.	RVTh Syd · Hob T 1845 Melb QuTh 1845 Adel 1846 Melb 1854-1906
1845	Clarke company, including F. and J. Howson, Carandinis, Mrs Stirling, J. Lazar, transfer to Sydney	RVTh Syd Melb 1853
1850	Sara Flower, contralto, debut	RVTh Syd, Melb.

Date	Name and Description	1st Appearance
1850	Mrs Testar, soprano, debut	Melb
1853	Catherine Hayes, Irish soprano with Louis Lavenu, composer and M.Emile Coulon (Bar), debut	Syd until 1857 Melb to 1855,
1853	Charles Packer, composer, resident in Sydney, from Hobart Town (arrived at Norfolk Island, 1840)	
1855	Mme. Anna Bishop, soprano, arrived with Signor Bochsa, harpist	Syd P of W to 1857 Adel 1856 Melb 1857; returned 1868-9
1856	English Opera Company, (J. Black): many remained	QuTh Melb to 1857
1856	Mme.Clarisse Cailly, soprano	Syd 1856-7
1860	Bianchi Italian Opera company with local artists	Syd P of W, Melb Adel
1861-1867	W.S. Lyster Opera Company	ThR Melb, Syd, Adel, Brisb
1861	Charles Horsley, composer, arrived	Melb 1861-71
1861	F. and J.Howson opera company with J. Torning company, toured	Syd RVTh
1862	Loder-Neville company, later joined Lyster in 1864	Syd 1863
1869	Lyster and J.Smith Grand Opera Company: also 1870-1, toured under Lyster's management	
1871	Cagli-Pompei Italian opera company	
1871	Mme.Agatha States Opera Co. with Paolo Giorza, conductor under Lyster's management	Syd, Melb (1872)
1871	Simonsen Opera Company toured 1871, 74,	Syd, Melb, Adel

Date	Name and Description	1st Appearance
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)	

Date	Name and Description	1st Appearance
1879	Cagli Royal Italian Opera Co	
1879	J.C. Williamson English Opera Co	Melb
1880	Williamson-Musgrove London Opera Comique Co. 1880-82	
1880	Lewis Juvenile Opera Troupe	QuTh Syd
1881	Montague-Turner Opera Company, also 1883-4, conductor Caron	
1881	Leon Caron Comic Opera Co	
1882	Williamson, Garner, Musgrove Royal Comic Opera Company, 1882-5, 1886-92	
1882	Pollard's Lilliputian Opera Co (Juveniles) also 1883	
1882	Melville Opera Company to 1884, also 1886	
1883	Dunning's London Comic Opera Company to 1885	
1884	Majeroni-Wilson Comic Opera Company to 1885	
1886	Farley's English Opera Company and visit of Alfred Cellier, conductor, composer	
1887	George Rignold's Comic Opera Co	
1888	London Burlesque and Gaiety Co., also 1891	
1890	Nellie Stewart Comic Opera Company	
1891	Evangeline Opera Company	

Date	Name and Description	1st Appearance
1891	Juvenile Opera Company	
1893	Williamson-Musgrove First Italian Opera Company	
1893	Rickard's Tivoli Company	
1904	J.C. Williamson Opera Company formed.	

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

COLONIAL THEATRES: A Summary of Licensed Theatres and Venues Used for
        Public Performances of Opera and Plays, from 1789.

Date	Theatre

I.   *NEW SOUTH WALES*

1789   Convict theatre opened 4 June 1789.

1793   Theatre Royal convict theatre, Norfolk Island.

1796   Robert Sidaway's Playhouse, Bell Row, Sydney, opened
         16 January 1796, closed by Gov. Hunter 1798.

1800   Robert Sidaway's Theatre, Bell St, Sydney, opened 8 March.

1825   Emu Plains Convict Theatre, opened 16 May, closed by order
         of Gov. Bourke, 22 November 1830.

1827   Barnett Levey's Royal Hotel saloon opened for 'At Home's',
         20 August 1828 to 10 September 1832. Known as the Royal
         Assembly Room.

1832   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.

1838   (Royal) Victoria Theatre built by Joseph Wyatt, opened 26 March
         1838, destroyed by fire 27 July 1880, seating approximately
         1900.

1842   Olympic Theatre opened by Joseph Simmons, February 1842,
         closed May 1842.

1843   City Theatre opened by Joseph Simmons and James Belmore,
         24 May 1843, closed after a few weeks.

1843   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.

1855   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.

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 Deering 22 June 1846; closed October 1846; reopened February 1847.

Date	Theatre
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 1876); 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 Centen ary 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) Garrick 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.

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

CHAPTER I, NUMBER 3   (Footnote 42, page 35)

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 Storace 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

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

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 Sydney 4 May 1835, Royal
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

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

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.

Sheakespearean 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

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

CHAPTER I, NUMBER 6 (page 36)

Most Frequently Performed English Playwrights in the Repertory

of Sydney's Theatre Royal, 1833-7.

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	London 1768;	Sydney 26.10.1835
The Spoiled Child	London 1790;	Sydney 17.6.1833
The Sultan; or,		
A Peep into the Seraglio	London 1775;	Sydney 16.1.1837

Charles A. Dibdin:
The Waterman; or,		
The First of August	London 1774;	Sydney 24.5.1834
The Chelsea and Greenwich		
Pensioner	London 1779;	Sydney 6.4.1837

Charles I.M.P. Dibdin:
The Farmer's Wife	London 1814;	Sydney 12.6.1837
The Lord of the Manor	London 1812;	Sydney 19.6.1833
Paul Pry	London 1826;	Sydney 13.2.1837
The Rake's Progress	London 1826;	Sydney 13.2.1837
Salamagundi; or, The		
Clown's Dish of all		
Sorts	London 1818;	Sydney 20.2.1837
What Next?	London 1816;	Sydney 23.3.1833
No. 23 John Street	London 1817;	Sydney 15.8.1835

Thomas J.P. Dibdin:
The Banks of the Hudson;		
or, The Congress Trooper	London 1829;	Sydney 5.6.1837
The Heart of Midlothian;		
or, Lily of St.Leonards		
(music by H. Bishop)	London 1819;	Sydney 11.5.1835
Humphrey Clinker	London 1818;	Sydney 11.8.1835
The Jew and the Doctor	London 1798;	Sydney 15.12.1836
Lodoiska		
(music by Storace)	London 1811;	Sydney 18.9.1834
The Man and the Maquis;		
or, The Three Spectres		
of the Castle of St.		
Valori	London 1825;	Sydney 5.12.1836
Paul Jones; or, The		
Solway Mariner	London 1827;	Sydney 23.4.1836
The Pirate; or, The		
Wild Woman of Zetland	London 1822;	Sydney 3.11.1834
The Ruffian Boy; or, The		
Russian of Bohemia	London 1819;	Sydney 6.2.1837
The Two Gregories; or		
Where Did the Money		
Come From?	London 1821;	Sydney 4.1.1834
Valentine and Orson;		
or, The Wild Man of		
Orleans	London 1804;	Sydney 3.11.1834

James Kenney:

The Blind Boy	London 1807;	Sydney 2.7.1834
Ella Rosenberg	London 1807;	Sydney 24.3.1834
Love, Law and Physic	London 1812;	Sydney 13.4.1833
Raising the Wind	London 1803;	Sydney 19.4.1834
The Illustrious Stranger; or, Married and Buried (music by I.Nathan)	London 1827;	Sydney 28.5.1835

Edward Fitzball:

Jonathan Bradford; or Murder at the Roadside Inn	London 1833;	Sydney 26.12.1834
The Red Rover; or, The Mutiny of the Dolphin	London 1829;	Sydney 29.6.1835
The Flying Dutchman; or, The Phantom Ship	London 1827;	Sydney 14.9.1835
The Innkeeper of Abbeyville; or, The Ostler and the Robber	London 1822;	Sydney 25.1.1834
Robert le Diable (music by Barnett)	London 1832;	Sydney 9.1.1836
The Devil's Elixir; or, The Shadowless Man	London 1829;	Sydney 4.4.1836
Edda; or, The Hermit of Warkworth	London 1820;	Sydney 25.6.1834
Father and Son; or, The Rock of La Charbonniere	London 1825;	Sydney 8.2.1836
The Floating Beacon; or, The Norwegian Wreckers	London 1824;	Sydney 20.8.1835
The Inchcape Bell; or, The Dumb Sailor Boy	London 1828;	Sydney 12.10.1835
The Three Hunchbacks	London 1826;	Sydney 31.12.1835
Wardock Kennilson; or, The Outcast Mother and Her Son	London 1824;	Sydney 16.1.1837

Douglas Jerrold:

Black-Eyed Susan; or, All in the Downs	London 1829;	Sydney 26.12.1832
Paul Pry (see also C.I.M.Dibdin)	London 1827;	Sydney
Ambrose Gwinett; A See-side Story (sic)	London 1828;	Sydney 9.5.1836
Bamfylde Moore Carew	London 1824;	Sydney 21.4.1836
Pride of Ludgate	London 1831;	Sydney 20.11.1837
The Devil's Ducat; or, The Gift of Mammon	London 1830;	Sydney 22.9.1834
More Frightened than Hurt	London 1821;	Sydney 18.9.1837
The Mutiny at the Nore; or, British Sailors in 1797	London 1830;	Sydney 10.10.1833

The Rent Day	London 1832;	Sydney 8.9.1836
Sally in Our Alley	London 1830;	Sydney 28.2.1835
The Tower of Lochlain; or,		
The Idiot Son	London 1828;	Sydney 24.8.1837
Wives by Advertisement;		
or, Courting in the		
Newspapers	London 1828;	Sydney 6.3.1837

M.G. ('Monk') Lewis:

The Castle Spectre	London 1797;	Sydney 16.2.1833
Timour the Tartar	London 1811;	Sydney 26.12.1835
Raymond and Agnes	London 1809;	Sydney 4.10.1834
One O'Clock; or, The		
Knight and the Wood		
Demon	London 1811;	Sydney 20.10.1836
Rugantino; or, The Bravo		
of Venice	London 1805;	Sydney 10.10.1836

William G.T. Moncrieff:

Tom and Jerry; or,		
Life in London	London 1821;	Sydney 4.6.1834
Giovanni in London; or,		
The Libertine		
Reclaimed	London 1817;	Sydney 4.9.1834
Don Juan; or, The		
Libertine Restored	London 1787;	Sydney 21.8.1837
Shakespeare's Festival;		
or, The New Comedy of		
Errors	London 1830;	Sydney 11.3.1837
All at Coventry; or,		
Love and Laugh	London 1816;	Sydney 6.2.1837
Eugene Aram; or, St.		
Robert's Cave	London 1832;	Sydney 5.12.1836
The Jewess; or, The		
Council of Constance	London 1835;	Sydney 4.12.1837
The Lear of Private Life	London 1820;	Sydney 21.11.1835
Monsieur Tonson	London 1821;	Sydney 16.12.1833
The Sonnambulist; or,		
The Phantom of the		
Village	London 1828;	Sydney 20.6.1835
The Spectre Bridegroom;		
or, A Ghost in Spite of		
Himself	London 1821;	Sydney 22.5.1833
The Vampire	London 1820;	Sydney 16.4.1836
Giselle; or, The Night		
Dancers		
(music by E.Loder)	London 1841;	Sydney

John O'Keeffe:

The Highland Reel	London 1788;	Sydney 18.4.1836
Peeping Tom of Coventry	London 1784;	Sydney 25.4.1836
Wild Oats; or, The		
Strolling Gentleman	London 1791;	Sydney 19.6.1834
The Poor Soldier	London 1783;	Sydney 23.7.1796
The Castle of Andalusia	London 1782;	Sydney 19.10.1837

John Howard Payne:

The Lancers	London 1827;	Sydney 26.2.1835
Love in a Humble Life	London 1822;	Sydney 16.10.1837
Clari; or, The Maid of Milan		
(Music by H.Bishop)	London 1823;	Sydney 31.10.1834
The Two Galley-Slaves; or, The Mill of St. Aldervan	London 1822;	Sydney 19.4.1834
Brutus; or, The Fall of Tarquin	London 1818;	Sydney _ _____
Charles II; or, The Merry Monarch	London 1824;	Sydney 19.1.1833
The Maid and the Magpie	London 1815;	Sydney 11.4.1836

CHAPTER I, NUMBER 8 (footnote 46, page 37)

Four English Composers of Opera and Semi-Opera of the late 18th Century
Performed at the Theatre Royal, Sydney, in the 1830s

Thomas Arne (1710-1778)	*Love in a Village* 3 acts. (Bickerstaffe) pastiche opera with music also by Arnold and Linley.	London 1762 Sydney 22.2.1836
	Libretto adapted from Charles Johnson's ballad opera, *The Village Opera* (London 1729)	
Samuel Arnold (1740-1802)	*Maid of the Mill* 3 acts. (Bickerstaffe) pastiche opera with music arranged from 18 different composers	London 1765 Sydney 22.3.1836
	Libretto adapted from Richardson's *Pamela* (1740)	
	The Maid and the Magpie 3 acts libretto by J.H. Payne	London 1815 Sydney 11.4.1836
	The Revenge	London 1770 Sydney 16.1.1796 (at Sidaway's Th)
	Libretto by Edward Young adapted from the play by Chatterton (1770)	
	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 Sydney 19.10.1837
Stephan Storace (1763-1796)	*No Song, No Supper* ballad opera, 2 acts Libretto by P. Hoare	London 1790 Sydney 23.1.1836
	Lodoiska	London 1811 Sydney 18.9.1834*
	Libretto by T.Dibdin adapted from the opera by Cherubini (1791)	
Henry Bishop (1786-1855)	*Guy Mannering* 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 London 1823
Libretto by J.H. Payne Sydney 31.10.1834;
 1.10.1835

John of Paris London 1814
Libretto by I. Pocock, Sydney 21.9.1835
adapted from Boieldieu,
Jean de Paris (Paris 1810)

Aladdin; or, The Wonderful Lamp London 1826
Libretto by Sloane, Sydney 26.12.1837
Music for the Sydney performance probably arranged and
adapted by W.V. Wallace

The Heart of Midlothian London 1819
Libretto by T. Dibdin Sydney 11.5.1835
adapted from Scott

Le Nozze di Figaro London 1819
libretto by T. Holcroft Sydney 11.5.1833
pastiche adaptation of
Mozart's original, with some new
music

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

CHAPTER I, NUMBER 9 (footnote 53, page 39)

First Performances of Opera: a Chronological Selection from the Repertory
of the Royal Victoria Theatre, 1842-1846.

31.3.1842	Bishop:	*Guy Mannering; or, The Gypsies' Prophecy*
19.6.1843	Rossini:	*Il Barbiere di Siviglia*
18.12.1843	Bellini:	*La Sonnambula* (again, fully on 8.12.1845)
12.2.1844	Rossini:	*La Cenerentola* (again fully on 19.1.1846)
29.5.1845	Auber:	*Le Lac des Fées*
2.6.1845	Bishop:	*Rob Roy*
3.7.1845	Bishop:	*The Miller and His Men*
4.8.1845	Auber:	*Fra Diavolo*
25.8.1845	Weber:	*Der Freischütz*
22.9.1845	Storace:	*The Duenna*
13.10.1845	Braham:	*The Siege of Belgrade*
20.10.1845	Auber:	*Gustavus III; or, The Masked Ball*
3.11.1845	Bishop:	*The Lord of the Isles*
10.11.1845	Auber	*Masaniello; or, The Dumb Girl of Portici*
27.11.1845	Braham:	*The Devil's Bridge*
24.1.1846	Spohr(?):	*Faustus*
30.3.1846	Pepusch:	*The Beggar's Opera*
30.3.1846	Rhodes:	*Bombastes Furioso*
20.4.1846	Nathan:	*Triboulet; or, The King's Jester*
12.5.1846	Barnett:	*The Mountain Sylph*
14.7.1846	Balfe:	*The Bohemian Girl*
3.12.1846	Macfarren:	*The Devil's Opera*

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

CHAPTER I, NUMBER 10   (footnote 54, pages 39,40)

Composers of European Romantic Opera Premiered at the Sydney Royal Victoria

Theatre, 1840s to 1860s.

Daniel Auber (1782-1871)	*Fra Diavolo* 3 acts (Scribe)	Paris 1830 London 1831 New York 1831 Sydney 4.8.1845
	Masaniello; La Muette di Portici 5 acts (Scribe and Dalavigne)	Paris 1828 London 1829 New York 1831 Sydney 10.11.1845 (exc pt) 24.2.1850 (full)
	Le Lac des Fées (The Fairy Lake) 3 acts	Paris 1839 Sydney 26.5.1845
	Gustavus III (The Masked Ball) 3 acts (Scribe)	London 1833 Sydney 10.10.1835 (excpt) 29.1.1838 (excpt) 20.10.1845 (full)
	Le Cheval de Bronze (The Bronze Horse) 3 acts (Scribe)	Paris 1835 London 1835 New York 1837 Sydney 3.3.1850
Vincenzo Bellini (1801-1835)	*La Sonnambula* 2 acts (Romani)	Milan 1831 London 1831 New York 1835 Hobart July 1842 (excpt) Sydney 10.12.1843(excpt) 8.12.1845 (full)
	Norma 2 acts (Romani, after Soumet)	Milan 1831 London 1833 New Orleans 1836 Sydney 1852
	I Puritani 3 acts (Pepoli, after Scott's *Old Mortality* (1816)	Paris 1835 London 1835 Philadelphia 1843 Sydney 1866
Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848) •	*Lucrezia Borgia* prologue, 2 acts (Romani, after Victor Hugo, 1833)	Milan 1833 London 1839 New Orleans 1844 Sydney 1855

Lucia di Lammermoor 3 acts (Cammarano after Scott, *The Bride of* *Lammermoor,* 1819)		Naples 1835 London 1838 New Orleans 1841 Sydney 1853
La Fille du Régiment 2 acts (Vernoy de Saint- Georges/Bayard)		Paris 1840 New Orleans 1843 London 1847 Sydney 1851
La Favorite 4 acts (Royer, Vaez, Scribe)		Paris 1840 New Orleans 1843 London 1843 Sydney
Don Pasquale 3 acts buffa (Ruffini)		Paris 1843 London 1843 New Orleans 1845 Sydney 1847
Linda di Chamounix 3 acts (Rossi)		Vienna 1842 London 1843 New York 1847 Sydney 1855

Friedrich von Flotow
(1812-1883)
	Martha
	(Der Markt von Richmond)
	4 acts. (W. Friedrich
	after Saint-Georges' Ballet-
	Pantomime)
		Vienna 1847
		London 1849
		New York 1852
		  (Anna Bishop)
		Sydney 1855
		  (Anna Bishop)

Gioacchino Rossini (1792-1868)	*Il Barbiere di Siviglia* 2 acts (Sterbini, after Beaumarchais)	Rome 1816 London 1818 New York 1819 Sydney 19.6.1843
	La Cenerentola 2 acts (Ferretti, after Étienne's text for Stiebelt's opera)	Rome 1817 London 1820 New York 1826 Sydney 12.2.1844 19.1.1846
Guiseppe Verdi (1813-1901)	*Ernani* 4 acts (Piave after Hugo's *Hernani,* 1830)	Venice 1844 London 1845 . New York 1847 Sydney 1855
	La Traviata 3 acts (Piave after Dumas, 1848)	Venice 1853 London 1856 New York 1856 Sydney 1862

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).

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

The 19th Century Repertory Consolidated and Expanded

by W.S. Lyster's Opera Companies, 1861-1879.

List of His New Productions: (World Premiere in brackets unless given
previously)

1861:	Wallace,	*Maritana* (1845)
	Wallace,	*Lurline* (1860)
	Balfe,	*The Bohemian Girl* (1843)
	Marsh,	*The Gentleman in Black* (Australian)
	Donizetti,	*Lucia di Lammermoor*
	Auber,	*Fra Diavolo*
	Auber,	*Diamants de la Couronne* (1841)
	Donizetti,	*Lucrezia Borgia*
	Bellini	*La Sonnambula* (1831)
1862:	Balfe,	*Satanella; or, The Power of Love*
	Mozart,	*Le Nozze de Figaro*
	Mozart,	*Don Giovanni*
	Rooke,	*Amilie*
	Verdi,	*Il Trovatore*
	Flotow,	*Martha*
1863:	Meyerbeer,	*Les Huguenots* (1836)
	Bellini,	*I Puritani* (1835)
1864:	Gay/Pepusch,	*The Beggar's Opera*
	Meyerbeer,	*Le Prophête* (1849)
	Gounod,	*Faust* (London 1863, New York 1864)
1865:	Benedict,	*The Lily of Killarney* (1862, Phil. 1867)
	Weber,	*Oberon* (London 1826, New York 1828)
	Balfe,	*The Rose of Castile*
	Auber,	*Masaniello*
	Donizetti,	*L'Elisir d'Amore*
1866:	Donizetti,	*La Fille du Régiment* (1840)
	Donizetti,	*Don Pasquale* (1843)
	Bellini,	*Norma* (1831)
	Rossini,	*La Semiramide* (1823)
	Rossini,	*Il Barbiere di Siviglia* (1816)
	Weber,	*Der Freischütz* (1821)
	Meyerbeer,	*L'Africaine* (1865)
	Meyerbeer,	*Robert le Diable* (1831)
1868:	Verdi,	*I Due Foscari* (1844)
	Verdi,	*Un Ballo in Maschera* (1859)
	Verdi,	*Rigoletto* (1851)
	Rossini,	*Guillaume Tell* (1829)

1870: Verdi,   *Ernani* (1844)
      Verdi,   *Les Vêpres Siciliennes* (1855)
      Cimarosa,   *Il Matrimonio Segreto* (1792)
      Verdi,   *Attila* (1846)

1872: Verdi,   *Macbeth* (1847; rev. 1865)
      Verdi,   *Luisa Miller* (1849)
      Offenbach,   *Orphée aux Enfers* (1857)
      Offenbach,   *Le Barbe Bleue*

this year also saw revivals of *Maritana, Lucia di Lammermoor,* Der Freischüt *Un Ballo in Maschera, Il Barbiere di Seviglia, L'Africaine, Faust* and *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,   *Mosé in Egitto* (1818)
      Donizetti,   *Poliuto* (1840)
      Donizetti,   *La Favorita* (1840)
      Appolloni,   *L'Ebreo*
      Wagner,   *Lohengrin* (1850; NY 1871, London 1875)
      Wagner,   *Tannhäuser* (1845; NY 1859, London 1876)

1874: Ricci,   *Crispino e la Comare* (1850)
      Verdi,   *I Lombardi alla Prima Crociata* (1843)
      Halévy,   *La Juivre* (1835)
      Offenbach,   *La Grand Duchesse de Gérolstein* (1867)
      Offenbach,   *La Princesse de Trébizonde*
      Offenbach,   *The Brigands*
      Offenbach,   *Geneviéve de Brabant*
      Offenbach,   *La Périchole*
      Lecocq,   *Giroflé-Girofla*

1875: Lecocq,   *Les Cent Vierges*
      Lecocq,   *La Petite Mariée*
      Hervé   *Le Petit Faust*

1876: Gilbert and Sullivan: *Trial by Jury* (1875)
      Lecocq,   *Les Prés St. Gervais*
      Offenbach,   *La Belle Hélène* (1864)

1877: Verdi,   *Aida* (1871; NY 1873, London 1876)

1878: J. Strauss,   *Die Fledermaus* (1874, London 1876)

1879: Bizet,   *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 *Carmen.*

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

CHAPTER I, NUMBER 12 (footnote 94, page 53)

New Productions in the Touring Repertories of Visiting
Professional Opera Companies, 1870s-1880s

1871: Cagli-Pompei Company: *Pipele (The Mysteries of Paris)*
Sappho

1871 Agatha States Company: *Il Trovatore*
Faust

1875: Farley-Bracy Comic
Opera Company: *Les Cents Vierges* (Lecocq)

1875: Emily Melville Opera *Giroflé Girofla*
Company: *Barbe Bleue* (Offenbach)

1877: Emilie Soldene English *Madame L'Archduke*
Comic Opera Company: *La Fille de Mme. Angot* (Lecocq)
Grand Duchess Gerolstein
Giroflé-Girofla.
Barbe Bleue
La Belle Hélène
Chilparic (Hervé)
Poulet et Poulette

1877 Simonsen English Opera
Company *Merry Wives of Windsor* (Nicolai)

1880: Montague-Turner Comic *La Fille de Tambour-Major* (Offenbach)
Opera Company: *Pirates of Penzance*

1881: Musgrove's London *Olivette* (Audran)
Opera Comique Company: *Madame Favart* (Offenbach)
Manola (Lecocq)
Fatinitza (Lecocq)
La Fille de Tambour-Major

1881: Pollard's Lilliputian *The Princess of Trébizonde* (Offenbach)
Opera Company: *Manteaux Noirs* (Bucalossi)
The Little Duke (Lecocq)

1882: Williamson, Garner and
Musgrove Royal Opera
Company: *La Mascotte* (Audran)

1882 Emily Melville *The Little Middy*
Company: *Fatinitza*

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)

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

CHAPTER I, NUMBER 13 (footnote 95, page 53)

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 Nozze di Figaro*
1927:	*Euryanthe*
1929:	*Hugh the Drover*
1930:	*Fidelio*
1935:	*Orpheus and Euridice*
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:	*Maestersinger*
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 Boatswain's Mate* *
1955:	*Force of Destiny*
1956:	*Cosi 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 Boheme*
1953: *The Barber of Seville*
1953: *Cavalleria Rusticana*
1953: *I Pagliacci*
1953: *The Flying Dutchman*
1954: *The Devil Take Her(A)*
1954: *La Boheme*
1954: *Il Trovatore*
1954: *Gianni Schichi*
1954: *Il Tabarro*
1954: *Il Seraglio*
1954: *Faust*
1955: *The Barber of Seville*
1955: *Die Fledermaus*
1955: *Rigoletto*
1955: *Il Trovatore*
1955: *La Boheme*
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: *Cosi 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 Bartered 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:	*Cosi 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 Bartered 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 Boheme*
1953:	*Tosca*
1953:	*Cosi 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 Boheme*
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 Boheme*
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 Boheme*
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:	*Lochinvar(A)*
	1929:	*Iphigenia in Aulis*
	1930:	*Merrie England**
	1931:	*Maritana*
	1932:	*Merrie 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(*?)*

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

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' (1939), 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.   Se (vi) below.   Another was copied from Captain J.M. 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 chansonette: 'La Bérgère Delase'
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, p26,   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 Auber of
1828.   (vii) there are songs with several verses by Sydney Nelson:
'The Ploughshare of Old England' p22;   and 'The Rose of Allandale'
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 *Il Puritani*
called 'Son Vergin Vezzosa' in v.sc. 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).

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

CHAPTER 2, NUMBER 2

(footnotes 35, 80, pages 70, 86)

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 Women*, New York 1977,
refers to novelists who helped make the Gothic mode a "substitute for
the picaresque":

> 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 picaresque, 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, sacre-
ligious orgy, vampirism, incest, cannibalism, and unbridled sensuality.
These Mario Praz has traced to the influence of Byron and the Maquis 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 Freaks in Troublous Times, Don John of Austria,* to *I Ladroni* or *Predatoros,* 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 Freaks 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 Alcaid*
(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
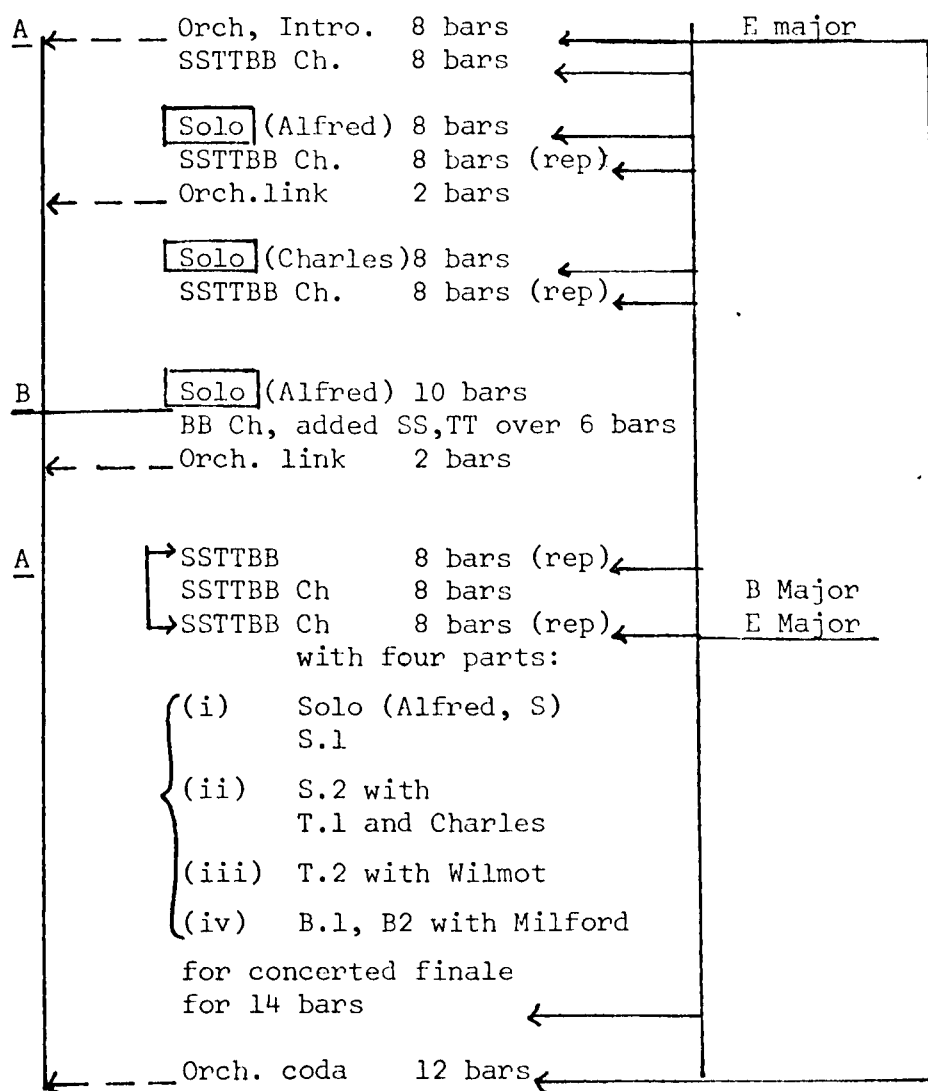sections of the Finale described above.

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 Troublous Times* (1843):

v.sc.page   Act II, scene 9 (no.17)

A   ⟵ — — Orch, Intro.   8 bars   E major
             SSTTBB Ch.   8 bars

            Solo (Alfred) 8 bars
             SSTTBB Ch.   8 bars (rep)
  ⟵ — — Orch.link   2 bars

            Solo (Charles)8 bars
             SSTTBB Ch.   8 bars (rep)

B   Solo (Alfred) 10 bars
             BB Ch, added SS,TT over 6 bars
  ⟵ — — Orch. link   2 bars

A   ⟶SSTTBB   8 bars (rep)
          SSTTBB Ch   8 bars   B Major
         ⟶SSTTBB Ch   8 bars (rep)   E Major
             with four parts:

       (i)   Solo (Alfred, S)
               S.1

       (ii)   S.2 with
               T.1 and Charles

       (iii)   T.2 with Wilmot

       (iv)   B.1, B2 with Milford

       for concerted finale
       for 14 bars

  ⟵ — — Orch. coda   12 bars

⟵———⊣ = 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) Solo (Philip)	10 bars 10 (rep)	Agnes (4 lines) 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	
241	Ch. SSTTBB	3 bars	(Dorothy, 4 lines,
244	Ch/Quintet	12 bars	deleted)
247	Solo (Don Quixada) 15 bars		Don Q. 4 lines
249	Ch. SSTTBB	2 bars	Grand Ch. 4 lines
	Ch/Quintet		(rep)
	Ch. SSTTBB	4 bars	
255	Orch.link	2 bars	
	Ch. SSTTBB]	3 bars	
257	Ch/Quintet	14 bars	
258	Orch. Coda of Intro. p 227 and final tutti chords)	16 bars (reprise	

←——| = repeat

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

CHAPTER 2, NUMBER 4

(footnote 186, page 123)

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."

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

CHAPTER 2, NUMBER 5

(footnote 189, page 124)

Marshall-Hall: Songs and Choral Works, Instrumental Music, Poems,

Essays, and Other Documents

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 NLN:M; *A Hymn to Sydney*, Melbourne 1897, and *Hymns, Ancient and
Modern*, Melbourne 1898, both in VU:GC.   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 Giosuè 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 Meister-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 *Othello,*"
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, (*Hince 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 chio
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.

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

CHAPTER 2, NUMBER 6

(footnote 205, page 129)

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, monotonal 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 rescored 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.   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 G 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 immitated 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.

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

CHAPTER 2, NUMBER 8

(footnote 257, 264, pages 145 and 147)

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 coda, 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 coda 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 bucaneer 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 Coungeau'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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7. <u>Correspondence and Interviews</u>

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