

**Erard, Bochsá and their impact on harp
music-making in Australia (1830-1866):
An early history from documents**

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Abstract

This study traces the emergence of the pedal harp in colonial Australia between 1830 and 1866 through the examination of primary source documents in the form of archival and newspaper resources. It does so by focussing on the dynamic that existed between the harpist Nicolas-Charles Bochsa (1789-1856) and the makers of the double action Erard harp, demonstrating how that relationship had an impact on harp music and music-making in the period under review. The study pursues three intersecting lines of investigation. The first details Sébastien Erard's ground-breaking development of his double action harp, and the social status it enjoyed in Europe, which was subsequently transplanted to Australia. The second area of investigation outlines Bochsa's role in raising the profile of the Erard harp. This in turn leads to the third and most pivotal line of enquiry that of the distribution of Erard instruments in Australia, Bochsa's visit to Sydney, and the role of his disciples in sustaining Bochsa's legacy in Australia. The performance culture that coalesced around Bochsa and his disciples – incorporating as it did harp pedagogy, performance practice, repertoire, and commercial considerations – is shown to be a significant component of the social and cultural life of colonial Australia.

Declaration

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution to Rosemary Margaret Hallo and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

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Signed.....

Dated.....

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My gratitude is extended to my principal supervisor, Associate Professor Kimi Coaldrake, whose guidance and encouragement made this study possible. To my associate supervisor, Dr Jula Szuster, I give sincere thanks for the many hours spent in draft reading and the faith she bestowed in my capabilities. I am indebted to Professor Mark Carroll and sincerely offer gratitude for his invaluable editing, which brought the study to its closure.

I also thank Denise Tobin and the staff in the Elder Music Library. Denise, on numerous occasions, provided valuable information, on call, forwarding online harp information.

This study would not have been possible without the support, understanding and love of my family. My parents, Margaret and Brian, I sincerely thank for instilling a love of music and history early in my life. To my sister, Leonie, I am grateful for her sharing of academic experience and direction, and for her understanding and support provided when needed most. Last, but in no way least, I am eternally grateful to the three precious jewels in my life, my children Margaret, Katie and Michael. Without their love, support and enthusiasm in sharing my desire to complete such an exciting journey, this study would not have been possible.

Note on the text

The newspaper references are placed in the footnotes as follows:

Newspaper name in italics, (date and year) (trove reference number), page number, online hyper link (accessed date).

For example: *Sydney Morning Herald* (5 December 1855) (Trove 12978656), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12978656> (accessed 10/01/2011).

The online link takes the reader to the correct newspaper page. To find the article, the reader must scroll down the page.

Identification of ship name is in italics, for example: *Bank of England*

Music titles in the text are noted for a name of composition as ‘name’, with the large works such as an opera in italics.

Identification of Erard harps from the *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London* are noted by volume and page number.

All French translations were kindly supplied by Marylene Westley, of Alliance Francaise d’Adelaide Inc., and received on 22 June 2012. The original French text is placed in the footnotes, with the translation placed in the body of the text.

Introduction

In December 1855 the *Sydney Morning Herald* advised of the arrival in Australia of the harpist Nicolas-Charles Bochsa (1789-1856), as part of Madame Anna Bishop's touring group:

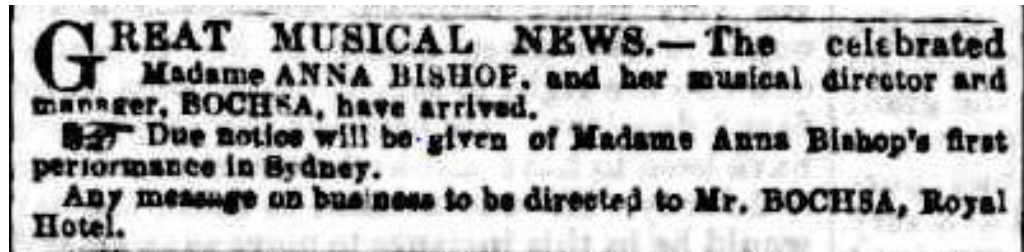


Figure 1. *Sydney Morning Herald* (5 December 1855).¹

The event marks a pivotal point in the historical narrative that is the focus of the current study, that is the critical evaluation of the arrival in Australia in the mid-nineteenth century of the double action pedal harp. In this regard the study is framed by the two main points made in the advertisement; that Bochsa's long-heralded arrival was 'great musical news' for the colony, and that any 'business' arising from his visit be directed to Bochsa in person. It emerges that Bochsa, the man and musician, is pivotal to an understanding of this particular episode in Australian music history. To that end, the study identifies and cross-examines an array of primary source documents and archival resources in order to identify the personal, commercial and musical factors which facilitated the arrival of the double action pedal Erard harp in Australia, and the fledgling colony of New South Wales, in particular. In terms of its chronology, 1830 marks the date of the first documentary evidence of the existence of an Erard harp in Australia, while 1866 marks the emergence of Australian-born Erard performers. As such, the latter constitute a second generation of performers in the sense that, having studied with those described here as disciples of Bochsa, their emergence marks the coming of age of the Erard-Bochsa relationship in Australia.

With regard to the 'great musical news' trumpeted in the above-mentioned article, we can be in little doubt that Bochsa's arrival was portrayed as having a civilising influence on the colony. He was, as various notices proclaimed, 'the greatest

¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (5 December 1855) (Trove 12978656), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12978656> (accessed 10/01/2011).

harpist of the nineteenth century'.² His courtly credentials were likewise emphasised. Aside from being 'Director and Manager of Madame Anna Bishop', readers were reminded elsewhere that Bochsa was 'Composer and First Harpist of her Majesty Queen Victoria, Life Governor of the Royal Musical Academy of England, ex director of her Majesty's Italian Opera House, and of the San Carlo, at Naples ...'.³ The transplantation to Australia of a performance culture linked so inextricably with European high art will be shown to have exerted a powerful influence over musical life in the colonies.

With regard to matters of 'business', Bochsa's promotion of the Erard harp in Australia was of considerable, albeit short-lived significance – short-lived because of his untimely death in Sydney just one month after his arrival. The current study traces Erard's ground-breaking development of their double action pedal harp, Bochsa's relationship with the Erard house in Europe, the distribution of Erard instruments brought to Australia by Bochsa and his students, and the role of those students in sustaining Bochsa's legacy in Australia. Understood in this way, the performance culture that coalesced around Bochsa and his disciples is shown to incorporate harp pedagogy, performance practice, repertoire, and commercial considerations.

With this in mind, what follows is a personal reflection on the motivations for the project. The principal aims of the project, together with challenges that arose, are then detailed and situated against an overview of current literature. The review is followed by a chapter summary incorporating key research foci, which include issues of cultural transference, harp organology, and the social context in which the music was performed, heard and promoted. Related to social context is the idea of community building and perceptions of the harp's civilising influence; that is, its impact on social and cultural norms and expectations. To that end the study identifies and documents harp performers and teachers in Australia at the time, and their relationship to Bochsa and the Erard harp. The introduction concludes with a general overview of the findings.

The inspiration for this study was the discovery of Bochsa's grave in Camperdown Cemetery, in inner suburban Sydney. His neglected gravesite – a large concrete structure featuring a harp placed on a tree (and designed, paid for, and displayed by his companion Anna Bishop) – reinforced my sense that his role in the history of harp music-making in Australia had likewise been neglected, something that I

² Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop: Adventures of an Intrepid Prima Donna* (Sydney: Currency Press, 1997), 29.

³ *Empire* (22 December 1855) (Trove 60171384), 1. <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60171384> (accessed 10/01.2011).

wished to address. In 2013 I viewed the original Erard workshop site at 18 Marlborough Street, London. Sébastien Erard (1752-1831), the renowned harp maker, purchased Number 18 in 1794, and in so doing established the English home for the Erard harp. By referring to contemporary pictures, available from the Westminster City Archives, an understanding of the original site emerges.⁴ The entrance carries a plaque which reads 'S&P ERARD'. On one side is the date 1780, which signifies the year Erard opened in Paris, and on the other, 1892, the year Erard closed its London establishment. The 'S' represents Sébastien, while the 'P' acknowledges Pierre (1794-1855), Sébastien's nephew and right-hand man for the London workshop from 1814. Pierre began working for Erard's London office in 1814 and, following Sébastien's death in 1831, continued directing the family business.

The Erard harp is pivotal to our understanding of the evolution of the double action pedal harp in the nineteenth century, and with that Bochsa's role in the harp's development. Prior to the late 1700s, the harp's modulating method was by means of levers on the neck, which the player changed by hand. With the invention of the pedal harp, the hands remained free for playing as the feet used pedals to change the pitch of a note. The mechanism in the neck was connected to the pedals by rods running through the pillar. There were initially three types of harp mechanism used by various harp makers in order to alter the pitch of a note by a semitone for every string; namely, the crotchet, the béquille and Erard's fourchette mechanism.⁵ While each of these mechanisms successfully altered the note's pitch, what was needed was a design that kept the string in alignment and was thus more user-friendly for the harpist. Building on the success of his single action harp with fourchette mechanism (1784), what Barrie Heaton describes as Sébastien's 'genius at finding ways around mechanical problems' led to his attention being focused on harp designs and manufacture.⁶ In 1810 he patented the double action harp, which incorporated two rows of fourchette mechanism,

⁴ Westminster City Archives, Mike Baldwin, email message to author, 13 July, 2011.

⁵ The French harp-makers at this time were Jean-Henri Naderman (1735-1799), François Le Jeune (1722-1785) and Georges Cousineau (1733-1799). The three mechanisms are described by Roslyn Rensch as follows: 'Crotchet – a little flag-like device. When a pedal is pressed down the crutch ends press against a small individual bridge, thereby raising the string one semi-tone. Béquille – a little crutch-ended device, used in pairs. When a pedal is pressed down the crutch ends press against either side of the string, thereby raising the string pitch one semi-tone. Fourchette – a disc fitted with two prongs or forks. When a pedal is pressed down the disc turns, and the two prongs press against either side of the string, thereby raising the string pitch one semi-tone.'

Roslyn Rensch, *Three Centuries of Harpmaking*, published in conjunction with the exhibition of the same name, at the Eighth World Harp Congress in Geneva, 21-28 July 2002, 48.

⁶ Barrie Heaton, 'A History of Sébastien Erard: Piano and Harp Maker', *The U. K. Piano Page*, 1998-2002 www.uk-piano.org/history/erard.html (accessed 28 August 2011).

an inserted brass plate, and stronger and a slightly larger curved harp body that was the forerunner of the harp today.⁷ Sébastien's new design earned £25,000 in the first year of manufacture.⁸

At a later date, Pierre enlarged the London workshop by purchasing the next door property, Number 17. The surrounding area, Soho, where Marlborough Street is located, is still an artistic domain. The narrow streets and the original nineteenth century music shop-fronts remain visible, with plaques on buildings indicating residences of past musicians or artists. During that period, many harp players worked and lived in the district, passing through Erard's door on a daily basis. Not surprisingly, on his arrival in London the French harpist Bochsa was drawn to the sounds of harp music-making emanating from the Soho district. Bochsa entered the Erard London establishment in 1817, and in so doing there began a relationship that lasted a lifetime.⁹ Bochsa had commenced his career by performing and teaching in Paris with an Erard single action harp in the early 1800s.¹⁰ Owing to personal misdemeanours (detailed in due course), he fled Paris and settled in London around the time Erard needed to publicise his new double action harp. In London, the Erard harp had acquired social standing in performance life, with Bochsa as exponent for Erard performing numerous concerts for high society and the wealthy. From 1830 many of Bochsa's students made the long journey to Australia bringing with them their Erard harps, and Bochsa's teaching material and concert repertoire. This paved the way for Bochsa's eventual arrival in Sydney in 1855.

With regard to existing literature on this and related topics, the study takes as its point of departure two recent studies by the Australian scholars Graeme Skinner and Geoffrey Lancaster. Skinner in his doctoral thesis, 'Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition: First National Music 1788-c.1860' has presented a comprehensive overview of Australian compositions and musicians.¹¹ His research reveals many new Australian compositions and, of value to this study, has provided findings on harpists and their roles in Australia. Skinner in examining Bochsa's former

⁷ See Appendix A for a diagram of the double action harp.

⁸ The relative value of £25,000 in today's currency (1998) would be US\$ 828,250.00. <http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/printed/number12/heldman.htm> (accessed 7/08/2014).

⁹ Laure Barthel and Alain Roudier, *Mon bien cher Oncle* vol. 1 (Genève: Éditions Minkoff, 2006), 193.

¹⁰ An Erard harp associated to Bochsa is found online at Centre Sébastien Erard <http://sebastienerard.org/en/> (accessed March 2011).

¹¹ Graeme Skinner, 'Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition: First National Music 1788-c.1860' (PhD Dissertation, University of Sydney, 2011). Accessed 2 May 2013.

<http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/bitstream/2123/7264/1/ga-skinner-2011-thesis.pdf>

student Stephen Marsh, provides evidence of Marsh's harp compositions written in Australia. The current study interprets these and other compositions as evidence of Bochsa's music performed in Australia (see Appendix B). These harp works, sourced through concert programs and newspaper reviews, indicate the social context of the material performed.

Lancaster's work-in-progress, *The Role of the Piano in the Development of Australian Music Culture: The First Fleet Piano*, will soon be available online.¹² Lancaster details aspects of the piano's development linked to the instrument's role through the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, centring on the arrival of the first piano to colonial Australia. Lancaster's study identifies a French Erard harp belonging to Lady Hindmarsh, wife of the first governor of South Australia, who arrived in Adelaide during 1836. This particular harp is discussed further in Chapter Three of the current study. Were one to substitute 'harp' for 'piano', Lancaster's following statement would ring equally true for the direction and course of the current study:

Not only did the instrument highlight the importance and role of music in the lives of the first settlers, but it served as a herald for notions of musical idealism and entertainment that inspired ensuing generations of Australian piano lovers.¹³

A further parallel is made between the harp and the piano by Arthur Loesser in *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History*. Loesser retells the piano story as a world journey, which includes Germany, Austria, England, France and the United States and Australian colonies.¹⁴ Considerable detail is revealed about Erard's piano industry, but more importantly he questions 'why the piano was so important, and what its presence meant for the cultures it touched'.¹⁵ Loesser's reflections on social context show that 'in its construction, in its teachings, in its performance, in its place in the home, the piano was as much an expression of society's dreams and style as was the music it played'.¹⁶ The current study uses these observations as points of departure out of the belief that the same could be said for the harp.

¹² Geoffrey Lancaster, *The Role of the Piano in the Development of Australian Music Culture: The First Fleet Piano* (forthcoming, 2014).

¹³ Lancaster, *The Role of the Piano*, 109.

¹⁴ Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History* (New York: Dover, 1990), 587 and 591. The time period for this story covers from 1840 to 1900.

¹⁵ Edward Rothstein, cited in Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, viii.

¹⁶ Rothstein, cited in Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, viii.

Similar in structure, but with more relevance to Australia is Deborah Crisp's 'The Piano in Australia, 1770 to 1900: Some Literary Sources'.¹⁷ Crisp provides insight into the piano's role in nineteenth century Australia in ways that are transferable to the harp during a similar period. Discussing the piano's position in terms of social status, education, wealth and gentility, Crisp guides the reader through a pictorial journey across Australia. Although similar in nature to Crisp's article, the challenge the current harp study faces is the reliance on different sources to provide critical data. The availability of the original Erard *Harp Stock Books*, which reveal names of harp owners, numbers and locations of harps, redresses Crisp's reliance in her study on literary references.¹⁸ Additional sources are shipping manifests, contemporary newspapers and concert reviews. When cross referenced to historical biographical evidence, these sources provide critical data about the harp players, performers and teachers and, in some cases, their relationship to Bochsa.

Kevin Dawe in 'The Cultural Study of Musical Instruments' stresses the importance of the physical structure of an instrument and its social and emotional link to the performer, and as such provides a precedent for the current study.¹⁹ His study reveals the musicians' social context as the who, how, and style of engagement for the performer. Also reflecting on the player-instrument link, in this case the pedal harp, this study explores the harp's role in a range of harp music-making activities. These activities, as suggested by Richard Crawford, are summed up as teaching, composing, performing, distributing music, manufacturing of instruments and the writing about music.²⁰ By combining all these musical activities, the current study offers a discourse on the Erard harp and Bochsa's influence in Australia from 1830 to 1866.

As for more general studies of Australian music history, Covell in *Australia's Music* rationalises Australian music and music-making as little more than a reflection of its colonial masters.²¹ William Arundel Orchard in *Music in Australia* focuses on documenting the arrival of musicians to Australia in chronological order, noting musical

¹⁷ Deborah Crisp, 'The Piano in Australia, 1770 to 1900: Some Literary Sources', *Musicology Australia* 18 (1995): 25-38.

¹⁸ The French Erard ledgers are available on line at <http://sebastienerard.org/en/> while the English ledgers presented as the *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London* are housed in the Museum at the Royal College of Music in London.

¹⁹ Kevin Dawe, 'The Cultural Study of Musical Instruments', in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction* eds. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton (New York: Routledge 2003): 274-283.

²⁰ Richard Crawford, 'Musicology and the Australian Bicentenary: A Methodological Prospectus from an American Viewpoint', *Musicology Australia* 8 (1985): 4.

²¹ Roger Covell, *Australia's Music* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1967).

events within a social context.²² More recently, valuable information about colonial settlers, both resident and visiting, is presented through the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* site which is available online. Various authors have taken the challenge to provide detailed information researched from mostly reliable sources.²³ Michael Krips' *A History of Music in South Australia before 1900*, and *From Colonel Light into the Footlights: The Performing Arts in South Australia from 1836 to the Present*, edited by Andrew McCredie, contribute to the knowledge of musical development in colonial Australia.²⁴ The latter book examines the performing arts in South Australia from 1836, and includes discussion on the transference of culture during the early years of settlement. Local music-making is examined in its broader context of concerts and education in 'Concert Life in Adelaide, 1836-1986' by Julja Szuster, and Malcolm Fox's 'Music Education in South Australia 1834-1984'.²⁵

Focussing on historical harp study, as part of The University of Adelaide's undergraduate program, the current author produced a video now held in the Education Department of South Australia library. This video provides a generalised harp history, complete with music examples.²⁶ The article, 'Evidence of Harp Playing in Nineteenth-Century Colonial Australia,' by Frances Thiele, discusses the varying roles of harpists in Australia.²⁷ Thiele's research examines harp buskers and traditional Welsh and Scottish harpers' activities later in the nineteenth century. Thiele, however, makes mention of the 'infamous' Bochsa and his death in Australia. Continuing the 'infamous' theme, Errol Lea-Scarlett in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* dismisses unfairly Bochsa's standing as follows: 'his inflated reputation, coupled with the circumstances

²² William Arundel Orchard, *Music in Australia* (Melbourne: Georgian House, 1952).

²³ Skinner's entry on Bochsa in the *Dictionary of Sydney, 2008*, for example, refers to Bochsa's one Sydney concert prior to his death in 1856. There were in fact four concert performances by Bochsa at the time.

²⁴ Michael Joseph Krips, *A History of Music in South Australia before 1900* (unpublished honours dissertation) The University of Adelaide, 1973. Andrew McCredie, ed. *From Colonel Light into the Footlights: The Performing Arts in South Australia from 1836 to the Present* (Norwood: Pagel Books, 1988).

²⁵ Julja Szuster, 'Concert Life in Adelaide, 1836-1986', in *From Colonel Light into the Footlights: The Performing Arts in South Australia from 1836 to the Present*, ed. McCredie, 173-192. Malcolm Fox, 'Music Education in South Australia, 1834-1984', in *From Colonel Light into the Footlights*, ed. McCredie, 383-410.

²⁶ Rosemary Hallo, 'History of the Harp'. Video submission for the Bachelor of Music degree, The University of Adelaide, 1977.

²⁷ Frances Thiele, 'Evidence of Harp Playing in Nineteenth-Century Colonial Australia', *World Harp Congress Review* 9, no. 5 (Fall 2007): 16-18.

of his death, have given him an undeserved eminence in Australian musical history'.²⁸ The current study argues that this verdict is as inaccurate as it is unjustified. Bochsa's pedagogy, performance skills and dedication to harp music-making have made a sizeable and ongoing mark on the Australian harp community.

Considerable literature is available about the Erard harp company. In recent years, two scholars, Jenny Nex, Curator of Instruments, Royal College of Music London and Robert Adelson, Curator of the collection of historical musical instruments, and Organologist at the Musée du Palais Lascaris, Nice, have written on Erard harps. Among Nex's numerous publications is found, 'L'introduction de la harpe à double mouvement à Londres, à travers les register de la maison Erard'.²⁹ This article details the first one hundred Erard harp sales, and places harp ownership in its broader social context. Adelson includes the Erard family's nineteenth century correspondence in three volumes as *Mon bien cher oncle*, which he co-edited in 2010.³⁰

Histories of the harp specifically designated for their region, such as *The Story of the Irish Harp: Its History and Influence* by Nora Joan Clark or *The Story of the Harp in Wales* by Ossian Ellis are, while of general interest, completely bereft of references to colonial Australia.³¹ Roslyn Rensch in her book *Harps and Harpists* discusses the organological changes of harps through the ages acknowledging Bochsa's death in Australia, and notes an Erard harp in a private collection in Sydney Australia.³² Marson's in-depth study of Bochsa's pedagogical writings presents invaluable findings, albeit with no connections made to Australia.³³ Marson's information on the transitional development of the Erard harp is not entirely accurate. Similar to Flood's findings in *The Story Of the Harp*, Marson suggests that the double action harp came into prominence in 1808 with two pedals, the A and the D, able to play in three positions.³⁴ Critical findings by the current study revealed that these harps were built in 1825 (see

²⁸ Erol J. Lea-Scarlett, 'Bochsa, Robert Nicholas Charles (1789-1856)', in *The Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bochsa-robert-nicholas-charles-3019/text4423> (accessed 29/08/2011).

²⁹ Jenny Nex, 'L'introduction de la harpe à double mouvement à Londres, à travers les register de la maison Erard' *Erard et L'invention de la harpe Moderne 1811-2011*, [edited by Charles Astro and Robert Adelson] Published in conjunction with the exhibition of the same name, shown at Palais Lascaris 13 May -17 October 2011, 16-23.

³⁰ Laure Barthel, Robert Adelson, and Alain Roudier, *Mon bien cher Oncle* vol. 2 and 3 (Étobon: Éditions Ad Libitum, 2009, 2010).

³¹ Nora Joan Clark, *The Story of the Irish Harp: Its History and Influence* (Lynnwood: North Creek, 2003).

Ossian Ellis, *The Story of the Harp in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991).

³² Roslyn Rensch, *Harps and Harpists* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

³³ John Marson, *The Book of the Harp* (Buxhall: Kevin Mayhew, 2005).

³⁴ William Henry Grattan Flood, *The Story of The Harp* (London: Walter Scott Publishing, 1905), 167.

1.2). This information is found in the original English Erard *Harp Stock Books*.³⁵ In contrast to Lea-Scarlett, Flood finds virtue with Bochsá and his legacy: ‘Though regarded as a charlatan by many writers, there is no gainsaying the fact that Bochsá stands forth as one of the greatest virtuosi of the nineteenth century’.³⁶ This theme has been repeated on many occasions. The current study argues that the affiliation between Erard and Bochsá, who was, as Richard Davis notes, ‘the greatest harpist of the nineteenth century’, was vital to Australian harp music-making.³⁷

The research methodology used in this study acknowledges contemporary newspaper and journal articles as primary resources. The major primary harp resources are the Erard *Harp Stock Books*, both the English and to a lesser extent the French; and the correspondence letters written on a weekly basis, between Sébastien and Pierre, that is, between both working houses of Erard in London and Paris. As mentioned above, these letters, collated by Laure Barthel, Robert Adelson and Alain Roudier, provide critical evidence of first-hand communication between Bochsá and the Erard harp workshop in London.³⁸ The major primary resources detailing Bochsá are contemporary newspapers and journal articles, and also his personal details documented in *A Sketch of the Life of N.C. Bochsá, the Eminent Composer, Harpist and Pianist* by H.C. Watson.³⁹

The thesis consists of ten chapters, grouped in three sections, and is supported by three Appendices. In short, the three sections are: Historical Context (Chapters One and Two), Transplantation to Australia prior to Bochsá’s arrival (that is, 1830-1855) (Chapters Three, Four, Five and Six), and The Harp in the Immediate Aftermath of Bochsá’s Death (1856-1866) (Chapters Seven, Eight, Nine and Ten). In the first section the broader context of the Erard harp is established with identification of Bochsá’s contribution to Erard harp development. The broader context as seen in Chapter One provides a historical overview of the harp during the period when Bochsá forged his relationship with Erard. The section on the development of the Erard harp addresses general historiographical aspects, such as the Erard harp’s organological features, and biographies of harpists and harp-makers based in London. Evaluation of the Erard harp’s structural and mechanical development demonstrated that Sébastien’s new

³⁵ The author viewed the microfilm for information, which was confirmed by citing the original *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London* during study leave in 2013.

³⁶ William Henry Grattan Flood, *The Story of the Harp*, 167.

³⁷ Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop*, 29.

³⁸ An English translation of the three volumes is in preparation.

³⁹ H.C. Watson, *A Sketch of the Life of N.C. Bochsá: The Eminent Composer, Harpist and Pianist* (Sydney: Paisley and Fryer, 1856).

concepts were successful, and as such, later copied by harp-makers worldwide. The Erard double action harp was acknowledged as the superior harp of the day. Bochsa is introduced in this chapter identifying his commitment to Erard harps and thus the commencement of the Erard harp and Bochsa partnership is noted. The importance of this ongoing relationship to the development of harp music-making in Australia will emerge through this study.

Chapter Two examines the broader context of Bochsa's rise from humble beginnings to the position of the finest harpist of the nineteenth century. The critical importance of the Erard harp and Bochsa relationship is explored throughout this chapter, with findings indicating his preference for this particular harp shown through his continued use in concerts and teaching situations. This connection culminated in pedagogy and repertoire written exclusively for the Erard harp. The study reveals that Bochsa, as a successful salesman in his role as Erard agent, sold harps to many students and institutions on arrival in London in 1817. Included in this chapter is discussion on his personal life which reveals his complex persona. Bochsa was not only talented and hard-working, but also arrogant and deceitful. The importance here is his connection to the Erard harp and continued support for harp music-making, which ultimately led to the Erard harp's arrival in Australia.

The second section examines the Erard harp's arrival in Australia. Chapter Three documents archival sources identifying harp owners, numbers of harps, and harp movements around Australia between 1830 and 1855 – that is, from the arrival of the first Erard pedal harp in Australia to the arrival of Bochsa. This chapter explores the reasons why the Erard harp was brought to Australia. It becomes evident that the Erard harp was by far the most popular pedal harp in Australia in the period under review. Having identified that there were forty-four Erard harp sales prior to Bochsa's arrival, Chapter Four documents the harp accessories which included harp strings, harp music and harp repairs that were increasingly needed due to the harp's popularity. This chapter identifies the number of music sellers and importers who increased trading in harp related goods and explores the role the Erard harp played in music-making development. Chapter Five examines the Erard harp in instrumental pedagogy here and notes the connection to Bochsa through his students who had journeyed to Australia. It is shown that the social role of women in the colonies encompassed primarily teaching, and some performing. The transference from Europe of 'accomplishment' learning was found to be an essential part of a young lady's education. The chapter documents the

many private schools and institutions that developed throughout this period. Having identified the teachers and their use of Bochsa's teaching methods, repertoire and Erard harp usage, Chapter Six focuses on the Erard harp and Bochsa's music in Australian concert performances from 1830 to 1855. These harp performances profiled the leading harp players, both resident and visiting. With entertainment being a significant part of the settler's social lifestyle, the study examines the new style of performance that developed. Harp players were not only found in concert venues, but were now part of light entertainments, such as quadrille parties and balls.

The third and final section traces Bochsa's arrival in Australia in 1855, and in so doing shows how the relationship between himself and Erard played a vital role in establishing harp music-making in colonial Australia. Chapter Seven describes and evaluates the local population's eager anticipation of Bochsa's arrival. A principal player in Anna Bishop's touring group, Bochsa arranged concerts, prepared orchestral arrangements and conducted, in addition to accompanying Bishop's singing. The study details the four concerts that were presented, as well as a planned fifth concert. That concert, a production of *Norma*, ultimately did not include Bochsa due to his untimely death. The chapter reflects on the actual whereabouts of Bochsa's Erard harp today. Chapter Eight identifies the many ways in which the Erard-Bochsa partnership continued to play an important part in music-making subsequent to his death. It notes that harp taught as an 'accomplishment' remained popular in education, and that institutions advertised for harp teachers schooled in the Bochsa method. Bochsa's teachings, together with his championing of Erard's double action harp, had followed him around the world.

Chapter Nine examines the increase in popularity of light entertainments such as quadrille parties, where the harp regularly participated in small musical groups travelling from the main towns to country regions, to cater to the rising demand for more informal forms of entertainment. The chapter documents the sale of twenty-nine Erard harps and arrival of fifteen harpists connected in some way to Bochsa, a decade after Bochsa's arrival in Australia. Following on from this, Chapter Ten examines the continuing contribution of the partnership by documenting concert performances from the period, most notably the activities of nine visiting harpists from 1856-66. Several new features emerged at the time: the first orchestral harpist was named in a concert program, touring groups extended their performances to regional centres and, now for the first time, Australian-born harpists begin to appear in concert performances. Two

key concert harpists from this period, Edwin Copley and T.H. Brooks, capitalised on their links to Bochsa in advertising, and continued his influence by choosing to perform and teach with Erard harps. These and other instances confirm the impact and ongoing contribution of the Erard harp and Bochsa's presence in Australia.

The study finds that firstly the imprint of personality of a performer is inseparable from the instrument with which they are identified. Second, that the values attached to the instrument and its repertoire can be interpreted as cultural markers pointing to the aspirations – social and cultural – of the society into which they are transplanted. Third, the study finds that the historical legacy of the pedagogy and repertoire established in the early days of colonial Australia continues to reverberate today.

Chapter One: The Erard Harp



Figure 1.1. Sébastien Erard (1752-1831), inventor of the Erard harp.⁴⁰

The name Erard has been associated with high quality and innovative harp and piano musical instruments since the end of the eighteenth century. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a broader context specifically on the Erard harp's development. It does so by examining events in the career of Sébastien Erard, the creator of the double action harp, that of his nephew Pierre, and their ongoing contribution to the harp industry. The Erard family business worked from two workshops in London and Paris, and produced more than six thousand harps from 1780 to 1892. This chapter begins with an organological description of the Erard harp's main developmental features, and is then followed by a broader historical understanding on these developmental changes, which are interwoven with the social context of the harps' role in Europe. With this in mind, this chapter begins to answer the question: Why has the Erard harp gained such an important place in Australia's music-making history?

⁴⁰ Source: Barrie Heaton, 'Sébastien Erard.' This picture was located in the online article 'Piano Restaurateur 1998-2002' http://www.pianorestaurateur.nl/erard_biografie.htm (accessed 26/08/2011).

1.1 The early years, 1794-1808

Erard's harps were intended for the upper echelon of the market. They are distinguishable by inscriptions of Royal approval; a new, more robust design; string gauging that offered greater volume and more refined timbre; and decorations which made the harp aesthetically pleasing. The majority of harps arriving in colonial Australia during 1830 to 1866 were manufactured by Erard in London. Bochsa himself understood the harp's design innovations and aesthetic appeal:

It was reserved to the genius and perseverance of Sébastien Erard , a celebrated Piano maker of Paris and London, to produce a Harp, which, while fulfilling the high expectations of the musical world, attracted general notice by its commanding form, exquisite workmanship, and the chastity and richness of its classical ornaments.⁴¹

Bochsa refers to the double action as two mechanisms working together.⁴² Erard's fourchette mechanism design used a small disc with two forks. The harp string was placed between the forks. When the pedal was engaged the disc turned onto the string, stopping the string in two places, thereby raising the pitch a semitone. The single action harp had one row of discs whereas the double action had two rows of discs for every string on the harp (see Figure 1.2).

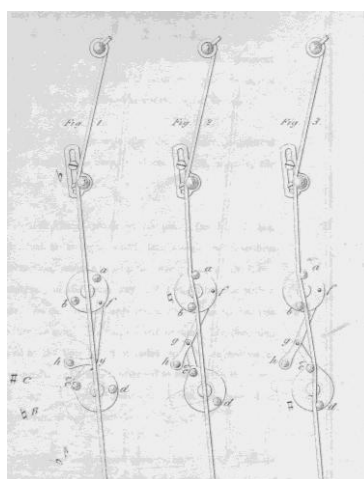


Figure 1.2. Erard's fourchette mechanism for the double action harp.⁴³

⁴¹ Nicolas Charles Bochsa, *History of the Harp: From Ancient Greece, Down to the Present Time* (New York: Browne, 1853), 6.

⁴² Bochsa, *History of the Harp*, 7.

⁴³ Pierre Erard, *The Harp in its Present Improved State: Compared with the Original Pedal Harp* (London, 1821), plate VII. This diagram shows the different positioning of the discs to produce flats, naturals and sharps.

Prior to developing this final double action harp design, Erard created not only models, but also working instruments. Section 1.2 examines Erard's initial single action design with fourchette mechanism and his attempted double action harp. Section 1.3 discusses the transition years 1808-1810 from single to double action design. Section 1.4 evaluates the successful double action harp mechanism and various models which followed. Finding other harp-makers' mechanisms unsatisfactory, Erard experimented with various prototype pedal harp designs. His letter dated 18 February 1791 notes 'the mechanism of this instrument is too complicated; I have changed it and simplified it'.⁴⁴ In 1794 with these thoughts in mind, he built an excellent single action pedal harp, which played an important role in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century music-making. Erard continued to experiment with a double action harp by the turn of the century.⁴⁵

Erard sold his first single action in Paris on 3 February 1790 to a Mr Bosi.⁴⁶ Harp sales slowed due to the French Revolution, which also rendered him unable to acquire a patent in Paris. The upheaval led Erard to relocate to London where, in 1794, he obtained a patent for the single row of fourchette mechanism at the heart of the single action harp (see Figure 1.3).



Figure 1.3. Erard's first single action harp (1794). 'Gaveau-Erard-Pleyel archives, property of the AXA insurance group'.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Charles Astro and Robert Adelson eds., *Erard et L'invention de la harpe Moderne 1811-2011*, 8. Erard in a letter dated 18 February 1791 noted that 'la mécanique de cet instrument est trop compliquée; je l'ai changée et beaucoup simplifiée'.

⁴⁵ According to Mike Parker, this single action harp was known as the Empire model. Mike Parker, *Child of Pure Harmony: A Source Book for the Single Action Harp* (n.p. 2005), 10. www.parkerharps.com

⁴⁶ Charles Astro and Robert Adelson eds, *Erard et L'invention de la harpe Moderne 1811-2011*, 8. Further details were provided in the footnote 8. Livre de vente, juin 1787-mai 1789, Fonds Gaveau-Erard-Pleyel, D.2009, 1, 86, p. 16. This was noted in the sales register 3 February 1790. Although the name was unknown, the address was noted as Rue de la Magdeleine.

⁴⁷ Photograph from Charles Astro and Robert Adelson eds., *Erard et L'invention de la harpe Moderne 1811-2011*, 11, with permission from 'Gaveau-Erard-Pleyel archives, property of the AXA insurance group' (5/03/2014).

Erard's initial single action pedal harps were petite. Standing 5'4" tall and less than 3' 6" in width, they had a sound board measuring 11 inches wide which tapered to 4 inches at the top.⁴⁸ The pedal box, which was only a few inches high, had just enough room to accommodate the seven pedals. Supporting the delicate instrument were dainty feet, later models were elaborately carved. The mechanism inset in the brass plate was housed under the neck (or arm) of the instrument. Erard's harps initially had 36 to 40 strings, increasing to 42 around 1815. Anthracus leaves decorated the capitals of these first harps. The next standard decorative design saw three ramsheads placed at the top of a cylindrical fluted pillar (see Figure 1.4).

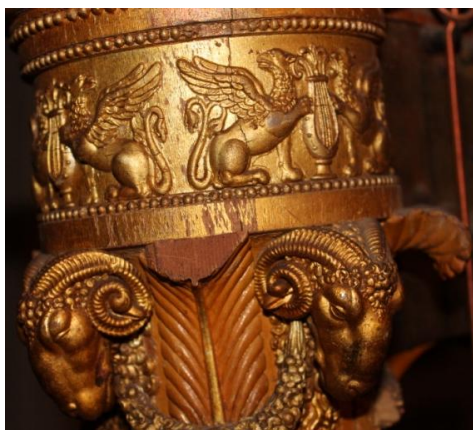


Figure 1.4. Ramshead design.⁴⁹

Sound board decorations were added at customers' request. During this developmental stage the Erard harp body changed from the angular seven or nine piece constructions made by earlier harp-makers to a round body-shape.⁵⁰ This gave strength to the harp body.

The first English Erard harp patent, number 2016, was obtained on 17 October 1794, and introduced the single action harp noted as the 'Empire' model.⁵¹ The mechanism, as explained earlier, was connected to a foot pedal, and when engaged pressed on the strings thus shortening the length of vibration. As Pierre Erard boasted, the fourchette mechanism was so successful that 'all the harp-makers in the United Kingdom [should] avail themselves of the invention'.⁵² Seven years later Erard built his

⁴⁸ A picture of the single action harp design is found in Appendix A.

⁴⁹ This is a personal photograph of the author's harp (8/05/2011).

⁵⁰ Pierre Erard, *The Harp in its Present Improved State*, 3.

⁵¹ Tony Bingham, *Patents for Inventions: Abridgements of Specifications Relating to Music and Musical Instruments A.D. 1694-1866* (London: Bingham, 1984), 28, see Appendix A. According to Mike Parker the term Empire is 'a shorthand description for the sort of decorative schemes and fashions of a period not restricted to the actual events from which the name is taken'. Mike Parker, *Child of Pure Harmony*, 10.

⁵² Pierre Erard, *The Harp in its Present Improved State*, 4.

first double action harp. Patent number 2502, obtained on 16 May 1801, allowed the harp to play in every key.⁵³ Instead of bequilles or crotchets, which were used by contemporary harp-makers, or his designed single action fourchette mechanism, this design, although incorporating a forked disc, used the tuning peg to alter the pitch. Turning the peg increased the tension on the string, thereby raising the pitch a semitone. Repeated twice, this concept allowed the performer the possibility to ‘modulate into any desired key’ and ‘execute pieces of music of which this excellent instrument has hitherto been supposed to be incapable’.⁵⁴ This method, however, was unsuccessful as increased tension caused the strings to break. Pedal improvements, at this time, incorporated the swell pedal, and fixed springs were used to return the pedal to its former position (see Figure 1.5).

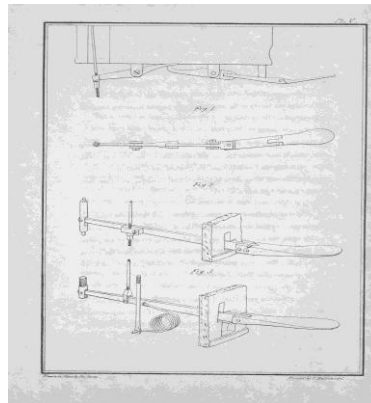


Figure 1.5. Pedal improvements.⁵⁵

Erard’s next double action harp, which was designed in 1808, used an improved version of his fourchette mechanism.

The issue of design provenance of the double action mechanism remains unresolved. Historical data shows that the rival French harp-maker Cousineau (1733-1799) developed a double pedalled harp in 1782.⁵⁶ This harp had 14 pedals – that is, twice the customary seven pedals. According to *Erard et L’invention de la harpe Moderne 1811-2011*, this was the model studied by Erard during 1794 to 1811, at which time he

⁵³ Tony Bingham, *Patents for Inventions*, 40. See Appendix A.

⁵⁴ Tony Bingham, *Patents for Inventions*, 40.

⁵⁵ Pierre Erard, *The Harp in its Present Improved State*, Plate V. This diagram shows the spring system.

⁵⁶ John Sainsbury notes that Cousineau was a ‘French harpist and composer for his instrument since the year 1780.’ Sainsbury, *A Dictionary of Musicians from the Earliest Times* vol. 1 (New York: Da Capo Press, 1966), 180. Sainsbury’s dictionary notes only musicians, not harp-makers.

designed his double action harp.⁵⁷ Like many historians and harpists, John Marson has noted that Cousineau's number of pedals would have been confusing and 'hard to control'.⁵⁸ This has become the standard view of today's harpists. While Cousineau's 14-pedal harp was unsuccessful, Erard halved the number of pedals, that is, reverted to seven, and instead doubled the mechanism in the neck, and used his fourchette mechanism to replace Cousineau's lever action bequilles.⁵⁹ Further doubts as to the provenance of the double action mechanism emerged in a discussion of the origins of the fourchette mechanism itself. A 1995 study revealed the London harp maker Charles Groll had patented the first double action harp with fourchette mechanism in 1807.⁶⁰ The patent number was 3059. As this date comes before Erard's double action harp patent of 1810, Groll plausibly had developed the fourchette mechanism, and this contributes to the controversy as to Erard's place in the development of the double action harp.⁶¹ However, an Erard letter dated 7 July 1820 confirms that he paid Groll for the rights of the 1807 patent, therefore clearing any possibility of future liability to Groll.⁶² Thus, despite Cousineau building the first double action harp, albeit with 14 pedals and Groll's patent of 1807, general recognition is extended to Erard for establishing the first double action harp.⁶³

1.2 The transition period, 1808-1810

Historians assume that a small harp with partial double action was a transitional development.⁶⁴ Flood suggests this occurred between the years 1801 and 1805, with a patent in 1809 introducing the partially developed double action harp. As Flood notes, Erard's first effort in creating a double action 'only extended to the notes A and D'.⁶⁵

⁵⁷ Astro and Adelson, eds. *Erard et L'invention de la harpe Moderne 1811-2011*, 48-49. Photos of the Cousineau harp are on page 47. Further information on Cousineau's harp is found in the article by Robert Adelson, Alain Roudier, and Francis Duvernay, 'Rediscovering Cousineau's Fourteen-Pedal Harp', *The Galpin Society Journal* 63 (Oxford: Information Press, 2010): 159-180.

⁵⁸ John Marson, *The Book of the Harp*, 77.

⁵⁹ Bequille action, as developed by Cousineau, is 'a little crutch-ended device, used in pairs ... When the pedal is pressed down the crutch ends press against either side of the string.' Roslyn Rensch, *Three Centuries of Harpmaking*, 48.

⁶⁰ Mike Baldwin, 'The Inventor of the Double-Action Pedal Harp with Fourchettes: Erard versus Groll', *Harp Spectrum*, London (2009) <http://www.harpspectrum.org/historical/Erard%20versus%20Groll.shtml> (accessed 3/12/2012).

⁶¹ Groll's patent is listed in Tony Bingham's *Patents for Inventions*, 52.

⁶² In the Erard letters it states that Groll's patent was on 13 Juillet 1803 not 1807 (3059). There was also documentation of Groll working with Dizi who was an arch rival of Bochsas. Dizi obtained a patent for his harp design on 22 January 1813. Laure Barthel, et al., *Mon bien cher Oncle*, vol. 1, 82.

⁶³ Pierre Erard, *The Harp in its Present Improved State*, 4.

⁶⁴ Partial double action refers to a single action harp with the addition of some double action pedals.

⁶⁵ William Henry Grattan Flood, *The Story of The Harp*, 158.

Since no patent existed in 1809, it is possible that the patent number 3170, obtained on 24 September 1808, was that which Flood had examined.⁶⁶ This patent, however, makes no mention of combining single and double action on the same harp. Marson suggests that part of the process in developing the double action harp was the addition of double action on two pedals. He comments that Erard produced:

a version with three positions on two of the pedals (A and D) and only two positions on the other five. Some examples survive, including one in a museum in Vienna. It is not known how many of these harps were built before the perfected instrument ... was launched.⁶⁷

Marson's statement is partially correct in that Erard may have trialled just such a harp. *The Harp Stock Books* clarify that twenty-six double/single action harps were produced in 1826, not in 1808 as suggested by Flood and Marson. These harps were possibly built as a special order. An example of this harp is located in a private collection in Burra, South Australia (see Figure 1.6).



Figure 1.6. Example of small harp (serial number 1964).⁶⁸

This harp, numbered 1964, was first purchased by Mr Buck Norwich on 24 September, 1835. The harp labelled as 'small' in the ledger, was made in July 1826.⁶⁹ These small harps had the ramshead design on the capital, similar to the single action harp.

During the years prior to Erard's double action harp design, he continually worked on improvements. Describing this trial period, Pierre reflects that:

⁶⁶ Tony Bingham, *Patents for Inventions*, 55.

⁶⁷ John Marson, *The Book of the Harp*, 78.

⁶⁸ Photograph courtesy of the harp owner David Kempster (email 23/08/2011). The harp measurements are: 55 ins. high, 29 ins. wide, soundboard, 3 to 12 ins. measuring from the top to the width on meeting the pedal box. Pictures showing the pedal box and mechanism are found in Appendix A.

⁶⁹ *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 2, 59. See Appendix A for the Erard harp entry for harp number 1964.

[Erard] slept little; his bed was littered with papers, which were covered with drawings. His pencil seemed never to be out of his hand. He was not content with drawings alone, but made models which were put into actual practice ... they were placed in his Museum at his Factory along with the rest of his inventions.⁷⁰

There is an example of a double/single action harp in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and, given that it carries no serial number, it may well be a design prototype.

The *Harp Stock Books* provide documentation concerning the workmen and materials used in harp construction. The English ledgers commenced in 1807, and confirm the number of people involved in the manufacture of the harps, including carpenters and ironmongers, engravers and string makers, porters and domestic servants.⁷¹ Timbers used in construction included maple, sycamore and beech. The brass plates attached under the harp neck, not only related to Royalty through their inscriptions, but also provided support. Laminating the neck wood strengthened the construction. Thickening the string gauge gave better tone and resulted in less string breakage.

The Erard harp workshop provided job opportunities for many workers in an efficient and friendly working environment. The *Harp Stock Books* show costs for workmen, gilding, purchase of materials for both harps and personal items, and included a certain Mrs Horn's house-keeping expenses. Mrs Horn appears to have commenced working for Erards from the outset. Since Henri Horn was a harp performer and teacher in London during this period, one might assume that Mrs Horn was his wife.⁷² These records present not only a family-style environment, but also attest to a highly efficient production regime. The ledgers offer glimpses of everyday life, for example of Erard providing a 'bean feast' in both 1807 and 1808 for his workers 'on the Saturday that fell closest to Bastille Day,' in order to express his appreciation for their diligent work.⁷³

Collectively, the workers were paid monthly wages varying from £44/18/10 in February to £48/2/1 in March, depending on work done. All expenses were listed, including the daily house running costs in addition to workshop activities. For example, the carpenter Mr Allison made 14 harp cases for £25 while Mr Davis sawed the

⁷⁰ Pierre Erard, *The Harp in its Present Improved State*, 4.

⁷¹ The *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, are in three volumes and are now housed in the museum at the Royal College of Music, London.

⁷² Henri Horn (1789-1862?) was in London prior to Bochsa's arrival in 1817.

⁷³ Moira Bonnington, 'The Oldest Harp Maker in the World', *The Galpin Society Journal* 54 (May 2001): 45-55.

sycamore wood for harp construction for £8/9/9. Numerous other workers contributed to harp construction as documented in Appendix A.⁷⁴

Good quality strings were obligatory for a harp to function. Erard's string makers William Fossey and Samuel Weisbart worked between 1806 and 1809.⁷⁵ The *Harp Stock Books* itemised Mr Duff's sale to Erards of six silver sets of strings for £3/9 in 1808. Henry Bratt made the tuning keys. Erard's total expenses from 2 Feb 1807 to 21 April 1809 amounted to £20,449/2/3. Historians note that in the first year of production, Erard made over £20,000. When tallying actual costs, however, Erard's actual profit for this period was £673/15/9.⁷⁶

1.3 The development of the double action harp

Erard's first full double action harp (as opposed to the partial action described in 1.2) was patented in 1810.⁷⁷ This so-called 'ordinary' double action harp with fourchette mechanism was named the 'Grecian' harp.⁷⁸ The patent, number 3332, was obtained on 2 May 1810, with the first English sale the following year.⁷⁹ The Paris workshop sold their first Grecian double action harp in 1812. Other models included the 'Empire' double action, and the 'Scroll' top harp. Single action harps continued to be produced at this time for those customers who found change daunting and did not wish to learn new skills. Erard's success lay in understanding that there was a market for both single and double harps, and thus he continued to produce both. Bochsa encouraged players to switch to the double action harp.⁸⁰

In 1817 Bochsa relocated to London and committed his services to Erard harps. His enthusiasm in doing so was palpable:

At last I am arrived at a period when it becomes my agreeable duty to record the great and scientific changes effected on the Harp, which, opening an entirely

⁷⁴ The names of the many workers employed from 1807 are revealed in the *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, and are documented in Appendix A.

⁷⁵ *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 1, 26-46. Nex provides Fossey's address as Violin and Harp string maker of 7 Gilbrater Walk, Bethnal Green. Jenny Nex, 'Gut String Makers in Nineteenth-Century London', *The Galpin Society Journal* 65 (2012): 140.

⁷⁶ *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 1, 58.

⁷⁷ Jenny Nex cites the *Morning Post* of 1 November 1811 as follows: 'after much experiment and three years exertions, [Sébastien] has at length obviated all the defects which hitherto have circumscribed the talents of the composer and performer, specifying in particular that the instrument is able to play in all keys and that there is more room for the hand at the top of the instrument. Nex cited in Charles Astro and Adelson, eds., *Erard et L'invention de la harpe Moderne 1811-2011*, 17.

⁷⁸ Jenny Nex cited in *Erard et L'invention de la harpe Moderne 1811-2011*, 10.

⁷⁹ Tony Bingham, *Patents for Inventions*, 60. See Appendix A.

⁸⁰ Nicolas Charles Bochsa, *A History of the Harp from Ancient Greece*, 7.

James Delveau ‘An improvement on harps’ (patent number 4672).⁸⁷ Delveau is mentioned as providing the London Royal Academy of Music with a harp in 1822.

The last Erard harp patent obtained on 18 December 1835 was number 6962.⁸⁸ This was for the larger Gothic harp designed by Pierre. Pierre’s aim was to ‘produce a more harmonious, powerful, and effective tone, giving to the instrument at the same time an easier touch.’ Lengthening the soundboard by four inches increased the string length and overall size of the harp, which made playing easier, in addition to providing greater volume. An early maple Gothic harp sold in January 1837 (serial number 5094) was purchased by Stephen Marsh and was perhaps the instrument that accompanied him to Australia in 1842.⁸⁹

Erard designed standard model harps with the capital decoration representing the appropriate model design. To add appeal, their customers were given choices of colours, trimmings and soundboard decorations. The standard harp came with a description of ‘wsb’, which denoted a white sound board (soundboards could be painted for an additional price).⁹⁰ Rensch describes Erard harps’ capital decorations as follows:

the capital of the double-action Erard harp was encircled by a trio of winged maidens. Sculpted in plaster ... the maidens resembled classical Greek caryatids both in their posture and the style of their pleated gowns.⁹¹

These capital decorations made it easy to differentiate between single and double action harps. Harp designs reflected family events, economic and political circumstances, as well as classical mythology – with the final decision left to Sébastien or Pierre.⁹² With regard to strings, spares were essential due to their unreliability. Bochsa discovered this on tour when broken strings occurred during a life threatening event. Davis retells the story of Bochsa being held up by bandits while touring in Mexico with Anna Bishop. In response to the bandits’ request for a song:

⁸⁷ Tony Bingham, *Patents for Inventions*, 90. Tony Bingham, *Patents for Inventions*, 91.

⁸⁸ Tony Bingham, *Patents for Inventions*, 118.

⁸⁹ Marsh was Bochsa’s protégé and a key figure in Australian harp music making and is mentioned in the following chapters. Marsh arrived in Australia on 14 February 1842 on the *Sir Edward Paget*. He brought with him Erard harps and pianos, which he subsequently sold (see Chapter Three).

⁹⁰ According to Mike Parker, the white soundboard description actually meant that the boards were gessoed white, usually with gold box lining from approximately the 1820s to 1830s (email to author 30/09/2013).

⁹¹ Roslyn Rensch, *Harps and Harpists*, 149.

⁹² Mike Parker states: ‘Most makers copied the basic form of the Erard decorations fairly closely.’ Parker, *Child of Pure Harmony*, 14.

Anna chose ‘La Pasadita’ ... but as Bochsa’s fingers struck the first notes, two strings on his harp snapped loudly. ‘Mon Dieu!’ he cried, ‘two strings broken ... I cannot go on!’⁹³

At gunpoint Bochsa did survive this event by replacing his strings and thus he was able to continue playing. According to Marson:

In 1814 Bochsa declared that the best strings came from Naples ... Spares, said Bochsa, should be lightly oiled, covered with Joseph paper, and kept in a tin box ... ‘Every eight days,’ Bochsa recommends, ‘a fine oil, which may be lightly perfumed, should be applied ... with a feather’. Afterwards, ‘a string, held between fingers, should be rubbed from top to bottom and bottom to top. This could easily be done by a domestic servant.’⁹⁴

Examples of tin storage boxes, as suggested by Bochsa, are in a London private collection and provide details of different designs. One is compartmental, while another is coffin shaped, allowing for different sized strings.⁹⁵

Erard’s connection to Royalty was expressed through engraved harp inscriptions. The brass plates asserted Royal patronage, thus distinguishing Erard harps from rival harp-makers. This Royal connection began in 1785 following a patent awarded to Erard by Louis XVI.⁹⁶ Erard continued to acknowledge Royalty on all future harps. The *Harp Stock Books* identify his engraver as a Mr Atdolphi, whose elaborate calligraphy remained consistent on future Erard harps.⁹⁷ His inscriptions capture changes in the royal family, including one made on a Grecian double action harp built in 1816. Here we find the royal associations that were to carry such cachet in the Australian colonies, such as:

Maker to HRH the Princess Charlotte of Wales to his Most Christian Majesty King of France and to all the Emperors of all the Rufias.⁹⁸

The Erard harp entered the world market as early as 1809 when harp number 131 was sent from Paris to America. Both English and French harps were sent to European destinations, with American colonies receiving greater numbers of French harps than Australia. Concurrently, London was establishing a trading route to Australia via

⁹³ Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop*, 155.

⁹⁴ John Marson, *The Book of the Harp*, 41.

⁹⁵ Mike Parker, *Child of Pure Harmony*, 17. These string boxes were viewed by the author in London on 15 October 2012.

⁹⁶ Pierre Erard, *The Harp in its Present Improved State*, 2.

⁹⁷ This information is contained in the Erard ledgers microfilm, reproduced at Appendix C.

⁹⁸ This inscription is on the author’s personal harp. See Appendix A for this and other inscriptions found on Erard’s harps. Rufias refers to Russia.

Calcutta. London sales networks utilised the extensive waterway systems in order to deliver harps around England and Scotland, and as a departure point for overseas trade. Other harp-makers followed Erard's example, however Erard's reputation and industrious workshops produced greater numbers of harps.⁹⁹

1.4 Summary

Sébastien's understanding of the social needs for nineteenth century music in Europe, combined with his entrepreneurial skills, underpinned the success of his double action harp. Given that many harp-makers based their own harp constructions on Erard's designs, this shows the general acceptance on the development advancements. Pierre wrote, 'since that time, to the present day, the name Erard is attached to all improvements'.¹⁰⁰ This statement remains true up to the twenty-first century, with pedal harps world-wide manufactured using his fourchette mechanism today. The reputation of Erard began with Sébastien and following his death in 1831 then continued by Pierre. The statement 'made by the famous house of Erard' was commonly accepted as a description of a fine instrument.¹⁰¹ The detailing of the daily manufacturing operations, patents, and design detail attest not only to the sophistication of his innovations, but also the social (and royal) cachet enjoyed by them. This is pivotal to our understanding of the impact in Australia of the arrival of the Erard double action harp, and its most celebrated practitioner, Nicolas-Charles Bochsa. Chapter Two examines Bochsa's role as a harpist, composer, performer and teacher.

⁹⁹ In comparison to the Erard, for example, the number of Erat harps made during a similar time frame was approximately 4500. Information provided by Mike Baldwin.

¹⁰⁰ Pierre Erard, *The Harp in its Present Improved State*, introduction.

¹⁰¹ William Henry Grattan Flood, *The Story of the Harp*, 161.

Chapter Two: Nicolas-Charles Bochsa (1789-1856)



Figure 2.1. Nicolas-Charles Bochsa.¹⁰²

Chapter One exposed Bochsa's preference for Erard's newly patented double action harp, and his preparedness to act as Erard agent. The current chapter looks in depth at Bochsa's career. His performances, while touring Europe and later the colonies, ensured continued exposure of the Erard harp and of his own compositions and arrangements. Through identifying Bochsa's commitment to the Erard harp and the social influences surrounding his performances, touring and pedagogy we may review the public's positive response by way of concert attendance, editorial reviews and harp sales.

2.1 Bochsa in Paris

Bochsa's childhood in Montmedy, France, saw a musical upbringing with his father as tutor and mentor. Bochsa started composing music at an early age and mastered many instruments. Favouring the harp, he entered the Paris Conservatoire learning under the guidance of the celebrated harpist, François-Joseph Naderman (1781-1835).¹⁰³ He excelled in all classes, but left before completing his studies in order to pursue a professional career as a performer and teacher.¹⁰⁴ Bochsa's outstanding good looks and

¹⁰² Source: This picture is a title page of a Harpiana publication http://harpiana.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Harpiana_AubadeEnQuatuor-1Cover.jpg (accessed 27/08/2012)

¹⁰³ François-Joseph and his brother Henri were the sons of the famous harp-maker Jean-Henri Naderman. Roslyn Rensch, *Harp and Harpists*, rev. ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 144.

¹⁰⁴ Michel Faul, *Nicolas-Charles Bochsa harpiste, compositeur, escroc* (Paris, France: Éditions Delatour, 2003), 6.

charming personality helped his career, but hindered his personal life, as will be discussed below.

Bochsa gained recognition among high society Parisian ladies. His handsome appearance gained their attention, as did his elegant manner and scintillating conversation. His reputation was such that his students included women such as Empress Josephine (1763-1814) and Empress Marie Louise (1791-1847). As first harpist and composer to Napoleon, Bochsa's association with the aristocracy yielded entry to all the important society events.¹⁰⁵

He married Georgette Ducrest, on 3 September 1812. The marriage was arranged by Madame de Genlis, Ducrest's great-aunt and a renowned harpist in her own right.¹⁰⁶ Bochsa, then aged 23, benefited from this marriage in several ways. Not only did he gain automatic entry to high society, but also the marriage came with a dowry of 70,000 francs. Financially and socially set for life, Richard Davis nevertheless describes Bochsa as:

handsome, charming, and brilliantly talented and a first-class bouncer, which endeared him enormously to the ladies of Paris. He further consolidated his social position by marrying Georgette Ducrest, the daughter of a Marquis and niece of the Comtesse de Genlis.¹⁰⁷

Given that Bochsa had acquired his Erard harp (serial number 263, see Figure 1.7) at the same time as his marriage, it seems reasonable to assume that he used his dowry in order to do so. Or perhaps his new wife Georgette may have given it to him as a wedding present.

Bochsa's musical training and natural abilities ensured his success in Paris. He gathered accolades for composition and performance, out-shining his fellow colleagues at the Conservatoire. Watson in his biography of Bochsa noted that 'all he did was well done'.¹⁰⁸ Bochsa used all of his resources to achieve his goals. His concert performances were held in palaces, such as Tuileries, St. Cloud and Fontainebleau, together with numerous private functions. Bochsa, together with his Erard harp remained at the forefront of Parisian musical activities.¹⁰⁹ A new extemporising harp style emerged out of Bochsa's private performances. Presenting 'a pack of cards upon which were written

¹⁰⁵ Bochsa was appointed as court harpist to Napoleon Bonaparte in 1813 and Louis XVIII in 1816. See Roslyn Rensch, *Harps and Harpists*, rev. ed., 156.

¹⁰⁶ See Roslyn Rensch, *Harps and Harpists*, rev. ed., 134.

¹⁰⁷ Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop*, 26.

¹⁰⁸ H. C. Watson, *A Sketch of the Life of N. C. Bochsa*, 11.

¹⁰⁹ H. C. Watson, *A Sketch of the Life of N. C. Bochsa*, 12.

various popular airs,' he invited audience participation.¹¹⁰ Once the air was selected, Bochsa extemporised variations on the theme. By many accounts, this feature created light-hearted enjoyment and applause from audiences.¹¹¹ This performance style proved so successful that he included this exercise in every future concert. Furthermore, he included improvisation in his harp pedagogy.

Bochsa was a prolific composer from an early age. In Paris, his output numbered around one hundred and fifty works, in the form of concertos, symphonies, sonatas and operas, the latter including *L'héritier de Paimpol* (1813). Many Bochsa harp compositions are standard repertoire today, such as 'Grand Sonate', Op.5; 25 'Exercices-études', Op. 62; 'Célèbres études pour la harpe, Cinquante études', Op. 34; and 'Rondo'. No less significant were his harp arrangements of music by great composers. Bochsa himself later recalled that 'my favourite authors were Handel, Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven and my aim was to give dignity to harp playing'.¹¹² No less noteworthy were his instructional guides and études. These included his *Nouvelle Méthode* (1814) which was, as noted earlier, written specifically for Erard's double action harp. Bochsa made much in his *Méthode* of the novelty of both the harp and his approach to teaching it:

The plan of this Method is entirely new: the Author having brought the Common Harp and the Harp with the Double Movement into a comparative point of view, and united all their relations—constantly treating the latter as a sequel to the former; and clearly proves, that whoever understands the one, will in a very short time be perfectly acquainted with the other.¹¹³

He was likewise acutely aware of the significance of Erard's innovation, noting that 'in the year 1810, the Harp was brought to the greatest perfection by Sébastien Erard'.¹¹⁴

Bochsa's lifestyle surpassed his income. In 1816, Bochsa turned to forgery and theft in the face of dwindling family finances and heavy debt. His fraudulent activities extended to arranging harp and piano sales, and receiving money in advance for instruments which he could not provide. Bochsa also forged signatures of wealthy and famous men for financial gain, including Méhul, Boieldieu, and the Duke of

¹¹⁰ H. C. Watson, *A Sketch of the Life of N. C. Bochsa*, 12.

¹¹¹ Lucretia Ramsey Bishko, 'Bochsa as Showman in Boston: A Review from the 1847 Tour,' *American Harp Journal* 12, no. 1 (Summer 1989): 11-12.

¹¹² Nicolas Charles Bochsa, *History of the Harp, from Ancient Greece*, 9.

¹¹³ Nicolas Charles Bochsa, *Nouvelle Méthode*, preface.

¹¹⁴ Nicolas Charles Bochsa, *Nouvelle Méthode*, 9.

Wellington.¹¹⁵ In 1817, Bochsa planned a final fraudulent act. At a private concert in March, which he had arranged, he stole the coats from the cloakroom, furs and cashmeres, and the concert ticket money, while the guests awaited his appearance. Telling no-one his plans, even his wife, he departed rapidly to London without performing. In Paris, it was announced that he would serve a jail term on his return to France. Bochsa, however, never returned to France. These events indeed warrant the description as a rogue.

2.2 Bochsa in London

Bochsa found instant fame upon arriving in London. His performances were described by the critics, as reported by Davis, ‘his playing surpassed anything seen in the English capital’.¹¹⁶ Bochsa seduced the audience with his charm and harp skills. He reviewed his own performance as ‘the effect was magic, nothing of the kind had ever been heard in England’.¹¹⁷ His viewpoint possibly illustrates an arrogant side to his nature. Bochsa knew that he was the best harpist and enjoyed being the centre of attention. He was the true showman as portrayed by Bishko.¹¹⁸ Both playing and teaching harp found him reunited in London with the Erard harp industry. Pierre in a letter from London to Sébastien in Paris (5 July 1817), described Bochsa’s activities:

Bochsa is invited every day to dinner or to play music in the first houses of London; if there is no advertising in Paris, he will be a success in London to the resentment of a certain gentleman maker and player [Dizi]. Still, if there was judgement in Paris; his talent is so extraordinarily superior to everything here that I think he would still go places (be successful) regardless. There are persons of society who took to heart to push him, to patronize him in fact and you know how far this kind of protection can lead a man of great talent in England.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Michel Faul, *Nicolas-Charles Bochsa harpiste, compositeur, escroc*, 25-26. Page 26 offers 8 libel cases taken out against Bochsa relating to his fraudulent affairs.

¹¹⁶ Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop*, 31.

¹¹⁷ H. C. Watson, *A Sketch of the Life*, 12.

¹¹⁸ Lucretia Bishko, ‘Bochsa as Showman in Boston: A Review from the 1847 Tour’, 11-12.

¹¹⁹ Bochsa est invité tous les jours à diner ou à faire de la musique dans les premières maisons de Londres; s’il n’y a pas de publicité à Paris, il fera fureur à Londres au dépit d’un certain monsieur facteur et joueur. Encore s’il y avait un jugement à Paris; son talent et si extraordinairement supérieur à tout ce qui est ici que je crois qu’il ferait encore son chemin. Il y a des personnes de la société qui ont pris à coeur de la pousser to patronize him in fact et vous savez jusqu’à quel point cette espèce de protection peut mener un homme de grand talent en Angleterre. Translated by Marylene Westley, from Laure Barthel et al., *Mon bien cher Oncle*, vol. 1, 203. The advertising refers to his misdemeanours as forger and thief.

Bochsa's bad behaviour in Paris had little effect on Pierre who realised that, with such superior playing ability, Bochsa would be an asset for their London workshop. Bochsa continued his promotional role in London as Erard agent. For Bochsa this meant status, an income from sales and access to society connections. In return, Bochsa provided publicity through exposure of Erard's double action harp. He kept his promise to Erard, and it was noted on 30 May 1823 that 'Bochsa assured me that he would never play on another harp, and I believe him because it would not be in his best interest'.¹²⁰ Further publicity for Erard harps resulted from the rivalry between Bochsa and the Belgian born, London-domiciled harpist François Dizi (1780-1840). As Pierre again wrote to Sébastien (10 April 1821):

I must entertain you by telling you that Bochsa and Dizi are at loggerheads! Because of talent pride! Bochsa, who is very popular, composed a requiem for the Drury Lane Oratorios, in which there are two pieces accompanied by thirteen harps! All from the firm and played by Bochsa's female students. The director of the Covent Garden oratorios wanted to create an opposition and put together a piece with fourteen harps, which have imperceptibly reduced to eight. This piece is not as effective as Bochsa's, because it is not composed by a man who hears, like him, the effects of the harp! Dizi who realises that Bochsa plays a lot in public, was taken by his pride and played at Covent Garden. He did not make an impression nor did his trading licence!¹²¹

Pierre's enthusiasm on viewing thirteen of his harps, on stage, playing Bochsa's harp compositions was highlighted in this quote. Bochsa had indeed provided excellent publicity for the Erard firm. Dizi, as harpist and harp-maker, remained the underdog.

Bochsa was a model of teaching and performance practice. He extended the harp performance repertoire and, in addition to his *Nouvelle Méthode*, contributed to harp pedagogy through a collection of so-called *Daily Precepts*.¹²² He ensured high level harp skills, which he taught masterfully. His commitment to harp music-making placed the

¹²⁰ Bochsa m'a assuré que jamais il ne jouerait sur une autre harpe, et je le crois parce que ce ne serait pas son intérêt. Translated by Marylene Westley, from Laure Barthel, et al., *Mon bien cher Oncle*, vol. 3, 59.

¹²¹ Il faut que je vous amuse en vous contant que Dizi et Bochsa sont à couteaux tirés! Par amour propre de talent! Bochsa, qui est fort à la mode, a composé un requiem pour les oratorios de Drury Lane, où il y a deux morceaux accompagnés par treize harpes! Toutes de la maison et jouées par des écolières de Bochsa. L'entrepreneur des oratorios de Covent Garden a voulu faire l'opposition et a monté un morceau avec quatorze harpes qui se sont insensiblement réduites à huit. Ce morceau n'a pas l'effet de celui de Bochsa, parce qu'il n'est pas composé par un homme qui entend comme lui les effets de la harpe! Dizi, qui voit que Bochsa joue beaucoup en public, s'est piqué d'honneur et a joué à Covent Garden. Il n'a pas fait grand effet, ni lui, ni sa patente! Translated by Marylene Westley, from Laure Barthel, et al., *Mon bien cher Oncle*, vol. 2, 120.

¹²² *The First Six Weeks, or The Daily Precepts and Examples for the Harp* was published in London by Goulding & D'Almaine in 1840. It is a comprehensive instructional guide that Bochsa composed as a model based on his teaching style.

harp in a position equivalent to piano as an ‘accomplishment’.¹²³ With his teaching curriculum and harp playing skills, he demonstrated the versatility of the new double action Erard harp which, perhaps not surprisingly, he recommended that his students purchase. As the Erard harp agent, his first harp sale was to Miss Williams on 26 June 1817. This sale occurred within three months of arriving in London. Pierre relayed Bochsa’s commitment to Sébastien (26 June 1817), and informed the latter that ‘Bochsa gives lessons and composes ... he will be successful and I am glad, he sold his first harp to a Miss Williams’.¹²⁴ The *Harp Stock Books* confirm the sale to Miss Williams.¹²⁵ Miss Mary Dibdin, another student, purchased two Erard harps, numbered 2929 and 3210. Dibdin performed with Bochsa the *Concertante* for two harps at Covent Garden Theatre.¹²⁶ Workshop accounts, cited by Jenny Nex, makes it clear that Erard paid generous sales commissions to his harpists.¹²⁷

The Royal Academy of Music employed Bochsa as the first Professor of Harp. He appeared in numerous public concerts in London and was a popular teacher. Harp student numbers at the Academy exceeded all other instruments.¹²⁸ Bochsa’s charm and personable character, in addition to a strict, regimented teaching program, saw the emergence of skilled harp players such as Stephen Marsh (1805-1888), Charles Packer (1810-1883), Louis Lavenu (1818-1859), Elias Parish-Alvars (1808-1849) and John Chatterton (1805-1871) – the latter succeeded Bochsa in 1827 as Professor at the Royal Academy. As will be shown in Chapter Five, these students all continued his legacy in Europe and Australia. They also purchased Erard harps on their teacher’s direction.¹²⁹ To assist students’ progress, both Bochsa and Pierre Erard provided the Royal Academy of Music with harps:

Mr. Erard sent two harps, Mr. Bochsa, one; Mr. Stodart, his new patent piano; Mr. Tomkinson, one grand and one square piano; Mr. Clementi, one grand

¹²³ ‘Accomplishments’ such as the learning of language and music played a significant role in young ladies education in England. This area is discussed further in Chapter Four by the social placement of harp education in colonial Australia.

¹²⁴ ‘Bochsa donne des leçons et compose ... il fera son chemin et j’en serai bien aise, il a vendu sa première harpe hier à une Miss Williams’. Translated by Marylene Westley, from Laure Barthel, et al., *Mon bien cher Oncle*, vol. 1, 200.

¹²⁵ The Erard *Harp Stock Book* entry for Miss William’s harp purchase is found in Appendix C.

¹²⁶ John Marson, *The Book of the Harp*, 33.

¹²⁷ Jenny Nex, cited in *Erard et L’invention de la harpe Moderne*, 21. Nex states that ‘Erard’s usually paid harpists 12 Guineas (£12 12s) per harp [sale] ... Mr Dizi was responsible for the sales of 13 instruments ... presumably generating almost £165, so this was a useful way for harpists and teachers to increase their income and for Erard’s to increase their sales.’

¹²⁸ Jenny Nex, cited in *Erard et L’invention de la harpe Moderne*, 208.

¹²⁹ The Erard *Harp Stock Books* identify the many harps associated to Bochsa’s students.

piano; Mr. Bochsa also sent an organ; Goulding and Chappel sent music. A Mr. Delveaux also sent a new harp for trial: whether he will present it remains to be seen.¹³⁰

The harps provided by Pierre were numbers 3359 and 3364 and Bochsa's harp was number 3387.¹³¹

Bochsa purchased Erard harps both for students and for his personal use. From January 1822 through to July 1838 six harps are listed as being associated directly with Bochsa. These harps are documented in Table 2.1, where D represents double action and 'wsb' refers to a white soundboard.

Harp number	Date	Description	Other information
2944	12 January 1822	D	
3086	April 1822	D	
3294	1 July 1822	D 'wsb' royal border	2 Bryanston St ¹³²
3387	30 June 1823	D 'wsb'	Royal Academy
3389	March 1823	D red 'wsb'	
5200	July 1838	Gothic plain no.1	Erard presented this harp to Bochsa

Table 2.1 Erard harps purchased by Bochsa. (Detailed documentation of Bochsa's harp purchases are found in Appendix B.)

Pierre and Sébastien Erard were delighted by Bochsa's commitment to their company. Not only did his performances advertise their harps, but also his compositions and arrangements were written specifically for the Erard double action harp. Pierre's letter to Sébastien (14 May 1818) reveals:

Bochsa is starting to be received in several houses. He is coming tomorrow with a lady to choose a harp! Through this mail, I am sending to Mrs Bonnemaïson exercises for your harp from Bochsa. They are very beautiful, are going to be published here by Chappell and will be in strong opposition to those of the great Dizi. It's a classic piece of work, which must be published home because it demonstrates all the advantages of your new harp ... in four books.¹³³

¹³⁰ William Wahab Cazalet, *The History of The Royal Academy of Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 34.

¹³¹ Harp serial numbers 3359, 3364 and 3387, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 2, 199 and 202.

¹³² This is an address associated with Bochsa, in London. According to Davis, Bochsa had rented this place, near Portman Place. Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop*, 30.

¹³³ Bochsa commence à être reçu dans plusieurs maisons. Il vient demain avec une dame pour choisir une harpe! Par ce courrier, j'envoie à Mme Bonnemaïson des exercices pour votre harpe par Bochsa. Ils sont très beaux, vont paraître ici chez Chappell et seront en opposition très forte à ceux du grand Dizi. C'est un ouvrage classique et qui doit paraître à la maison parce que cela démontre tous les avantages de votre

As a skilled harpist his compositions were a great success, in comparison to Dizi's works. Reading from the letter from Pierre to Sébastien (15 April 1817), there is little wonder that Dizi had wished that Bochsa would return to France.

Since my letter of the 9th, I have been extremely busy with the Bochsa case. When the article about him was published in the newspapers, Dizi, thinking that he would not return to England and that he would no longer be a threat, did not press him to stay in his home. Sunday morning a week ago the day before yesterday, Bochsa came to see me and I kept a promise I made him to do everything I could to help him.¹³⁴

As he had done in Paris before fleeing, Bochsa established harp playing as a desirable music accomplishment for the young ladies of England. His clients included the illegitimate daughters of the Duke of Clarence, who was later King William IV. Bochsa befriended the Prince Regent, who later became King George IV, thus procuring a social position as the Prince's harpist in Carlton House. This was where Bochsa met his next wife, Amy Wilson, and entered into a bigamous relationship with her – the latter owing to the fact that he remained married to his first wife in Paris. This marriage was perhaps not a wise choice, something flagged by Pierre in a letter to Sébastien (2 March 1818):

Bochsa by getting married here with a girl removed the little hope I had to see him change. It is a shame for such a great talent. He did here a lot of good for the harp. His music is generally well played and preferred to all other.¹³⁵

Amy's sister Harriette was the author of memoirs which scandalously contained many titled names.¹³⁶ That association was one of many reasons that later led to Bochsa's dismissal from the Royal Academy in 1827.

nouvelle harpe ... en 4 livres. Translated by Marylene Westley, from Laure Barthel, et al., *Mon bien cher Oncle*, vol. 2, 22.

¹³⁴ Depuis ma lettre du 9 j'ai été extrêmement occupé de l'affaire Bochsa. Lorsque l'article sur son compte a paru dans les journaux, Dizi pensant qu'il ne rentrerait pas en Angleterre et qu'il ne serait plus à craindre ne l'a pas engagé à rester chez lui. Le Dimanche matin avant-hier huit jours, Bochsa est venu me trouver et je lui ai tenu ma promesse de tout faire en mon pouvoir pour l'obliger. Translated by Marylene Westley, from Laure Barthel, et al., *Mon bien cher Oncle*, vol. 1, 190.

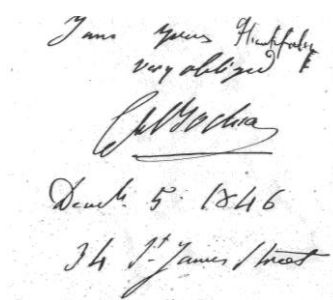
¹³⁵ Bochsa en se remariant ici à une fille vient de m'ôter le peu d'espérance que j'avais de la voir changer. C'est dommage pour un si grand talent. Il a fait ici beaucoup de bien à la harpe. Sa musique est généralement jouée et préférée à toute autre. Translated by Marylene Westley, from Laure Barthel, et al., *Mon bien cher Oncle*, vol. 2, 53.

¹³⁶ Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop*, 31.

2.3 Bochsa on tour

Bochsa commenced concert touring with the soprano Anna Bishop (1810-1884) in 1839. Their paths had crossed earlier at the Royal Academy of Music, where Bochsa, realising Anna's singing potential, suggested a Scottish tour. Her husband Henry Bishop (1786-1855) travelled as chaperone.¹³⁷ The tour was both financially and professionally successful. Commencing rehearsals in preparation for future tours, Bochsa trained Anna, enhancing her singing with costuming and stage direction. The inevitable occurred, with Anna falling in love with this charming, brilliant harpist. Thus began a relationship that lasted until Bochsa's death in 1856. Bochsa and Anna departed from London in July 1839 with Anna leaving behind her husband and three children.

Touring worldwide allowed Bochsa to represent Erard harps, and his latest model Gothic harp (presented to him by Pierre in 1838) to audiences in fourteen countries. In 1846-47 the couple returned to London, where Anna visited her children, parents and siblings. Bochsa acquired an extremely profitable contract for Anna in a season of English operas. One opera, *Loretta, a Tale of Seville* was composed by Louis Lavenu, a former Bochsa pupil at The Royal Academy of Music.¹³⁸ In the British Library there is a hand written letter by Bochsa discussing this contract, and signed by him (see Figure 2.2). The letter offers a residential address at 34 James Street, a building which is still standing.



The image shows a handwritten note on aged paper. At the top, it reads 'I am yours faithfully' followed by 'very obliged &'. Below this is a cursive signature that appears to be 'C. Bochsa'. Underneath the signature, the date 'Decbr. 5. 1846' is written. At the bottom, the address '34 St. James Street' is written in cursive.

Figure 2.2. Bochsa's signature.¹³⁹

Bochsa continued composing while travelling. Prior to each concert he wrote a song using a theme of the local region, then insisting that Anna sing it in the local

¹³⁷ According to the Encyclopædia Britannica, Bishop was famed for his composition 'Home Sweet Home' <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/66919/Sir-Henry-Rowley-Bishop> (accessed 19/03/2014).

¹³⁸ Louis Lavenu (1810-1859) studied at the Royal Academy of Music under Bochsa.

¹³⁹ This signed contract was viewed by the author in the British library on 6/10/12. Add 29261. Extract 29, 261. Original letters of musical composers and others; 1778-1861; 23, [Robert Nicholas] Charles Bochsa, London, 5 December, 1846, f.36.

language. One of her most popular songs was ‘Je suis la Bayadere’ (I am the dancing girl). He published several volumes of Anna’s popular repertoire and some separate pieces, which included accompaniments playable on both harp and pianoforte. A high point in his critical acclaim came in New York, 30 September 1847, where he was described as ‘the magician of the harp and the most accomplished exponent of the instrument the world has ever seen’.¹⁴⁰ His solo performances included his own compositions and his skilful extemporising. In 1849 Bochsa and Anna travelled to Mexico. The story of this journey, documented in *Travels of Anna Bishop* published in 1852, was written by Bishop.¹⁴¹

Travelling and constantly working led Bochsa at age 63 to a severe heart attack, after which their tour was postponed. The *Daily Alta California* described the precarious state of Bochsa’s health:

We understand the veteran composer and orchestra leader is in a precarious state of health, and that he fears he shall never leave California. A great musical light is fading.¹⁴²

Bochsa, however, recovered and continued practising his harp, and soon after presented a concert in readiness for their journey to Australia. Bochsa and his Erard harp were to make one final journey together. On the 2 October 1855, the *Kit Carson*, an American clipper departed for Sydney, Australia. Due to his previous health concerns, the sea voyage of nine weeks was long and difficult. On arrival in Australia, recovering from the journey, he arranged concerts, organised rehearsals and programming to present Anna Bishop to Australian audiences. Solo harp works were included to illustrate his masterly playing and the capabilities of the Erard double action harp. Bochsa’s ill health prevented him from performing on his harp in Australia, and he died in Sydney on 6 January 1856.

2.4 Summary

Audiences world-wide acknowledged Bochsa as a leading harp exponent. Bochsa preferring the Erard harp played this instrument in all concert performances and taught with an Erard harp. On examining letters between Pierre and Bochsa, the extent of their

¹⁴⁰ Cited in Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop*, 126.

¹⁴¹ Anna Rivière Bishop, *Travels of Anna Bishop in Mexico* (Charles Deal: Philadelphia, 1852). See also Michel Faul, *Les tribulations mexicaines de Nicolas-Charles Bochsa, harpiste* (France: Éditions Delatour, 2006).

¹⁴² Cited in Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop*, 177.

collaboration becomes clear. Pierre's enthusiasm for Bochsa's support of Erard, in all music-making activities, was matched by Bochsa's desire for financial gain. While Bochsa's strong personality and determination led to him being an extroverted performer, successful businessman and committed exponent for Erard's new double action harp, his dubious character undermined his personal reputation. Bochsa was, nevertheless, dedicated to harp music-making and pedagogy, and passed on his knowledge and skills to students over many decades and in many countries. Chapters One and Two in the first section examined the Erard harp and Bochsa in partnership. In Chapter One the superiority of the Erard harp was established by the organological advancements, and the support expressed by Royalty. Bochsa, as examined in Chapter Two, had now strengthened his commitment to Erard harps, with his touring ensuring world-wide exposure of Erard's double action harp. With this in mind, Chapter Three provides critical evidence of the Erard harp's arrival in colonial Australia.

Chapter Three: The arrival of the Erard harp in Australia: 1830-1855



Figure 3.1. Lower George Street, Sydney (1828).¹⁴³

Chapters One and Two outlined the two key areas of research in this study, the Erard harp and Nicolas-Charles Bochsa, and the relationship between the two. In partnership, they made a unique contribution to the development of harp music-making in Europe. Understanding that contribution is of course critical to a fuller understanding of their involvement in colonial Australia, in the sense that their activities in Australia mirrored those in Europe, in particular with regard to the notion of cultural transference from the ‘old’ world to the ‘new’. Focussing on the period 1830-1855, this chapter explores the reasons why the Erard harp journeyed to Australia, and the harp’s role upon arrival. Documentation includes the details and numbers of harps that arrived, while the information is for the most part sourced from contemporary newspapers and shipping manifests.

3.1 The social impact of the Erard harps’ arrival in Australia

Through his professional reputation Bochsa was able to secure for the Erard harp a popularity rivalling that of the piano. As agent for Erard’s double action harp, he had promoted the instrument through performance and in his pedagogical writings. In London during the early 1800s there were many opportunities to hear performances by

¹⁴³ Source: <http://gutenberg.net.au/images/c-48.jpg> (accessed 25/10/2013). During the nineteenth century this area in Sydney was the first arrival point for Erard harps.

Bochsa and other notable harpists. In most cases, their chosen instrument was the newly patented Erard double action harp, the development of which was outlined in Chapter One. Many harp students in London were fortunate to learn on Erard harps, witnessing firsthand Bochsa's pedagogy, in addition to attending harp concerts. At the same time the Industrial Revolution ensured that technological advancements in instrument and manufacture occurred. The instruments were more robust in design and canals were built, which improved transportation, ensuring that harps could be easily moved around the country. Newly developed machinery contributed to efficient constructions, with improved working skills ensuring cheaper prices being made available to the uprising middle class population. In Deborah Crisp's view the impact of the Industrial Revolution paved the way for 'the upwardly mobile middle class in Europe' with 'mass-produced' instruments available for a 'rapidly expanding middle-class'.¹⁴⁴ Madeline Goold shares that view:

Music was no longer the preserve of the Court and the Church, of the great who lived profusely and the rich who lived plentifully; rather it was enjoyed by the middle sort who lived well.¹⁴⁵

European nobility and wealthy people were now not alone in having access to music, as an upwardly mobile working class aspired to a middle class existence. With the Erard harp's popularity increasing through these different social classes, harp ownership, harp tuition, and concert attendance made families of any class appear wealthy and well educated. Future colonists interested in harp music-making found these music opportunities invaluable, and were now positioned to transplant the old world to their new environment.

Australian settlers brought with them not only their harps and music, but also their knowledge and appreciation of Bochsa's London performances, his teaching pedagogy, and his music. According to Andrew McCredie 'the predominant parent culture' of colonial Australia 'was that of Victorian Britain'.¹⁴⁶ While Roger Covell goes so far as to portray the Australian music scene as 'a European musical culture transplanted by Europeans to a country not in Europe'.¹⁴⁷ Crisp, when describing the reasons why the piano was such a significant acquisition in Europe during this period,

¹⁴⁴ Deborah Crisp, 'The Piano in Australia', 25-26.

¹⁴⁵ Madeline Goold, *Mr Langshaw's Square Piano: The Story of the First Pianos and How They Caused a Cultural Revolution* (New York: BlueBridge, 2009), 34.

¹⁴⁶ Andrew McCredie, ed., *From Colonel Light*, 11.

¹⁴⁷ Roger Covell, *Australia's Music*, xi.

maintained that piano ownership indicated ‘not only a degree of wealth, but also culture, education and gentility’.¹⁴⁸ These social aspects of ownership when transferred to Australia gained more importance, as settlers needed to ‘assert European values and European culture’.¹⁴⁹ Erard harp ownership, like the piano, conveyed similar European values and thus also enjoyed significant social status on its arrival in Australia. Crisp reinforces this concept by describing how the timely rise of the piano’s popularity in Europe coincided with European settlement in Australia.¹⁵⁰ The Erard harp’s arrival in Australia was similarly placed.

Australia was seen as a land where settlers could have greater opportunities. Land ownership and improved lifestyles were achievable for the non-convict population. In Crisp’s opinion the settlers’ ‘ambition was to improve their status and to emulate in the new land the comfortable existence of their social superiors in Britain’.¹⁵¹ These aspirations were not possible in the new settlers’ homelands, as class distinction remained firmly entrenched. Changes in physical surroundings also played a significant role, as Covell notes:

The musicians of the nineteenth century Australia found extraordinarily little correspondence between the social and physical atmosphere of their new country and the musical habits they brought with them.¹⁵²

These extreme environmental conditions, however, increased the need to maintain homeland customs for stability in their lives. Settlers brought with them musical instruments instead of practical objects, not only to improve their social standing, but also knowing that these possessions were unavailable in the colonies. Realistically, a settler could build a table, but could not make a harp, although as Crisp notes ‘pianos and even carriages were later used in improvising temporary buildings’.¹⁵³ On arrival in Australia the harp was used as a solo or accompanying instrument in both private and professional settings. An Erard harp’s social appeal was that it was highly ornate, exuded wealth, and was easily moved compared to a piano. As will be discussed, the social status accorded the harp also came by way of education, and the young women in particular.

¹⁴⁸ Deborah Crisp, ‘The Piano in Australia’, 25.

¹⁴⁹ Deborah Crisp, ‘The Piano in Australia’, 25.

¹⁵⁰ Deborah Crisp, ‘The Piano in Australia’, 25.

¹⁵¹ Deborah Crisp, ‘The Piano in Australia’, 25.

¹⁵² Roger Covell, *Australia’s Music*, 3.

¹⁵³ Deborah Crisp, ‘The Piano in Australia’, 25.

A so-called ‘accomplishment’ was part of young women’s education in the nineteenth century. Marjorie Theobald describes ‘accomplishments’ as referring ‘specifically to the cultural studies of music, art and modern languages, and sometimes to the totality of women’s studies’.¹⁵⁴ Theobald expands further:

[Accomplishments] also offered dancing, gymnastics, callisthenics and crafts such as leather work, wax flower modelling and needlework – subjects which historians have sometimes assumed were the main focus of the accomplishments curriculum.¹⁵⁵

Contemporary advertisements in Australia in this early period supported this assumption, itemising ‘accomplishments’ requisite to a young lady’s education. A dancing ‘accomplishment’ was advertised on 1 June 1830 as follows:

DANCING. Mr. Miller respectfully acquaints the Gentry and Public in Sydney and its Vicinity, that he has lately arrived from London, where he has taught the above polite accomplishment in its most fashionable branches ... Private Tuition attended to with punctuality, and the most respectable references can be given if required.¹⁵⁶

A notice in 1831 added music to the list of ‘accomplishments’:

GENTEEL – BOARDING – SCHOOL Mr. Bradley, principal of the Parramatta Mercantile and Mathematical Academy ... As there is a Seminary for Young Ladies connected with the same establishment ... young ladies will be received on the same terms and instructed in polite accomplishments, including French, Music and Dancing.¹⁵⁷

Instrumental and vocal instruction was soon included, thus ensuring that harp music-making joined the ‘accomplishment’ culture. Bochsa’s favourite pupil, Stephen Marsh (1805-1808), flagged his intention:

¹⁵⁴ Marjorie Theobald, *Knowing Women: Origins of Women’s Education in Nineteenth-Century Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 15.

¹⁵⁵ Marjorie Theobald, *Knowing Women*, 15.

¹⁵⁶ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (1 June 1830) (Trove 2195235), 1s, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2195235> (accessed 6/5/2011).

¹⁵⁷ *Sydney Monitor* (28 December 1831) (Trove 32076562), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/32076562> (accessed 6/5/2011).

to open an Academy for the study of the above accomplishments [pianoforte, harp, and singing] on such terms that will come within the means of all parties desirous of availing themselves of his instruction.¹⁵⁸

By 1830 Erard harps were arriving on the colonial shores. The following section explores the Erard harp ownership and establishing music warehouses and businesses, which imported harps catering for the new settlers' needs.

3.2 Documentation of Erard harp arrival

The principal source of documentation relating to the Erard harps' arrival in Australia comes in the form of contemporary newspaper sales advertisements. Settlers who had arrived earlier in Australia were, in some cases, returning to their homelands and thus offered their harps for sale. Two selling methods were used. The first method was by private sale, with the alternative method being sales by auction. Occasionally these harps were re-sold, when the purchaser decided to return home or move to another colony. Importers brought harps into Australia to sell to the resident settlers with these sales occurring in two ways. Erard harps were either sold by public auction, that is, where various auctioneer companies were employed to complete the transaction, or the establishing warehouses imported harps, selling at a set price. In addition, auction of settlers' private property were held in warehouses. The individuals who purchased these harps, again, were positioned to resell, at a later date, if returning home or relocating. These movements can be represented schematically in Figure 3.2 found on the next page.

Documentation of the arrival of the Erard harps is arranged in chronological order, and here examined according to two periods. The first period (1830 to 1842) recognises new harp arrivals and harps sold as settlers returned home to England. The second period (1842 to 1855) commences with Stephen Marsh's arrival in Australia and focuses on his connection to both Bochsa and the Erard harp, and his role as harp importer, up until Bochsa's arrival in Australia. The arrival of the Erard harps during the period following Bochsa's untimely death (1855-1866) is documented in Chapter Nine.

¹⁵⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald* (6 October 1843) (Trove 12425126), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12425126> (accessed 12/2/2011). Marsh's contributions to harp music-making in colonial Australia are discussed further in Chapter Four.

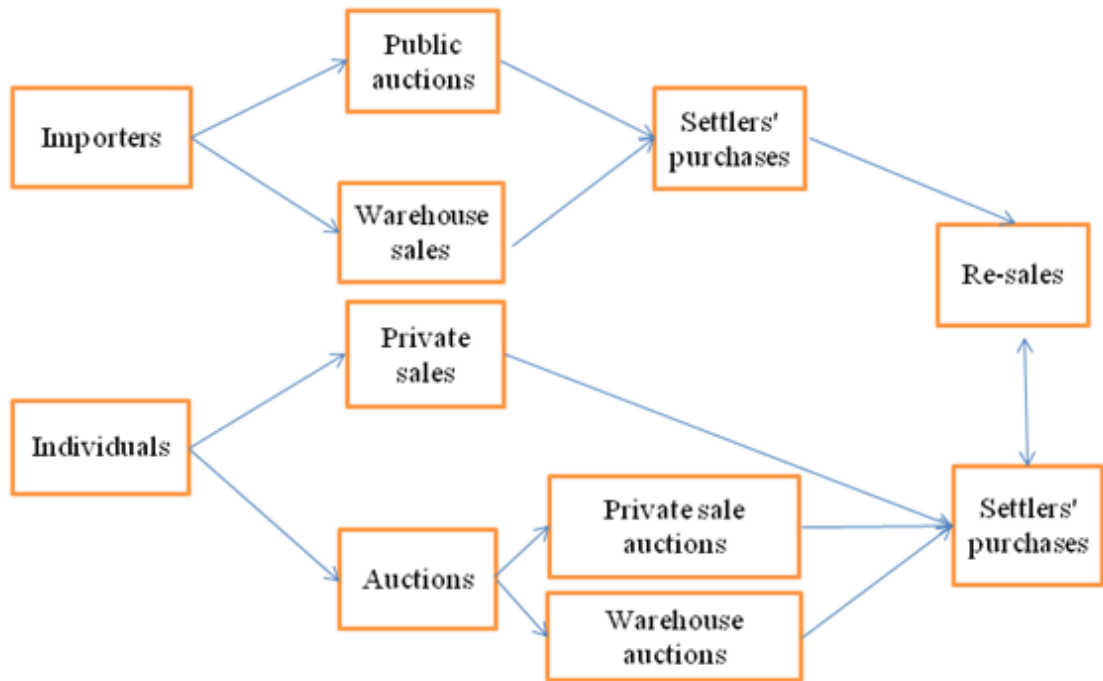


Figure 3.2. Diagram showing harp modes of distribution.

The first Australian advertisement of an Erard harp for sale was in June 1832 (see Figure 3.3). This harp had presumably arrived some time earlier, as the advertisement acknowledged the harp owner as Thomas Icely, Esq. (1797-1874), and that he was returning to England.



Figure 3.3. *Sydney Herald* advertisement (11 June 1832).¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹ *Sydney Herald* (11 June 1832) (Trove 12844684), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12844684> (accessed 8/02/2011).

Icely, a landowner and stock holder had initially arrived in Australia in 1820.¹⁶⁰ Employed by a United Kingdom government developmental plan, he travelled between both countries on numerous occasions. On a return visit to London in 1830, Icely married Charlotte, daughter of Nicholas Phillips Rothery. In the same year, Icely returned to Sydney with his wife. Given what has been outlined regarding ‘accomplishments’, we should not be surprised to learn that the harp belonged to Charlotte. The sale of the racing stud, including the Erard harp, preceded Icely’s purchase of a large country property entitled Coombing Park Estate. Although the sale notice indicates that the sale was due to Icely returning to London, he remained in Australia until his death in 1874.

The second Erard harp offered for sale in Australia dates from 1836, and belonged to The Honourable Francis Forbes Esq., (1784-1841), the first Chief Justice in Sydney. It was advertised on 5 March 1836 (see Figure 3.4).

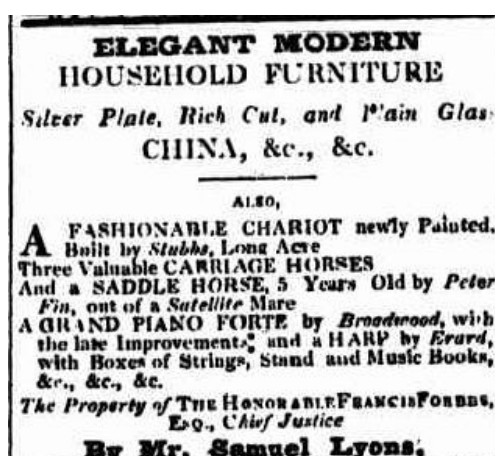


Figure 3.4. *Sydney Monitor* (5 March 1836).¹⁶¹

Forbes arrived in Australia in 1824, bringing with him his family and personal items, including the Erard harp listed for sale in the above-mentioned advertisement. Forbes had married Amelia Sofia Grant in 1813.¹⁶² Grant had purchased her Erard harp in London on 12 June 1807, paying 74 guineas for a single action English Erard, (serial

¹⁶⁰ K. J. Cable, ‘Icely, Thomas (1797-1874)’, in *The Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/icely-thomas-2258/text2885> (accessed 12/08/2012).

¹⁶¹ *Sydney Monitor* (5 March 1836) (Trove 32150888), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/32150888> (accessed 8/02/2011).

¹⁶² Nehemiah Bartley, *Australian Pioneers and Reminiscences, 1849-1894* (Sydney: John Ferguson, 1978), 127. Amelia Sophia was the daughter of David Grant MD., who worked in Jamaica.

number 909).¹⁶³ Arriving in Sydney in 1824, Mrs Forbes, the former Miss Grant, may therefore have brought the first Erard harp into Australia, albeit a single action instrument.

Today, there is a French Erard single action harp remaining from this early period in a private Sydney collection. This harp built in 1813, (serial number 273), belonged to Lady Hindmarsh. Born Susannah Wilson Edmeades (1786-1859), she purchased her Erard single action harp while living in Paris.¹⁶⁴ Lady Hindmarsh, wife of the first Governor of South Australia, Sir John Hindmarsh (1785-1860), arrived in Adelaide onboard the *Buffalo* in 1836.¹⁶⁵ Orchard mentions Lady Hindmarsh when discussing the arrival of the first piano in South Australia.¹⁶⁶ The current study has now established that the first Erard harp in South Australia arrived at the same time.¹⁶⁷ Lady Hindmarsh wrote in personal letters concerning the piano tuning as, ‘Changes in temperature here are so great and sudden, with our doors and windows always open, that it does not keep in tune a day’.¹⁶⁸ Her harp would no doubt have been similarly affected. The arrival of this Erard harp with the first Governor’s wife is representative of the harp’s position in society. As an expensive instrument, the Erard harp had a select clientele.

That exclusivity is reinforced further with the arrival of the second harpist in Adelaide, in 1838. Mary Frances Theodosia MacLeod (dates unknown), an artist and musician, arrived with her husband Captain James MacLeod onboard the *Pestonjee Bomangee*, which brought Governor Gawler to South Australia – the second Governor. On arrival on 13 October 1838, a temporary camp was established where ‘the artist played harp and piano on Glenelg beach while the Viceregal party waited for the residence to be finished’.¹⁶⁹ Governor Gawler’s wife, Maria, in a letter commented that ‘Mrs MacLeod [lady-in-waiting] had her harp with her, which she played as delightfully as she did the piano. She was teaching [the Governor’s daughter] Julia to play it too, as well as giving her music lessons ... (in the vice-regal marquee)’. The letter revealed Maria’s social status with the inclusion that she had ‘held her first *Drawing-room* ... I

¹⁶³ Harp serial number 909, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 1, 228.

¹⁶⁴ This information was provided by the owner of the Sydney private collection, Stewart Symonds.

¹⁶⁵ The *Buffalo* led the first arrivals to South Australia in 1836.

¹⁶⁶ William Arundel Orchard, *Music in Australia: More Than 150 Years of Development* (Melbourne: Georgian House, 1952), 17.

¹⁶⁷ A pedal organ also travelled onboard the *Buffalo* at this time. The instrument is in the Glenelg museum in South Australia, and was donated by the author’s father, Brian Hallo.

¹⁶⁸ William Arundel Orchard, *Music in Australia*, 17.

¹⁶⁹ *Design and Art Australia*, www.daao.org.au/bio/mary-frances-theodosia-macleod (accessed 5/10/2011).

appeared in my brown figured satin and ... Mrs MacLeod, an elegant woman ... was attired in an elegant pale lilac satin'.¹⁷⁰ *The Harp Stock Books* note that Captain MacLeod purchased a yellow double action Erard harp (serial number 4600) on 13 July 1832, selling it at a later date, 16 August 1881.¹⁷¹ This harp is possibly the instrument Mary was playing on the Glenelg beach in 1838. No further record of the harp has been found.

A key figure in colonial Australian music history was William Wallace (1812-1865).¹⁷² Wallace opened the first Australian Music School on arrival in Sydney in 1836.¹⁷³ An accomplished musician and composer, Wallace commenced importing musical instruments from early in his stay:

We understand that Mr. W. Wallace has received a letter per *Waterloo*, informing him of a large shipment of Pianos, which are consigned to him, and which have been selected by that celebrated pianist Henri Herz, from the House of Broadwood and Erard.¹⁷⁴

Although this entry relates to Erard pianos, it will be shown that Wallace enjoyed a connection to the Erard harp via his sister Elizabeth, a capable harpist and vocalist.

The first advertisement in Hobart offering an Erard harp for sale was in 1839, the details of which are as follows:

First Rate Double Action Harp, made by Sébastien Erard, together with music-stand, string-box and extra strings complete for sale. Lowest price £70. May be seen at the residence of W. Russell. No. 3 Davey-street, June 27.¹⁷⁵

William Russell (1798-1892), a Professor of Music, composer and double bass player, had arrived in Hobart from Leith in England, on 30 May 1832.¹⁷⁶ Despite proclaiming

¹⁷⁰ *Design and Art Australia*, (accessed 5/10/2011).

¹⁷¹ Harp serial number 4600, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 39.

¹⁷² Wallace arrived in Hobart in 1835, moved to Sydney in 1836 and departed Australia in 1838. Graeme Skinner, 'Austral Harmony: A Biographical Register of Early Colonial Australian Musicians: U-Z', <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 29/01/13).

¹⁷³ Catherine Mackerras, 'Wallace, William Vincent (1812-1865)', in *The Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/wallace-william-vincent-2769/text3935> (accessed 29/01/2013).

¹⁷⁴ *Australian* (9 September 1836) (Trove 36857890), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/36857890> (accessed 9/02/2011).

¹⁷⁵ *Hobart Town Courier* (28 June 1839) (Trove 4157915), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4157915> (accessed 9/02/2011).

¹⁷⁶ Graeme Skinner, 'Austral Harmony: A Biographical Register of Early Colonial Australian Musicians: O-R', <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 25/01/13).

its supposedly low price, £70 would have been only affordable to a select few settlers.¹⁷⁷ The Erard harp that Russell had for sale may have accompanied him onboard the *Ann Jamieson*, or he possibly acquired it at a later date, as the sale notice was seven years after his arrival in Hobart. As the direct shipping route from England frequently stopped in Tasmania en route to Sydney, it was surprising that more harp sales in Hobart had not occurred prior to this time. There was one Egan harp in Tasmania in 1831 belonging to Mary Allport, however, the following story proves that an Erard harp had spent some time earlier in Tasmania.¹⁷⁸ During 1834 a ship travelling from Hobart to Launceston experienced bad weather and sank after becoming lodged on a reef. All the cargo was lost, as the *Sydney Herald* advised:

We have this week the painful duty of announcing the total loss of the Schooner *Prince Regent*, Kains, master, on her passage from Hobart Town to Launceston.¹⁷⁹

More details reported the loss of J. and D. Robertson's harp. As documented in both Hobart and Sydney newspapers, the sinking of the schooner *Prince Regent* on its journey from Hobart to Launceston made headline news:

We sincerely deplore these accidents, and regret their occurrence. They ought not to take place. Several merchants and store-keepers, as well as private individuals, are sufferers. No part of the cargo is saved.¹⁸⁰

The owners, J. and D. Robertson, were no doubt devastated on losing their valuable Erard harp (serial number 1382, purchased in 1812) at sea.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ In England during 1851, around 1-2% of the population had an income of over £150 a year, with the average yearly income anywhere from £150 to £1000. With the middle-class increasing, a developing group of industrialists and bankers, for example, could earn over £1000 (accessed 20/03/2014). <http://www.census-helper.co.uk/victorian-life>

¹⁷⁸ Frances Theile, 'Evidence of Harp Playing in Nineteenth-Century Colonial Australia', *World Harp Congress Review* 9, no.2 (Fall 2007), 16. Mary Morton Allport (1806-1895) had arrived in Hobart in 1831. Allport's harp was not an Erard harp, but made by John Egan. Irish harp-maker Egan built double action harps using 'mechanism like that of Erard's.' Roslyn Rensch, *Harps and Harpists*, rev. ed., 118.

¹⁷⁹ *Sydney Herald* (12 May 1834) (Trove 12849329), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12849329> (accessed 10/02/2011).

¹⁸⁰ *Hobart Town Courier* (2 May 1834) (Trove 4185318), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4185318> and the *Sydney Herald* (12 May 1834) (Trove 12849329), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12849329> (accessed 10/02/2011).

¹⁸¹ Harp serial number 1382, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 2, 1.

3.3 The second period, 1842-1855

The arrival of Stephen Hale Alonzo Marsh (1805-1888) in Australia saw the beginning of Erard harp importation as a commercial venture, rather than as part of the goods and chattels of colonial immigrants. Like Bochsa, Marsh was an exponent of Erard harps and pianos, those manufactured in London. As an entrepreneur, Marsh catered for the settlers' needs by not only teaching and performing, but also keeping them supplied with music and strings. An understanding of Marsh's Erard harp purchases in England is examined to show his commitment to the Erard firm.

From the English ledgers we learn that Marsh's initial exposure to Erard harps came about when his mother, a Mrs Marsh of Sidmouth, purchased a harp on 3 January 1812. Marsh's first harp was a double action Erard, (serial number 1730).¹⁸² The *Harp Stock Books* provide the details that trace this harp's journey to Australia, when a Mr Greenwood purchased it from Mrs Marsh on 30 September 1847.

Bochsa's insistence that his students purchase Erard harps saw Marsh purchase a number on behalf of the Sidmouth Concert rooms, presumably for his own students' use. Marsh purchased four double action Grecian Erard harps while he was teaching in Sidmouth, the first on 11 June 1821 (serial number 3114) for his personal use. His next two harp purchases were on behalf of the Sidmouth Royal Concert rooms, so here we note his entrepreneurial skills buying harps for his students' use, which indeed prospered his teaching numbers. Bochsa had done the same activity when he commenced teaching at the Royal Academy as was shown in Chapter Two. Marsh's harp purchases were identified as built on 3 November 1821 (serial number 3197), and another Grecian the following year on 12 July 1822 (serial number 3312). Over the next ten year period Marsh arranged harp sales for his students, no doubt with a personal financial gain, as Erard firm in London offered a healthy commission to the sales by the local teachers. These harp sales were identified as follows: the first harp was built in 1826, purchased by Marsh in 1831 and resold in 1863 (serial number 3870), the second harp built in 1827 Marsh bought on 14 February 1828 (serial number 4050) and the last Grecian harp purchase occurred on 18 October 1832 (serial number 4628).¹⁸³

¹⁸² Harp serial number 1730, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 1, 36.

¹⁸³ The *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*. Harp serial number 3114, vol. 2, 174. Harp serial number 3197, vol. 2, 183. Harp serial number 3312, vol. 2, 194. Harp serial number 3870, vol. 2, 250. Harp serial number 4050, vol. 2, 272. Harp serial number 4628, vol. 3, 42.

With Erard's new patented Gothic model harp entering the market in 1835, Marsh, echoing Bochsa's role as representative for Erard, presented this harp to the London audiences at his next concert.¹⁸⁴ Publicity for Marsh's performance was offered as Concert Bill Extraordinary:

Mr. MARSH, the celebrated Harpist, Pianist, and Musical Composer, from London, Bath, Bristol and Dublin ... will perform on one of Erard's New Patent Gothic harps, some of his most admired compositions ...¹⁸⁵

Obviously enjoying playing this new model at the concert, Marsh subsequently purchased his own Gothic harp model No. 1 (serial number 5094) in 1837.¹⁸⁶ Marsh bought another Gothic harp the following year in 1838, described as Gothic harp model No. 2 (serial number 5196), which he sold to Mrs Vickers prior to him travelling to Australia.¹⁸⁷ The first Gothic harp Marsh purchased may have been the harp which accompanied him to Australia.

On arrival in Sydney on 14 February 1842 Marsh became immediately involved in many musical activities. Marsh's immediate task, however, was to import Erard harps, harp music, and strings thereby providing instruments and accessories for potential students. Marsh offered for sale the instruments that he had initially brought with him onboard the *Sir Edward Paget* as follows:

for disposal, one of Erard's most magnificent patent grand pianofortes; also, one of their beautiful oblique pianofortes, (the only instrument of its kind ever imported here), and several of their most elegant harps ...¹⁸⁸

These instruments were available for viewing at Mr Trood's residence in Bligh Street where, it was noted, 'Mr Marsh may be consulted'.¹⁸⁹ His next harp imports arrived the following year on board the *Florentia*. An advertisement on 2 September 1843 offered:

two more of their very splendid HARPS, which, together with his other valuable assortment of Pianofortes and Harps are unequalled in this or any other colony. To parties purchasing, a most liberal allowance will be made for cash, and they may feel confident of having an instrument of a very superior description to

¹⁸⁴ Tony Bingham, *Patents For Inventions*, 118.

¹⁸⁵ *Musical World* 16 (30 September 1841), 211, cited in Graeme Skinner, 'Toward a General History of Australian Musical Compositions', 241.

¹⁸⁶ Harp serial number 5094, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 88.

¹⁸⁷ Harp serial number 5196, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 99.

¹⁸⁸ *Sydney Herald* (2 March 1842) (Trove 12873960), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12873960> (accessed 15/04/2011).

¹⁸⁹ *Australasian Chronicle* (3 March 1842) (Trove 31735180), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31735180> (accessed 14/04/2011).

those generally offered here for sale, Mr. Marsh importing none but those carefully selected from the best manufactories in London.¹⁹⁰

As an entrepreneur, Marsh provided the opportunities for cash sales and confidence of purchase, however, there was no mention as to who was chosen to carefully select these instruments on his behalf. His reliance on Erard's reputation most likely sufficed. His yearly imports continued with new harps, pianos and music arriving by the *Aden*.¹⁹¹ On 22 May 1844, Marsh held a public auction in the music saloon at his residence in Bligh Street, offering two new patent maple-wood double action harps by Erard.¹⁹² The sale notice again stressed the harp's connections to Royalty:

Note – Erard is Harp-maker not only to Her Majesty the Queen and all the Royal Family of Great Britain, but also to every Crown Head and Prince In Europe.¹⁹³

These Royal connections, as discussed earlier, were included perhaps to consolidate sales, with this publicity aimed specifically at his wealthy customers. With the appending postscript, this social notion was emphasised further by 'the saloon will be expressly arranged with seats for the ladies who may honour the sale with their presence'.¹⁹⁴ Although the original sale notice was for two harps, the next advertisement altered by offering three magnificent patent double action harps for sale. They were described as in the 'Gothic and Grecian style, elegantly gilt and burnished, both in American Birdseye maple and satinwood'.¹⁹⁵ The *Harp Stock Books* confirm Marsh's harp purchases identifying that these harps were shipped to Sydney.¹⁹⁶ The advantage of Marsh's arrival in Australia at this time was twofold. Firstly, Erard harps were available to purchase and secondly, as will be shown in Chapter Five, Marsh provided harp instruction on similar lines to Bochsá's concise instructional methods and used his repertoire. Thus, the Erard and Bochsá partnership had arrived on the shores of colonial Australia.

¹⁹⁰ *Maitland Mercury* (2 September 1843) (Trove 661789), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/661789> (accessed 15/04/2011).

¹⁹¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (4 January 1844) (Trove 12411896), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/1211896> (accessed 15/04/2011).

¹⁹² *Sydney Morning Herald* (22 May 1844) (Trove 12423985), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12423985> (accessed 15/04/2011).

Graeme Skinner, 'Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition', 248. Skinner discusses this sale with rumours of Marsh having financial difficulties.

¹⁹³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (22 May 1844) (Trove 12423985), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12423985> (accessed 15/04/2011).

¹⁹⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (22 May 1844) (Trove 12423985), 3, (accessed 15/04/2011).

¹⁹⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (24 May 1844) (Trove 12423519), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12423519> (accessed 15/04/2011).

¹⁹⁶ *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 2, 272 and vol. 3, 42, 88, 101, 133, and 172.

In three years Marsh had offered for sale six Erard harps, although it is noteworthy that a further twenty harps were advertised for sale. Nine harps were listed as Erards; four more made by other harp-makers, with the remaining seven unnamed. Table 3.1 places these instruments in chronological order (continues onto next page).

Date	Place	Harp maker	Information
12 March 1835	Sydney	Erard	Un-named lady ¹⁹⁷
9 December 1840	Sydney	Unnamed	Mr Blackman ¹⁹⁸
18 January 1845	Hobart	Erard	Mr J. Williams single action ¹⁹⁹
6 March 1846	Sydney	Erard	John Bayley Darvell Esq. ²⁰⁰
12 November 1846	Sydney	Stumpff	Double action ²⁰¹
13 November 1846	Sydney	Erhard [Erard]	Mr H Mayne ²⁰²
12 February 1847	Sydney	Barry	Un-named ²⁰³
22 March 1847	Sydney	Unnamed	George Lloyd ²⁰⁴
21 April 1847	Sydney	Unnamed	George Lloyd ²⁰⁵
4 June 1847	Sydney	Egan	Price £30 ²⁰⁶
22 December 1847	Sydney	Unnamed	'a very elegant ... harp' ²⁰⁷
24 January 1848	Sydney	Unnamed	Mr Suttor 'harp and stand' ²⁰⁸
22 September 1847	Launceston	Erard	Robert Bostock ²⁰⁹

¹⁹⁷ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (12 March 1835) (Trove 2197543), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2197543> (accessed 9/03/2011). Details included 'a splendid harp belonging to a lady not intending to remain in the colony. Price 50 Guineas'.

¹⁹⁸ *Sydney Herald* (9 December 1849) (Trove 12866950), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12866950> (accessed 9/03/2011). Mr Blackman was the auctioneer.

¹⁹⁹ *Courier* (18 January 1845) (Trove 2949892), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2949892> (accessed 9/03/2011). This harp was advertised as 'in good working order with a packing case and string box and also a regular supply of the newest music and the best harp strings offered'.

²⁰⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (6 March 1846) (Trove 12885702), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12885702> (accessed 9/03/2011). Details included 'Superior Household furniture ... First-rate harp by Erard'.

²⁰¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (12 November 1846) (Trove 12890182), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12890182> (accessed 10/03/2011).

²⁰² *Sydney Morning Herald* (13 November 1846) (Trove 12890317), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12890317> (accessed 10/03/2011). At this time, Mayne was relocating to Ballarat.

²⁰³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (12 February 1847) (Trove 12898845), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12898845> (accessed 10/03/2011).

²⁰⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (22 March 1847) (Trove 12897899), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12897899> (accessed 10/03/2011). This instrument was described as a 'very handsome harp'.

²⁰⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (21 April 1847) (Trove 12890686), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12890686> (accessed 10/03/2011). A single action harp was advertised for sale.

²⁰⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (4 June 1847) (Trove 12890797), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12890797> (accessed 11/03/2011).

²⁰⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald* (22 December 1847) (Trove 12891333), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12891333> (accessed 11/03/2011). Advertising included a 'green and gold enamelled Double-action'.

²⁰⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald* (24 January 1848) (Trove 12893062), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12893062> (accessed 11/03/2011). These items were part of the insolvent state of Mr E. C. Suttor.

21 June 1848	Sydney	Erard	Dr Dawson ²¹⁰
16 November 1848	Sydney	Erard	Mrs Lord ²¹¹
24 January 1849	Sydney	Egan	harp to be raffled ²¹²
17 July 1849	Melbourne	Unnamed	Mr J.W. Bell, auction a harp ²¹³
31 August 1849	Sydney	Unnamed	Mr Keck, household goods ²¹⁴
1854	Melbourne	Wilkie	'harp, by Erard' ²¹⁵
1854	Hobart	Unnamed	'double action harp' ²¹⁶

Table 3.1 Harp sale list: 1835-1854.

As the Erard harp was the most popular instrument of the day, it seems not unreasonable to presume that the seven unnamed harps were Erards. The harp listed as Erhard used the original spelling of Sébastien's father.²¹⁷ It is worth noting that Mrs Lord, the housekeeper, was selling her harp, which was unlikely to have occurred in England. In most cases, the owners of the harps remained unnamed, but with harp sales listed among household furniture this implied the owners were relocating. As was mentioned earlier, many settlers returned to their homeland. The following pie chart confirms the popularity of the Erard harp in Australia before 1855, with Erard harp sales comprising almost two-thirds of the total sales (see Figure 3.5).

²⁰⁹ *Cornwall Chronicle* (22 September 1847) (Trove 65979360), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/65979360> (accessed 10/03/2011). This sale was a public auction at Vaucluse.

²¹⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (21 June 1848) (Trove 12905562), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12905562> (accessed 19/03/2011). Details included 'a double action harp by Erard'.

²¹¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (16 November 1848) (Trove 12910933), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/1290933> (accessed 19/03/2011). Mrs Lord was selling her Erard harp. An Erard harp (serial number 5719) has been identified in the *Harp Stock Books* (see Appendix C).

²¹² *Sydney Morning Herald* (24 January 1849) (Trove 28646615), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/28646615> (accessed 19/03/2011).

²¹³ *Argus* (17 July 1849) (Trove 4771594), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4771594> (accessed 20/03/2011).

²¹⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (31 August 1849) (Trove 12902982), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12902982> (accessed 20/03/2011). A single action harp was auctioned at this time.

²¹⁵ *Argus* (12 September 1854) (Trove 4797511), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4797511> (accessed 7/04/2011).

²¹⁶ *Courier* (16 September 1854) (Trove 2243067), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2243067> (accessed 7/04/2011). This harp was described as 'splendid ... by Erard'.

²¹⁷ Barrie Heaton, 'A History of Sébastien Erard' www.uk-piano.org/history/erard.html (accessed 28/08/2011).

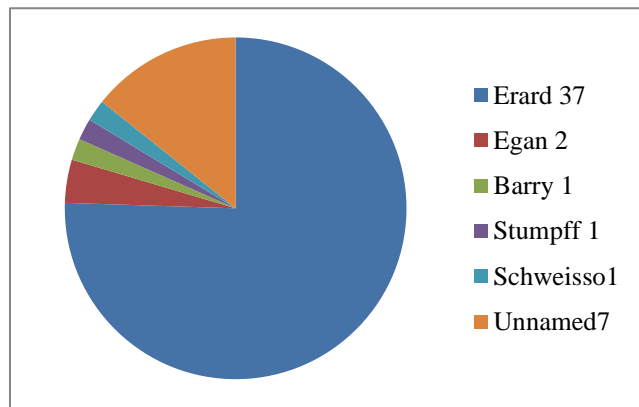


Figure 3.5. Numbers of pedal harps in Australia 1830 – 1855.²¹⁸

Harp sales advertisements during the period 1842 to 1855 contained, in most cases, references to gender and status, both of which reinforce the idea that the harp, and the Erard in particular, carried a social cachet linked to the status of women in the colonies. The documentation reproduced below (see Figure 3.6) attests also to its spread across the continent. These are organised according to private sales and auctions of harps that had arrived earlier and, finally, importations by music retail and wholesale companies. From this it is possible to grasp how the Erard harp shifted from being a chattel in the personal effects of incoming migrants to a commodity desired by the colonies ever-expanding middle classes.

From the list provided above, Wilkie is detailed as an Erard representative by his involvement in continued sales from abroad. In Melbourne, on 12 September 1854 Wilkie offered for sale a ‘harp, by Erard; a most splendid instrument with double action’.²¹⁹ Although Wilkie was not mentioned for the next eleven years, he was later to establish the company Wilkie, Webster and Company. Wilkie had returned to England in the interim, and his company role was to select suitable instruments for Australian clients. In London, Wilkie purchased an Erard Grecian harp (serial number 4117) on 29 January 1869, sent to Melbourne for sale through his company. Wilkie, Webster and Co. became an established business for the next fifteen years.²²⁰

With regard to harps auctions (as opposed to sales by private treaty), the auctioning of private properties and effects became commonplace from 1853 onwards.

²¹⁸ In 1828 two Egan Royal Portable (non-pedal) harps arrived in Australia. In 1830 an Egan harp arrived at the George and John Paul Warehouse, Sydney; and in 1831 there was reference to a Schweisso harp; and in 1831, as mentioned earlier, Mary Allport arrived in Hobart with her harp made by Egan.

²¹⁹ *Argus* (12 September 1854) (Trove 479511), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/479511> (accessed 7/04/2011).

²²⁰ Wilkie’s harp purchases, serial numbers 4117, 4657 and 6073, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 2, 279, vol. 3, 45 and 186.

By this time, many settlers were disgruntled with the climate, unhappy with the lifestyle and missing the refined familiarity of their homeland. The solution was to sell all their household items and return to mother England. An advertising pattern emerged where the collective term ‘Household Furniture’ included musical instruments and the owner identified as the one either leaving for, or preparing to leave the colony for England.

There were seven auction sales between 1853 and 1855, five in Sydney and two in Melbourne. The first advertisement in 1853 noted ‘one of Erard’s double action harps’ belonging to a Mr Rushworth, with the public auction held at Mr Mort’s rooms in Pitt Street.²²¹ The next harp was auctioned in the same year in a new warehouse – one of many being established at the time – of Messrs. Purkis and Lambert at Campbelltown.²²² Among an odd assortment of goods, which included rugs and drapery, the Erard harp was auctioned on 3 October 1853. In 1854, a public auction of Mr W. Parker’s household furniture was held at his residence in Parramatta. Mr Sparks, the auctioneer, offered a ‘harp, Erard’ alongside items including an elegant light carriage and a Broadwood grand pianoforte.²²³ An Erard harp (serial number 1352) was purchased in London by Parker Esq. on 7 November 1810, for £91.²²⁴ A Melbourne auction in 1853, presented an Erard harp (serial number 5941) belonging to Mr R. Cox Esq, ‘who is leaving for England’, at an in-home auction in St Kilda.²²⁵ Cox had purchased the harp in London on 5 May 1851.²²⁶ Three auctions occurred in 1855, the first in Melbourne noted Symons and Perry with four Erard harps available for sale, with the two other auctions in Sydney. Both gentlemen Mr J.H. Challis Esq, and Mr William Walker Jr. Esq, were leaving the colony. Walker’s double action Erard harp, (serial number 2623), was built in January 1819. He was not the first owner, but had purchased this harp from Mr Dick, in London, on 13 July 1840.²²⁷

Commercial importers feature extensively in providing harp sales for the resident settlers from 1850 to 1855, and are now outlined with the view to

²²¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (21 June 1853) (Trove 12946830), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12946830> (accessed 9/04/2011).

²²² *Sydney Morning Herald* (3 October 1853) (Trove 12949214), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12949214> (accessed 9/04/2011).

²²³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (17 April 1854) (Trove 12961605), 7, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12961605> (accessed 9/04/2011). W. Parker’s residence was noted as Elizabeth Farm, in Parramatta.

²²⁴ Harp serial number 1352, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 1, 122 (first section).

²²⁵ *Argus* (8 June 1853) (Trove 4793338), 10, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4793338> (accessed 9/04/2011).

²²⁶ Harp serial number 5941, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 173.

²²⁷ Harp serial number 2623, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 1, 122.

demonstrating the robustness of the market, one that was the direct and indirect result of the Erard-Bochsa partnership, and its continuation at the hands of his disciples. With five importers, Sydney again dominated the harp market, with Melbourne and Adelaide offering only one importation each during the period under review.

In 1850, a shipment of music and musical instruments arrived in Sydney on the *Bank of England*, imported by Mr W.J. Johnson, a pianoforte maker. These newly arrived items included a large Gothic Erard harp which Johnson had on public view in his rooms in Pitt Street.²²⁸ Three weeks later his next shipment arrived on 22 July, on the *Hooghley*, and included another Erard harp. This particular harp was described as ‘a brilliant toned double action harp by Erard with Gothic head and the latest improvements’.²²⁹ Johnson advertised the harp as being the only Gothic harp for sale in the colony, thus this implied that the first Gothic harp he had imported had sold. The popularity in Australia for the newer Gothic model continued with a public auction held by Mort and Brown in their rooms in George Street. On 19 August 1850 they presented a ‘Patent double action harp, by Erard, Gothic head, quite new’.²³⁰

For the first time in advertising, harp serial numbers were included. All previous references to Erard harps were by model or colour. Identifying a harp without the serial number is only possible if the owner is recognised. This name can then be searched and matched to a harp in the Erard *Harp Stock Books*. On this occasion, the auctioneer Mr Mort provided the serial numbers, as these harps had been invoiced by the company Messrs. R. Cocks. The auction was held on 20 November 1852, with the harps listed as ‘Erard’s double action harp number 4886, a splendid tone instrument and an Erard single action harp number 618’.²³¹ Matching these numbers to the *Harp Stock Books* indicates that harp 4886 was built on 17 March 1835 and purchased in July of the same year. The owner appeared to be Madame de Storr, although the ledger entry was not clear. However, as Madame de Storr arrived in Sydney in 1853, a year after the auction, she may have purchased and then sold the harp while in London. The single action harp, number 618, was completed on 30 December 1809 and purchased by Mrs Esten who resided at 41 Halfmoon Street in London. The price was £77.14 on 26 April 1810. No

²²⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald* (1 July 1850) (Trove 28645919), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/28645919> (accessed 17/03/2011).

²²⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (22 July 1850) (Trove 12919638), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12919638> (accessed 17/03/2011).

²³⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (14 August 1850) (Trove 28646218), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/28646218> (accessed 17/03/2011).

²³¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (20 November 1852) (Trove 12941693), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12941693> (accessed 17/03/2011).

further details were provided as to whether Mrs Esten emigrated to Australia, or sold the harp in England.²³² On the auction day the double action Erard harp sold, but the single action harp proved more difficult to sell. As we now understand, Bochsá urged harp players to upgrade to the popular double action harp. Messrs. Cocks and Co. re-advertised the remaining harp as a ‘Single action harp, by Erard – very superior instrument’.²³³ A seemingly pleading footnote declared that:

The auctioneer begs to call the particular attention to the trade, private parties and others, to the above shipment, which were sent out expressly for this market being suited to any change in climate, besides being finished in the most superior and elegant way.²³⁴

This was the first mention in advertising of alterations to instrument design in light of the harsher Australian climatic conditions. While no apparent developmental changes were listed, except for packing cases and extra strings, these possibly may have included reinforcement in structural joints and the use of stronger timber adhesives.

Johnson’s next harp auction was in May 1853, in which he advised that he had for sale ‘One double-action harp by Erard’, which had arrived on the *Panthea*.²³⁵ The advertisement provided a list of instruments, new music and related musical items, all to be found at his Musical Repository at 314 Pitt Street, Sydney. Unfortunately for Johnson, the Erard harp was not sold immediately, as seen by a later listing in August. More details were included at this time as ‘One DOUBLE ACTION Harp, by Sébastien Erard, price 35 guineas’.²³⁶ At 35 guineas, the price was exceedingly cheap and was therefore perhaps indicative of its poor condition.

The next harp offered at auction was in 1854 by Henry Marsh and Co.²³⁷ Henry was Stephen Marsh’s brother, and had accompanied him on his return to Australia in 1849. On arrival they had formed a partnership, thus this harp for sale in 1854 under Marsh and Co. implies they were still working together.

²³² Harps with serial numbers 4886 and 618, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 68 and vol. 1, 153.

²³³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (30 March 1853) (Trove 12944757), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12944757> (accessed 17/03/2011).

²³⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (30 March 1853) (Trove 12944757), 4, (accessed 17/03/2011).

²³⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (14 May 1853) (Trove 12945807), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12945807> (accessed 17/03/2011).

²³⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (20 August 1853) (Trove 12948222), 7, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12948222> (accessed 17/03/2011).

²³⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald* (15 April 1854) (Trove 12957259), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12957259> (accessed 17/03/2011).

Few harp sales had occurred in Melbourne prior to 1850. The *Argus* of 21 July 1851 advised that the company:

Francis and Cohen Will sell by public auction, at their Mart, Collins-street, tomorrow, 22nd INST., at Eleven o'clock, A very magnificent double action Harp by Erard, with a complete set of new strings and in beautiful order. This truly splendid instrument cost 120 guineas, not long since in London, and from its expression of tone and elegance of finish, is worthy the attention of any party desirous of such an article.²³⁸

With a cost price of 120 guineas the wording of the advertisement needed to impress. Nevertheless, this instrument was perhaps priced high for the majority of potential buyers.

In 1850, French goods arriving in South Australia on 17 April, onboard the *Rajah*, were advertised as 'Harps and other Musical Instruments'.²³⁹ Since these sale items were French goods, the harps were undoubtedly Erard harps built in the Paris workshop. These instruments were on show at the warehouse of Were, Todd and Company in Gilbert Place, Adelaide.

A further caveat needs to be inserted here, in the sense that while the preceding evidence of harp sales – private, auction and by importers – is gleaned from the documentation of newspaper advertisements and other notices, a search of the *Harp Stock Books* reveals an additional two Erard harps as having arrived in Australia at the time. Both harps were imported by Stevenson and Son, with a Gothic harp (serial number 5935) delivered to Sir Fleetwood in Brighton, Melbourne on 30 March 1852, and the second Gothic harp (serial number 6012), shipped to Hobart on 3 September 1853.²⁴⁰ The following graph represents the Erard harp sales that had occurred from 1830 to 1855 as private sales, auctions and as imports (see Figure 3.6).

²³⁸ *Argus* (21 July 1851) (Trove 4779228), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4779228> (accessed 7/03/2011).

²³⁹ *South Australian Register* (17 April 1850) (Trove 38437447), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/38437447> (accessed 17/03/2011).

²⁴⁰ Harps with serial numbers 5935 and 6012, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 173 and 180.

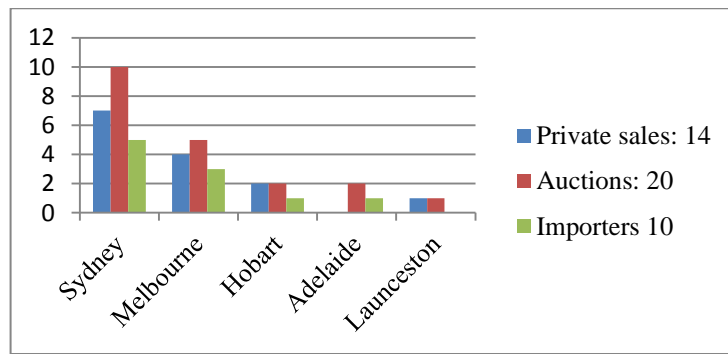


Figure 3.6. Comparison study for Erard harp sales 1830 – 1855.

A number of observations can be made, and conclusions drawn from the above, not the least being that the majority of harps were sold by auction, and that Sydney dominated sales compared to other settlement regions. Auction was the preferred method of sale for those wishing to sell off their entire estate prior to returning to England. It follows from this that the preponderance of Erard harp owners came from those strata of colonial society actually in a financial position to return to England. The difficulty in selling such quality goods is reflected in the lower prices realised, as opposed to those sold by private treaty over a more lengthy sales period.

The current study has identified that forty-four Erard harps were now in Australia. As with any musical instrument, the harps required accessories and maintenance, and tuition needed to be made available. The former is explored in Chapter Four with the view to demonstrating the ongoing vitality of the harp in the colonies. Chapter Five then outlines the role of teachers and harp pedagogy.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has documented the arrival and spread in Australia of Erard harps, with the view to showing the environment into which Bochsá sailed in 1855. Newspaper advertisements and notices were mapped against the *Harp Stock Books* in order to ascertain the serial numbers and owners of individual harps. The early settlers, in trying to recreate their homeland social customs, clung to traditional concepts such as the role of ‘accomplishments’, wherein the harp played a pivotal role. Stephen Marsh in particular is shown to have played an extensive role in the importation trade. The importation of harps represented a quantum shift from the idea of a harp being part of the personal effects on new settlers – an effect often dispensed with when they sought to return to England – to it being a commodity to be imported and sold to an increasingly

affluent middle strata of society. That a total of forty-four Erard harps arrived in Australia during the period attests, it will be shown, to the impress on the colonies of the personality of Bochsa, and the prestige of the Erard in comparison to other harp brands. It also highlights the design superiority of the Erard harp.

Chapter Four: Harp suppliers, music and accessories: 1830-1855



Figure 4.1. Campbell's Warehouses c. 1860.²⁴¹

Chapter Three highlighted the large numbers of Erard harps that arrived on the Australian shores from as early as 1824 up until 1855. These harps identified by sales, auctions and as importations, were part of the social stratum of the developing colonial community by focussing on wealth, culture and gentility – all qualities that the Erard harp added to their lifestyle. The current study documenting forty-four harps now present in Australia evaluates the harp's roles in music-making activities, in particular education and performance, and understands the need for ongoing harp accessories for these activities to eventuate. This chapter examines the music suppliers, music sellers and warehouses that catered for the harpists' demands for strings, music and instrumental repairs so that they could learn new skills, improve their skills and partake in amateur and professional harp music-making activities.

4.1 Harp accessories

Harp music and strings were often in short supply which was due to many factors. These factors included lost goods, non-arrival of goods, and original selection of material not suiting the demands for the intended recipient. Apart from music and

²⁴¹ Source:

<http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/visit/VisitItemImage.aspx?isAttraction=1&ID=5053151#ad-image-5> (accessed 6/04/2014).

strings that harp players brought with them, all music, strings and accessories – spare parts – were shipped from overseas. What music that became available for the resident harpists was cherished and played repeatedly, with the prospect of newly arrived music and strings looked upon with great enthusiasm. The development of Australian harp education (as will be examined in Chapter Five) had provided an increasing number of teachers and students, and demand for new music and strings was greater than the supply. A steady supply of strings was essential, especially in a demanding climate where weather conditions fluctuated widely, causing many breakages. As harp students acquired greater playing capabilities, a more extensive music repertoire was required. This demand boosted the importation trade of harp related products. Warehouses were established to cater for music activities. A brief overview of music sales and the beginning of importing music accessories now is evaluated.

The earliest harp music sale was advertised in the *Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemens Land Advertiser* in Hobart on 24 November 1821.²⁴² A volume of music containing 232 airs and melodies, representing the Highlands of Scotland and the Isles was described as ‘communicated in an original, pleasing, and familiar Style; as respected, approved, and recommended by the Highland Society of Scotland’.²⁴³ The collection was composed for piano, harp, organ and cello. Regular trading of harp related accessories, however, commenced with the establishment of warehouses in 1825. Robert Campbell (1769-1846), by developing a large-scale colonial trading business, was nicknamed Father of Australian commerce.²⁴⁴ He purchased three acres on the west side of Circular Quay and built a house, warehouses and a wharf, enabling regular trading with Calcutta and London. Campbell’s warehouse, at 93 George Street, advertised pedal harp strings and tuning forks for sale on 17 March 1825.²⁴⁵ Settlers were kept informed of the availability of sale items by the advertisements in the contemporary newspapers. According to Gary Wotherspoon, ‘Even in a primitive market economy the local papers were the first places to see advertising of goods for sale’.²⁴⁶ This advertising included shipping arrivals, departures and a comprehensive

²⁴² *Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemens Land Advertiser* (24 November 1821) (Trove 1089585), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/1089585> (accessed 3/07/2011).

²⁴³ *Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemens Land Advertiser* (24 November 1821) (Trove 1089585), 2.

²⁴⁴ Marjorie Barnard, *A History of Australia* (North Ryde: Angus and Robertson, 1986), 389.

²⁴⁵ *Australian* (17 March 1825) (Trove 37072245), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/37072245> (accessed 20/06/2011).

²⁴⁶ Gary Wotherspoon, ‘Shopping’ in *The Dictionary of Sydney* 2008 http://www.dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/shopping?zoom_highlight=nineteenth+century+primitive+market+economyadvertising+of+goods (accessed 31/07/12).

listing of stock for sale. Trading increased quickly, as seen by the six new warehouses that were established, mirroring Campbell's activities. These warehouses were all located in George Street, due to the close proximity of the wharves. At number 97 George Street, Jackson, Barwise and Co, advertised the availability of harp strings on 29 September 1825.²⁴⁷ Four years later, Douglas and Stubbs established their warehouse at number 93, and advertised that the stock included 'a case of Flute, Pianoforte, Harp and Guitar music' having arrived on board the *Calista and Hawkins*.²⁴⁸ On 22 November 1827 harp strings were for sale at Mr Edward's Music Warehouse at number 9 George Street.²⁴⁹

The following 'sales by auction' held on 6 November 1830 in Mr Samuel Lyons' rooms at 91 George Street, was a 'most valuable collection of vocal and instrumental music' heralded as composed by 'celebrated Masters'. The extent of the offering covered four complete columns, with many song names matching those written by Bochsa, including his famed 'Fantasia', 'Castilian Waltzes and 'Grand Marches'.²⁵⁰ A year later on 6 September, the George and John Paul Warehouse advertised Roman harp strings, a popular variety that Bochsa had earlier suggested as being a better quality string for the Erard harp.²⁵¹ Their establishment was also placed in George Street near to the Australian Stationery Warehouse where on 6 September 1832 a 'large assortment' of new harp music was available.²⁵² The following section examines the four most influential importers during the period 1833 to 1843, William McGarvie, Francis Ellard, Sophia Davis and William Tyrer, and their role in importing harp music and accessories in Hobart and Sydney.

²⁴⁷ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (29 September 1825) (Trove 2191119), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2191119> (accessed 20/06/2011). Advertising at this time included 'a selection of the latest music consisting of songs; pianoforte and flute music' arrived by the *Arab*.

²⁴⁸ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (17 December 1829) (Trove 2194117), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2194117> (accessed 22/06/2011). Also noted was 'the latest publications in England and selected from the most admired operas, popular air and fashionable waltzes'.

²⁴⁹ *Monitor* (22 November 1827) (Trove 31759160), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31759160> (accessed 20/06/2011). This advertisement noted 'an assortment of musical instruments'. In July 1828, the *Australian* offered insight to Mr Edward's Music Warehouse and the change of ownership to Mr Ferris and Mr Chapman's shop. 'Mr Edwards on the eve of settling on his farm, begs to inform the public, thanking them for past favours, that he has transferred his musical instruments; and music to the shop of Messrs. Ferris and Chapman'.

²⁵⁰ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (6 November 1830) (Trove 2196437), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2196437> (accessed 21/06/2011).

²⁵¹ *Australian* (6 September 1831) (Trove 36864596), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/36864596> (accessed 22/06/2011).

²⁵² *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (6 September 1832) (Trove 2208404), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2208404> (accessed 20/06/2011).

In Sydney, there was increasing interest in harp accessory sales during 1833. William McGarvie (1810-1841) was born in Scotland and arrived in Sydney in 1828, where he traded as a general and musical retailer. He had a selection of music for harp, piano, flute and guitar, and harp strings, and all of which he advised 'will be sold at the marked London retail prices' available at the Australian Stationery Warehouse.²⁵³ The following year, McGarvie listed his wares for sale in all the contemporary Sydney newspapers, noting that 'the collection consists of the latest compositions of the most celebrated authors'.²⁵⁴ McGarvie's comprehensive list of new and popular music was for many instruments. Works listed in the music for harp section were as follows:

... selections from the Overture and Airs of Der Freschutz, for harp: Two French Airs, March and Rondo ... Select Airs ... The Bohemian's Horn, Winters March in Tamerlane, Favourite Sonatina, Rondo, Panore Jacques's, Les Pensée d'un Moment, Blue Bells of Scotland, Theme Allemande, Favourite German Air, Lieber Augustin, Quartet in the Interrupted Sacrifice, Turkish March and Waltz, Ancient Irish Melodies, Cruda Sonto from the Opera of Ricardo Zoraide, Duet harp and piano, Le Petit Tambour arranged as Duet for harp and piano, Three Airs from the Opera of Ricardo as Duet for harp and piano, Russian Dance as Duet, Shepherds I have lost my love! For harp and piano, Defile March, Venetian Rondo for harp, Rule Britannia. A large assortment of Music Paper and Books ... Harp strings.²⁵⁵

His comprehensive list of harp music unfortunately made no mention of composers. The titles, however, were similar to many compositions which Bochsa wrote for the Erard harp. McGarvie, having imported this large stock, was required to sell at half the publishing price in the following year, due to ill-health. McGarvie's interest lay in establishing a circulating library, which he had successfully achieved. He died in Sydney at the young age of 31.²⁵⁶

Francis Ellard (1802-1854), had also commenced trading as a music and instrument importer in 1833. An advertisement dated 31 December noted that he had

²⁵³ *Sydney Herald* (26 December 1833) (Trove 12848440), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12848440> (accessed 25/06/2011).

²⁵⁴ *Sydney Herald* (1 September 1834) (Trove 12850307), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12850307> (accessed 25/06/2011).

²⁵⁵ *Sydney Herald* (1 September 1834) (Trove 12850307), 3.

²⁵⁶ Graeme Skinner, 'Austral Harmony, M-N', <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 05/02/13).

for sale harp, flute and guitar music.²⁵⁷ Thanking the public for their support of his Music Warehouse, at 7 Hunter Street, Ellard advised of a forthcoming:

fresh assortment of ... Harp, and Guitar strings. A regular supply of Modern Music will leave England monthly for him. J.E. will now be enabled to hire all musical instruments by the night, week, month or year.²⁵⁸

New stock arrived two years later in 1835. This notice announced that he had received 'a fresh supply of Harp, Guitar, Violin and Violoncello strings'.²⁵⁹ In 1837, having relocated to George Street, Ellard's stock included tutors and pieces for the harp that had recently arrived on the *Kinnear*.²⁶⁰ In an indication of his target clientele Ellard addressed himself to 'THE GENTRY AND PUBLIC OF NEW SOUTH WALES'.²⁶¹ His sales included harp, guitar and violin strings, fresh supplies of which arrived on the *Alexander* on the 4 June 1840.²⁶² Ellard's business grew to the point where, in 1842, he was able to boast that he had the 'largest stock of music and musical instruments that have ever arrived in the colonies'.²⁶³ But his fortunes seemed to change quickly, so that on 16 August 1843, Ellard announced that:

owing to the great depression of trade, together with the varied and extensive stock now on hand, induces him to hope that he will meet the wishes of his friends and patrons, by selling from henceforth all music and instruments at half price, for Cash. ... Harp, Violin and Violoncello Strings, at half the usual cost price.²⁶⁴

Ellard needed to sell his stock, as the economic depression at that time had placed him before the insolvency court. Ultimately he was forced to sell all his property, with James Grocott purchasing his shop and stock.²⁶⁵

²⁵⁷ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (31 December 1833) (Trove 2215093), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2215093> (accessed 20/06/2011).

²⁵⁸ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (31 December 1833) (Trove 2219052), 3, (accessed 20/06/2011).

²⁵⁹ *Australian* (10 February 1835) (Trove 42007499), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/42007499> (accessed 20/06/2011).

²⁶⁰ *Sydney Herald* (13 February 1837) (Trove 12856417), 6, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12856417> (accessed 20/06/2011).

²⁶¹ *Sydney Herald* (12 April 1839) (Trove 12863203), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12863203> (accessed 20/06/2011).

²⁶² *Australian Chronicle* (4 June 1840) (Trove 31728409), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31728409> (accessed 20/06/2011).

²⁶³ *Sydney Herald* (26 May 1842) (Trove 12875384), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12875384> (accessed 20/06/2011).

²⁶⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (16 August 1843) (Trove 12413223), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12413223> (accessed 29/06/2011).

²⁶⁵ Graeme Skinner, 'Austral Harmony, E-G', <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 06/02/13).

In a male dominated industry, Mrs Sophia Leticia Davis (1799-1850), commenced selling harp strings and harp instruction books from her Music Wareroom at 22 Liverpool Street in Hobart during 1834. Davis, a soprano vocalist, singing, piano and guitar teacher, arrived in Hobart in 1832, and realised the income potential for music accessories.²⁶⁶ An advertisement in August 1834 provided stock details, which included harp strings and ‘instruction books for the harp’.²⁶⁷ On 9 September 1834, Davis had new music and musical instruments ready for inspection.²⁶⁸ She again listed harp instruction books and harp strings. The success of her business venture was noted on 17 April 1835 when she conveyed that arrangements had been made for three monthly supplies of different musical instruments.²⁶⁹ During December 1835, Davis received from the ship *Auriga* ‘an elegant selection of the newest and most popular music comprising *English, Italian and French songs, harp and pianoforte music ... all by the most approved authors*’.²⁷⁰ With continuing supply arrivals Davis offered more new music, and an announcement that she ‘begs to draw the attention of the Public to her *New Music and Fancy Warerooms ... Harp, Pianoforte, Guitar and Violin strings*’.²⁷¹ Some six years later she indicated that her business had grown in some unexpected directions, in that an advertisement dated 20 June 1841 advised of ‘NEW MUSIC – Now Unpacked at DAVIS’S STATIONARY and SEED WAREHOUSE ... Guitar and harp ...’.²⁷² Two years later, in 1843, harp, violin and guitar strings were listed for sale.²⁷³ No further advertising followed.

The fourth importer for this period was William Henry Tyrer (??-1841), a music and instrument importer and music publisher. He placed a classified advertisement in the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* on 28 August 1834 introducing his

²⁶⁶ Graeme Skinner, ‘Austral Harmony, C-D’, <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 05/02/13). Mrs Davis’s maiden name was Sophia Letitia Jones. She was born in Ireland.

²⁶⁷ *Colonial Times* (26 August 1834) (Trove 8647771), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8647771> (accessed 29/06/2011).

²⁶⁸ *Colonial Times* (9 September 1834) (Trove 8647804), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8647804> (accessed 29/06/2011).

²⁶⁹ *Hobart Town Courier* (17 April 1835) (Trove 4180754), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4180754> (accessed 29/06/2011).

²⁷⁰ *Colonial Times* (15 December 1835) (Trove 8648770), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8648770> (accessed 30/06/2011).

²⁷¹ *Colonial Times* (2 February 1836) (Trove 8648867), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8648867> (accessed 30/06/2011).

²⁷² *Courier* (20 June 1841) (Trove 2955755), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2955755> (accessed 30/06/2011).

²⁷³ *Courier* (24 March 1843) (Trove 2952987), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2952987> (accessed 17/06/2011).

services in selling ‘new pianoforte, harp, violin, flute, and other music’.²⁷⁴ Tyrer had received a selection of new songs, quadrilles and waltzes, which he had for sale in his rooms at 81 George Street in Sydney. One year later in August 1835 he again received new music, which included ‘the most approved Overtures, Solos ... of the most celebrated composers ...’.²⁷⁵ These were offered for sale, ‘together with a variety of New Quadrilles and Songs for Pianoforte, Guitar, Harp, Violin and Flute’.²⁷⁶

Competing with the warehouses of McGarvie and Davis, Tyrer not only provided music, but also sold musical instruments. In September 1836 Tyrer advertised two pedal harps and harp instruction books for sale.²⁷⁷ His target market was, again, the wealthy upper-middle classes: ‘the ladies of the Colony are advertised the arrival of ten new pianos ... and harps’.²⁷⁸ Tyrer’s career was cut short, as he drowned in 1841.

The spread and upward mobility of the harp continued unabated in the years up to Bochsa’s arrival. Several new music warehouses and private individuals commenced music trading in the next decade. This section examines these accessories sales by John Williams in Hobart, Richard Curtis in Sydney and two music sellers in Adelaide. On arrival in Hobart, John Williams (1805-1865), a piano maker, advertised his skills in tuning and his expertise with pianos and musical instruments. He announced that he had ‘for sale a quantity of modern music and harp, guitar and violin strings of best quality at moderate prices’.²⁷⁹ Williams increased his clientele by travelling around Tasmania in 1841. This he advertised by:

J. WILLIAMS, PIANOFORTE MAKER, from Broadwood’s, London ... that he commences his half-yearly journey through the island, for the purpose of tuning and regulating pianofortes and other musical instruments the second week in July ... with a supply of harp and guitar strings ... at moderate prices.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁴ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (28 August 1834) (Trove 2216958), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2216958> (accessed 17/06/2011).

²⁷⁵ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (11 August 1835) (Trove 2199651), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2199651> (accessed 17/06/2011).

²⁷⁶ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (11 August 1835) (Trove 2199651), 3.

²⁷⁷ *Sydney Herald* (5 September 1836) (Trove 12855098), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12855098> (accessed 19/06/2011).

²⁷⁸ *Sydney Monitor* (7 September 1836) (Trove 32152150), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/32152150> (accessed 19/06/2011).

²⁷⁹ *Cornwall Chronicle* (6 January 1841) (Trove 66018439), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/66018439> (accessed 20/06/2011).

²⁸⁰ *Courier* (25 June 1841) (Trove 2956083), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2956083> (accessed 20/06/2011).

Williams provided this service for many years.²⁸¹ On 18 January 1845, a classified advertisement included ‘a regular supply of the newest music, which, with best harp, violin and guitar strings ... he is enabled to sell at London prices’.²⁸² Williams had now relocated to Collins Street in Hobart where, on 8 April 1845, he offered for sale ‘one of Erard’s single-action Harps’.²⁸³ He continued to import harp strings and music during the next four years. As competition between warehouses increased, Williams offered strings at reduced prices, including the newly-developed silver harp strings.²⁸⁴

Richard Curtis (dates unknown), was the husband of the harpist, Emma Curtis. Many harp players and teachers saw the need to provide harp accessories, therefore she advised her husband on harp accessory imports. Initially arriving in Sydney, Curtis (a cellist) advertised goods that had arrived on the *Charles Jones* in 1840. Stock for sale in his Music Repository in Hunter Street included what are described as ‘Bochsa’s paten[t] metallic strings’.²⁸⁵ Rensch acknowledges Bochsa displaying his new harp effects, including his ‘Sympathetic Metallic Basses as a reference ... to the wire bass strings Bochsa is credited with introducing to the harp’.²⁸⁶ Mr and Mrs Curtis relocated to Hobart in 1841, where they both continued to appear in concert performances. They also continued selling harps and accessories until 1849.

In Adelaide, harp strings and harp tuning services were available from two sources. In 1839, Messrs. Platts and Bennett advertised that they have ‘a large selection of Vocal and Instrumental Music ... Harp, Guitar, Violoncello and Violin strings’.²⁸⁷ They also stated that they were able to tune and repair all instruments including harps. Further harp string sales occurred through April to July 1840.²⁸⁸ Harp strings and music

²⁸¹ *Courier* (9 August 1844) (Trove 2950719), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2950719> (accessed 18/06/2011). Williams provided a successful service and had to acquire an apprentice.

²⁸² *Courier* (18 January 1845) (Trove 2949892), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2949892> (accessed 18/06/2011).

²⁸³ *The Courier* (8 April 1845) (Trove 2948989), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2948989> (accessed 18/06/2011).

²⁸⁴ During October, Williams had received new goods via the ship *Platina* ‘with many music books and harp strings’. More advertisements for harp strings for sale by Williams continued through 1846. In 1847, 48 and 49 Williams again advertised silver harp strings for sale. Competition between all music businesses saw Williams reducing prices for individual harp strings and harp strings in sets.

²⁸⁵ *Sydney Herald* (29 July 1840) (Trove 12865206), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12865206> (accessed 20/06/2011).

²⁸⁶ Roslyn Rensch. *Harp and Harpists*, rev. ed., 156.

²⁸⁷ *South Australian Register* (28 December 1839) (Trove 27441067), 6, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/27441067> (accessed 21/05/2011).

²⁸⁸ *South Australian Register* (11 April 1840) (Trove 27441327), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/27441327> (accessed 21/05/2011).

were also available from Witton's Musical Repository.²⁸⁹ The harp tutors, unfortunately were unnamed. Not only sales of harp accessories, but also public auctions revealed the large volume of harp music and strings present in colonial Australia at this time. Table 4.1 identifies harp accessory auctions, in chronological order, according to company and/or owner (continues onto next page).

Date	Name	Address	Harp Information
13 December 1839	Mr Blackman	Hunter Street, Sydney	'Sets Harp strings' ²⁹⁰
30 January 1840	Mr Blackman	Hunter Street, Sydney	'SETS of SILK HARP STRINGS' ²⁹¹
28 January 1841	Mr Stubbs	King Street	'Harp ... Strings, Music,' ²⁹²
13 July 1842	Mr George Lloyd	Sydney	'Violin, harp and violoncello strings' ²⁹³
3 November 1842	Moore and Heydon	Harts Building	'Piano and Harp Music' ²⁹⁴
30 May 1843	Moore and Heydon	Harts Building, Pitt Street Sydney	'Concerted Music, for the Pianoforte and Harp ...' 'Instruction books ... for Harp, by Bochsá' ²⁹⁵
14 September 1844	Mr T Browne, New Stationery Warehouse	Liverpool Street Hobart	'A quantity of VIOLIN, GUITAR and HARP STRINGS' ²⁹⁶
14 April 1846	Mr W. Hawley Stationery and Fancy Warehouse	Elizabeth Street Hobart	'Musical instruction books for ... harp ... harp, and guitar strings' ²⁹⁷
31 January 1849	Mr Worley	Hobart	'piano and harp music' ²⁹⁸

²⁸⁹ *South Australian Register* (21 February 1849) (Trove 71610012), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/71610012> (accessed 21/05/2011).

²⁹⁰ *Sydney Herald* (13 December 1839) (Trove 12859286), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12859286> (accessed 22/05/2011).

²⁹¹ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (30 January 1840) (Trove 2551545), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2551545> (accessed 22/06/2011).

²⁹² *Australian* (28 January 1841) (Trove 36851958), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/36851958> (accessed 22/05/2011).

²⁹³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (13 July 1843) (Trove 12410602), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12410602> (accessed 22/05/2011).

²⁹⁴ *Australasian Chronicle* (3 November 1842) (Trove 31737736), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31737736> (accessed 22/05/2011).

²⁹⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (30 May 1843) (Trove 28650936), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/28650936> (accessed 22/05/2011).

²⁹⁶ *Courier* (14 September 1844) (Trove 2950567), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2950567> (accessed 22/05/2011). Advertising included a 'carefully selected stock of new music by a list of composers including Chatterton'.

²⁹⁷ *Colonial Times* (14 April 1846) (Trove 8758470), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8758470> (accessed 1/06/2011).

²⁹⁸ *Courier* (31 January 1849) (Trove 2966881), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2966881> (accessed 1/06/2011).

26 May 1849	Henry Parkes New Warehouse	Hunter Street Sydney	'Harp, Violoncello and Guitar Strings' ²⁹⁹
17 May 1849	Colman and Piddington	Sydney	'Bochsa's Instructions for the Harp' ³⁰⁰

Table 4.1 Harp accessory auctions

The advertisement placed by Heydon in May 1843 documented harp instruction books composed by Bochsa.³⁰¹ Bochsa's instruction books, six years later in 1849, cost six shillings at Colman and Piddington's book shop.³⁰²

Harp accessory sales continued to play an important role in Australian harp music-making after 1850. In Melbourne on 5 March 1850, a Mr William Clarke advertised 'harp strings' and Instruction books' recently arrived by the *Cornhill* and *Fanny*, which was 'an immense increase to his great stock of goods' and available at his Music and Musical warehouse in Collins Street.³⁰³ On 20 June 1850, Mr Edward Salamon was auctioneer for six auctions, all held in his rooms in George Street, Sydney. The musical instrument auction included 'harp strings'.³⁰⁴ Two months later on 21 August, still in Sydney, the Messrs. Mort and Brown had for sale by auction 'piano, harp, vocal and instrumental music'.³⁰⁵ Harp strings were part of an auction held on 4 January 1851 by auctioneers Kern and Mader, where they offered 'large and varied goods suitable for ladies and gentlemen', which included 'supplies of the latest fashionable publications' of new music.³⁰⁶ Towards the end of 1851 Reeds Musical Repository advertised that they had just imported 'a very choice and extensive assortment of the latest musical publications from Paris and London, by all the celebrated composers of the day'. Given that the music consisted of 'studies, exercises, and instructors for all instruments', a Bochsa method or two would have undoubtedly

²⁹⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (26 May 1849) (Trove 12912801), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8764389> (accessed 1/06/2011).

³⁰⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (17 March 1849) (Trove 12912250), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8764389> (accessed 1/06/2011).

³⁰¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (30 May 1843) (Trove 28650936), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/28650936> (accessed 25/06/2011).

³⁰² *Sydney Morning Herald* (17 March 1849) (Trove 12912250), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12912250> (accessed 25/06/2011).

³⁰³ *Argus* (5 March 1850) (Trove 4772857), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4772857> (accessed 25/06/2011).

³⁰⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (20 June 1850) (Trove 12918888), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12918888> (accessed 25/06/2011).

³⁰⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (21 August 1850) (Trove 12920423), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12920423> (accessed 25/06/2011).

³⁰⁶ *Empire* (4 January 1851) (Trove 60031970), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60031970> (accessed 25/06/2011).

been included. The harp strings that they had available were described as ‘of superior quality’.³⁰⁷ In 1852, Messrs. Hay and Ivey were selling by public auction a ‘most extensive variety of new music’ for all instruments including harp with advertising heralding ‘by the best composers’. The study acknowledging Bochsa’s large number of compositions could assume that as a ‘best composer’ some of his works could have been presented at this auction in Hobart.³⁰⁸ The final auction of harp related accessories in this period was held in Sydney on 9 October 1852. The trumpeted advertising by Woolcott and Clark’s Music Warehouse yielded to his clientele that ‘at this establishment they will find the largest and most complete assortment of English music in New South Wales, comprising solos and duets ... instruction books for the harp’.³⁰⁹ By offering the most complete assortment of English music, undoubtedly a Bochsa work would have been available.

This section has revealed the large number of people and warehouses involved in the selling of harp accessories and providing harp maintenance. With that in mind, the commercialism of new music sales following performances is identified alongside the harpist’s position on returning to Europe for study, and then revisiting Australia with new ideas and refined skills available to the colonial residents.

4.2 Commercial sales of new music

Music sales after a concert offered the potential for commercial profit. A concert protocol emerged in performances, where a new musical work performed at a concert was immediately rushed to the printers and sold in varying forms. This music, arranged for the most popular instruments such as harp, piano or voice, was written to cater for the different skill levels of the aspiring colonial musicians. British commercial music trading had instigated this procedure in London, when music sellers discovered the earning potential of these quick music sales to the public. This business enterprise had now extended to the outlying colonies with entrepreneurs quickly following the English example. In England, according to McCredie, the *Athenaeum* saw this as a problem and thus reported that ‘there never was a grosser system of puffery than that now established

³⁰⁷ *Argus* (22 December 1851) (Trove 4782363), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4782363> (accessed 25/06/2011).

³⁰⁸ *Colonial Times* (2 April 1852) (Trove 8771145), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8771145> (accessed 25/06/2011).

³⁰⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (9 October 1852) (Trove 12940624), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12940624> (accessed 25/06/2011).

among music sellers – genius and learning have no possible chance’.³¹⁰ Whether that was the case or not, for the broad strata of colonial residents any music was preferred to none. Turner, when discussing the social role of literary writings, which in many ways paralleled the music industry, emphasised the settlers’ needs as:

the colonists had a great hunger for books; but many library committees had crises of conscience when they found that works of philosophy and science and theology gathered dust, while the demand for the popular fiction of the nineteenth century England could not be satisfied.³¹¹

Applying these thoughts to the colonial Australian musical scene, by printing new music just heard in a recent concert, this helped to satisfy the colonists’ hunger for music.

In Australia, this new music was found in two ways. Firstly, when touring groups arrived from Europe, they brought a selection of their repertoire, which was indicative of the style and influences of their homeland. The second method occurred when a newly arrived musician after his successful concert had his music published. These performers either presented an entire concert, or an item or two in an already prearranged concert program. Thus commercialism perpetuated this new musical medium.

At this time, concert performances not only relied on the music selection, but also on the availability of the local players. Although colonial concerts were limited by the number of performers and the instruments available, many works as presented in Europe, were arranged and performed on a smaller scale. According to Andrew McCredie, two types of music co-existed in Australia: ‘one was functional, for entertainment; the other aspired to ‘high art’ by virtue of its intellectual and emotional content’.³¹² The sounds of these nineteenth century classical or high art works filled the grand halls of Europe and were performed by complete orchestras. Australian settlers still clinging to homeland traditions recreated these performances to the best of their abilities. What they lacked in numbers or instrumentation, they reinforced by determination and creativity, thus providing an intellectual, emotional and social environment for music-making. An abundance of concerts offering a wide variety of

³¹⁰ Andrew McCredie, ed. *From Colonel Light into the Footlights: The Performing Arts in South Australia from 1836 to the Present* (Norwood: Pagel Books, 1988), 11.

³¹¹ Ian Turner, ‘The Social Setting’, in *The Literature of Australia*, ed. Geoffrey Dutton (Blackburn: The Dominion Press, 1964), 27.

³¹² Andrew McCredie, ed. *From Colonel Light into the Footlights*, 11.

repertoire catered for all the settlers' needs. On many occasions young musicians returned to Europe for further study to 'round off their professional training'.³¹³ On their return they were able to offer new information, to help establish societies, create guidelines for educational institutions, and attempt to reproduce the European style of concert. Replenished with enthusiasm and new information, they presented concerts which were able to highlight their newly acquired skills. Some harpists, however, chose to remain in their homeland and did not return. Possibly, work was more readily available, and their past familiar lifestyle was more comfortable when compared to the difficulties they had encountered as Australian settlers.

4.3 Summary

This chapter confirms that the arrival of the harp in Australia was by no means a passing fad. A network of suppliers offered all the accessories required to maintain the burgeoning number of instruments arriving in the colonies. Evidence has been provided of the direct targeting of the middle and upper classes in sales advertisements, that same stratum of society that placed high value of the importance of the harp as an 'accomplishment'.

The Erard harp was seen as a status symbol in Europe, as it was in Australia. Music instructors purchasing a harp could now offer the harp 'accomplishment' to their teaching prospectus. Families purchasing harps provided their daughters the opportunity to be 'a more valuable prize in the marriage gamble' thus 'confirming her family's gentility'.³¹⁴ The new owner now needed to learn to play it, and so finding a teacher, and obtaining music was high priority. Chapter Five addresses the Erard harp's role in education, beginning in Europe and moving to Australia. The teaching of 'accomplishments', as found in Europe, commenced in Australia with women playing a significant role as educators in private homes and institutions. It is shown to be telling that the Erard harp and Bochsa's teaching methods and repertoire were commonly found in these situations, and paved the way for his visit to Australia, which in turn ensured a reciprocal effect.

³¹³ Andrew McCredie, ed. *From Colonel Light into the Footlights*, 9.

³¹⁴ Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, 268.

Chapter Five: Harp education in colonial Australia: 1830-1855



Figure 5.1. Bochsa's *New Improved Method of Instruction for the Harp*.³¹⁵

Chapter Four identified the music sellers and suppliers for harp accessories illustrating the importance placed on ownership of an Erard harp. In 1830, having journeyed across the world, the Erard harp was now settling into Australian society. The new settlers, in their attempts to recreate a lifestyle similar to that which they left behind, looked to establishing familiar ways to educate their children. In this regard, Marjorie Theobald describes a colonial education as assuming the 'old ways' with 'a sound English education with the usual accomplishments'.³¹⁶ As was noted in the previous chapters, the Erard harp played a role in the 'accomplishment' of young women. The harp was indeed a fashionable 'accomplishment', as seen by the number of multi-instrumentalist teachers who came to offer harp tuition as well. Its popularity is also seen in the sheer number of governesses, school teachers, and specialist harp teachers who plied their trade. The survey that follows has as its overarching selection criteria those teachers who have a connection to Bochsa and his pedagogy, or who gave instruction on the Erard harp, or, as is often the case, a combination of the two. Certain teachers who do

³¹⁵ Source: <http://osbmss146.files.wordpress.com/2010/11/bochsa.jpg?w=218&h=300> (accessed 17/05/2012).

³¹⁶ Marjorie Theobald, 'Mere Accomplishments?', in *Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching*, eds. Alison Prentice and Marjorie Theobald (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 71-91.

not have that direct connection are cited in order to illustrate the situation that greeted the arrival of the Erard before, and during Bochsa's arrival and untimely death in Australia.

5.1 Erard Harp and education in colonial Australia

Harpists arriving from Europe had the executant skills, and teaching experience that was in many cases based on Bochsa's teaching methods. The development of educational institutions was an extension of private teaching, not to be confused with the later establishment of public schooling in Australia. In most cases these institutions were run and managed by women, in contrast to the later school system governed by a managerial team.³¹⁷ Malcolm Fox noted that 'the first recorded examples of music teaching in South Australia' was in 1837, where a Mrs MacLeod taught harp (on, as noted earlier Erard harp serial number 4600), and piano to Julia Gawler, the Governor's daughter.³¹⁸ Fox comments that:

The growth in sales of musical instruments and sheet music was paralleled by increases in the availability of private musical tuition. Little can be ascertained with certainty about the musical standards of these early teachers.³¹⁹

Professional harp teachers Emma Curtis, Maria Prout and Stephen Marsh – all of whom studied with Bochsa in London – were all located in Sydney, where the first advertisement for harp teaching appeared in 1839. By providing harp lessons as the 'accomplishment' learning, these harpists had a substantial impact on harp music-making in colonial Australia. Bochsa's insistence on playing and teaching on an Erard saw Curtis, Prout and Marsh purchase Erard harps in London, prior to their journey to Australia. As the Chapter Three has shown, Marsh paved the way for Erard harp importation.

Of the three listed above, Curtis (wife of Richard Curtis, the importer discussed in Chapter Four) was the first to advertise her services, in Sydney in March 1839.³²⁰

³¹⁷ Joyce Senders Pedersen, 'Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses', in *Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching*, eds, Alison Prentice and Marjorie Theobald (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 42- 43, 45. This article compares the role of the lady educator as being representative of 'sound principle, refinement and sense ... quite simply to be a lady' to the establishment of public schools where the 'work done in them was scrutinized by publicly recognized authorities'.

³¹⁸ Malcolm Fox, 'Music Education in South Australia, 1834-1984', in *From Colonel Light into the Footlights: The Performing Arts in South Australia from 1836 to the Present*, ed. Andrew McCredie, 383.

³¹⁹ Malcolm Fox, 'Music Education in South Australia, 1834-1984', in *From Colonel Light into the Footlights*, ed. McCredie, 384.

Curtis had bought her Erard harp (serial number 2728) in London, and presumably this was the instrument she used for teaching.³²¹ Potential students were required to apply at the Curtis' newly established warehouse in Hunter Street. Repeating the advertisement on 2 July 1839, Curtis acknowledged the social status associated to learning the harp with the inclusion 'to the ladies of Sydney and its Vicinity'.³²² Attempting to engage their attention at this time, she extended her sincere gratitude for those women who 'favoured her patronage'. Her harp expertise, which she attained under Bochsa's tutelage, ensured that her students obtained expert instruction in Bochsa's repertoire and pedagogy.

The next professional harpist, Maria Heathilla Prout (1807-1871), like Curtis studied with Bochsa in London. Prout, a harpist and pianist emigrated to Australia on the *Royal Sovereign*, arriving in Sydney on 16 December 1840. The second child of John and Mary Marsh, Prout came from a family who had a formidable interest in music studies, in particular the harp. Born Maria Marsh, she was the sister of the renowned harpist Stephen Marsh. She was also a painter in her own right.³²³ With Stephen directly connected to Bochsa, Maria continued the family connection by also taking lessons with Bochsa. With the harp purchased by their mother, Mrs Marsh in Sidmouth, Maria commenced her harp studies on the family Erard harp.³²⁴ Presumably, she was influenced by Stephen's harp playing and enthusiasm, and thus attained her excellence in performing, as was recognised by the Australian audiences. Advertising her capabilities as a harpist, she gave her first colonial concert in the Royal Victoria Theatre on 24 March 1841. Prout's performance was reviewed as:

It is gratifying and astonishing to find in this remote part of the British dominions, talents in the arts and the elegancies of life, which would meet with commendation and applause from the most cultivated society in the metropolis of the empire.³²⁵

³²⁰ *Australian* (26 March 1839) (Trove 36862681), 3, and the *Sydney Gazette and N.S.W. Advertiser* (12 March 1839) (Trove 2550896), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2550896> (accessed 3/07/2011). They travelled onboard the *Statesman*.

³²¹ Harp serial number 2728, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 1, 135.

³²² *Australian* (2 July 1839) (Trove 36862778), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/36862778> (accessed 3/07/2011).

³²³ *Design and Art Australia* <http://www.daa.org.au/bio/maria-heathilla-prout/> (accessed 24/03/2013). Maria was born in 1807, South Devon, England and died 2 November 1871 in Camden Town. London.

³²⁴ Marsh's first Erard harp was serial number 1730. *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 1, 36.

³²⁵ *Design and Art Australia* <http://www.daa.org.au/bio/maria-heathilla-prout/> (accessed 24/03/2013).

Her performance was likewise welcomed elsewhere:

Maria Prout, an able harpist, gave several concerts ‘with peculiarly happy effect’ at the Royal Victoria Theatre in Sydney, but thereafter withdrew to domestic duties.³²⁶

Prout, having illustrated her harp playing skills, advertised her availability to provide lessons on the harp.

Prout significantly contributed to harp and piano music-making, both as teacher and performer, during her time in colonial Australia. She did not withdraw to domestic duties, but rather initiated numerous harp music-making activities for the colonial residents. By arranging many concerts, she created an important social entertainment environment for the Sydney music lovers during the years 1840 to 1844. In 1844, and due to her husband’s work commitments in lecturing art and lithographic design, Prout relocated to Tasmania. Although they had seven children, Prout continued teaching and performing harp throughout her life, providing a professional teaching environment, and as a prominent player in many concert performances. Prout and her husband remained in Hobart for the next four years, until 1848, when they returned to London, briefly staying in Sydney in passing.

The third and most significant exponent for harp music-making activities in Australia prior to Bochsá’s arrival was Prout’s brother, Stephen Marsh. Chapter Three introduced Marsh as an active importer of Erard harps. The current chapter discusses his activities as a teacher, while Chapter Six outlines his concert activities. With regard to his role as a teacher, we learn that Marsh on arrival flagged his intentions ‘of giving lessons on the pianoforte, harp and singing’.³²⁷ His harp teaching method assumedly followed Bochsá’s style, using familiar studies and repertoire composed by his teacher. Marsh advertised his intent to establish a Music Academy:

In consequence of the difficulty he has experienced in removing from many of his pupils the numerous inelegancies of style and bad habits they had required on their commencing Music, chiefly owing to the very general, but most

³²⁶ V.W. Hodgman, ‘Prout, John Skinner (1805-1876)’, in *The Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University
<http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020308b.htm> (accessed 12/05/2011).

³²⁷ *Sydney Herald* (2 March 1842) (Trove 12873960), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12873960> (accessed 12/03/2011).

erroneous impression, that it is immaterial what instruction is afforded to beginners in the art, it is, therefore, his intention to open an Academy ...³²⁸

Whether these so-called ‘bad habits’ were obvious to him on arrival in Sydney, or purely a reflection on past experience in England, is speculative. However, Marsh’s success as a teacher is evidenced in the number of his students who went on to become professional harpists in their own right. These harpists are detailed in the final chapter of the current study. Marsh as a professional exponent of music extended his teaching activities by presenting five musical lectures at the City Theatre in Sydney during 1844.³²⁹ Incorporating harp performance with his Erard harp, Marsh exposed the ‘old’ music, as found in Europe, alongside his ‘new’ compositions by performing ‘several favourite pieces on the harp and grand piano. Among these, we notice Beethoven’s celebrated Overture to *Fidelio*’. Following performance of his new pieces delivered to ‘overflowing houses’, Marsh presented an ‘early composition of his own, consisting of an introduction *Thema and variations* ... a new *fantasia* on the harp ... of a very spirited and effective characters’.³³⁰ In his lectures Marsh extolled the virtues of what he called a ‘free style of composition by one on the harp’, and in so doing perpetuated Bochsa’s own predilection for extemporisation.³³¹ As was noted in Chapter Two, Bochsa included in his performances an element of intrigue by requesting a song name, which he then proceeded to play and extend with variations. Marsh presumably had learnt this technique from Bochsa and now included it in his lectures.

In further evidence of the appeal of the harp among well-heeled females, Marsh’s lectures apparently attracted attendance of the ‘ladies’, as they ‘appear to excite great interest among the fair sex, affording as they do, amusement combined with instruction’.³³² Marsh’s charismatic appeal was perhaps similar to Bochsa’s charm. Bochsa had utilised his good looks, conversation and harp playing to achieve many of his entrepreneurial ventures throughout his life. In Marsh’s lectures he exuded charisma to those ‘ladies’ who could afford the time, and the money to attend such musical activities. These wealthy ladies were possibly potential buyers of Erard harps, with

³²⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald* (6 October 1843) (Trove 12425126), 1,

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/124251266> (accessed 12/03/2011).

³²⁹ Dates of Marsh’s lectures were 15 May, 17 May, 13 July, 23 July, and 13 August 1844.

³³⁰ *Australian* (22 May 1844) (Trove 37119462), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/37119462> (accessed 13/03/2011).

³³¹ *Australian* (22 May 1844) (Trove 37119462), 3.

³³² *Australian* (27 July 1844) (Trove 37123096), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/37123096> (accessed 13/03/2011).

sufficient time on their hands to embrace harp performance as part of their ‘accomplishment’.³³³

Identifying the three important teachers, Curtis, Prout and Marsh and their direct association with both Erard harps and Bochsa, is pivotal to the understanding of both the Erard harp and Bochsa’s influence in harp development in colonial Australia. Their harp instruction had extended to numerous students in Sydney and Tasmania, and by stating their preference for the Erard harp this assured that students would reiterate these thoughts and thus purchase their own Erard harp.

Alongside the abovementioned professional harpists, several general music teachers included harp in their instruction programs. In Sydney during 1840, two instrumental teachers, Mrs Stanley and Miss Auld offered both piano and harp tuition. While Stanley qualified her status as Professor, this was highly unlikely as according to Joyce Pedersen:

so long as there were no recognized examinations and degrees for students or for teachers, it was difficult to judge a lady’s attainment or her skill in imparting them to others with much precision.³³⁴

As advertisements were the medium for music instructors to acquire students, their capabilities could only be presumed.

Auld advertised her recent arrival from Europe, noting her experience as a ‘pupil of the most eminent masters’ and that she ‘will give instruction in the following branches of music to juvenile and also to finishing pupils, piano, harp and singing ... in the most perfect and fashionable style’.³³⁵ Although Auld had not made direct reference to Bochsa as an instructor, given his eminence in the harp world, it was highly likely that she had had contact with his pedagogy and repertoire. Both these teachers taught the ‘accomplishment’ subjects as learnt from their European background. Stanley and Auld, like the next instructor Mrs Whitbread, provided a valuable service of establishing harp technique, to the harpists who had purchased the Erard harps, as noted in Chapter Three. In 1848, Whitbread reminded her students ‘that she has recommenced giving lessons on the Harp and Piano at her residence’ and, in yet another appeal to the

³³³ Marsh is mentioned in most chapters due to his direct connection to Bochsa and the Erard harp.

³³⁴ Joyce Senders Pedersen, cited in Prentice and Theobald, *Women Who Taught*, 40.

³³⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (14 February 1840) (Trove 12860000), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12860000> (accessed 11/04/2011). Miss Auld indicated that references were available and, like Mrs Stanley, terms were to apply to Mr Wells at Morgans’ buildings, Kent Street North.

harp's target demographic, she advised that she had set aside 'two evenings a week where she is happy to devote to the instruction of young ladies requiring private tuition'.³³⁶

By acknowledging a connection to Bochsa, this implied a professionalism that was imperative for students to attain excellence in harp music-making. This Bochsa connection, therefore, was pivotal in the advertisements for harpists who had had direct contact with Bochsa. Such an association was highlighted in the case of three harp players actively engaged in harp teaching in Hobart. The first, Mr Charles Packer, a prior student of the Royal Academy of Music London, and associate of Bochsa, 'was sentenced to life transportation for forgery and arrived at Norfolk Island in May 1840'.³³⁷ On completion of his jail term, for what may seem like a trivial felony, he was transferred to Hobart in 1844, where he commenced teaching and performing. The second harp teacher was Charles's brother Mr Frederick Packer, who arrived in Hobart on 10 July 1852 on board the *Sylph*. On arrival he announced his intention of 'giving instruction on the Harp, Pianoforte, and in English and Italian Singing'.³³⁸ Evidence that Packer owned and played an Erard harp (serial number 3957) is revealed in the *Harp Stock Books*.³³⁹ As this was a Grecian model which he had purchased sometime earlier, it is unclear as to whether this harp had accompanied him on his journey to Australia. He may have had prior warning from either his brother or returned settlers in London that a number of Erard harps were available in Australia, and therefore assumed that he could purchase a harp on arrival. His brother Charles continued his friendship with Bochsa, when he was reunited with his colleague in 1855, on Bochsa's arrival in Sydney.

The third harp teacher, Mr Samuel Tapfield (??-1873), had arrived in Hobart in January 1853. Tapfield, noting his availability to instruct the musically inclined Hobart residents, advertised as a Professor of harp, piano and singing on 22 March 1853.³⁴⁰ Illustrating his support for the Erard-Bochsa partnership, Tapfield had not only crossed paths with Bochsa earlier at the Royal Academy, but also had purchased a Gothic harp

³³⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (5 May 1848) (Trove 28646888), 5, (accessed 12/05/2011).

³³⁷ Erol J. Lea-Scarlett, 'Packer, Charles Sandys (Stuart Shipley) (1810-1883)', in *The Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/packer-charles-sandys-stuart-shipley-4353/text7071> (accessed 11/04/2012).

³³⁸ *Colonial Times* (20 August 1852) (Trove 8771958), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8771958> (accessed 15/05/2011).

³³⁹ Harp serial number 3957, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 2, 259.

³⁴⁰ *Courier* (22 March 1853) (Trove 2245191), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2245191> (accessed 15/05/2011).

(serial number 5560) in November 1843.³⁴¹ Tapfield subsequently sold this harp in 1861, while he remained in Hobart until his death in 1873. The Packer brothers and Tapfield, with their connection to Bochsa and the Erard harp, would undoubtedly have taught their students using Bochsa methods. The connection to Bochsa and Erard harps continued with the arrival of the next harpist, Madame de Storr.

De Storr's opening line in her first advertisement declared both her affiliation: 'from Paris, Harpist, pupil of Bochsa', and her target clientele: 'begs to announce to the nobility, gentry, and dilettante of Sydney, that she has arrived in this city'.³⁴² With a flourish, she had caught the attention of the upper class society and proffered her infallible qualifications on the back of her instruction by Bochsa. The advertisement offered her availability to teach harp, along with her husband, a French Professor who taught the French language. De Storr had arrived in Sydney in 1853, as a continuation of her European and South American tour, with New Zealand her next destination. Both she and her husband provided tuition at all their destinations to increase their finances while travelling. Arriving in Australia in the mid nineteenth century one could assume that her harp studies with Bochsa were in London, prior to his international concertizing in 1839. Bochsa had left Paris in 1817, and although De Storr noted she was from Paris, if she had studied with him there, that would make her in her late fifties at this time, which would be highly unlikely for a touring musician. Bochsa's repeated insistence that his students play an Erard harp is shown by De Storr's harp purchase in the *Harp Stock Books*.³⁴³

By comparison, resident music teachers often found themselves in situations where they taught the harp purely for financial reasons. During 1853, an English governess residing in Woolloomooloo advertised that she was available to teach harp, piano and French.³⁴⁴ There was no name associated with the advertisement and thus no suggestion of her harp capabilities. According to Prentice and Theobald, however:

Whether it was a widow with children to feed and educate, a wife whose husband had failed in the goldfields, or a young woman making her way in the

³⁴¹ Harp serial number 5560, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 135.

³⁴² *Sydney Morning Herald* (26 July 1853) (Trove 12947570), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12947570> (accessed 8/06/2011).

³⁴³ Harp serial number 4886, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 68.

³⁴⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (27 September 1853) (Trove 12959415), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12959415> (accessed 4/04/2011).

world alone or assisting her family, women who taught in domestic or private situations also did so chiefly because they needed the income.³⁴⁵

This theme was continued in 1855 with ‘a widow lady advertising that due to distressed circumstances [she] wished to teach the harp. Apply to Mr Johnson, 57 Pitt Street’.³⁴⁶

The association to Bochsa was continued indirectly by the prospective harp teachers, who noted that they had studied with a Bochsa disciple, in this case, John Balsir Chatterton (1805-1871). Bochsa’s students acknowledged that by using his pedagogy, this was the simplest and quickest way to achieve progress, especially when working through his *Daily Precepts* for the harp.³⁴⁷ This progressive book Bochsa had written following the lines of his personal lessons, with the view that if followed precisely the student would achieve a good standard within six weeks. Chatterton was an example student for this method of study. In 1852, on arrival in Melbourne, a Mrs Norman commenced her advertisement with ‘Pupil of Chatterton’ and that she ‘has the honour to announce, that she gives lessons on the harp and piano and in singing’.³⁴⁸ Norman had studied harp with Chatterton at the Royal College of Music in London, where Chatterton had commenced teaching in 1827 following Bochsa’s dismissal, and continued as Harp Professor for many years. Further accolades were extended to Chatterton in 1840 when he became harpist to Queen Victoria.³⁴⁹

A certain Mr Buxton also pointedly advertised his connection to Chatterton in order to acquire students. Buxton emigrated to Melbourne in 1853, and advertising as a Professor, offered tuition on harp and piano ‘which he has successfully taught in Liverpool for the last eight years, and trusts that the inhabitants of Melbourne will favour him with a share of their support’.³⁵⁰ For a man to advertise as Professor was not an uncommon practice in colonies, which generally implied leadership skills and mastery in his field. Buxton, like Norman, most likely taught using Bochsa’s pedagogical methods and harp technique.

³⁴⁵ Alison Prentice and Marjorie Theobald, ‘The Historiography of Women Teachers: A Retrospect’ in *Women Who Taught* edited by Alison Prentice and Marjorie Theobald, 11.

³⁴⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (25 August 1855) (Trove 12973346), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12973346>, (accessed 4/04/2011).

³⁴⁷ Nicolas-Charles Bochsa, *The First Six Weeks, or Daily Precepts*.

³⁴⁸ *Argus* (13 November 1852) (Trove 4788061), 7, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4788061> (accessed 5/04/2011).

³⁴⁹ ‘Norwich-born John Balsir Chatterton (1805-1871), was a pupil of Bochsa. Roslyn Rensch, *Harpists and Harpists*, rev. ed., 171.

³⁵⁰ *Argus* (11 August 1853) (Trove 4795620), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4795620> (accessed 6/04/2011).

Further evidence of the perceived role of harp performance in the portfolio of ‘accomplishments’, can be gleaned from a Mrs Poingdestre, who in January 1850 declared that her Melbourne home had become a centre for the learning of ‘accomplishments’. Poingdestre, a harpist, had arrived earlier in 1849 and initially advertised as a harp teacher. Extending her teaching position she advertised that she would instruct a ‘limited number of Young Ladies’, and on converting her home to accommodate more students she noted ‘vacancies for a few Boarders or Day Pupils ... will give lessons in different styles of Drawing and also lessons on the Harp’.³⁵¹ Unlike the ‘old’ way, which included the ‘sound English education’, this ‘new’ style of introducing only ‘accomplishments’ in an educational program, was justified by providing a family style atmosphere. Theobald explains how the boarding school education was an extension of family life, and thus provided a homely environment. Pederson extended this concept by stating that ‘the more fashionable the private school, the more closely it approximated the familial ideal’.³⁵² The school was a place where the young ladies could be educated in friendly private surroundings isolated from society. Poingdestre, like many of the teachers at this time, provided this form of education for financial gain.

In 1852, Mrs Harriet Fiddes, the former Miss Cawse of London, provided tuition in singing, harp, piano and guitar.³⁵³ Fiddes elevated her status as a teacher by placing a social cachet on her English education. However she was not a specialist harp performer, rather, as a contralto vocalist, she advertised numerous concert venues where she had performed. This did not stop her from announcing that ‘she has just arrived from London, and intends taking up residence in Melbourne for the purpose of giving lessons in Singing, pianoforte, guitar and harp’.³⁵⁴ Her ability as a harp teacher was, not surprisingly, limited, as Fiddes had little success in acquiring students in Melbourne. Five months later, she placed an advertisement in a Sydney paper where she:

begs to announce that at the termination of her present engagement in Melbourne, she intends visiting Sydney, and will be happy to give lessons in

³⁵¹ *Argus* (18 January 1850) (Trove 4772567), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4772567> (accessed 5/04/2011).

³⁵² Joyce Senders Pederson, cited in Prentice and Theobald, *Women Who Taught*, 41.

³⁵³ Graeme Skinner, ‘Austral Harmony, E-G’, <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 11/03/13). Skinner notes that Fiddes arrived in Melbourne on 4 November 1852 on the *Marlborough*, from London on 14 August.

³⁵⁴ *Argus* (22 November 1852) (Trove 4788240), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4788240> (accessed 5/04/2011). This advertisement notes that Fiddes had performed at the Theatres Royal, Drury lane, Covent Garden, The Italian Opera House and for Opera Buffa.

Singing, Pianoforte playing, Harp, Guitar &c, likewise in Harmony and Composition.³⁵⁵

Apparently faring no better there, she departed Australia in 1853 for a brief singing tour, and on returning in 1855, Fiddes again set up residence in Melbourne. Later in 1857 she advertised as a Professor of Music, and established a school, Hamilton House, in Richmond. The *Harp Stock Books* revealed that Miss Cawse purchased an Erard harp (serial number 468).³⁵⁶

In 1853, George Chapman advertised that he was providing harp tuition.³⁵⁷ Chapman, as entrepreneur, is discussed in Chapter Nine, where his involvement in organising entertainment activities is examined. Chapman's harp teaching advertisement at this time was placed as an inconsequential footnote to a notice relating to his attendance at private and public quadrille parties. In the following year, Thomas King, who was a multi-instrumentalist, provided tuition for harp, piano, violin, clarinet, cornet and singing. The advertisement, noting that he was 'late First Clarionet Philharmonic Society, Deputy Leader Bristol Theatre', was listed on 15 May 1854.³⁵⁸ His brother Edward, advertising as the Leader at the Salle de Valentino, also provided harp lessons and advertised a month later on 3 June 1854.³⁵⁹ Both Thomas and Edward listed harp first in their teaching advertisements, and as the *Harp Stock Books* indicate, their preferred instruments were Erards (serial numbers 6027 and 6077, respectively).³⁶⁰ In the same year a Mr Rington, as Professor of Music, advertised his availability to 'give instruction on the Piano and Harp, in Singing, Harmony and Thorough-Bass'.³⁶¹ Rington, like Thomas and Edward King, may have included harp tuition due to its popularity, and as an avenue to supplement his income. The last harpist mentioned in

³⁵⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (1 April 1853) (Trove 12944770), 3,

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12944770> (accessed 6/04/2011).

³⁵⁶ Harp serial number 468, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 1, 156.

³⁵⁷ *Argus* (14 April, 1853) (Trove 4791619), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4791619> (accessed 6/04/2011).

³⁵⁸ *Argus* (15 May 1854) (Trove 4807558), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4807558> (accessed 6/04/2011).

³⁵⁹ *Argus* (3 June 1854) (Trove 4808757), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4808757> (accessed 7/04/2011).

³⁶⁰ A Mr William King was importing Erard harps in Sydney in 1855. He also supplied musical instruments and strings. Whether or not he was related to Edward and Thomas King has not been established.

³⁶¹ *Argus* (8 November 1854) (Trove 4800053), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4800053> (accessed 6/04/2011). No further details were revealed for Rington. However, Skinner notes Mr Rinston teaching a year later in Melbourne. Graeme Skinner, 'Austral Harmony, O-R', <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 9/01/2014).

Melbourne was a Mr Bumbey. In 1855, he advertised as ‘teacher of the Harp, Corlopean, Clarinet &c, Apply Mr. Arnott, Junction Library, St. Kilda’.³⁶²

As seen here, many teachers taught multiple instruments, thus catering for the settlers’ needs. These harp teachers provided a much needed service to the young woman who desired to learn, or improve their harp playing skills. The importance of learning harp as an ‘accomplishment’ spread across the Australian continent, with two harp teachers arriving in Adelaide in the mid nineteenth century. The first, Mrs Jamieson, advertised during October 1850, that she ‘will be happy to give instruction on either of the above instruments [Piano and Harp]. Residence – West-terrace’.³⁶³ Later in 1855, the second harp teacher Mr Caddy advertised that he was a Professor of harp, and that he also taught piano and singing.³⁶⁴

In summary, the ‘accomplishment’ learning by private harp teachers has shown that numerous harp teachers used either Bochsa’s methods or professed a familiarity with them. In acknowledging either a direct or indirect lineage to Bochsa they were aware that this would attract more students, such as Bochsa’s standing in the harp world, and beyond. Their prospects were also helped if they used the word ‘Institution’ somewhere in their advertising. The connection to Bochsa and Erard harps remained a constant theme, whereby these ‘institutions’ could offer general education in addition to ‘accomplishment’ studies. This led to ‘ladies’, themselves relying on their educational experiences in their homelands, to establishing schools for young women in the colonies. Harp taught as an ‘accomplishment’ in educational institutions in Australia continued, as Pedersen notes, from ‘the highly fashionable establishments in London and southern England instruction [where] Italian and the harp was also commonly found’.³⁶⁵ As was the case with Mrs Poingdestre, these ‘accomplishments’ were offered in both day and boarding school environments.

There were three institutions offering harp tuition established in Australia between 1850 and 1853. In Adelaide in 1850, an educational establishment for young ladies commenced operation, with Mrs Hugh Snell Chauncey advertising ‘upwards of fifteen years’ experience in tuition. Chauncey offered ‘accomplishments’ at her Ladies’

³⁶² *Argus* (11 September 1855) (Trove 4817836), 7, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4817836> (accessed 7/04/2011). No further documentation of Bumbey has been revealed.

³⁶³ *South Australian Register* (29 October 1850) (Trove 38439165), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/38439165> (accessed 7/04/2011).

³⁶⁴ *South Australian Register* (6 December 1855) (Trove 49301080), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/49301080> (accessed 10/05/2011). Little documentation about Mr Caddy has been revealed.

³⁶⁵ Joyce Senders Pedersen, cited in Prentice and Theobald, *Women Who Taught*, 42.

Educational Establishment in Mr Collingwood's residence, Grenfell Street.³⁶⁶ Here, harp lessons at a cost of four guineas per year were offered by an unnamed harp teacher. However, since Mrs Jamieson had placed an advertisement as a private harp teacher in Adelaide in 1850, perhaps she was the unnamed teacher.

The second institution was Carr Villa, a boarding school near Launceston, Tasmania.³⁶⁷ Several advertisements relating to it appeared during 1850, indicating that the Principal Mrs Knight was 'assisted by the most efficient masters and teachers'.³⁶⁸ This school provided a comprehensive syllabus which included arithmetic, geography and astronomy, alongside 'extras' including harp lessons. On 22 June 1850, the next semester was resuming as noted by 'the young ladies of the Carr Villa Establishment, will re-assemble on Friday, 12th July. Pianoforte, Harp and Singing taught by a professional gentleman'.³⁶⁹ Although the harp teacher was not named, perhaps either Tapfield or Packer was able to accommodate their timetable to travel to Launceston. They were the most proficient harpists in Tasmania at this time. According to Theobald, Carr Villa ceased operations in 1866.³⁷⁰

Mrs and Miss Staniforth advertised in 1853 the commencement of a third educational institution at Grantham Villa in Woolloomooloo, Sydney. They were providing an educational environment for twenty young ladies who were:

to be perfected in every branch of a thorough English education, with the French, German, and Italian languages. The piano, harp, singing, drawing, dancing and every kind of useful and ornamental work.³⁷¹

Relocating from Grantham Villa, the institution shifted some three months later to Ariel Cottage, where it was run in partnership with Madame Robinson, who had recently arrived from France.³⁷² Piano, harp and singing tuition was still provided, although

³⁶⁶ *South Australian Register* (27 March 1850) (Trove 38437596), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/38437596> (accessed 15/05/2011).

³⁶⁷ *Courier* (10 July 1852) (Trove 2958767), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2958767> (accessed 15/05/2011). Joyce Pederson, cited in Prentice and Theobald, *Women Who Taught*, 37.

³⁶⁸ *Launceston Examiner* (12 July 1851) (Trove 36260729), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/36260729> (accessed 18/05/2011).

³⁶⁹ *Launceston Examiner* (22 June 1850) (Trove 36266347), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/36266347> (accessed 18/05/2011). Further advertising occurred in *The Courier* (10 July 1852) (Trove 2958767), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2958767> (accessed 18/05/2011).

³⁷⁰ Marjorie Theobald, *Knowing Women*, 37.

³⁷¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (31 March 1853) (Trove 28644567), 1s, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/28644567> (accessed 12/04/2011).

³⁷² *Empire* (18 June 1853) (Trove 61325261), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/61325261> (accessed 12/04/2011).

neither Mrs Staniforth nor Madame Robinson took responsibility for teaching harp, as the harp instructor was none other than Stephen Marsh. His lesson fees were £12.12 shillings for a term.³⁷³

The identifying of harp studies in institutions was important to the understanding of the harp's role in a situation where 'accomplishment' learning was included with the 'old' style of general education. Although the harp teacher was not named in the first two institutions, Marsh's employment was noted by the third institution. By naming Stephen Marsh as the harp instructor, Ariel Cottage not only would have provided excellent instruction for their harp students, but also by publicising Marsh as teacher this would have been incentive for new enrolments. The students would have been exposed to Bochsa repertoire, and taught the Bochsa method while playing on an Erard harp. Marsh in his role as an Erard harp importer may possibly have suggested that this institution purchase an Erard harp, as the Sidmouth Concert rooms in England had done, many years earlier on Marsh's instruction.

5.2 Summary

Chapter Five has placed the Erard harp and Bochsa pedagogy on centre stage in the education of the young women of colonial Australia. Harp was taught as an 'accomplishment' in private homes and institutions, with many Bochsa students noted as teachers. The importance of advertising a connection to Bochsa, or a Bochsa disciple, by the newly arrived harp teacher was identified as pivotal in acquiring harp students, and as such, many teachers elaborated on this connection. Documentation reveals that the majority of harp teachers were female, and they were quite often family members, for example, mothers and daughters. 'Accomplishment' studies were seen as an essential part of a young lady's education, with harp a popular choice in those studies. The chapter has revealed the large number of private schools and institutions needed to cater for the increasing number of students. Marsh, already mentioned as an importer, highlighted Bochsa's pedagogy and added harp accessories to his importation business. Finally, the chapter has identified the teachers and their use of Bochsa methods, repertoire and the Erard harp. The following chapter examines the Erard harp and Bochsa partnership in concert performances from 1830 to 1855.

³⁷³ *Empire* (2 July 1853) (Trove 61325678), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/61325678> (accessed 12/04/2011).

concert stage, but in a range of social situations, such as quadrille parties, balls and picnics. In both cases Bochsa's music and Erard harps reached ever expanding audiences.

6.1 First Australian concert venues

Prior to the construction of purpose-built theatres concertising initially made use of already established buildings, such as the Royal Hotel in Sydney, pictured above (see Figure 6.1). The drawcard for using well-known buildings, such as hotels or private homes, was their immediate availability and central location. William Orchard notes that the Royal Hotel was Sydney's first concert venue:

A licence having been granted to the proprietor of the Royal Hotel to have and hold Concerts, etc., at his house, to be considered an Assembly Room, he therefore solicits such vocal talent, either with or without pay, to those who may please to step forward and lend their aid to this harmless amusement ... The public may rest assured that the strictest attention will be paid to preserve good order and that such entertainment will only be produced as will amuse and interest.³⁷⁵

According to Leann Richards, government restrictions proved to be a hindrance in obtaining licences to establish concert venues.³⁷⁶ Barnett Levey (1798-1837) was the first person to obtain such a licence at the Royal Hotel in 1829, after which the hotel continued to be used for concerts up until 1835.³⁷⁷ After this the Theatre Royal was built on the same site, behind the Royal Hotel. Thus Australia had its first concert theatre venue. Three years later Mr Joseph Wyatt constructed the next theatre which was completed on 26 March 1838.³⁷⁸ This theatre, named the Royal Victoria Theatre, was

³⁷⁵ William Arundel Orchard, *Music in Australia*, 3.

³⁷⁶ Leann Richards, *A Short History of Australian Theatre to 1910* www.hat-archive.com/shorthistory.htm (accessed 19/05/2011).

³⁷⁷ G.F.J. Bergman, 'Levey, Barnett (1798-1837)' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/levey-barnett-2352/text3075> (accessed 17/09/2012). Barnett Levey arrived in Sydney 1821 and sang in a number of concerts. He always showed an interest in cultural events. Bergman noted that 'to his spirit and perseverance are the public indebted for the introduction of theatricals into New South Wales'. William Arundel Orchard, *Music in Australia*, 3. Orchard included information about Levey's contribution to the theatre as 'Mr Levey has not spared expense in fitting up the Concert Theatre. Tickets are cheap and the bill-of-fare not ill selected'.

³⁷⁸ William Arundel Orchard, *Music in Australia*, 15.

built in Pitt Street, Sydney. In Melbourne, the first venue was the Theatre Royal constructed in 1842.³⁷⁹

On 31 August 1830 the Royal Hotel in Sydney was the venue for the first documented harp performance in Australia. On this occasion, an unnamed amateur harpist performed a harp concerto in the Assembly rooms. The ticket prices were low 'in order to insure a full house', as the advertisement advised.³⁸⁰ The vocalists, Levey and Hamilton, and the piano accompanist, Josephson were the only names mentioned on the program, while other performers were noted as a 'Lady or Amateur'. On 28 August 1830, the concert programme was advertised in two parts: (see Figure 6.2 for part one).

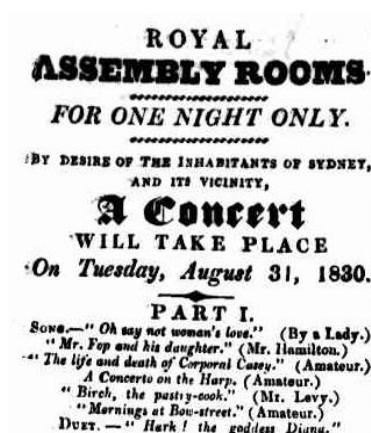


Figure 6.2. The first harp performance advertisement.³⁸¹

Given that no other pieces were listed, the amateur harpist was called upon to play only one piece, an anonymous harp concerto. If previous trends continued, the finale of the evening, *God Save The King*, may have been the Bochsa edition.³⁸² That the harpist could be described as amateur stems from the knowledge that at the time only professional musicians were named in concert programs.

³⁷⁹ Leann Richards, *A Short History of Australian Theatre to 1910* (accessed 19/05/2011). This theatre had a working licence for a twelve month period. The manager George Buckingham presented a variety of plays. But with financial difficulties and the sad state of the theatre, which included a leaking roof, many potential patrons stayed away. A new theatre was the only solution. In April 1843, Councillor J. Smith obtained a licence to construct a new theatre for a better class of customers. This theatre, the Queen's Theatre, was so named for its proximity on Queen Street.

³⁸⁰ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (26 August 1830) (Trove 2195879), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2195879> (accessed 13/04/2011).

³⁸¹ *Sydney Monitor* (28 August 1830) (Trove 32074129), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/32074129> (accessed 13/04/2011). Figure 6.2 presents the first part of the advertisement for the forthcoming concert on 31 August 1830.

³⁸² Bochsa composed a version of *God Save the King* while Harp Professor at the Royal Academy of Music in London during 1822.

6.2 The years 1834-1839

Vocal performances with harp accompaniment also featured. On 11 November 1834, Mrs Kesterton (dates unknown) sang a Bochsá arrangement of ‘Wilt thou say farewell’ providing her own harp accompaniment at a Mr Leffler’s concert in the Argyle Rooms, Hobart.³⁸³ Kesterton’s next concert performance was during 1836 when Mr Gordonovitch (1810-1840) presented her in a concert at the Court House. On this occasion Kesterton sang ‘Flow on thou shining river’, while accompanying herself on the harp.³⁸⁴ Documentation reveals that Kesterton performed on a harp loaned by Miss Arthur, which suggests she had no instrument of her own.³⁸⁵ Of her performance, the critic was circumspect:

Mrs Kesterton’s performance on the harp ... afforded us considerable pleasure; but the timidity under which this lady laboured, detracted very considerably from the full effect which, we know, she could impart to her playing.³⁸⁶

Miss Eliza Wallace (1814-1878), a soprano, also provided her own harp accompaniment in performance in Sydney.³⁸⁷ Wallace, sister of William Wallace, sang a concert favourite ‘Tis the last Rose of Summer’ in the concert of vocal and instrumental music on 30 May 1838. This song had been arranged by Bochsá as ‘A Fantasia for the Harp – With a Favourite Irish Melody’.³⁸⁸ The performance, held in the saloon rooms of Levey’s Royal Hotel, was arranged by John Philip Deane. The *Harp Stock Books* reveal that a double action harp (serial number 5952) was purchased by a Wallace. Eliza’s brother, William, may have bought this harp as he was importing Erard instruments.³⁸⁹ At the concert another brother, Spencer Wallace, played flute, with Rosalie Deane on

³⁸³ *Hobart Town Courier* (23 August 1833) (Trove 4190512), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4190512> (accessed 19/05/2011). Mr Kesterton had arrived in Hobart from London on 23 August 1833 as documented in the trade and shipping notice. There were several single ladies on board the *Curler* arriving on the same day. Perhaps one became Mrs Kesterton as no other documentation has been revealed as to the identity of this lady.

³⁸⁴ *Colonial Times* (28 October 1834) (Trove 8647888), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8647888> (accessed 19/05/2011).

³⁸⁵ No information has been revealed as to the identity of Miss Arthur, or her personal harp playing skills.

³⁸⁶ *Hobart Town Courier* (31 October 1834) (Trove 4182737), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4182737> (accessed 19/05/2011).

³⁸⁷ Graeme Skinner, ‘Austral Harmony, A-B’, <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 14/07/2013). Eliza Wallace dates provided by Bushelle entry. She married John Bushelle in August 1839.

³⁸⁸ *Australian* (25 May 1838) (Trove 36857684), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/36857684> (accessed 19/05/2011). A copy of this music is available from Morley Harps, in England. <http://www.morleyharps.co.uk/harp-resources/free-harp-sheet-music/> (accessed 8/04/2013).

³⁸⁹ Harp serial number 5952, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 151.

piano, while John Deane Jnr. sang and played violin, and Edward Deane played the cello. The concert was reviewed by three contemporary newspapers. The *Sydney Monitor* praised Wallace's harp performance as follows:

The great novelty of the evening was Miss Wallace's song, '*Tis the last Rose of Summer*', accompanied by herself on the harp. The beauty of the song, and the taste with which Miss W. imbued it, with the pleasing accompaniment of the harp, which is much better adapted for accompanying the voice than the piano, rendered great pleasure to the audience who were mute with delight.³⁹⁰

The *Sydney Gazette*, however, provided a different perspective with their review offering that '[Wallace] sung ... very prettily; this young lady's voice, however, does not accord well with the harp'.³⁹¹ The third critique by the *Colonist* was the most sympathetic to Wallace's performance. Her singing was described as:

full and energetic in an extraordinary degree; and her powers of deep intonation and varied modulation, are calculated to excite the warmest admiration ... *Tis the Last Rose of Summer*, was sung by Miss Wallace, accompanied by herself on the Harp.³⁹²

As there is little description of Wallace's expertise on the harp, other than her accompanying skills, one might assume that her harp capabilities were limited. This was emphasised further in the following decade, where her role as singer in future concerts took precedence as she left the harp accompanying role to others. Wallace, a former student at the Royal Academy of Music in London in 1834, was listed as singing in the general chorus during a Royal Festival. Students were required to study many areas of music, including harmony, composition and instrumental studies. According to Cazalet, the circular stated that 'a very considerable portion of the female pupils have devoted themselves to the study of the harp and pianoforte'.³⁹³ Wallace's harp studies at this time would have been with Chatterton.³⁹⁴

The third example of harp accompaniment with singing occurred in 1838. On 21 August a Mrs Taylor (??-1841) sang the ballad 'The daughter of Israel' at a benefit

³⁹⁰ *Sydney Monitor* (1 June 1838) (Trove 32160266), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/32160266> (accessed 19/05/2011).

³⁹¹ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (2 June 1838) (Trove 2551285), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2551285> (accessed 19/05/2011).

³⁹² *Colonist* (2 June 1838) (Trove 31721078), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31721078> (accessed 19/05/2011).

³⁹³ William Wahab Cazalet, *The History of The Royal Academy of Music*, 261 and 267.

³⁹⁴ John Balsir Chatterton (1805-1871) born in Norwich, England was a pupil of Bochsa. He became Professor of Harp at the Royal Academy of Music in 1827 on Bochsa's dismissal. Roslyn Rensch, *Harp and Harpists*, rev. ed., 171.

concert. Taylor appeared to have provided the harp accompaniment to her singing.³⁹⁵ No further mention of Taylor was provided.

6.3 The years 1839-1849

Concert programs and reviews, gleaned primarily from newspapers of the day, provide details relating to Bochsa's works performed in Australia during the period 1830 to 1855. It was towards the end of the 1830s that the harp emerged from its role as primarily an accompanying instrument to a solo concert instrument. During his lifetime, Bochsa wrote a vast quantity of harp music to expand the repertoire for the Erard double action pedal harp. As the Harp Professor at the Royal Academy in London, he composed pieces for his students' concert performances, and arranged other composers' works for the Academy's orchestral and vocal performances. This was illustrated by Cazalet's documentation of Bochsa's compositions, as found in the Royal Academy's concert programs.³⁹⁶ Bochsa also added new compositions and arrangements to his personal harp concert repertoire and, as noted, he had developed key techniques for the Erard harp. As a teacher his playing style was firmly implanted in his students. The section following evaluates Bochsa's influence on three students mentioned above, Eliza Bushelle (nee Wallace), Emma Curtis and Maria Prout, and documents their continued use of his compositions in their concert programming in Australia prior to 1849.

Eliza Bushelle (1814-1878), held her first concert in the Royal Victoria Theatre, Sydney on 11 September 1839. The concert included Monsieur and Madame Gautrot, Spencer Wallace, Thomas Leggatt and her husband John Bushelle.³⁹⁷ Her next concert, on 18 December and given the title 'Vocal and Instrumental Concert', advised that it was to be 'on the same scale as her last one'.³⁹⁸ Building on the popularity of the first, readers were warned that:

³⁹⁵ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (21 August 1838) (Trove 2550451), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2550451> (accessed 19/05/2011).

³⁹⁶ William Wahab Cazalet, *The History of The Royal Academy of Music*, 47, 81, and 106-107.

³⁹⁷ *Sydney Herald* (30 August 1839) (Trove 12862857), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12862857> (accessed 19/05/2011).

³⁹⁸ *Australasian Chronicle* (13 December 1839) (Trove 31727041), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31727041> (accessed 19/05/2011).

To obviate the disappointment experienced by many families last Concert, Mrs Bushelle will feel obliged by an early application for Private Boxes at her residence, Castlereagh-street, North ...³⁹⁹

Playing her harp as the accompanying instrument, Bushelle sang a Bochsá arrangement of an Irish Air, 'Savourneen Deelish'. Only once more, later in May, was she to sing to her own harp accompaniment, and that was at the Theatre Royal where she presented the song, 'The Land of the West' by Lover. Her popularity had extended to being given a new harp by, not surprisingly, certain 'ladies of distinction':

We are much gratified to hear that several ladies of distinction in the colony have presented Mrs Bushelle with a harp, as a testimony of the high estimation which they entertain of her talents. In the sentiments conveyed by this tribute of respect, we are sure that all who have had the pleasure of attending any concert at which this lady has assisted, will cordially concur. We hope to hear the qualities of this instrument tested by Mrs B. at her approaching concert.⁴⁰⁰

Bushelle may have felt uncomfortable regarding her harp skills, and although she had received a new harp, she retired from harp playing in future concerts. Focussing on singing, she enlisted the services of the professional harpist, Emma Curtis, at future concerts over a career that spanned many years.

Mrs Emma Curtis (dates unknown), who was introduced as a harp teacher in the last chapter, gave her first solo harp performance following an invitation from the Cecilian Society. This was advertised as 'besides other instruments, we understand they contemplate the introduction of that most romantic and classical of all instruments – the HARP'.⁴⁰¹ As to whether she gave her services in a paid or unpaid capacity, we need to bear in mind that during this period it was expected that men worked for an income, while a woman's position, in many cases, was one of unpaid participation. According to Pederson, 'the social position of such women was ambiguous, for ladies were usually not poor and did not engage in paid employment'.⁴⁰² At this first concert, the performed pieces were not named. The evening performance review was complimentary to Curtis' performance, offering that 'The performance of Mrs Curtis on the harp, is pronounced

³⁹⁹ *Australasian Chronicle* (13 December 1839) (Trove 31727041), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31727041> (accessed 19/05/2011).

⁴⁰⁰ *Australian* (2 May 1840) (Trove 36862722), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/36862722> (accessed 19/05/2011).

⁴⁰¹ *Colonist* (20 July 1839) (Trove 31723437), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31723437> (accessed 3/07/2011).

⁴⁰² Joyce Sanders Pederson, cited in Prentice and Theobald eds. *Women Who Taught*, 39.

by judges to have been very superior'.⁴⁰³ How experienced the judges were may be debatable considering that the next review added that 'The Harp solo would have been a treat, but for the execrable instrument on which she performed'.⁴⁰⁴ This reservation was followed up with the observation that while 'the instrument was so inferior ... she has, however, given sufficient evidence of her capabilities to induce a desire to hear her again on a more suitable instrument'.⁴⁰⁵ Given that Curtis performed with an Erard harp, and did so on many occasions, it is possible that her Erard had suffered on the voyage from Europe. Curtis' Erard harp was an early model Grecian, and over time may have deteriorated. The long journey to Australia and the harsh weather conditions on arrival no doubt affected the harp's condition.

A review of the following concert mentioned an unnamed piece for solo harp by the composer Labarre, a Bochsá disciple who had studied with him in London. Curtis' performances were good; however, complaints concerning her harp lingered:

Her instrument is a little repaired since we heard it last. We sincerely wish, both for her sake and our own, that she would burn it. There are surely a good harp or two in the colony, and any lady would be proud to lend her instrument to such a performer as Mrs Curtis.⁴⁰⁶

Curtis later may have purchased a later model harp, as according to harpist Michael Jefferies, harp (serial number 4854) is described as a Curtis-Smith. Although the veracity of any link back to the Curtis in question has yet to be confirmed, that particular harp is in excellent playing order and is still in Australia today.⁴⁰⁷

The harp's role, having progressed from accompanying singing to performing as a solo instrument, saw it included with other instruments in ensemble performances. For her part, Curtis' ensemble playing commenced with a duet performance with the violinist Mr Peck during his 'Farewell' concert prior to his return to England. On 28

⁴⁰³ *Sydney Monitor* (2 August 1839) (Trove 32165107), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/32165107> (accessed 3/07/2011).

⁴⁰⁴ *Australasian Chronicle* (2 August 1839) (Trove 3172615)1, 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31726151> (accessed 3/07/2011).

⁴⁰⁵ *The Australian* (6 August 1839) (Trove 36861389), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/3686107> (accessed 3/07/2011).

⁴⁰⁶ *Australasian Chronicle* (23 August 1839) (Trove 31726296), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31726296> (accessed 3/07/2011).

⁴⁰⁷ Harp serial number 4854, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 64.

September 1839 they performed an unnamed Labarre composition.⁴⁰⁸ In late 1842, Curtis relocated to Hobart and continued teaching and performing. In the first Hobart concert, Curtis worked with the flautist George Duly (1825-1847), giving the inaugural Australian performance of the ‘Concertante’ by Bochsa, given at the Argyle Rooms on 8 February 1842. The second Bochsa work performed on that occasion was a quartet where Curtis and Duly were joined by the cellist Richard Curtis (Emma’s husband), and the pianist John Howson senior (1819-1871). At a concert the week following, another ‘Concertante’, composed by Bochsa, was presented. Instead of flute with harp, the instrumentation was for piano and harp, performed by Howson and Curtis. Positive reviews were offered for both concerts. The first review described Curtis’ playing as:

with effect, on the former instrument by Mrs Curtis ... There is grace in the mere attitude required for the harp (we mean when properly handled,) which cannot fail to predispose ...⁴⁰⁹

The second concert review offered that ‘the harp and pianoforte *Concertante* ... was most enthusiastically received’.⁴¹⁰ More Bochsa harp compositions continued to be included in Curtis’ performances, including an arrangement by Bochsa for flute, piano, cello and harp quartet of extracts from Bellini’s opera *La Sonnambula*.⁴¹¹ The concert’s finale was a performance of Bochsa’s arrangement of *God Save the Queen*.⁴¹² When performed as the finale, this work served two purposes: The first was a sign of respect, socially linking the Australian colony to England; while the second provided an opportunity for all the players to perform together at the concert’s conclusion. Documents suggest that Curtis only performed once more, in November 1844, in an unnamed duet for harp and violin that was included in a concert arranged by Joseph Gautrot, a violinist.

Maria Prout (née Marsh) integrated Bochsa’s music into her Australian concerts from 1841 onwards. While resident in Sydney her annual concerts were held in high esteem by the local population. Not only were her concerts entertaining for patrons, but

⁴⁰⁸ *Colonist* (28 September 1839) (Trove 31723782), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31723782> (accessed 3/07/2011).

⁴⁰⁹ *Courier* (18 February 1842) (Trove 2954836), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2954836> (accessed 3/07/2011).

⁴¹⁰ *Colonial Times* (22 February 1842) (Trove 8752450), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8752450> (accessed 3/07/2011).

⁴¹¹ The players were flute (Mr Duly), piano (Mr J. Howson), violoncello (Mr F. Howson senior) and the harpist, Mrs Curtis.

⁴¹² Bochsa had made numerous arrangements of this work, catering for a variety of ensemble combinations. The first arrangement was written during his years as the Professor of Harp at The Royal Academy of Music in London.

they also provided an avenue for her students to experience performance practice. With her connection to Bochsa, it is not surprising to find his compositions and arrangements in many of her programs. The arrangement of *God Save The Queen* by Bochsa, for harp and piano, was performed at the Royal Victoria Theatre on 14 July 1841.⁴¹³ John Deane senior had arranged this so-called ‘Grand Concert’, with the performance of the national anthem played by Prout and accompanied by Rosalie Deane on piano. In the vocal section, the principal singer was Eliza Bushelle, now relieved of her harp playing duties. The review for the duet discussed Bochsa, in addition to the sad state of Prout’s harp:

Mrs Prout, on the harp, and Miss Deane, on the pianoforte, gave a duet of Bochsa’s called ‘God Save The Queen,’ in the programme; and somewhere about the middle of the piece, we observed the National Anthem *sidled* in ... in a strange sort of manner ... Brilliant passages ... such as Bochsa knows well how to compose, ... Mrs Prout’s harp seemed to be out of order or an indifferent instrument, and the tones being husky and jingling, sadly marred the beauty of her performance.⁴¹⁴

Again we see two recurring themes: the acknowledgement of Bochsa’s brilliant compositional style and the apparently poor condition of Prout’s harp. Given that the harp in question was the Erard purchased by Mrs Marsh, mother to Maria and Stephen, this again points to damaged incurred by the instrument, either on its long voyage to Australia, or in the country’s harsh climate.⁴¹⁵ Either factor would have affected the tone and tuning, and given that harp technicians were not readily available in the colonies, the players may have attempted their own repairs, further exacerbating the damage.

That said, mention is made of a Mr P. Murphy who, on arrival in Sydney during 1837, listed his occupation as harp maker:

P. MURPHY, *Harp, Serpent and Violin Maker*, respectfully begs to return his best thanks to the Public for their liberal patronage since his arrival in this country, and that he will continue to make and repair the above and other Musical Instruments in the very best manner, superior to any that have been

⁴¹³ *Australian* (13 July 1841) (Trove 36849881), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/36849881> (accessed 23/04/2011).

⁴¹⁴ *Sydney Herald* (17 July 1841) (Trove 12870042), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12870042> (accessed 23/04/2011).

⁴¹⁵ Since Maria was the younger child, she may have kept the first purchased harp as her own instrument.

hitherto done in this Colony. Any Instrument that cannot be removed to Town he will go to the Country to Repair by being paid his expenses.⁴¹⁶

Considering the number of complaints in concert reviews concerning the inferior state of instruments, Murphy's services were either not engaged or were of little benefit.

As was noted earlier, Prout had relocated to Hobart between 1844 to 1848. The Hobart Town Choral Society advertised its first performance in the Mechanics Institute on Tuesday 27 October 1846, with the program including a quartet for harp, piano, flute and cello. The work, arranged by Bochsa, was the Cavatina from Donizetti's opera *Torquato Tasso* (see Figure 6.3).⁴¹⁷

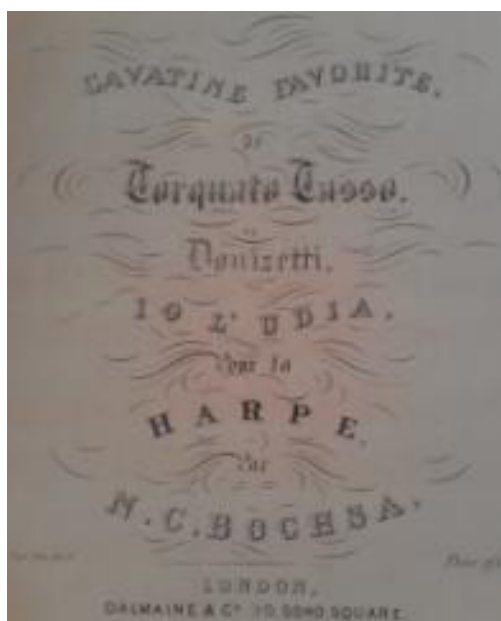


Figure 6.3. Title Page of Bochsa's arrangement of 'Cavatine Favorite' from *Torquato Tasso*.⁴¹⁸

A second concert, repeating the same program, was scheduled as the society desperately needed funds. They offered the reason for this repeat performance as being 'for liquidating the debt due by the Society for the purchase of music'.⁴¹⁹ Prout returned to Sydney to present a final musical soir e on 24 March 1848, en route back to London.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁶ *Sydney Monitor* (27 October 1837) (Trove 32157808), 4,

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/32157808> (accessed 12/09/2011).

⁴¹⁷ *Colonial Times* (27 October 1846) (Trove 8759481), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8759481> (accessed 23/04/2011).

⁴¹⁸ Source: <http://ia700803.us.archive.org/30/items/ioludiacavatinef00boch/ioludiacavatinef00boch.pdf> (accessed 23/10/2012).

⁴¹⁹ *Colonial Times* (11 December 1847) (Trove 8761948), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8761948> (accessed 23/04/2011).

⁴²⁰ *Colonial Times* (24 March 1848) (Trove 8762528), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8762528> (accessed 23/04/2011).

Two quartets, both Bochsá compositions, were performed at this concert, and although neither were named, on the basis of the same instrumentation being employed as in her Hobart concerts, it is highly likely that one of the quartets was the Donizetti ‘Cavatina’ arrangement. The professional performers on this occasion were Prout and the pianist Julius Imberg (??-1863), with the flute and cello parts being performed by amateurs.

The key harp figures for the period 1839-1849 have been shown to be Bushelle, Curtis and Prout. Both Curtis and Prout relocated to Hobart, with Prout returning to London via Sydney. Bushelle had initially accompanied her singing on the harp until relinquishing the playing to the professionals. Not only had these three harpists introduced Bochsá’s music in their concerts, but also they had played on Erard harps. No less noteworthy is that all three are females, which appears to contradict Marjorie Theobald observations as to the role and status of female performers at the time. According to Theobald:

The setting is always the middle-class drawing-room, not the concert hall; the woman is represented as a passive figure ... public performance and musical composition were the prerogatives of men.⁴²¹

The evidence as shown indicates that this generalisation does not hold true in all instances.

With the arrival of Prout’s brother Stephen Marsh, in 1842, increased numbers of Bochsá’s compositions and arrangements entered the concert arena. While Marsh’s contribution to Erard harp importation and harp pedagogy has been addressed, the following section highlights his role as a performer of compositions by Bochsá and his use of an Erard while doing so. As has been noted, prior to Marsh’s arrival in Sydney his sister had on several occasions advertised it to the general public. Advertising for her Grand Soirée Musicale the upcoming concert, Prout spoke of the valuable assistance her brother would provide on this occasion, and used language that again reinforces the elitist credentials accorded the harp in the new colony. She reminded readers that Marsh came to Australia as a ‘celebrated Harpist, Pianist and Musical Composer, from the Hanover Square and Nobility’s Concerts, London’.⁴²² Further advertising continued in the *Australasian Chronicle* on 5 March and the *Australian* until the day of the concert at the Royal Victoria Theatre, Wednesday 8 March 1842. Marsh’s first appearance at the

⁴²¹ Marjorie Theobald, *Knowing Women*, 9.

⁴²² *Sydney Morning Herald* (2 March 1842) (Trove 12873960), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12873960> (accessed 13/04/2011).

theatre incorporated the local talent of Sydney, with the performers including the Wallace and Deane families, Mr and Mrs Bushelle and his sister Maria Prout.

With the arrival of her brother, Prout's performance duties shifted from harpist to pianist when Stephen mounted the stage. Including Marsh among the local musical talent ensured the success of the concert. The first Bochsa work in the program was a quartet from *La donna dell lago* written for harp, piano, flute and cello. The performers were Marsh, Prout, Wallace, and Deane respectively. Two more Bochsa works were presented following the interval, the first being a 'Duo Concertante' for harp and flute named 'Italy and Ireland', which included Wallace playing the flute part. The second, Bochsa's arrangement of *Rule Britannia* for harp and piano, closed the concert. In this performance, Marsh had featured as harpist, pianist and composer.

The reviews that followed offered favourable reports and described Marsh as 'the novelty of the evening'.⁴²³ Critical adulation followed:

This is the first time the public here have heard that beautiful instrument, [harp] touched by a proficient. Mr. Marsh is unquestionably master of both the harp and of the piano.⁴²⁴

Not all reviews, however, accepted Marsh's abilities as master, as seen by the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* querying of Prout's tendency to exaggerate:

From the announcement of Mr Marsh's advent and appearance in public, we expected to have heard the Harp touched in the style of Bochsa, Chatterton, and other masters, who play in the Hanover Square Rooms, and it was with no small anticipated delight that we waited the commencement of the 'Fantasia'. We were much pleased with the instrument, and delighted with its tone, and had not our anticipations been over raised, should have given unqualified praise to the performance, which, so far as it went, was good, but nothing extraordinary was attempted.⁴²⁵

This was an interesting comparison, as neither Bochsa nor Chatterton, or any other notable harpist from Hanover Square, had performed in the colonies at this time. Possibly the writer was himself exaggerating his own credentials as a critic.

⁴²³ *Australian* (12 March 1842) (Trove 36849778), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/36849778> (accessed 13/04/2011).

⁴²⁴ *Australian* (12 March 1842) (Trove 36849778), 2, (accessed 13/04/2011).

⁴²⁵ *Sydney Gazette* (12 March 1842) (Trove 2555975), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2555975> (accessed 13/02/2011).

Marsh had also introduced some of his own compositions, including the 'Fantasia' for harp.⁴²⁶ By placing the Erard harp and Bochsa's music together in concert, Marsh had illustrated the contribution that this partnership had made to Australian harp music-making. Another concert review, which occurred two days later, recorded Marsh's debut as:

Mr Marsh appeared in the three-fold capacity of composer, instrumental performer and vocalist. ... Mr Marsh's performance on the harp was brilliant; his instrument was a very fine one, and the tones he drew from it were exceedingly beautiful. As a harpist he is decidedly first rate, and as a general musician he is undoubtedly an acquisition to the Colony.⁴²⁷

Marsh had certainly made an admirable impression and continued to be sought after for future events.

The spacious hall in the recently established Sydney College was the venue for Marsh's next performance, advertised by Isaac Nathan as 'A Grand Selection OF VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC', held on 27 May 1842.⁴²⁸ The concert performers were Marsh, Gautrot and Nathan, assisted by the military band of the 28th Regiment. Nathan supplemented the vocal performers with his own pupils, in addition to amateurs who had volunteered their services. He stated that performers would exceed more than thirty and advertised this concert as 'forming the most numerous and complete choir hitherto assembled before a Sydney audience'.⁴²⁹ The review described the audience as 'the attendance was numerous; the spacious hall was indeed crowded to an overflow, and we observed most of the élite of Sydney among the audience'.⁴³⁰ The *Australian* reviewed his achievements as follows:

⁴²⁶ Marsh had composed a new Ballad 'The parting hour' while on board the *Sir Edward Paget* during the voyage to Sydney. The poetry was written by Captain J. Tait. There was another Marsh composition, which was a vocal Quartette, 'The Voyager's Evening Song' with words by Captain Tait. Graeme Skinner, 'Austral Harmony, M-N', <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 11/10/2013).

⁴²⁷ *Sydney Herald* (11 March 1842) (Trove 12874132), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12874132> (accessed 3/02/2011).

⁴²⁸ Isaac Nathan (1790-1864), was born in Canterbury England. He arrived in Sydney in April 1841. He opened an Academy of singing and became the choirmaster at St. Mary's Cathedral. Catherine Mackerras, 'Nathan, Isaac (1792-1864)', in *The Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/nathan-isaac-2502/text3377> (accessed 17/10/2013). *Sydney Herald* (13 May 1842) (Trove 12875144), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12875144> (accessed 3/02/2011).

⁴²⁹ *Sydney Herald* (13 May 1842) (Trove 12875144), 3.

⁴³⁰ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (2 June 1842) (Trove 2556644), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2556644> (accessed 3/02/2011).

The success which attended that attempt to give music its proper position in our society, is an event which we consider, of very considerable importance [with] many advantages to the present and future generations of colonists. ... With none of the performers could he feel disposed to be dissatisfied, and which most to applaud he would find it difficult to decide. ... Mr Marsh as a harpist ... would revive with pleasure his recollections of the great performers ... in European lands.⁴³¹

Concerts of this nature were therefore essential for the colonial residents, in that they provided entertainment as well as memories of concerts in their homelands.

The ever innovative and entrepreneurial Marsh introduced subscription concerts. His idea, which although new to Australia had originated in England, was to present a series of three concerts, with each morning concert to be repeated in the evening. The first of the series was advertised to take place at his residence, in Bligh Street on 2 June 1842, and included a brilliant ‘Concertante Duet’ for two grand pianos performed by himself and Prout. This work was advertised as a first performance for the colony, although, as Skinner notes, many performances from the period were credited as being premieres in order to build profile, rather than as a statement of fact.⁴³² The *Chronicle* noted that the concert also featured ‘selections from some of the most favourite operas and composers for the harp and pianoforte’.⁴³³ Very significantly in terms of the linkages between instruments, pedagogy and repertoire that the current study seeks to draw taut, the advertisement announced that:

Mr Marsh will perform on the Harp his third Grand Melange, introducing Vivitu, a march of Beethoven ... also selections from some of the most favourite operas and composers for the harp and pianoforte ... Mr Marsh has for sale Pianofortes and Harps, by the first makers, and selected by himself at their manufactories in London.⁴³⁴

Here we see that the ever resourceful Marsh used the opportunity of his own concert fixtures in order to promote Erards ‘selected by himself’ from the London workshop. Art and commerce intertwine in the new world, all under the shadow of Bochsa and his approach to the same. The appraisal of this first concert described the event as a ‘rich treat to all’ and was unable to ‘speak in terms of praise sufficiently strong’ for the

⁴³¹ *Australian* (2 June 1842) (Trove 37116329), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/37116329> (accessed 3/02/2011).

⁴³² Graeme Skinner, ‘Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition’, 238 (accessed November 2012).

⁴³³ *Australasian Chronicle* (24 May 1842) (Trove 31736025), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31736025> (accessed 3/02/2011).

⁴³⁴ *Australasian Chronicle* (24 May 1842) (Trove 31736025), 1, (accessed 3/02/2011).

performance by Prout and Marsh.⁴³⁵ The reviewer recognised the importance of the event: ‘The first morning concert given in this colony deserves special notice, and we were glad to perceive Lady Gipps, and several other ladies of distinction, among the visitors’.⁴³⁶ Such patronage at this first concert encouraged socially-minded middle class residents to attend subsequent concerts. Marsh’s second concert on 9 June 1842 included the two Bochsá arrangements, ‘Hark! I Hear The Vesper Bell’ and *God Save The Queen*, again performed by Marsh and Prout. The final concert was scheduled for 10 June 1842. Marsh presumably benefited financially with ticket prices constant for the entire series at 7s.6d, and benefited socially, with the audience response and respect of his venture as ‘Mr Marsh has reason to congratulate himself on the success which has attended his endeavours to get up these concerts’.⁴³⁷

Marsh had a hectic performing schedule, with three concerts in a row during October 1843. In the first concert he accompanied Eliza Bushelle’s performance of ‘Erin’s Daughter’, with the second concert, one week later, highlighting Bochsá’s ‘Brilliant Concertante’, a quartet written for harp, piano, flute and cello.⁴³⁸ The third was a concert with a difference, where a novelty item was organised for thirteen performers – three harp players and ten players on five grand pianos – in an arrangement of ‘Auber’s new Overture to the Opera of *Les Diamants de la Couronne*’.⁴³⁹ In London, Bochsá had many years earlier arranged a performance for thirteen harps, and again Marsh appears to be emulating his teacher. Two years later, Marsh played a duet with the trombonist John Howson. The trombone solo on the Aria ‘Fra Poco’ from the famous opera *Lucia di Lammermoor* was arranged and accompanied on the harp by Marsh. Not only had Marsh learnt his playing, teaching and performing skills from Bochsá, but he, too, also created successful arrangements. The following concert review observed:

Mr Marsh enraptured his audience by his delightful harp-playing. With thorough command over his instrument, he invests its tone with all the varied shades of

⁴³⁵ *Sydney Herald* (4 June 1842) (Trove 12875541), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12875541> (accessed 3/02/2011).

⁴³⁶ *Sydney Herald* (4 June 1842) (Trove 12875541), 2.

⁴³⁷ *Sydney Herald* (14 June 1842) (Trove 12875658), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12875658> (accessed 3/02/2011).

⁴³⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald* (14 October 1843) (Trove 12426119), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12426119> (accessed 3/02/2011).

⁴³⁹ *Australian* (17 October 1843) (Trove 37118312), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/37118312> (accessed 4/02/2011).

sentiment that the composition is intended to express – the lively, and the pathetic, are portrayed with equal fidelity and effect.⁴⁴⁰

The reviewer concluded by offering Marsh his heartfelt congratulations.

On 3 December 1845, Marsh organised an ‘Art Union Grand Concert’, in which he flagged that ‘the Orchestra will be full and complete’.⁴⁴¹ To generate publicity, Marsh advised that this performance of Bochsa’s ‘Grand Fantasia’ for solo harp and military band was being performed ‘for the first time in the southern hemisphere’.⁴⁴² One year later in a concert with the violinist Mr Ravac, the review made note of:

Two very elegantly played fantasias on the harp by Mr. Marsh, in the first of which he introduced the ever-popular melody of ‘The Last Rose of Summer,’ and in the second of ‘Love not,’ drew forth much applause; and the March and Ode to Leichardt, of his own composing, was well received.⁴⁴³

Marsh included Bochsa’s arrangement of ‘The Last Rose of Summer’ in anticipation that the audience appreciation of the ever-popular melody would flow over to his own composition. Marsh departed Australia in 1846, not returning until 1853, two years prior to Bochsa’s arrival. During his first Australian stay, Marsh had entertained the Sydney audiences with his masterly playing on his Erard harp, and performing of many Bochsa compositions. Marsh was an exemplary case of a successful Bochsa student.

6.4 The years 1853-1855

This section evaluates Bochsa’s influence on four harpists by documenting their concert performances of his compositions from 1853 to 1855. All four performers had purchased Erard harps in London, and those same instruments featured in their Australian concerts.

⁴⁴⁰ *Australian* (6 December 1845) (Trove 37159555), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/37159555> (accessed 4/02/2011).

⁴⁴¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (18 November 1845) (Trove 12883552), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12883552> (accessed 4/02/2011). The orchestra was supplemented by the military band at this time. It was interesting to note that more of the usual instruments of the orchestra, as found in Europe, were beginning to participate in these concert performances. With the military bands supplementing these concerts, many trumpets and trombones were utilised. Instruments such as bassoons and clarinets were now becoming more prominent.

⁴⁴² *Sydney Morning Herald* (18 November 1845) (Trove 12883552), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12883552> (accessed 4/02/2011).

⁴⁴³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (2 September 1846) (Trove 12899675), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12899675> (accessed 4/02/2011).

Madame De Storr, mentioned previously as a harp teacher and Bochsa pupil, included his compositions and arrangements in her concert programming. Like Bochsa, De Storr travelled extensively, and successfully toured India and South America en route to Australia, arriving in Sydney in 1853. Like Bochsa, she publicised her credentials as ‘she has been specially honoured by... his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, his Excellency the Governor-General of India, the King of Lahore, the Great Mogul, Lord Gough’. De Storr advertised in the *Sydney Morning Herald* that she was ‘making arrangements for a grand concert’, which was to be held in the Royal Victoria Theatre on 18 June 1853.⁴⁴⁴ On this occasion, De Storr was assisted by all the ‘available musical talent’, securing the services of the local musicians including Madame Sara Flower, Miss Flora Harris, Signor and Madame Carandini, Messrs. Frank and John Howson, Mr Evans Sloper, Monsieur Lonchamp and the conductor/pianist Mr Stanley.

De Storr performed two Bochsa compositions in her debut Australian concert. The first work included the fourth Australian appearance of the violinist Signor Carandini, and was a harp and violin duet, ‘Aria varie’.⁴⁴⁵ Returning to the stage after interval, De Storr performed with a Mr Sloper a duet entitled ‘Morceau’, which Bochsa had written for the unusual combination of harp and saxe-horn.⁴⁴⁶ De Storr played only one harp solo during the evening, which was a Labarre composition, an arrangement of the ‘Cavatina’ from Rossini’s *La Donna del Lago*. Mr Sloper, in return for the opportunity of performing in De Storr’s concert, set to arranging the next concert on 22 June 1853, where together they gave a repeat performance of the harp and saxe-horn duet.⁴⁴⁷ On 14 December 1853 in the Royal Hotel concert, De Storr performed a solo harp composition, ‘Partant pour la Syrie’ – a work with text by the Queen of Holland, the mother of Louis Napoleon – with variations by Bochsa.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (18 June 1853) (Trove 12946778), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12946778> (accessed 8/06/2011). Also advertised in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (13 June 1853) (Trove 12946641), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12946641> (accessed 8/06/2011). This advertisement announced the other members performing in the concert.

⁴⁴⁵ Carandini was noted as being the first violinist to his Majesty the King of Sardinia.

⁴⁴⁶ A saxe-horn is a valved brass instrument, similar to a tuba, and is related to the flugelhorn and cornet. <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/saxhorn> (accessed 5/06/2014).

⁴⁴⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald* (22 June 1853) (Trove article 28644283), 6, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/28644283> (accessed 8/06/2011).

⁴⁴⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald* (14 December 1853) (Trove 30939433), 7, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/30939433> (accessed 8/06/2011).

Continuing on her Australian tour, De Storr first travelled to Melbourne and then on to Launceston.⁴⁴⁹ De Storr presented only one concert at the Cornwall Assembly Rooms in Launceston, where she ably assisted Professor Lees and his sons prior to her return to Sydney in June 1854.⁴⁵⁰ There was no further documentation for this harpist as De Storr departed Australia to continue her world tour.

The next two harp players were actively involved in concerts in Adelaide during the latter end of 1854. The first to arrive was Annette Horn (dates unknown), daughter of the renowned London harpist Henry Horn, who as mentioned earlier in Chapter One, had a direct connection to the Erard-Bochsa partnership in that he was performing in London at the same time as Bochsa, with his wife the housekeeper for the Erard firm at that time. Miss Horn's concert performance held on 4 August 1854 in Green's New Exchange rooms was first mentioned in Mrs Edward Jupp's Adelaide concert review. The review noted the presence of 'His Excellency and Lady Young' with the concert attended by 'a highly respectable and numerous audience', which again attests to the social standing such concert performances held for the upper middle classes.⁴⁵¹ In her concerts Horn used an Erard harp purchased earlier in London (serial number 3465) (see Figure 6.4).

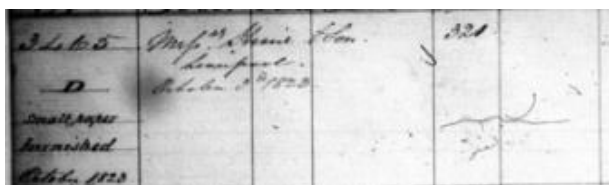


Figure 6.4. Erard *Harp Stock Book* entry for harp (serial number 3465).⁴⁵²

Horn's next solo appearance was at a Mrs. Young's 'farewell concert' on Friday 29 December 1854. In the concert Horn played two harp solos; numbered seven and fifteen on the program. The first was a Bochsa composition 'Polka Nationale' and the

⁴⁴⁹ *Argus* (16 January 1854) (Trove 4802042), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/48002042> (accessed 8/06/2011). Storr travelled from Sydney to Melbourne on 11 January 1854.

Launceston Examiner (6 May 1854) (Trove 36288941), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/36288941> (accessed 8/06/2011). The concert at the Cornwall Rooms was assisted by Madame de Storr and Herr Imberg.

⁴⁵⁰ *Colonial Times* (3 June 1854) (Trove 8776201), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8776201> (accessed 8/06/2011).

⁴⁵¹ *South Australian Register* (4 August 1854) (Trove 492055604), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/492055604> (accessed 17/06/2011).

⁴⁵² Harp serial number 3465, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 2, 210.

second ‘Vivi tu’ arranged by her father Henry Horn.⁴⁵³ Her father’s affiliation with Bochsa in London may have influenced her selection of Bochsa works in the concert performances. In 1855, a Mrs Mitchell combined the local talent of Adelaide for ‘the purpose [of] giving a GRAND CONCERT, at Neales’s Exchange, King William-street, on Wednesday Evening’.⁴⁵⁴ As an invited guest artist, Horn opted to perform two Bochsa compositions during the evening. The first work entitled ‘Forse un Destin’ was a trio for harp, piano and flute, with the pianist Carl Linger, and the violinist William Chapman – this Chapman not to be confused with the Melbourne entertainer George Chapman.⁴⁵⁵ This was followed by Bochsa’s harp and piano duet arrangement of Donizetti’s ‘Cavatina’ from *Torquato Tasso*. This work had earlier been played by Prout.

Horn’s performance on 21 July 1856, held in the East Torrens Institute, was ‘enthusiastically encored’ by an admiring audience.⁴⁵⁶ Her harp skills and understanding of the Erard harp’s capabilities, derived from her father’s instruction, had made a remarkable impression upon the Adelaide colonial residents. Three years passed without a concert appearance by Horn, and apparently during this time her harp was in need of repair. This was indicated following her concert performance in June 1859, where the review laboured on the harp’s condition by ‘we wish we could speak in warmer terms of the performance on the harp. The instrument was not precisely in tune, and one if not two strings snapped in the playing’. The review continued that ‘Miss Horn laboured under disadvantages which even Bochsa himself might not have succeeded in surmounting’.⁴⁵⁷ Here the reader was reminded of Bochsa’s short-lived time in Australia, with his name and reputation so well known among the music community.

⁴⁵³ *South Australian Register* (29 December 1854) (Trove 49198406), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/49198406> (accessed 17/06/2011). Henry Horn was born in Paris in 1789, the same year as Bochsa. Horn wrote harp music which he had published for both single and double action harps. He purchased a number of Erard harps, for students use, in addition to his personal use. These harps were numbered, 780, 1511, 3241, 3465, 4141, 4652, 4763, 4917 and 5170. See Appendix C.

⁴⁵⁴ *South Australian Register* (7 February 1855) (Trove 49302183), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/49302183> (accessed 17/06/2011).

⁴⁵⁵ Carl Linger (1810-1862), was a music teacher, pianist, conductor and composer. ‘Linger was active in most of the musical and choral societies, often presiding or performing at the concerts’. John Horner, ‘Linger, Carl Ferdinand August (1810-1862)’, in *The Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/linger-carl-ferdinand-august-4024/text6387> (accessed 15/04/2013).

⁴⁵⁶ *South Australian Register* (21 July 1856) (Trove 49755487), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/49755487> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁴⁵⁷ *South Australian Register* (16 June 1859) (Trove 49902628), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/49902628> (accessed 17/06/2011).

Returning to 1854, shortly after Horn had commenced performing in August 1854, another harpist Miss Hall (dates unknown), was preparing to play Bochsa's music to Adelaide audiences in her upcoming concert in October. The Adelaide Choral Society, formed in November 1842 – 'within six years of settlement', as Elizabeth Silsbury notes – arranged a concert at the Freemasons Tavern in Pirie Street on 26 October 1854.⁴⁵⁸ This concert featured Hall and Linger in a performance of Bochsa's 'Duo, for Harp and Piano'.⁴⁵⁹ On this occasion, Hall and Linger played a second duet by Donizetti. The concert review stated that:

the Societies quarterly concert, on Friday evening, at the Freemasons Tavern, was well attended notwithstanding the extreme heat of the atmosphere ... The several pieces included in the programme were performed with more than usual accuracy ... the duo, harp and piano, by Miss Hall and Mr Linger, captivated the audience.⁴⁶⁰

Hall's harp must have fared well on such a hot day as no comments were forthcoming about poor intonation; quite the opposite in fact, with the review highlighting the 'accuracy' in the performance. Hall had purchased an Erard double action harp (serial number 3084) in 1821 (see Figure 6.5). This concert performance, occurring two years prior to Bochsa's arrival in Australia, had added to Bochsa's preceded reputation by providing an opportunity to hear a Bochsa composition, performed on an Erard harp.

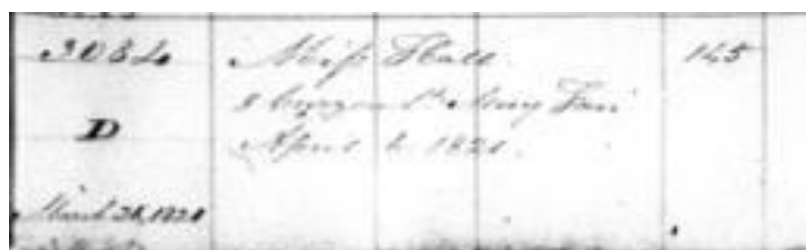


Figure 6.5. Erard *Harp Stock Book* entry for harp (serial number 3084).⁴⁶¹

At the same time as Hall's concert, an Erard double action harp was advertised for sale at Mr G.T. Light's music store in Rundle Street.⁴⁶² Her concert may have provided the publicity needed to elicit a successful sale. No evidence is extant of further concerts by

⁴⁵⁸ Elizabeth Silsbury, 'Secular Choral Music in South Australia 1836-1986' in *From Colonel Light into the Footlights* ed. Andrew McCredie, 208.

⁴⁵⁹ *South Australian Register* (25 October 1854) (Trove 49203815), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/49203815> (accessed 17/06/2011). Linger had also accompanied Miss Annette Horn.

⁴⁶⁰ *South Australian Register* (30 October 1854) (Trove 49201686), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/49201686> (accessed 17/06/2011).

⁴⁶¹ Harp serial number 3084, *The Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 2, 171.

Hall.⁴⁶³

In 1855 in Hobart a Mrs Emma Waller (dates unknown), sang ‘Strike the harp gently’ to her own harp accompaniment. Her harp was an Erard, which she had acquired in a most extraordinary way. According to Vivienne Rae Ellis, Waller had been given an Erard harp after a series of concert performance in Hobart during 1856. Ellis retells the story of the final night concert as follows:

The last night of the Wallers’ engagement culminated in an amusing scene on stage. Mrs Waller’s many admirers in Hobart had subscribed £100 to present her with a token of their admiration and this was expected to take the form of a bracelet, a brooch or a similar valuable ornament ... But it was not to be ... selected no less a gift than a harp. Mrs Waller was left centre-stage with the instrument, faced with the ever-recurring problem of its transport.⁴⁶⁴

Waller politely accepted the gift and then had the problem of transporting the harp on the rest of her concert tour. Ellis spoke of finding ‘some far-distant spot, [where] she could rid herself of the gift bestowed by her Hobart Town admirers’. She appears not to have followed through with the threat because on her return to Sydney Waller’s upcoming concert advertisement announced that she ‘will accompany herself on the PIANOFORTE, GUITAR and on the HARP presented to her in Hobart Town’.⁴⁶⁵ The concert was held in the Royal Victoria Theatre during September 1855. The following month Mr Torning arranged a Grand Complimentary Benefit concert, which featured both Mr and Mrs Waller. The Wallers, planning to continue their tour of Australia, announced this concert as ‘being positively their last appearance, as they proceed to Melbourne on Wednesday’. In this concert, where ‘the whole of the Company, Orchestra, Artisans, and parties directly or indirectly connected with the Theatre, have volunteered their gratuitous services’, Waller sang ‘Meet me by Moonlight’ to her own

⁴⁶² *South Australian Register* (25 October 1854) (Trove 49203815), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/49203815> (accessed 17/06/2011). At this time the same newspaper noted an Erard harp sale (see Chapter Three).

⁴⁶³ While not affiliated with either Erard or Bochs, a one-off advertisement referred to a family of harpists performing in Adelaide during this same period. On 1 September 1854 the *South Australian Register* described a harp music making activity, which was provided by the Vorherr family. They advertised ‘that their FIFTH GRAND HARP CONCERT will take place at the Blenheim Hotel, This Evening, (Friday), September 1st’. *South Australian Register* (1 September 1854) (Trove 49199925), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/49199925> (accessed 17/06/2011).

⁴⁶⁴ Vivienne Rae Ellis, *Louisa Anne Meredith: A Tigress in Exile* (Sandy Bay: Blubber Head Press, 1979), 96.

⁴⁶⁵ *Empire* (28 September 1855) (Trove 60166993), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60166993> (accessed 23/06/2011).

harp accompaniment.⁴⁶⁶ Again she reminded her audience of the Erard harp that had been presented to her in Hobart.

This section has presented the harpists who included Bochsas repertoire in their performances, and acknowledged the performers who owned and used Erard harps. The next section introduces a performance change in direction, which was necessary to accommodate the resident's social expectations.

6.5 Harp in light entertainments

As has been shown, an Erard harp offered the harpist a playing range equal, if not greater than the piano of the day.⁴⁶⁷ With this attribution, harp music-making could provide entertainment not only for classical performances, but also in more vernacular, commercial situations. The Erard pedal harp arrived in the concert theatre at a time when itinerant musicians with smaller travelling harps were commencing outdoor playing activities for audiences scattered across the Australian continent. This flush of opportunities came on the back of the gold rush period in Australia, as documented by Seweryn Korzelinski in his account, *Memoirs in Gold-digging in Australia*.⁴⁶⁸ Harpists quickly identified the opportunities this presented, and tailored a repertoire to suit the changed tastes of this new market.

In June 1853, George Chapman drew attention to the new, more commercially based opportunities by advertising himself as 'musician can attend private or public quadrille parties, with violin, harp, flageolet, or corneopean'.⁴⁶⁹ Quadrille was a contemporary dance form, which was similar to square dancing, and socially enjoyed as a form of entertainment.⁴⁷⁰ Following Chapman's lead, several harpists offered their services to quadrille bands – as a means of supplementing their income. One of those was Edward King, who in his tuition advertisement mentioned earlier made mention of his ability to provide just such a band:

⁴⁶⁶ *Empire* (22 October 1855) (Trove 60165263), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60166993> (accessed 23/06/2011).

⁴⁶⁷ Bochsas stated this comparison in his biographical notes. Robert Nicolas Charles Bochsas. *Biography of Madame Anna Bishop: Also a Sketch of Bochsas's Life*. (Sydney: Paisley and Fryer, 1856).

⁴⁶⁸ Seweryn Korzelinski, *Memoirs of Gold-digging in Australia*, trans. Stanley Robe (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1979).

⁴⁶⁹ *Argus* (18 June 1853) (Trove 4793615), 12, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4793615> (accessed 11/06/2012).

⁴⁷⁰ This style of performance became very popular, which led people to frequently perform quadrille dancing. A dictionary definition described quadrille as a square dance of five or more figures for four or more couples and a piece of music for such a dance, alternating between simple duple and compound duple time. <http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/quadrille> (accessed 12/05/2013).

Mr. E. King, Professor of Music, (Leader and Soloist of all the Bristol concerts) ... intends giving lessons on the Violin, Harp, Guitar and Pianoforte. Instruments of all kinds for sale or hire. Quadrille bands provided. Apply 3 Little Latrobe-street.⁴⁷¹

His brother also got in on the act: 'Mr. King ... is open to engagements, and provides Bands for Quadrille Parties ... Address, 12 Fowles Building, Emerald Hill.'⁴⁷²

In making private arrangements many musicians came to act also as booking agents. To stay ahead of the competition, Chapman, having previously offered music for quadrilles, now expanded his advertising to provide musicians for concerts, balls, and dinners. Accommodating his clients' wishes, Chapman placed an employed advertisement in which he listed his specific requirements: 'Wanted: two musicians, one to play the violin or piccolo, the other the harp. A lady preferred for the harp'.⁴⁷³ The stipulation to engage a female harpist for this style of work was perhaps, as it is today, for appearance purposes, and may have related to the circumstances of the engagement. This commercialism continued to develop, and is revisited in Chapter Nine, when examining the next generation of visiting harpists.

A Melbourne harpist who was active at this time was John Young, who was advertised as performing 'a grand selection of Vocal and Instrumental Music ... every evening in the New Splendid Music Hall'.⁴⁷⁴ Young also performed at Mr Toogood's Rainbow Tavern, in Sydney, with a violinist Mr Clifford.⁴⁷⁵ Their advertisement noted the performance as an opportunity to 'hear those unrivalled musicians'.⁴⁷⁶ Young was an itinerant musician, travelling between Melbourne and Sydney, and was capable of playing varying performance styles.⁴⁷⁷ Another harpist mentioned in Melbourne during this period was a Mr Edwards, who performed as a solo harpist at Herr Streblinger's

⁴⁷¹ *Argus* (6 May 1854) (Trove 4807102), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4807102> (accessed 11/06/2012).

⁴⁷² *Argus* (6 June 1854) (Trove article 4808957), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4808957> (accessed 14/06/2012).

⁴⁷³ *Argus* (28 December 1854) (Trove 4802358), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4802358> (accessed 14/06/2012).

⁴⁷⁴ *Argus* (27 March 1856) (Trove 4834025), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4834025> (accessed 14/06/2012).

⁴⁷⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (9 July 1856) (Trove 12984620), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12984620> (accessed 15/06/2012).

⁴⁷⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (9 July 1856) Advertising, article 12984620, 1.

⁴⁷⁷ According to Skinner, Young had his harp damaged when he declined to play a requested tune to a passing man, Dwyer. Repairs were to cost at least £5. Graeme Skinner, 'Austral Harmony, U-Z', <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 2/04/2013).

concert in the Mechanic's Institute.⁴⁷⁸ Neither work nor composer was mentioned, although a review on 8 July 1855 noted 'a solo on the harp by Mr. Edwards was deservedly well received'.⁴⁷⁹

6.6 Summary

This chapter has confirmed the spread of the Erard harp and Bochsa partnership in Australia by documenting evidence of harp performances, both concert and commercial. Sixteen harpists were identified, with the majority tracing connections to Bochsa, with an equal number of Erard harps used in these performances. The female harpist dominated the more genteel concert performance area, while the male harpist was mainly used in light entertainments. Evolution of the harp concert performance commenced with the first amateur harpist playing a 'concerto' in 1830. Next, the harp was used in an accompanying role for singers, and then introduced as a solo instrument. Finally, the harp was joined by other select instruments in ensemble playing. Light performances were introduced to provide entertainment for the broader spectrum of clientele that grew as the colonies prospered.

Chapter Six has detailed Bochsa works by name, instrumentations and the players involved in the performances. A complete list of the Bochsa compositions performed in Australia within the twenty-five year period is documented in Appendix B. As a prolific writer and arranger, Bochsa had composed works for both solo performances and varied ensemble groups. The previous chapters (Three, Four, Five and now Six) have set the scene; first, with the Erard harp arrival in Australia, then by introducing the harp teachers, music accessories, and last by examining the Bochsa and Erard harp partnership in harp performing activities. The next section examines the implications of Bochsa's actual arrival in colonial Australia. The anticipation prior to his arrival, evoked by advertising and by word of mouth, attests to the vitality of his reputation. Recognition of his abilities was trumpeted further by settlers who were privileged to have heard his concerts in London or during his world-wide tours. Harp students and harp music enthusiasts believed that the finest harpist of the nineteenth century was soon to land on Australian shores, and as such they waited with great

⁴⁷⁸ *Argus* (6 July 1853) (Trove 4794175), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4794175> (accessed 15/06/2012).

⁴⁷⁹ *Argus* (8 July 1855) (Trove 4794255), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4794255> (accessed 15/06/2012).

anticipation. Chapter Seven reunites Bochsá with past students and colleagues, those disciples who were loyal to their mentor and friend, and who stood ready to help with his concert arrangements when his health failed.

Chapter Seven: Bochsa's arrival in Australia: 1855

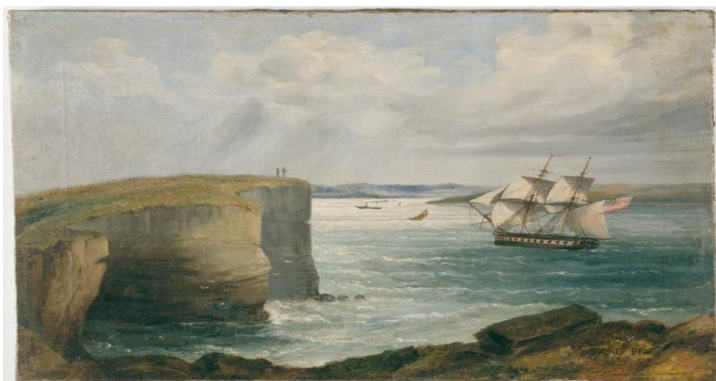


Figure 7.1 Sydney arrival, from the Collection of the State Library of N.S.W.⁴⁸⁰

The performance culture that had coalesced around Bochsa and his Erard harp had travelled the world and now arrived on the Australian shores. Bochsa's disciples had already, through their teaching and concertising activities, made a significant impact on the musical lives of the settlers. This chapter explores the impact of Bochsa's physical presence in Australia, which created the ongoing legacy that linked him inextricably with the Erard harp, up to and beyond his death in 1856.

The chapter examines the four concert performances presented by Bochsa and his partner Anna Bishop in Sydney during December 1855 and January 1856. Positive reviews of the performances attest to widespread audience appreciation and the support of local musicians. Publishers and music-sellers gained financially by sales of Bochsa's music, which included the many new compositions written expressly for the Australian concerts. With such an eminent harp figure in Australia there appeared a noticeable lack of other harp activities at this time. His musical standing is confirmed by the documentation of his funeral proceedings and the effusive nature of newspaper obituary notices.

⁴⁸⁰ Source: Picture of the Sydney Heads showing sailing ship with American flag entering Sydney Harbour inside the Heads c1850, unsigned and undated, [a128552 / ML 257] (Mitchell Library). <http://www.dictionaryofsydney.org/image/80916> (accessed 22/04/2014).

7.1 Bochsa in Australia

In October 1854, Bochsa's forthcoming visit was advertised broadly. The *Cornwall Chronicle* conveyed the news that 'MADAME ANNA BISHOP, and M. Bochsa (harpist) are expected to visit Sydney'.⁴⁸¹ On Thursday 19 July 1855, there was news that the Chevalier Bochsa had arrived in Australia.⁴⁸² As Bochsa was not expected to arrive until later in the year, the news created confusion among the theatre organisers and businesses that stood to benefit financially from visiting touring artists. The announcement proved incorrect:

A SINGULAR MISTAKE – A rumour was industriously bruited about, on Thursday night, that Madame Anna Bishop and Bochsa the harpist had arrived by a vessel from San Francisco. The acting managers of our rival theatres were on the *qui vive* [the quay], and galloping about in cabs, at reckless speed, to discover the hostelry to which the musical lions had adjourned. Enormous sums were talked of as about to be offered in the expected outbidding; and milliners and tailors blandly congratulated themselves on the prospect of full-dress nights at both houses, as Miss Catherine Hayes will arrive in a few days, and would surely take whichever theatre was left open. However, the next morning proved the whole to have been concocted by some wag or fool; and the unfortunate stage managers are left in a state of pitiful enervation consequent on the false excitement.⁴⁸³

While the rumour created confusion, its knock-on effect was to provide yet more publicity for the impending tour.

Due to the heady anticipation of Bochsa's arrival, advertising for it had naturally begun some time earlier. Bochsa's forthcoming tour was frequently advertised at other concerts during 1854. During Catherine Hayes' performances in Sydney, for example, the audiences were made aware of the Bochsa/Bishop touring group's future arrival plans.⁴⁸⁴ The advertisement proclaimed that 'lady [Catherine Hayes] will be succeeded

⁴⁸¹ *Cornwall Chronicle* (25 Oct 1854) (Trove 65714720), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/65714720> (accessed 10/01/2011).

⁴⁸² Chevalier was often used to describe Bochsa in advertising. Chevalier is defined as the lowest title of rank in the old nobility <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/chevalier> (accessed 26/11/2013).

⁴⁸³ *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer* (21 July 1855) (Trove 59760524), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/59760524> (accessed 10/01/2011).

⁴⁸⁴ Catherine Hayes (1818?-1861), was a soprano. Hayes arrived in Sydney in September 1854. In 1856 she returned to London. Graeme Skinner, 'Austral Harmony, H-J' <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 12/06/13). Dennis Shoemith, 'Hayes, Catherine (?-1861)', in *The Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hayes-catherine-3736> (accessed 7/02/2014).

here, as we are informed, by Madame Anna Bishop who with Mr Bochsa, is at present starring at San Francisco'.⁴⁸⁵ Details for the Bochsa/Bishop tour spread as far south as Tasmania.⁴⁸⁶ In Sydney the concerts were heralded as:

We perceive by the San Francisco journals that Madame Anna Bishop and M. Bochsa have been starring at that city; and we are informed that they propose to visit Sydney. Change and variety, therefore, as regards both operatic and dramatic performances, are promised to the admirers of either department of amusement.⁴⁸⁷

News spread quickly throughout colonial settlements about prospective visits by touring groups from overseas, with information for forthcoming concerts from abroad, such as the Bochsa/Bishop touring group, established in two ways. Firstly, musicians and actors arriving in Australia were able to inform the local residents which performances were touring and who could be expected in the future, thus word of mouth was the first method of communication. Second, journals and contemporary American or European newspaper articles noted performance reviews, which in some cases discussed the future plans for touring groups. Either way, these concerts when presented in Australia connected the colonies, and their music-making activities in particular, to the outside world.

Bochsa's visit to Australia was important. His reputation, as a great harpist and a significant contributor to harp music-making in Europe and America, had developed over several decades. Bochsa was acknowledged as an exponent for Erard harps, and his performances were unique, with compositions and arrangements designed specifically for Bishop. His concert programs presented Bishop in character roles, thus highlighting her virtuosity. In Australia, Bochsa intended to include harp solos to show his prowess on the Erard harp.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁵ *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser* (14 October 1854) (Trove 694704), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/694704> (accessed 10/01/2011).

⁴⁸⁶ *Cornwall Chronicle* (25 October 1854) (Trove 65714720), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/65714720> (accessed 10/01/2011).

⁴⁸⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald* (13 October 1854) (Trove 12957513), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12957513> (accessed 10/01/2011).

⁴⁸⁸ As mentioned earlier, presumably this was the Erard Gothic harp number 5200, which was presented to Bochsa in 1838, prior to his worldwide touring (see Table 2.1).

On 3 December 1855 the Bochsa touring group arrived in Sydney. The advertisement noted that their arrival was ‘great musical news’.⁴⁸⁹ In Melbourne, the *Argus* likewise celebrated their anticipated arrival:

The *Kit Carson* is a beautiful American clipper ... making the passage in sixty days. Amongst the passengers are some celebrated artistes, namely, Madame Anna Bishop, Monsieur Le Chevalier C.N. Bochsa ... we therefore anticipate a rich treat at one of our theatres.⁴⁹⁰

As most touring groups visited the major settlement regions, it was natural that Melbourne be included next in their touring itinerary. The complete passenger list for the *Kit Carson*, which had departed San Francisco on 2 October, 1855 was headed ‘Sydney shipping’ and included ‘Madame Anna Bishop, Miss M. Phelan, Mr and Mrs Berry, Messrs. C.B. Bochsa, B. Rees, Schultz, Jeffrey, Riley (2), Bertreach, Smith, Brown, and 9 Chinamen’.⁴⁹¹ With the arrival in Australia of the Bochsa/Bishop touring group, disappointment as to the departure from Melbourne of Catherine Hayes was softened as follows: ‘we have less to regret in connection with the departure of Miss Hayes than we could have imagined a few weeks ago’.⁴⁹² Bochsa and Bishop had arrived in Australia and were preparing for their first concert performance.

The earlier hoax announcement of Bochsa’s arrival had shed light on the considerable rivalry which existed between theatre managers. That rivalry is scarcely surprising given the financial gains that stood to be made by the theatre that housed this (and indeed any) successful touring group. Andrew Torning, who promoted the Bochsa performances, lost no time in reminding friends and rivals of his coup:

[Torning] respectfully intimates to his friends and the public that he has succeeded in engaging the world-renowned prima donna MADAME ANNA BISHOP; and CHEVALIER BOCHSA, the great Composer, Harpist and Pianist.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (5 December 1855) (Trove 12978656), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12978656> (accessed 10/01/2011). This newspaper advertisement is found in the current study introduction.

⁴⁹⁰ *Argus* (8 December 1855) (Trove 4825206), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4825206> (accessed 10/01/2011).

⁴⁹¹ *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser* (8 December 1855) (Trove 709663), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/709663> (accessed 10/01/2011).

⁴⁹² *Argus* (10 December 1855) (Trove 4825386), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4825386> (accessed 10/01/2011). The exact same advertisement appeared in the *Bendigo Advertiser* a few days later, illustrating the importance of social entertainment in the outlying country towns, (13 December 1855) (Trove 88048248), 3.

⁴⁹³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (6 December 1855) (Trove 12975646), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12975646> (accessed 10/01/2011).

After considerable negotiation with Bochsa, Torning organised for the concerts to be held at The Royal Victoria Theatre.⁴⁹⁴ Richard Davis has suggested that Torning was in financial difficulty, as ‘several artists he had brought to Australia at great expense had flopped’, thus he needed to obtain a contract with Bochsa to reverse his fortunes.⁴⁹⁵ Upon securing Bochsa and Bishop, Torning placed many advertisements for the forthcoming concerts, with each one providing more detail than the last. Reinforcing the importance for these key figures, Torning included further tantalising detail:

ANNA BISHOP, who will appear shortly in her far-famed Concerts, Lyric Scenes, and Operas; also, her Director, the CHEVALIER BOCHSA, the great COMPOSER, HARPIST, and PIANIST, ex Manager of her Majesty Queen Victoria’s Italian Opera House, London.⁴⁹⁶

There was, however, one situation Torning had not prepared for, and that was Bochsa’s ill-health. Since arriving in Australia, Bochsa’s health had been steadily declining, and this eventually saw their first concert postponed. Informing the public of this situation, Torning placed a small notice in the *Sydney Morning Herald* as:

NOTICE – A. TORNING begs to inform his friends and the public that, in consequence of the indisposition of Chevalier Bochsa, Madame Anna Bishop’s Grand Concert is postponed until THURSDAY EVENING, the 20th instant.⁴⁹⁷

The size of the advertisement, by comparison with all his previous announcements, indicated Torning’s embarrassment in having to reschedule the first performance, especially at such short notice. Writing a considerably longer advertisement two days before the first concert, Torning included ‘PRIMA DONNA MADAME ANNA BISHOP, who will positively, on THURSDAY EVENING next ... make her first appearance in Australia’.⁴⁹⁸ Attempting to gain his audience’s interest, almost by way of an apology, he continued by noting that:

The great harpist Bochsa, who will on THURSDAY, the 20th, will direct and conduct ANNA BISHOP’S unrivalled performance, has kindly consented to

⁴⁹⁴ Torning’s negotiations included ticket pricing, choice of venue and contract fees to engage Bochsa and Madame Anna Bishop.

⁴⁹⁵ Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop*, 180.

⁴⁹⁶ *Empire* (10 December 1855) (Trove 60170891), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12978656> (accessed 10/01/2011). Further advertisements were in the *Empire* (11 December 1855) (Trove 60170939), 1, and in the second edition for the day *Empire* (11 December 1855) (Trove 60170972), 1.

⁴⁹⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald* (15 December 1855) (Trove 28638137), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/28638137> (accessed 10/01/2011).

⁴⁹⁸ *Empire* (18 December 1855) (Trove 60171232), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60171232> (accessed 10/01/2011).

accompany ON THE HARP, the gifted songstress in Moore's beautiful Irish Ballad – THE HARP THAT ONCE THROUGH TARA'S HALLS.⁴⁹⁹

This was the first advertisement in Australia suggesting that Bochsa would perform with his harp. According to Davis, Bochsa, on 20 December 1855, ordered his harp to be 'brought up from the hotel basement, where it had stood in its crate since being unloaded from the *Kit Carson*'.⁵⁰⁰ As Marsh was present, he helped to un-pack and tune the harp, but unfortunately Bochsa had difficulty playing his harp due to swelling in his hands and fingers. His Erard harp was returned to the basement, as he elected to play the piano to accompany Anna's singing. This significant event not only showed how quickly Bochsa's health had declined, but also that he would not relinquish his position as performer. Perhaps he believed that no-one else was capable to fill his place as harpist for his concert performances, even though the current study has shown that Marsh was available and capable. There was no indication that any harpist performed in Australia during the time Bochsa was present in Sydney.⁵⁰¹ This performance, however, was again postponed.

As Bochsa's health worsened, and with continual postponements, contemporary newspapers advertised their uncertainty as to whether Bishop would sing in Sydney.⁵⁰² In addition, ticket prices were high, with only the press receiving free access, making attendance at his concerts an expensive undertaking. Torning, attempting to increase audience attendance further, included in his next advertisement that 'the eminent musician BOCHSA will direct and conduct the Grand Orchestra, and preside at the Pianoforte'.⁵⁰³ With rehearsals all meeting Bochsa's acceptable standards, the day of the concert was imminent:

PRINCE OF WALES THEATRE – TOMORROW EVENING, Saturday, December 22nd – Madame ANNA BISHOP'S FIRST GRAND CONCERT. Full rehearsals have taken place, with which the Prima Donna and her Maestro are perfectly satisfied.⁵⁰⁴

⁴⁹⁹ *Empire* (18 December 1855) (Trove 60171232), 1.

⁵⁰⁰ Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop*, 183.

⁵⁰¹ Research for the period December 1855 to January 1856 revealed that no harpist had performed during this time in Australia.

⁵⁰² *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser* (22 December 1855) (Trove 710148), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/710148> (accessed 12/01/2011).

⁵⁰³ *Empire* (21 December 1855) (Trove 60171334), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60171334> (accessed 12/01/2011).

⁵⁰⁴ *Empire* (21 December 1855) (Trove 60171334), 1.

The final concert advertisement on the day of the concert again trumpeted Bochsa's Courtly credentials and his musical standing:

the Director and Manager of Madame Anna Bishop, Composer and First Harpist of her Majesty Queen Victoria, Life Governor of the Royal Musical Academy of England, ex director of her Majesty's Italian Opera House, and of the San Carlo, at Naples, will direct and conduct the complete Grand Orchestra and preside at the Pianoforte.⁵⁰⁵

The long awaited first concert appearance by Bochsa took place at the Prince of Wales Theatre on 22 December 1855. Excellent reviews greeted the varied program, which in keeping with the concert performance repertoires, included ballads and dramatic operatic scenes. With the multiple postponements forgotten, the audience enjoyed Bochsa's first Australian concert performance. The change in venue for this much anticipated performance is of interest. As mentioned earlier, Torning had initially booked the Royal Victoria Theatre and yet, as is shown above the performance was given at the Prince of Wales Theatre. The *Maitland Mercury* reported that on the morning of the concert the theatre organisers were confused when they discovered that:

arrangements were made for the appearance of Madame Anna Bishop and Mr. Bochsa, at the Prince of Wales Theatre this evening; but Mr Torning's company refused to play at any other place than the Victoria.⁵⁰⁶

Apparently the situation was caused by half of the orchestra, protesting against Torning's managerial decisions, refusing to play anywhere else other than the Royal Victoria Theatre. As suggested by Davis, Bochsa solved the situation by siding with the company, thus ensuring that the musicians followed suit.⁵⁰⁷

For Bochsa, the Australian performances provided an arena for him to present his capabilities, as director, pianist, composer and arranger. As mentioned earlier, Bochsa had decided that, such was his medical condition, he was unable to play his beloved Erard harp. This was, however, no obstacle to him demonstrating his

⁵⁰⁵ *Empire* (22 December 1855) (Trove 60171384), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60171384> (accessed 12/01/2011). Most newspapers carried this advertisement, including the *Maitland Mercury* and *Hunter River General Advertiser* (22 December 1855) (Trove 710148), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/710148> (accessed 12/01/2011). *Empire* (21 December 1855) (Trove 60171334), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60171334> (accessed 12/01/2011). and the *Empire* (22 December 1855) (Trove 601713844), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/601713844> (accessed 12/01/2011).

⁵⁰⁶ *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser* (22 December 1855) (Trove 710148), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/710148> (accessed 12/01/2011).

⁵⁰⁷ Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop*, 182.

considerable musical prowess in other ways. During the sixteen years that Bochsa had toured, he had written and arranged repertoire for each concert as required. He had directed and created varying roles for Bishop to sing, and thus produced a new entertainment style enjoyed by audiences world-wide. Now in Australia, Bochsa presented Bishop in her character roles, which had captured the adoration of overseas audiences, to the local Sydney residents. He engaged the Prince of Wales's orchestra and chorus for these dramatic performances, which were led by the violinist John Gibbs and featured the talent available in Sydney.⁵⁰⁸ The final advertisement on the day of the concert provided the details of what the audience were to expect from this 'world-renowned artist'. In her first appearance in Australia, notices proclaimed that Bishop the 'far-famed Lyric entertainer, will sing some of her most favourite songs and ballads, and perform in dramatic costume ... from Bellini's tragic opera *Norma*'. The advertisement went on to describe the second half as:

a characteristic fantasia on Mexican melodies for the orchestra, arranged by Bochsa, and introducing the humorous and quaint Caprice, LA PASADITA (the promenade), sung in Castilian by Madame Anna Bishop, in costume of a Mexican girl.⁵⁰⁹

Bochsa's performances were certainly designed to entertain on an elaborate scale. On the following Monday morning, 24 December 1855, two performance reviews were offered in the local newspapers. The first in the *Sydney Morning Herald* was concise. Entitled, PRINCE OF WALES THEATRE, the reviewer noted that: 'M. Bochsa presided. The whole of the vocal selection were rendered by Madame Anna Bishop, who was very successful'.⁵¹⁰ Considering the intensity of advertising prior to Bochsa's arrival, it is possible that this rather circumspect, to the point of curt, review was a measure of the reviewer's disappointment, or perhaps disinterest. It contrasts markedly with the following from the *Empire*:

This accomplished vocalist made her *debut* at the Prince of Wales Theatre ... before a numerous and fashionable audience, the orchestral accompaniments

⁵⁰⁸ *Empire* (22 December 1855) Advertising, article 60171384, 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60171384> (accessed 12/01/2011).

⁵⁰⁹ *Empire* (22 December 1855) Advertising, article 60171384, 1.

⁵¹⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (24 December 1855) (Trove 12973952), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12973952> (accessed 12/01/2011).

being under the direction of the musical veteran M. the Chevalier Bochsá, who has accompanied the fair songstress on her professional travels.⁵¹¹

The article continued with a discussion on the recent misunderstandings between the management and the members of the orchestra, with the result being that ‘the whole weight of the entertainment was thrown upon the *debutante*, whose exertions were consequently rather severely taxed’.⁵¹² Bishop herself garnered favourable notice:

judging from the enthusiasm with which they were respectively received by the audience, who manifested their extreme delight at the close of each by the waving of hats and handkerchiefs and the throwing of bouquets, compliments which were acknowledged most gracefully ... The entertainment was entirely successful, and the next appearance of Madame Bishop will be looked forward to with the liveliest interest.⁵¹³

The success of this first concert performance saw Bochsá plunge immediately into preparation for the next. The second concert was identical to the first, save for the addition of the Bochsá arrangement of the national hymn, *God Save The Queen*. The popularity of this arrangement had seen it performed previously on numerous occasions in Australia by many of Bochsá’s disciples.

The third concert introduced a completely new program, which included a Bochsá arrangement of the melodramatic opera *Linda di Chamounix* by Donizetti, and concluding with a Bochsá composition, the ‘Visit of the Mexican boy to Madrid’ – which he had composed while on tour. As Bochsá’s health took a turn for the worse, a notice divulged that ‘on account of the present indisposition of M. Bochsá, Mr Stephen Marsh has been kind enough to direct the complete grand orchestra’. Bochsá, however, managed to accompany Bishop’s performance, on the piano. The review, in acknowledging that the concert ‘embraced an entirely new programme’, described Bishop’s portrayal of Linda, in French court costume of 1760, and her performance of Bochsá’s ‘La Carumba’ as ‘we shall not trust ourselves to speak, or we shall overload the astonished “devil” who stands at our elbow and asks for more’.⁵¹⁴ The concert was obviously received well.

⁵¹¹ *Empire* (24 December 1855) (Trove 60171471), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60171471> (accessed 12/01/2011).

⁵¹² *Empire* (24 December 1855) (Trove 60171471), 4.

⁵¹³ *Empire* (24 December 1855) (Trove 60171471), 4.

⁵¹⁴ *Bell’s Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer* (29 December 1855) (Trove 59761288), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/59761288> (accessed 13/01/2011).

Nevertheless, with high ticket prices attendance numbers were poor. To improve this situation for the fourth concert, Torning suggested lowering the ticket price, which he dressed up as follows:

the spirit of the age, and depression of the times, has succeeded in prevailing on Madame Anna Bishop to REDUCE THE PRICES OF ADMISSION as follows – Dress Circle and Parquetrie, 7s 6d: Upper Boxes, 4s; Pit, 2s and Gallery, 1s.⁵¹⁵

As this substantial reduction amounted to a third less than previous prices, the concert was better attended.

The fourth concert included an entirely new work composed by Bochsa, *New Whimsical Overture* for full orchestra. Bochsa's health must have improved as advertising on the day of the concert announced that he would direct and conduct the orchestra, with Marsh accompanying the Ballads on the piano. A new overture carrying the title 'The Past and the Present' was described as 'blending together classical strains of great composers, and sketches from the present popular melodies'. The second part again presented Bishop in dramatic roles, bedecked in 'gorgeous' costumes.⁵¹⁶

At the time, Bochsa's reputation saw Melbourne newspapers salivating at the prospect of him touring there, with the *Argus* of 10 December reporting:

THEATRICAL ON DITS – Madame Anna Bishop with M. Bochsa, having arrived at Sydney, and being ultimately bound for this colony ... It is gratifying to find that at the antipodes we can command in succession the efforts of the best artistes, both in the historic and the lyrical drama.⁵¹⁷

In light of such anticipation, it was not surprising that reviews of the Sydney concert performances were reprinted in the *Argus*. While praise was given to Torning for the way he had organised the concerts, the musicians fared not so well:

The chorus comprised the whole force of the amalgamated companies, and the orchestra (under the conductorship of the veteran Bochsa) performed very creditably, save when, once or twice (as though suffering from an attack of musical measles), it broke out unexpectedly in wrong places.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁵ *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer* (29 December 1855) (Trove 59761264), 3.

⁵¹⁶ The fourth concert program can be found in Appendix B.

⁵¹⁷ *Argus* (10 December 1855) (Trove 4825386), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/59761288> (accessed 13/01/2011).

⁵¹⁸ *Argus* (31 December 1855) (Trove 4827007), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4827007> (accessed 13/01/2011).

Following Bochsa's arrival in Australia many of his compositions were available for purchase by resident harpists and musicians. This included all the music he had written during his years touring, in addition to many works recently composed for the Australian performances. Bochsa had increased his income through the sales of his music worldwide, and the Australian experience was no exception. Following the Bochsa/Bishop performances, new music became readily available to the local residents after having been rushed to print by the local publishers, an earlier strategy outlined in Chapter Four. Bochsa's 'La Bayadere' (see Figure 7.2) provides a case in point. The song had become Bishop's signature song during her world-wide travels, one which she continued presenting at her future Australian concert performances.⁵¹⁹ It should come as no surprise, then, to note the following advertisement, dated 4 January 1856, from a leading Sydney music house:

NEW SONG, 'LA BAYADERE', composed by Signor BOCHSA and sung by Madame ANNA BISHOP, will be published in the *Harmonicon* of SATURDAY, next, at the Office. W. J. JOHNSON and CO., 67, Pitt-street.⁵²⁰

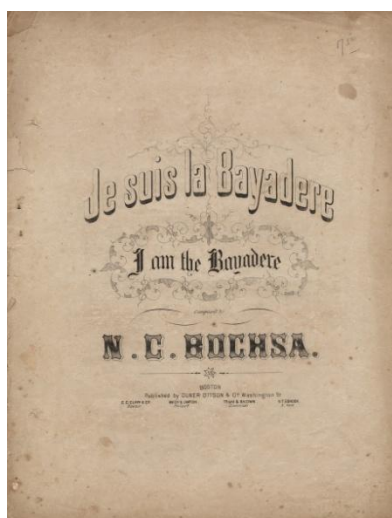


Figure 7.2. Title page of 'Je Suis La Bayadere'.⁵²¹

When Bochsa and Bishop first arrived in Sydney, they were reunited with three friends who were already resident in Australia. Two of them, Stephen Marsh and

⁵¹⁹ This work was presented on numerous occasions during Bishop's ongoing tour in Australia. Bishop remained in Australia for a further two years after Bochsa's death, departing on 15 September 1858 for Peru.

⁵²⁰ *Empire* (4 January 1856) (Trove 60171933), 7, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60171933> (accessed 13/01/2011). *Argus* (31 December 1855) (Trove 4827007), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4827007> (accessed 13/01/2011).

⁵²¹ Source: The title page was located in the University of Tennessee Library digital collections. <http://diglib.lib.utk.edu/utsmc/main.php?bid=258> (accessed 5/06/2014).

Charles Packer, were both former pupils of Bochsa. Marsh, as mentioned earlier, was a Bochsa protégé and Packer, who had purchased an Erard harp (serial number 3729) in 1826, was also Bishop's colleague from classes at the Royal Academy of Music in London. The third long-standing friend was Isaac Nathan, who had sung in numerous London concerts during Bishop's youth. Davis describes the way in which:

Bochsa spent many hours reminiscing with these three old friends. Marsh recorded the shock of his first meeting with Bochsa: I never during my life witnessed such a fearful change in any man. Knowing him in the prime of his life, and one of the handsomest men of his day, also one of the best musicians, to behold him arrive here in so infirm a state – swollen to enormous size, I could not help feeling it sad and strange circumstance that so great an artist should have come out to this part of the world to die.⁵²²

Marsh had not seen Bochsa for many years. They had taken different pathways, with Bochsa commencing his concert touring in 1839, and Marsh arriving in Australia in 1842. Bochsa's health had declined rapidly, as the dropsy continued to enlarge his already over-sized physique.⁵²³ He had organised, rehearsed, conducted the grand orchestra, (for three of the four concerts), and accompanied Bishop's performances on the piano. The third concert, however, saw Marsh conducting the performance due to Bochsa's deteriorating condition.

Following the four concerts Bochsa, in discussion with Torning, was planning to produce a staged opera season, which was due to commence on 5 January 1856. These plans had been finalised at Bochsa's bedside with him insisting to be in charge of all music arrangements, and quite determined to conduct the opening night. This opera was *Norma* and surprisingly Bochsa was well enough to attend the first rehearsal. The principal singers with Bishop were Theodosia Guerin and Mrs Gibbs, together with John and Frank Howson.⁵²⁴ As all performers knew the opera the rehearsal went well, but unfortunately Bochsa collapsed and was returned to his bed. Bochsa remained bedridden until his death. The tragic news of Bochsa's passing on 6 January 1856 represented a severe loss for the world-wide music and harp communities. Marsh's

⁵²² Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop*, 181.

⁵²³ Dropsy is an old term for the swelling of soft tissues due to the accumulation of excess water, <http://www.medterms.com/script/main/art.asp?articlekey=13311> (accessed 29/12/2013).

⁵²⁴ Mrs Gibbs, wife of John Gibbs, who was previously mentioned as leader of the orchestra, was a vocalist, dancer and teacher of singing and piano. Graeme Skinner, 'A biographical register of early Australian musicians', (accessed 12/06/13). Mrs Theodosia Guerin, 1815-1904, a soprano vocalist was billed as 'Mrs. Guerin (late Mrs. Stirling)'. Graeme Skinner, 'Austral Harmony, E-G', <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 12/06/13).

thoughts were sad that ‘so great an artist should have come out to this part of the world to die’.⁵²⁵ For Australia, however, the acknowledgement that the finest harpist of the nineteenth century made this journey to Australia, and subsequently had been buried in Sydney, consolidated Bochsa’s contribution to harp music-making in Australia.

7.2 Bochsa’s funeral

Bochsa’s funeral arrangements were organised promptly, with the service held three days later on 9 January 1856. James Curtis, the undertaker, was in charge of all the finer details. Newspaper advertisements provided information related to Bochsa’s life story and outlined the plans for his funeral, with his death making headline news in newspapers across Australia. The obituaries gave insights into his life as a harpist, composer, conductor and pedagogue. The *Sydney Morning Herald* of 9 January 1856 noted that Bochsa was:

the most talented harpist of his, or any former or later day ... In estimating the powers of M. Bochsa, it must be well borne in mind that he was not a mere instrumentalist, but also a great composer.⁵²⁶

On the same day, the *Empire* offered a lengthier biographical sketch. Under the heading ‘Late Chevalier Bochsa’, the obituary noted that:

Bochsa’s talent was eminently practical; all he did was well done, and was of a nature to attract attention: added to this, he was eminently handsome – no small commendation in the *salons* of Paris – elegance in manner, and fascinating in conversation. Anxious to give the harp ... an importance, equal to that of the pianoforte and to make it follow the gigantic steps instrumental music was taking, Bochsa published books of Instructions, studies, adapted to the harp works of the great masters, and was the first to adopt and foster the great improvements the eminent maker S. Erard, was effecting in the mechanism of the harp ... A few more public performances made everybody harp mad and soon Bochsa became *a la mode* ... To give a criticism of the harp performances of the veteran Bochsa would be a task impossible to accomplish satisfactorily. In fact, the violin has his Paganini ... the piano his Liszt ... but the harp has only one Bochsa!⁵²⁷

⁵²⁵ Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop*, 181.

⁵²⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (9 January 1856) (Trove 12981597), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12981597> (accessed 13/01/2011).

⁵²⁷ *Empire* (9 January 1856) (Trove 60172205), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60172205> (accessed 13/01/2011).

Perhaps understandably, the season of *Norma* did not survive Bochsa's passing, with one journal proclaiming that 'owing to the lamented death of the Chevalier Bochsa, and the consequently necessary postponement of *Norma*' the Prince of Wales Theatre was to be closed.⁵²⁸ The financial difficulties that the curtailment of the season doubtless inflicted upon the Prince of Wales Theatre may have hastened its conversion soon after to a 'dancing salon'.

Several papers carried notices of his funeral, including the *Empire*:

THE FRIENDS and the Profession are respectfully invited to attend the Funeral of the deceased CHEVALIER BOCHSA. The procession will move from the Royal Hotel at 9 o'clock precisely, THIS MORNING. A. TORNING.⁵²⁹

And the *Sydney Morning Herald*:

FUNERAL – The Friends of the deceased N.C. BOSCHA, Esq., are respectfully informed that his funeral will move from the Royal Hotel, George-street, THIS (Tuesday) MORNING, at a quarter to 10 o'clock. JAMES CURTIS, undertaker.⁵³⁰

Bochsa's reputation and life time fame as concert harpist, composer, arranger, conductor, teacher, and exponent for Erard's double action harp had placed him at the forefront for harp music-making world-wide. This was echoed by the solemnity of the funeral cortege. The procession left the Royal Hotel in George Street and made its way to the burial site in Camperdown cemetery, now known as Newtown. On 9 January 1856, the *Empire* provided a detailed description of the funeral procession noting that Bochsa's body was conveyed in a hearse carriage drawn by four plumed horses. The distance between the points of departure and destination was a little over two miles and it could have taken up to an hour to reach the cemetery.⁵³¹ Following the hearse carriage were two mourning coaches, then an open vehicle for the members of the Prince of Wales Orchestra. These musicians played appropriate funeral music, including Weber's 'Last Waltz', Handel's 'Dead March from Saul', and a 'Requiem' arranged by Paling. They were followed by fourteen private carriages for many members of the musical

⁵²⁸ *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer* (29 December 1855) (Trove 59761350), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/59761350> (accessed 10/01/2011).

⁵²⁹ *Empire* (8 January 1856) (Trove 60172140), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60172140> (accessed 13/01/2011).

⁵³⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (8 January 1856) (Trove 28638627), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/28638627> (accessed 13/01/2011).

⁵³¹ This information relating to Bochsa's hearse was obtained from an English carriage driver in London during the author's study leave in October 2012.

profession, which included Marsh, Johnson, Paling, Torning, and the Howsons. On arrival at the Camperdown cemetery, a foot procession was formed, which slowly followed the coffin to the sounds of the band again playing the 'Dead March in Saul'.⁵³² The 'Requiem' was sung over the grave.

There had been suggestion that Bochsa wrote a few bars of the requiem on his death bed, which he then handed to his maid just prior to his passing.⁵³³ The *Sydney Morning Herald* described the episode as follows:

His mind was rather wandering at the time, but he gave the score to a female attendant, and told her to take great care of it. However, the scrap of music paper was forgotten till the afternoon before that funeral, when she gave it to Madame Bishop, and, struck with the solemnity and appropriateness of the air, she requested that words might be arranged to it, and sung over his last resting place.⁵³⁴

Apparently, the few bars were adapted by Frank Howson, harmonised in four parts by William Paling and were to be published by private request. The chant words were:

Rest! Great Musician, rest!
Thine earthly term is o'er
And may thy tuneful soul
To choirs seraphic soar!
Tho' hush'd thy mortal tones,
Their echoes yet remain.
For in thine own sad chords
We chaunt thy burial strain.⁵³⁵

Unfortunately, although the chant was supposedly published at Bishop's request, there is no record of its existence today.

7.3 Anna Bishop

Bishop and Bochsa had been inseparable for many years. Their lives together had commenced under a cloud of deceit, with Anna leaving her husband and three children and touring the world with Bochsa. For Bishop, who had achieved her goal of becoming a famous singer, Bochsa's death was a great tragedy. Bochsa had succeeded in

⁵³² *Sydney Morning Herald* (9 January 1856) (Trove 12981597), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12981597> (accessed 13/01/2011).

⁵³³ Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop*, 185. This information was provided in many contemporary newspapers.

⁵³⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (9 January 1856) (Trove 12981597), 4.

⁵³⁵ Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop*, 191. The complete version of the chant was printed in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (9 January 1856) (Trove 12981597), 4.

portraying Bishop as a dramatic opera singer. He had designed programs, composed music and contracted engagements to present her talents for a world-wide audience, but even more, Bochsa had befriended Anna and remained her lover for many years. On 9 January 1856, she placed an advertisement thanking her friends for their support during these difficult days:

Madame ANNA BISHOP avails herself the earliest opportunity to tender her grateful acknowledgements to her musical and other kind friends for the extreme consideration evinced towards herself since the death of her lamented instructor, the Chevalier Bochsa, and to assure them how deeply sensible she is of the respect and regard manifested by such a numerous attendance at his obsequies this morning.⁵³⁶

Out of respect for Bochsa, Bishop briefly withdrew from performing. Her first concert following his death was twelve days later on 18 January 1856. The local paper described how a large crowd filled the theatre at her reappearance, which saw many turned away from the theatre. Those fortunate enough to be admitted showed their respect by their quiet presence to begin with. After a short time, however:

this soon gave way to the strength of their desire to award warm-hearted encouragement, and for full five minutes the vast building rang with re echoed bursts of applause. From the close of the first aria, to the final struggle with her executioners, was one continued triumph. Astonishing vocalisation, deep pathos, and passionate energy successively commanded delight, sympathy, and admiration; and willingly is our ovation offered to the *only* 'Norma' who has ever favored the Colonial Stage. Considering all things, Mdme Bishop was well supported.⁵³⁷

This performance was her last concert in Sydney at this time, as she continued her tour to Melbourne. Before departing Sydney, Bishop designed a memorial stone to be placed on Bochsa's grave site. According to the contemporary newspapers, Bishop had received Bochsa's entire estate, which was a vast sum, making her an extremely wealthy woman. Some of this money she most likely used to pay for the memorial stone. On her return to Sydney in 1857, Bishop visited Bochsa's grave to view the monument (see Figure 7.3).

⁵³⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (9 January 1856) (Trove 12981573), 1. This advertisement was titled 'A Card'.

⁵³⁷ *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer* (19 January 1856) (Trove 59761380), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/59761380> (accessed 10/01/2011).



Figure 7.3. Drawing recreating Bochsa's grave.⁵³⁸

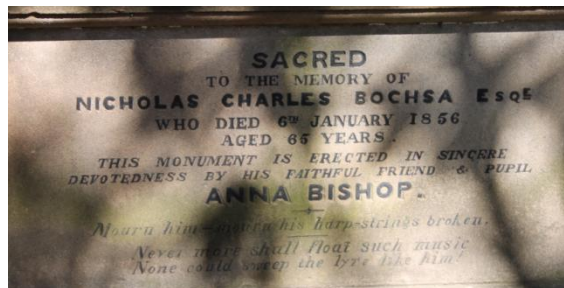


Figure 7.4. Photographs of Bochsa's grave site.⁵³⁹

Bishop had had the headstone designed incorporating a harp placed on a tree, with a statue of her image, wreath in hand, placed at the base of the tree. This headstone thus illustrated her dedication to Bochsa. Unfortunately, in recent years vandals have broken much of the monument.

An online article, 'The Wreck of the *Libelle*', documents the subsequent, and considerable loss of original Bochsa compositions.⁵⁴⁰ The article described an event that

⁵³⁸ This is a proposed illustration revealed in the online *Dictionary of Sydney*, as to how Bochsa's headstone would have looked prior to being vandalised. <http://www.dictionaryofsydney.org/image/48199> (accessed 2/07/2012).

⁵³⁹ The photographs were taken by the author on 5 September 2013.

occurred on 4 March 1866, ten years after Bochsa's death. The *Libelle*, a German barque commanded by Captain Tobias, was sailing from San Francisco to Hong Kong when it ran aground on a reef near Wake Island in the central Pacific. Bishop, travelling with her new husband Martin Schultz, her maid-assistant Maria Phelan and her musical accompanist Charles Lascelles was among the passengers. As the vessel was firmly wedged on the reef, there was no initial threat to the passengers, who remained onboard overnight and were taken ashore the next day. Water had flooded the lower cabins and storage areas of the ship. Some of the cargo, including food and water was taken ashore, but with diminishing supplies the passengers and some crew sailed to Guam, then a Spanish colony in the Marianas Islands. The captain and the remainder of the crew sailed in another boat and unfortunately perished at sea.

Bishop had travelled with a large wardrobe of her special costumes, props and jewellery, and original Bochsa compositions and music scores, which she had collected over the many years they had spent together. Bochsa had written works solely for Bishop's use and she had compiled scrap books of their life's travels. The tragic loss included all these items, her personal letters and Bochsa's compositions.

7.4 The Erard harp during Bochsa's visit to Australia

On 22 December 1855 William Paling advertised that Erards of London had made him the sole agent for their instruments:

Mr W.H. Paling begs to inform his friends that he has received ... from the celebrated piano and harp manufacturers, Messrs. Erard of London and Paris, his appointment as Sole Agent for the Australian Colonies; and expects shortly consignments of Pianos and Harps, manufactured expressly by the said house for his agency. All instruments imported will be accompanied by certificates of authenticity.⁵⁴¹

This important announcement was advertised in both the *Empire* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and it is reasonable to suggest that, given the friendship between the two men, Bochsa's hand was behind Paling being awarded the Erard concession.

⁵⁴⁰ Dirk Spennemann, *The Wreck of the Libelle and other Early European Visitors to Wake Island, Central Pacific* (2000), <http://marshall.csu.edu.au/Marshalls/html/Wake/WakeVisitors03.html> (accessed 21/03/2011). This article discussed the shipwreck of the *Libelle* with the subsequent loss of items associated with Bochsa.

⁵⁴¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (28 December 1855) (Trove 12979899), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12979889> (accessed 13/01/2011).

As to the question of whether Bochsa actually performed on his harp in Australia, it has been noted that Bochsa had conducted and accompanied Bishop's performances by playing the piano, but due to his illness was unable to perform on his Erard harp. Further evidence that he did not play his harp is seen in the written concert programs. There were no harp pieces listed during the four concerts, either as harp solos or as accompanying songs. As discussed earlier, Bochsa's harp remained in the basement of the Royal Hotel. Residents of Sydney never heard Bochsa perform on his harp, and yet his legacy and reputation was such that the Erard enjoyed a sizeable and growing profile in the musical life of the colonies. Students such as Marsh, Prout, and the many harpists discussed here identified as Bochsa disciples, demonstrated 'Bochsa' harp skills learnt through their personal interaction with Bochsa's instruction, and by observation of Bochsa's performances. Bochsa, as exponent for Erard harps, had played his Erard Gothic double action harp during his world concertizing. Although he was unable to perform with his harp in Australia, Erard harps continued to be used in Australian concerts by resident and touring harpists.

As we acknowledge that Bochsa's Erard harp accompanied him to Australia, a final question hangs as a mystery. What happened to his harp after his death? Davis suggested that possibly Marsh acquired Bochsa's harp after the funeral.⁵⁴² Skinner, in conversation with the current author, suggested that Bishop may have kept the harp in her possessions, in memory of her lover and mentor. Although Skinner suggests that she may have played the instrument, no documentation has been found to that effect. The answer to this question may be revealed when Bochsa's Erard (serial number 5200) is found. If Marsh obtained this harp, it will perhaps surface in America one day, as Marsh continued his harp music-making there until his death in San Francisco in 1888.

7.5 Summary

The anticipation held by both harpists and music-lovers for Bochsa's visit to Australia was enthusiastic. Harpists, who had been instructed in styles closely related to Bochsa's own methods, and had performed his repertoire, believed that they were to directly witness the brilliance of Bochsa's performance. His much awaited tour with Anna Bishop was proclaimed in early advertising, and a hoax announcement of his arrival. His students already resident in Australia had taught his methods and ensured that the

⁵⁴² Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop*, 191.

Erard was the instrument of choice in the colonies. Thus Bochsa's arrival in Australia was indeed 'great musical news'.

On arrival, Bochsa had immediately attended to business arrangements; the choice of venue, overseeing publicity notices, and sourcing the accompanying orchestra from the local Sydney talent. Advertisements bombarded prospective audiences with descriptive accolades of Bochsa and Bishop, and repertoire details. In keeping with nineteenth century programming practices, the performances featured opera excerpts, and selected popular songs, arranged or composed by Bochsa, exclusively for Bishop. They also included new material specifically written for the Australian audiences. Bochsa, due to ailing health, stepped back from his pivotal role as soloist and conductor and handed those duties to his former student Marsh, who essentially stepped into the role of understudy. Four concerts in total were arranged and attended by Bochsa with the next project, a performance of *Norma*, planned from his bedside. Reviews of the four concerts were positive and reflected his efforts as organiser, administrator and performer until his death in 1856. Following his demise, the public responded to his vast contribution to the music world by heaping praise and respect on the great musician.

The chapter following explores the continued exposure enjoyed by the Erard-Bochsa partnership in Australia by investigating the harp music-making activities in the ten years after his death. This decade saw an array of harpists visiting Australia and while some harp players continued their world-wide touring those that remained continued teaching and performing in a 'Bochsa' way, using Erard harps as their preferred instrument.

Chapter Eight: The joint legacy of the Erard harp and Bochsa: Harp education in Australia 1856-1866



Figure 8.1. Bochsa and the Erard harp.⁵⁴³

The previous chapter detailed Bochsa's all too short time in Australia. Bochsa had enlisted all the local talent ensuring that Madame Anna Bishop's performances were positively received. His disciples, as the current study has shown, had spread Bochsa's reputation as an exceptional harpist through their teaching and performance by using his pedagogy and repertoire. This reputation was reinforced by those who attended his concerts and the publicity that surrounded them. Taking that evidence as its point of departure, the current chapter outlines his influence on the immediate future of the harp and its related activities in the decade after his death. In this ten year period, there were twenty-five harpists who visited Australia, including many who acknowledged Bochsa and/or the Erard harp. Not coincidentally, twenty-nine Erard harps were sold in Australia during the same period. The popularity of 'accomplishment' learning was still in vogue and harpists, resident and visiting, keeping alive Bochsa's reputation and Courtly credentials, advertised their connection to him, and their ability to teach by his method. While this chapter reports on education, Chapter Nine documents the commercial harp music-making activities, and Chapter Ten examines the ongoing legacy of Bochsa and the Erard harp in concert performances. It emerges from this trio of chapters that Bochsa and the Erard harp were an essential part of colonial music-making.

⁵⁴³ Source: http://www.goethezeitportal.de/fileadmin/Images/wd/musik/harfe/Bochsa_Methode_gross.jpg (accessed 12/02/2013).

8.1 Continued use of Bochsá's method and repertoire

Australia wide, harp teachers continued instruction using Bochsá's pedagogy (including his *Daily Precepts* and his *Nouvelle Méthode*) and his music. On 20 June 1861, an advertisement in the *Argus* advised that Scotch College for young ladies in Eastern Hill, Melbourne required a harp teacher versed in 'Bochsá's method'.⁵⁴⁴ Reinforcing the harp's ongoing value as a measure of 'accomplishment', a school notice proclaimed:

the advantages of this college [is that of] combining the high accomplishments with a sound and liberal English education on the approved intellectual system, adopted by the most distinguished educational institutions in the mother country ... Harp taught.⁵⁴⁵

Two important points were addressed in this notice, the first by acknowledging harp as a 'high accomplishment' and the second in conjunction with the 'old' style of education from motherland England, the latter as discussed previously in Chapter Five. Given the extent of Bochsá's influence the vacancy would have been easy to fill, but more important here is the continuing cultural transference of the English education system into colonial Australia, and the role of Bochsá's pedagogy in that continuation. With this in mind the following section identifies harp teachers with association to either Bochsá or a Bochsá disciple.

In Sydney a French harpist, Madame Naeguéli (dates unknown), trumpeted a direct connection as a former 'pupil of Bochsá'.⁵⁴⁶ Continuing the popularity of harp as an 'accomplishment', on 5 July 1856 she advertised her availability to provide harp instruction, together with an additional accomplishment, that of flower painting. During the years that followed two prominent harpists made a considerable contribution to harp music-making in Australia, in education and concert performance. Both harpists had studied with John Chatterton and were versed in Bochsá pedagogy and familiar with the Erard harp superiority – this knowledge joined with their years of teaching experience in England – was invaluable for the colonial residents.

⁵⁴⁴ *Argus* (20 June 1861) (Trove 5701209), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5701209> (accessed 4/03/2011).

⁵⁴⁵ *Argus* (27 June 1861) (Trove 5701376), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5701376> (accessed 4/03/2011).

⁵⁴⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (5 July 1856) (Trove 12971310), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12981310> (accessed 13/04/2011).

Edwin H. Copley (1829-1874), on his arrival in Sydney in 1857, immediately advertised his diverse musical capabilities, and his link to a Bochsa disciple.⁵⁴⁷ His notice outlined his intention of teaching harp and pianoforte, as a Professor of both, by attending ‘schools and private families’, with his credentials highlighting that he was ‘a pupil of J[ohn] Balsir Chatterton’.⁵⁴⁸ Copley, in touting his compositional skills to future students in harmony and composition, advertised pointedly that lessons were provided by the author of ‘Farewell Theresa’, ‘Smile again’, and ‘My Thoughts are Thine’.⁵⁴⁹ His first Australian composition, ‘The Government House Waltz’, was dedicated to Lady Denison, and was written in a style that was reported to exhibit ‘considerable ability’.⁵⁵⁰ Copley’s decision to dedicate the waltz to the Governor’s wife was a wise move, as with her approval his composition was published and, owing to its strong sales, he gained instant personal recognition. In May 1858 Copley formed a gentlemen’s Amateur Club for players of all instruments, thus cementing his upward social status. His contribution to harp music-making was apparent through his teachings and performance practice, and by his use of Bochsa repertoire and methodology.

Given that Bochsa and Chatterton students who studied at the Royal Academy of Music in London were exposed only to Erard harps – as noted earlier, Bochsa had ensured that the Academy’s harp of choice was Erard – it is fair to assume that Copley followed suit, although no evidence to that effect is extant. In the following years, Copley acquired students through continual advertising and, in 1865, with an ever increasing number of students; he opened a teaching academy at Avondale House, Church Hill, in order ‘to receive pupils for harp, piano, organ, harmonium, cornopean and singing’.⁵⁵¹ Although Copley provided tuition for many instruments, and in the field of composing and singing, his primary expertise was as a harpist. With the skills he acquired from Chatterton, he presented many concerts in Sydney alongside his teaching

⁵⁴⁷ Copley was born in Bristol, England in 1829 and died in Sydney on 24 June, 1874 aged 44. Graeme Skinner, ‘Austral Harmony, C-D’, <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 12/07/12).

⁵⁴⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald* (20 June 1857) (Trove 12997360), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12997360>

⁵⁴⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (20 June 1857) (Trove 12997360), 5. The music spoken of here had been available in Australia prior to his arrival.

⁵⁵⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (1 August 1857) (Trove 12998794), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12998794> (accessed 13/05/2012). This composition, ‘The Government House Waltz’ (Valse Brillante) (Sydney: J.R. Clarke, 1857) was available at Lawrence’s Stationery Warehouse in Elizabeth Street.

⁵⁵¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (2 September 1865) (Trove 13118409), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13118409> (accessed 6/03/2011). The cornopean is an archaic name for the cornet-à-piston.

commitments, and in his role as music director at St Philips Church. His extensive contribution to the concert life in Sydney is documented in Chapter Ten.

Mr T. H. Brooks (dates unknown) arrived in Sydney in June 1860, having performed concerts in Tasmania, his first Australian arrival point. Like Copley, Brooks perpetuated the Bochsas and Erard partnership through his commitment to harp music-making, and his association to both as a Bochsas disciple. An advertisement offered the following, 'THE HARP – Mr T.H. BROOKS will give instructions on the Harp. Address, 16, Jamison-street'.⁵⁵² This rather humble placement failed to describe the extraordinary capabilities of this harpist which, as will be shown below, extended the legacy of the Bochsas and Erard harp partnership. In London, Brooks had studied with Chatterton, and pointedly mentioned this association, and the fact that he was a 'Professor of harp', to gain the attention of the prospective young ladies commencing harp 'accomplishment' studies. Both Copley and Brooks established the cachet that went with the notion of learning with a male harpist, as a man of culture and refinement. As a Miss West advertised on 29 August 1862: 'Wanted: a Gentleman to give lessons on the Harp. Apply, stating terms &c, to Miss WEST, Charlton House, Paddington'.⁵⁵³

Brooks, like Bochsas, was an exponent of the Erard harp, and had purchased two harps (serial numbers 2822 and 3730) in London, prior to his Australian arrival.⁵⁵⁴ Either one or both these harps may have accompanied him on the journey and thus would have been the instrument he used for instructional purposes. As a professional harpist, Brooks not only taught harp, but also performed in numerous Australian concerts during 1860, where 'not a note fell from his willing and masterly fingers which did not stir his hearers into enthusiasm'.⁵⁵⁵ Brooks's concert performances are discussed in Chapter Ten.

The importance of transplanting European educational trends was still visible in Australia, and was in fact strengthened with each new harp teacher arrival to the colony. Many of the harp teachers identified in Chapter Five, who had commenced teaching prior to 1856, were, in the period directly following Bochsas's death, still actively engaged as private teachers and employed in educational institutions. Those teachers

⁵⁵² *Sydney Morning Herald* (27 August 1860) (Trove 13044948), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13044948> (accessed 6/03/2011).

⁵⁵³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (29 August 1862) (Trove 13233492), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13233492> (accessed 6/03/2011).

⁵⁵⁴ Harps with serial numbers 2822 and 3730 respectively, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, .vol. 2, 141 and 245.

⁵⁵⁵ *Argus* (5 June 1860) (Trove 5683767), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5683767> (accessed 6/03/2011).

resident in Australia before Bochsa's arrival had now to compete with the new arrivals, and proclaimed their links to Bochsa and his direct disciples as a way of gaining an upper hand. To that end, Mr H.W. Buxton, who had arrived in 1853, emphasised his availability by placing a large advertisement in which he highlighted his connection to Chatterton, and that he had 'taught with the greatest success for the last four years'.⁵⁵⁶

The most significant exponent for harp teaching was Stephen Marsh, who as Bochsa's protégé had paved the way for all future harp teachers in Australia from 1842. His teaching success (only one of his many harp music-making activities as mentioned earlier), saw his students transitioning into professional harpists in their own right. Other notable harpists active prior to 1856 included Frederick Packer, who had an established teaching program in Hobart, one that continued through the decade after Bochsa's death. Packer's brother Charles was active as a teacher until his death in 1862. In Melbourne, Mrs Norman had maintained her teaching career and, like Buxton, continued advertising herself as a Chatterton pupil. The harpist Mrs Fiddes, as mentioned in Chapter Five, had had difficulty in establishing a teaching program, but had ultimately settled in Melbourne after her touring. There she established an institution named Hamilton House for the purpose of teaching 'accomplishments'. Other harp teachers identified earlier, including Poingdestre, Stanley, Auld, Rington, Bumbey and the King brothers, all continued to provide harp instruction, as did Jamieson and Caddy in Adelaide. The three previously mentioned institutions remained active in promoting the harp as an 'accomplishment' in the post-Bochsa period: Mrs Chauncey's Ladies Educational Establishment (established in Adelaide); Mrs Staniford's Grantham Villa (Sydney); and Carr Villa (Launceston).

Alongside the harp teachers and institutions noted above, and with an ever increasing number of Erard harps spread across Australia, educators advertised their availability to teach the favoured harp 'accomplishment' to the upper middle class young ladies. In April 1856 an anonymous teacher advertised as 'a Lady is desirous of meeting with an engagement in a school or private family to teach harp, pianoforte and French'. Address A. M., Herald office'.⁵⁵⁷ Two years later, again providing the *Herald* newspaper office as a point of contact, another unnamed teacher advertised 'Wanted

⁵⁵⁶ *Argus* (5 December 1855) (Trove 4824994), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4824994> (accessed 8/03/2011).

⁵⁵⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald* (5 April 1856) (Trove 28639799), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5701209> (accessed 6/03/2011).

Pupils for the Harp and Pianoforte: terms 25s. per quarter ...'.⁵⁵⁸ A certain Mrs Harvey, also advised that she was available to provide instruction in piano, harp and singing 'accomplishments'.⁵⁵⁹

With an increase in the number of Australian residents aspiring to an upper middle class existence in the 'new' Australian environment, the role of governess became an important part of family life. The so-called 'visiting' governesses provided lessons in a private family home or at their own residence, and in general were skilled in 'accomplishments' studies. By comparison, a 'finishing' governess usually provided an all-round education to young ladies, which was reflected in advertising by 'English education' alongside the 'accomplishment' studies. In colonial Australia, as it was in England, a governess was recognised by her own personal education and upbringing – a good governess was a Lady – with an emphasis on morals and values. The following section documents advertising examples by governesses offering harp instruction. A finishing governess attested her abilities in an advertisement in 1863 as follows:

A Lady thoroughly competent to instruct in all branches of English education ... either in a school or private family ... pianoforte, organ and harp. References given. Address GOVERNESS, care of Mr. A. Cubitt, Bridge-street., Sydney.⁵⁶⁰

The inference here is that in placing the harp last, and despite offering all branches of an English education including 'accomplishments', the governess possessed limited harp skills. The skills she provided, however, identified her own education, and by advertising as a 'Lady' supported her gentility as an educator. Later during October, another unnamed governess advertised her ability to teach the harp at her residence at '32, Buxton Street'.⁵⁶¹

In Melbourne, two sisters working as governesses wished to improve their personal skills by taking 'some finishing lessons' during the school vacation break. On 21 June 1859 they flagged their desire to locate 'Musical Professors, one on the pianoforte; the other on harp, guitar and singing'.⁵⁶² These governesses no doubt

⁵⁵⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald* (2 August 1859) (Trove 13028637), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13028637> (accessed 6/03/2011).

⁵⁵⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (12 January 1857) (Trove 12991189), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12991189> (accessed 6/03/2011).

⁵⁶⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (8 June 1863) (Trove 13079630), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13079630> (accessed 6/03/2011).

⁵⁶¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (10 October 1863) (Trove 13092878), 12, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13092878> (accessed 6/03/2011).

⁵⁶² *Argus* (21 June 1859) (Trove 5683108), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5683108> (accessed 6/03/2011).

intended to increase their performance skills in these areas in the hope of improving their employment prospects. No less significant was their stated request that potential applicants provide their teacher's names, hence reinforcing the importance of the lineage of those who drew on their connections to Bochsá.

On 29 December 1859 a visiting governess advertised in Melbourne that she could instruct in 'French, Italian, Harp, Piano, Guitar (use of each), Singing, Painting' at her residence 'Milton Cottage, Richmond'.⁵⁶³ Another indicated that she had considerable 'experience in teaching' with her desire to 'engage as governess in a gentleman's family, or take charge of a school in the country'. This lady, like many of the governesses, by advertising that she was 'qualified to teach the usual branches of English, with French, harp, pianoforte and singing' exemplified the European cultural inheritance that continued to permeate colonial education.⁵⁶⁴ Not only did governesses advertise for employment opportunities, but so too did prospective employers. One such advertisement, dated 14 February 1865, called for a 'Lady' 'competent to teach piano, harp and French'.⁵⁶⁵ One wonders whether the governess who, the following day, advertised her availability as a 'Harp, Piano, and Singing' teacher – all of which were 'lessons by a Lady' – may have fitted the bill.⁵⁶⁶ Although not offering French instruction, this 'Lady' may have had the necessary qualities of high morale and competent educational skills to be considered for this position. Four months later a similar advertisement was placed by a 'Lady' resident in St. Kilda, who was able to teach harp, piano and singing and who likely was the same person who posted the prior advertisement.⁵⁶⁷ The final Melbourne governess advertisement for the period under review was in 1865, when two young ladies 'recently arrived from Europe' indicated that they were:

acquainted with all modern improvements in teaching, [and] are desirous of ENGAGEMENTS as GOVERNESSES, either indoor, visiting, or to give

⁵⁶³ *Argus* (29 December 1859) (Trove 5696195), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5696195> (accessed 6/03/2011).

⁵⁶⁴ *Argus* (23 December 1863) (Trove 5741361), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5741361> (accessed 6/03/2011).

⁵⁶⁵ *Argus* (14 February 1865) Trove 5738219), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5738219> (accessed 6/03/2011).

⁵⁶⁶ *Argus* (15 February 1865) (Trove 5745133), 7, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5745133> (accessed 6/03/2011).

⁵⁶⁷ *Argus* (10 June 1865) (Trove 5734568), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5734568> (accessed 6/03/2011). A similar advertisement appeared four months later as 'HARP, Pianoforte, Singing, &c. LESSONS by a lady. Address at Mr. Trott's, upholsterer, High-street St Kilda'. This may well have been the same lady as noted in the previous advertisement and thus she was still seeking employment.

lessons at their own house, in English, French, Italian, Spanish and German; ... also piano ... harp, and guitar.⁵⁶⁸

Languages and music, which included harp instruction, were the key accomplishments commonly available for the colonial residents. While the performing abilities of these unnamed governesses is of course unknown, the fact is that their tuition focussed on an all-rounded, general education. In this regard, the purpose of an ‘accomplishment’ education was to improve the social status of the young Australian women. Theobald cites the philosophy and curriculum of the Vieusseuxs’ Ladies College, which provides proof positive – the purpose of the ‘accomplishment’ was ‘to impart a solid and superior education [which] those graceful accomplishments proper to ladies, shall result in qualifying them for the thorough fulfilment of those important duties which fall to the lot of womanhood’.⁵⁶⁹

It was not uncommon for family members to provide in-home instruction. Two ladies, a mother and daughter, Mrs and Miss Pilkington, arriving in Melbourne during 1857, offered tuition in piano, harmonium and harp. On 7 March of that year they advertised that ‘[harp] classes will be formed for concert-playing’, and that further information could be ascertained by applying at 8 Regent Street, Collingwood.⁵⁷⁰ A Launceston mother and daughters likewise advised in 1863 that they were offering harp instruction, as the *Cornwall Chronicle* noted:

Mrs and the Misses Hudson, establishing for young ladies, Frederick Street ... To instruct in the usual branches of a good English education; also in music including harp, piano and guitar.⁵⁷¹

The combining of the ‘old’ ways was again reinforced alongside the harp ‘accomplishment’. It seems the family was not alone in Launceston, where a Mrs Huey advertised as a professor providing instruction on harp, piano and singing.⁵⁷²

The teaching of music was, in the most, a commercial activity for financial gain. The Mr Chapman mentioned in Chapter Five extended his harp instruction service by

⁵⁶⁸ *Argus* (19 December 1865) (Trove 5787373), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5787373> (accessed 6/03/2011).

⁵⁶⁹ Marjorie Theobald, ‘Mere Accomplishments?’, cited in *Women Who Taught*, 76.

⁵⁷⁰ *Argus* (7 March 1857) (Trove 4832589), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4832589> (accessed 6/03/2011).

⁵⁷¹ *Cornwall Chronicle* (9 December 1863) (Trove 72193639), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72193639> (accessed 6/03/2011).

⁵⁷² *Cornwall Chronicle* (18 May 1859) (Trove 65730803), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/65730803> (accessed 6/03/2011). No information has been revealed as to Mrs Huey’s harp skills.

‘combining theory with practice’ as a way of guaranteeing the ‘rapid progress of pupils’.⁵⁷³ For him theory lessons were yet another avenue to increase his income over and above his other commercial activities. Still in Melbourne, Mrs McGill pointedly advertised that she ‘gives private instruction on piano, singing and harp to adult students.’⁵⁷⁴ This advertisement was the first to specify age criteria, with all previous ‘accomplishment’ instruction applied to the teaching of young ladies. McGill apparently catered for the direct clientele of social Melbourne ladies who were perhaps simply requiring an activity to fill their idle time. The Erard harp, as this study has found, was an expensive commodity which was usually found in the homes of the gentry.

In 1861 a professional harpist, Miss Hutchinson, made herself available to teach the harp at the Bellevue House institution in St. Kilda.⁵⁷⁵ No details of her abilities were suggested, but apparently she taught both boarders and day pupils.⁵⁷⁶ Three years later in 1864, Dundonald House Ladies College in Brighton included harp instruction by an unnamed teacher. However, as the Principal advertised that ‘masters were provided for all subjects’, the harp could have been taught by either Mr Buxton or Miss Hutchinson as both these teachers had advertised as Music Professors in this locality. Buxton would have fulfilled this role, given his experience with a Bochsá styled instruction and his connection to the Erard harp – no less significant, although troubling by today’s standards, is that male teachers were presumed to be ‘masters’ in their chosen field.

In Adelaide during 1862, there was one new teacher, Miss Annette Horn, providing harp instruction (Horn had previously played harp in concert performances as examined in Chapter Six). The harp teachers Jamison and Caddy were still actively involved in harp activities, as noted by the teaching advertisements that appeared during 1854 to 1860.⁵⁷⁷ Horn’s initial teaching advertisement noted that she was the ‘daughter of the late celebrated harpist [Henry Horn]’ and that:

⁵⁷³ *Argus* (15 April 1857) (Trove 4835458), 7, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4835458> (accessed 6/03/2011).

⁵⁷⁴ *Argus* (30 November 1859) (Trove 5692752), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5692752> (accessed 6/03/2011).

⁵⁷⁵ *Argus* (30 March 1861) (Trove 5698878), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5698878> (accessed 6/03/2011). Miss Hutchinson was noted as a Professor of Music active in Melbourne in 1860. Graeme Skinner, ‘Austral Harmony, H-J’, <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 1/08/2013). No further information relating to her harp studies has been located.

⁵⁷⁶ *Argus* (30 March 1861) (Trove 5698878), 8. The Principal, a Mrs D.G. MacArthur was noted as a Professor of music and singing, and offered places for both boarders and day pupils.

⁵⁷⁷ Mrs Jamieson commenced teaching in 1850 and Mr Caddy in 1854, as noted in Chapter Five.

she will be happy to receive PUPILS for the PIANO and HARP, also that she is open to an Engagement with a School. Miss Horn would, if preferred, attend Pupils at their own residences.⁵⁷⁸

While her father was alive she perhaps had no need to be involved in teaching, but with his passing she may have pursued harp teaching out of financial necessity. Horn would have used her Erard harp in teaching, the harp she had used in her earlier concerts. In 1863 Horn married Mr Charles Lowe, and together they relocated to Port Elliot, a town south of Adelaide.⁵⁷⁹ Her harp performances at that time were incorporated within her husband's literary presentations and are documented in Chapter Ten. One further harp teaching advertisement appeared at the time in Adelaide. Having recently arrived from England, an unnamed lady advertised for 'an engagement as daily teacher in the family of a professional gentleman residing in Adelaide'.⁵⁸⁰ Her accomplishment skills included pianoforte, harp, dancing and singing, skills that she would have acquired in her homeland.

There were few advertisements for harp music-making in Brisbane in the ten years subsequent to Bochsa's death – something due in part to the fact that it was settled later than the other towns listed here. In 1863, a lady offered a connection to the Royal Academy of Music, and thus a link to Bochsa. These details followed her credentials advertised as 'a Lady, Professor of the pianoforte, harp, and Singing', and as a past pupil of the Royal Academy continued with her intention 'to receive pupils after the vacation'.⁵⁸¹ The advertiser gave neither her name nor the years she attended the Royal Academy of Music. However, had she attended the Academy before 1827, Bochsa would have been her instructor. After this date her teacher would have been Bochsa's student, Chatterton. Learning from either one would imply that the instrument she used was an Erard harp and that her style of teaching was similar to Bochsa's pedagogy.

In 1866 a Mrs Marchant was relocating to her new residence, Wansted House in Wharf Street. The *Brisbane Courier* advertisement noted that:

⁵⁷⁸ *South Australian Register* (26 May 1862) (Trove 50162419), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/50162419> (accessed 6/03/2011).

⁵⁷⁹ *South Australian Register* (19 May 1863) (Trove 50177879), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/50177879> (accessed 9/11/2013). Horn's marriage announcement was documented in this newspaper.

⁵⁸⁰ *South Australian Register* (20 November 1862) (Trove 50179514), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/50179514> (accessed 6/03/2011).

⁵⁸¹ *Courier Brisbane* (7 January 1863) (Trove 3160719), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/3160719> (accessed 6/03/2011).

she is prepared to receive additional Pupils to educate upon a system embracing sound principles of mental, moral, and physical training, combined with the accomplishments of Music (including the harp).⁵⁸²

Whether Marchant filled this role was not specified, however, what is of importance is the understanding that a decade on from Bochsa's death, harp education remained pivotal as a popular 'accomplishment'. The popularity of the Erard harp had been instigated by Bochsa many years prior in London. That Brisbane was a relatively fledgling centre during the period subsequent to Bochsa's death doubtless explains why the first, documented arrival of an Erard harp (serial number 6681), the property of a Sister M. Patrick Potter, accompanied her to Australia on 26 September 1898.⁵⁸³ Described as an Erard Gothic Sycamore harp No. 1, made in November 1896, this harp is currently housed in All Hallow's School in Brisbane. Unfortunately it is no longer playable.

8.2 Summary

This chapter identified the new harp teachers arriving in colonial Australia and their association to the Erard-Bochsa partnership. Although the twenty-nine teachers came from a broad musical spectrum, ranging from professional harpists, multi-instrumentalists to governesses, they all continued the cultural transference of the English education system into colonial Australia through their teaching activities. Harp taught as an 'accomplishment' continued its popularity, and was either taught in private situations or as part of what Theobald terms the 'usual branches of a good English education'. The chapter noted the numerous governesses, now employed in the upper middle class homes, which were representative of the growing gentility of the 'new' wealthy colonist, and their role as educators providing harp tuition in family homes. On the other hand, in Sydney by 1865 there were two key exponents for harp, Brooks and Cobby, who by the association to Bochsa (both having learnt from Chatterton) and their preferred use of the Erard harp, provided professional harp tuition to the colonial residents. Conversely, potential harp students themselves placed importance on securing teachers with a connection to Bochsa. With a large number of new teachers advertising for students, those teachers who preceded them had themselves to up the ante by proclaiming their Bochsa connections and, where possible, their personal courtly

⁵⁸² *Courier Brisbane* (7 January 1863) (Trove 3160719), 3.

⁵⁸³ Harp serial number 6681, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 241.

credentials. The Erard harp's popularity continued with twenty-nine sales documented in this period, as will be addressed in the chapter following. Chapter Nine identifies the distribution of the Erard harp revealed through sale and importation advertising.

Chapter Nine: The Erard harp and its distribution across Australia: 1856-1866



Figure 9.1. Nineteenth Century Light Entertainer.⁵⁸⁴

The previous chapter emphasised the impact Bochsa's arrival in Australia heralded on future harp education. Harp teachers, in order to attract students felt it necessary to emphasise their association to Bochsa or his disciples. Twenty nine new teachers had arrived in Australia after Bochsa's death, so those teachers already resident increased their advertising, and with that their connections (real or imagined) to Bochsa in order to preserve a competitive edge. With an increase in teachers, continued Erard harp sales were necessary to sustain and expand harp music-making activities across Australia. Through reference to newspaper documentations of sales and importation notices, the current chapter identifies Erard harp distribution during the period under review. In keeping with the residents' social aspirations, harp players assumed new status in light entertainments (as opposed to purely concert performances). Light entertainments added greatly to the employment activities on offer to harpists in the early, post-Bochsa years.

9.1 Erard harp sales

The current study identifies by yearly distribution the one hundred and nine Erard harps that arrived in Australia from 1830 to 1866 (see Figure 9.2). The graph indicates that a

⁵⁸⁴ Source: Nineteenth century musician with pedal harp as found in London. Harpists in colonial Australia followed similarly (accessed 7/02/2014). <http://www.buswell.co.uk/harp.htm>

small number of harps arrived from 1830, with a dramatic increase in harp numbers from 1853. Three factors contributed to this increased activity: First, the acknowledgment of Bochsa's preference for the Erard harp, and the noted early advertising which preceded his arrival in Australia – as we now know this commenced in 1853. Second, many Bochsa disciples commenced world-wide touring during 1853 and ultimately visited Australia at this time; and third, settlers choosing to return home to England after a period of time in Australia sold their harp as part of their 'household furniture'. This they did by private treaty or by auction.

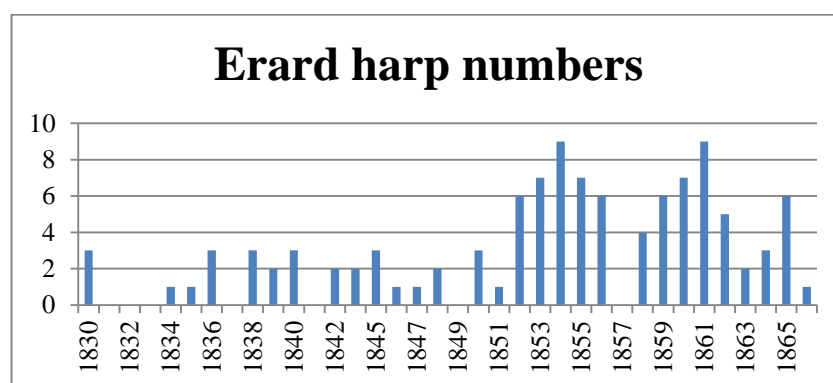


Figure 9.2. Erard harp distribution 1830 – 1866.

Reflecting on the three factors, the section below documents the sale of these harps in the period from 1856 to 1866. As will be shown, the Erard harp ownership reveals that the owners were upper middle class gentry, in other words, those that were in a position to afford such a splendid instrument.

The first nine Erard harps documented were sold privately. There were two unnamed sales; the first in 1856 was a 'double action harp by Sébastien Erard' in Melbourne, and the second the property of a Lady advertised her 'Erard harp' with a low price of £20'.⁵⁸⁵ One can speculate the harp was in poor condition in view of such a low price. In 1860, the Erard harp had finally arrived on the west coast of the Australian continent with a first harp sale documented in Perth. The instrument was 'a splendid harp, with six octaves, metallic plate, Erard, maker, Soho, London, with a double set of strings', and was sold 'on reasonable terms' by the piano tuner G. Washington who resided in St Georges Terrace, Perth.⁵⁸⁶ A harp instruction book was included in the sale.

⁵⁸⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (8 January 1859) (Trove 13016242), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13016242> (accessed 7/04/2011). *Argus* (10 November 1856) (Trove 7139753), 6, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/7139753> (accessed 7/04/2011).

⁵⁸⁶ *Perth Gazette* (30 March 1860) (Trove 2932260), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2932260> (accessed 9/04/2011).

A year later in Hobart, the *Mercury* noted the sale of ‘One of Erard ‘s very best double-action HARPS, an elegant instrument, brilliant tone, nearly new, and warranted perfect in every particular, at £50 – half its original cost’.⁵⁸⁷ Directions for all enquiries were to Tapfield Esq., in Macquarie Street or William Russell Esq., in New Town. Tapfield, as mentioned earlier was a harp teacher in Hobart, and had purchased an Erard harp in London.⁵⁸⁸ That Russell was mentioned earlier with a harp for sale in 1839 suggests that he had continued to arrange sales. Another Erard harp sale in Tasmania was revealed in Launceston on 24 August 1861, and advertised as ‘A GREAT BARGAIN, One of Erard’s very best double action harps’. This harp was described as a ‘beautiful instrument’ with an original London price of £128, and was ‘to be sold for a very low price of £60’.⁵⁸⁹

There were two private harp sales in Sydney with the first on 27 March 1858 in Sandon’s Music Warehouse, 318 George Street Sydney. Although the owner remained anonymous, the harp was described as a ‘double action, ‘by Sébastien Erard, with an original cost price of £120, in perfect order, and will be sold for £60’.⁵⁹⁰ The second Sydney private Erard harp sale occurred some years later, on 27 May 1862. On that occasion it was advertised as a ‘handsome double action harp by Erard, in good working order’.⁵⁹¹ The initials J.B. were given, with the direction to apply at the *Sydney Morning Herald* office. A further two Erard harps were sold in Melbourne, the first in 1862 by the music seller, W.H. Glen. His advertisement highlighted the original price where he had a ‘Harp Erard, 120 guinea instrument almost new. Price £65’.⁵⁹² At £65 this harp was perhaps still overpriced for many settlers, and in this regard the probable explanation for the devaluation of the harps rests in the condition in which they arrived after the arduous journey from Europe. The second harp sale in 1865 simply noted ‘a

⁵⁸⁷ *Mercury* (23 December 1861) (Trove 8803122), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/88033122> (accessed 9/04/2011).

⁵⁸⁸ Tapfield had purchased a Gothic model No. 3 on 4 November 1843, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 135.

⁵⁸⁹ *Launceston Examiner* (24 August 1861) (Trove 38761433), 7, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/38761433> (accessed 9/04/2011).

⁵⁹⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (27 March 1858) (Trove 13008068), 10, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13008068> (accessed 9/04/2011).

⁵⁹¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (27 May 1862) (Trove 1322951), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/1322951> (accessed 9/04/2011).

⁵⁹² *Argus* (20 October 1862) (Trove 6480449), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/6480449> (accessed 11/04/2011).

Harp by Erard, second hand'.⁵⁹³ The next section documents the sixteen Erard harps that were sold by auction, as part of the household chattels on the owner's return to England.

In 1858, a Mr J.B. Clarke was parting with his 'elegant double action Grecian harp, by Erard' at his residence, Enmore House in Newtown, as he prepared to leave for England.⁵⁹⁴ Two references to a Clarke are found in the *Harp Stock Books*. The first, in January 1826 was for a harp (serial number 3815), described as a double action, ultramarine, and with a white sound board, purchased by a Clarke and shipped to Calcutta.⁵⁹⁵ Eleven years later a second harp, (serial number 4897), a double action rosewood harp, built in April 1835, was sold to a Clarke on 17 March 1837. Either harp may have been the harp auctioned as above as both harps were double action of Grecian design. As Clarke's harp did not sell at auction, Mr W. H. Paling advertised the same harp, 'Erard harp for sale, in elegant satinwood case, double action and brilliant tone,' on 31 March 1858.⁵⁹⁶ Still without a sale eventuating, Paling continued advertising Clarke's harp as 'a very handsome double-acted Harp, of Erard's manufacture, with spare strings and music'.⁵⁹⁷ Sadly the asking price was now £35, indicating that this harp was being offered at a third of the original price. Paling, as a music retailer, played an important role in colonial music-making by establishing shops in Toowoomba, Brisbane and Newcastle, his successful music business continuing until the mid-twentieth century.⁵⁹⁸

Although Clarke was supposedly preparing to leave for England, an advertisement appeared four years later on 2 July 1862, which implied that his departure had been delayed. In what was the first instance of harp being wanted for purchase, Clarke advertised that he required 'either for Purchase or Hire, a double action Erard harp, modern make'.⁵⁹⁹ Two more Sydney residents were leaving the colony during 1860, with both Erard harps auctioned by a Mr Robert Muriel. The first harp belonged

⁵⁹³ *Argus* (21 March 1865) (Trove 5737827), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5737827> (accessed 11/04/2011).

⁵⁹⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (12 March 1858) (Trove 13007415), 7, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13007415> (accessed 9/04/2011).

⁵⁹⁵ Ult stands for ultramarine colour, and as mentioned earlier 'white sound board' refers to a white gessoed sound board.

⁵⁹⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (31 March 1858) (Trove 13008272), 6, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13008272> (accessed 9/04/2011).

⁵⁹⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald* (29 September 1858) (Trove 13018404), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13018414> (accessed 9/04/2011).

⁵⁹⁸ Andrew McCredie, 'Paling, William Henry (1825-1895)', in *The Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/paling-william-henry-4356/text7077>, (accessed 19/03/2013).

⁵⁹⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (2 July 1862) (Trove 28623730), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/28623730> (accessed 7/04/2011).

to a gentleman who was departing on board the steamer *Northam* in March.⁶⁰⁰ The second harp was part of the property belonging to a Henry Jefferies Esq., and was auctioned in July on his move from the North Shore.⁶⁰¹

In Adelaide on 28 January 1859, an Edward Stephens Esq., advertised his decision to return to England by presenting all his goods and chattels for auction. Among a large quantity of ‘handsome household furniture, glass and china’ was his ‘double-action harp, by Erard ... with six and one half octaves to G’.⁶⁰² Another colonist to depart Adelaide in June 1860 was Mr Henry Wooldridge. The auction of ‘all his household furniture and effects consisting of ... Harp, by Erard ...’ was to be held at his premises on the corner of North Terrace and King William Street.⁶⁰³ According to the *Harp Stock Books*, a harp (serial number 2214), was bought in London by Wooldridge on 8 May 1816. This Erard Grecian harp has remained in Australia since the date of auction and is now part of the author’s personal harp collection. ‘Goldie’ is in working order, albeit with a new soundboard and pedal box.⁶⁰⁴

John Adams, Esq. was leaving Launceston in 1860, and his household furniture, offered at an auction, included ‘a portion of the music library and a double-action harp by the celebrated Erard’.⁶⁰⁵ Mr Weedon was the auctioneer for this Erard harp sale. Five years later in Melbourne a double action Erard was listed among the household effects belonging to Mr F. McDonnell, Esq., who was preparing to leave the colony.⁶⁰⁶ The next resident leaving for England on board the *Royal Mail* steamer in 1862 was a Mr John Smith Esq. His property, auctioned by Messrs. Walter Bradley and Company, included items from the stables and coach house, and a ‘harp by Erard’.⁶⁰⁷ This wealth was indicative of the affluence of the majority of Erard owners. In Hobart, only one Erard harp was offered for auction during 1862, with an advertisement boasting that the

⁶⁰⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (10 March 1860) (Trove 28628881), 9, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/28628881> (accessed 7/04/2011).

⁶⁰¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (25 July 1860) (Trove 28627518), 7, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/28627518> (accessed 7/04/2011).

⁶⁰² *South Australian Register* (28 January 1859) (Trove 788323), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/788323> (accessed 9/04/2011).

⁶⁰³ *South Australian Register* (23 June 1860) (Trove 49890267), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/49890267> (accessed 7/04/2011).

⁶⁰⁴ The repairs were made by South Australian harp-maker the late Peter Kempster. Harp serial number 2214, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 2, 84.

⁶⁰⁵ *Launceston Examiner* (16 February 1860) (Trove 38999249), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/38999249> (accessed 7/04/2011).

⁶⁰⁶ *Argus* (2 August 1861) (Trove 5702633), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5702633> (accessed 7/04/2011).

⁶⁰⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald* (14 March 1862) (Trove 13225804), 7, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13225804> (accessed 7/04/2011).

harp ‘Will sell by public auction’. It was, as the notice advised ‘one of Sébastien Erard’s Patent HARPS in excellent order’.⁶⁰⁸ The owner of the harp remained anonymous. In 1865, a Hobart auction was held for the property belonging to a John Thomas Esq., as he was returning to London (this John Thomas is not to be confused with the John Thomas, the renowned harpist in London). The auction held at No. 9 Kelly Street, Battery Point in 1865, included ‘a very superior double-action harp by Erard and also a single-action harp by Barry’.⁶⁰⁹

In the case of Melbourne in 1863 a ‘highly extensive sale’ of the property of Captain Bancroft, the Late ADC to the Governor his Excellency Sir Henry Barkly, was gazetted.⁶¹⁰ The auction was held at the Captain’s residence, Orrong, in Toorak. In 1864, a Mr H.D. Cockburn auctioned a piano and Erard harp – together with other items of household furniture. The following year, a G. Millar Esq., wishing to relocate to a country location, offered his Erard harp for sale. His property, Rokeby Hall in Gertrude Street, Fitzroy included at auction what was billed as ‘One Erard’s Best Double-Action harp’.⁶¹¹ According to the Erard *Harp Stock Books*, Millar purchased this harp on 15 March, 1845. The records indicate that the harp, (serial number 5508), was a maple Gothic harp No. 1 model, built in March 1842.⁶¹² Household furniture belonging to Edward King Esq., was auctioned by Beauchamp and Rocke in 1865.⁶¹³ The advertisement offered that King’s ‘drawing room includes Harp by Erard’.⁶¹⁴ An Erard *Harp Stock Book* entry notes that Mr E. King purchased a maple Gothic harp No. 1 model (serial number 6077), on 16 August 1853, with harp number 4728 taken as part payment. Both Edward and his brother Thomas were mentioned earlier as harp teachers. The final harp auction in Melbourne, during the period under review, was of Captain Dane’s property, which included a ‘Magnificent Harp by Erard’.⁶¹⁵ This was on 21

⁶⁰⁸ *Mercury* (5 June 1862) (Trove 8807468), 4 and the *Mercury* (6 June 1862) (Trove 8807498), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8807468> (accessed 7/04/2011).

⁶⁰⁹ *Mercury* (15 June 1865) (Trove 8833403), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8833403> (accessed 7/04/2011).

⁶¹⁰ *Argus* (28 November 1863) (Trove 5739844), 2, (accessed 7/04/2011).

⁶¹¹ *Argus* (20 April 1864) (Trove 5747832), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5747832> (accessed 7/04/2011).

⁶¹² Harp serial number 6077, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 187.

⁶¹³ Edward King, a Professor of music and harp teacher, is discussed in Chapter Five. In addition, there is reference to an Erard harp purchase made by King (harp serial number 6027), *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 182. However, as William King (see Chapter Three) was importing harps, this may have been one of his sales.

⁶¹⁴ *Argus* (25 March 1865) (Trove 5742900), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5742900> (accessed 7/04/2011).

⁶¹⁵ *Argus* (13 February 1866) (Trove 5767013), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5767013> (accessed 7/04/2011).

February 1866 at his residence in Esplanade Terrace, St Kilda. Dane's Erard harp (serial number 6188), a Maple Gothic No. 1 model, was built in April 1857, and purchased by him on 3 August 1860.⁶¹⁶

The section following documents the importers who brought Erard harps into Australia to cater for the residents' needs. The Erard harp's popularity was on the increase following Bochsa's arrival in 1855, helped further by the continuing cultural transference in education and performance practice brought to Australia by his disciples. The quality of the instruments carried considerable status, and elevated the instrument beyond that of a simple commodity. In 1855, Mr William King commenced his importation activities offering a double action Erard, for sale in his rooms at 89 George Street, Sydney.⁶¹⁷ He continued to receive imports in July 1856, which included Erard harps, strings and a variety of musical instruments arriving on board the *Omar Pasha*.⁶¹⁸ The total number of harps he sold was not indicated, however, a *Harp Stock Book* entry notes King purchasing a harp (serial number 6027) in 1852.⁶¹⁹

In 1856, a Mr W. Philpott was instructed by importers to auction an extensive collection of musical instruments. Pianos included those by Broadwood and Sons, and Collard, alongside the harp makers Erard and Stumpff. Further advertising details noted the inclusion of a stand by Erard with the harp sale. This stand was an amplification box which Erard had designed to increase the harp's volume. A drawing of the stand is included in Pierre Erard's *The Harp*, and a few original amplification stands are on display in European museums. Unfortunately no harp stand has been found in Australia to this day.⁶²⁰ Philpott the auctioneer, gained the attention of the gentry and 'ladies' by affording 'every facility' for their inspection of such a 'valuable importation'. In his view, 'it is not probable that such an opportunity of selecting a fine instrument from such a variety will occur for some time'.⁶²¹

In 1861 a double action harp by Erard was offered for sale by Hall and Anderson, 221 Elizabeth Street, Sydney for a price of £126, which was described as

⁶¹⁶ Harp serial number 6188, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 198.

⁶¹⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald* (22 September 1855) (Trove 12978366), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12978366> (accessed 13/03/2011).

⁶¹⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald* (26 July 1856) (Trove 12985240), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12985240> (accessed 13/03/2011).

⁶¹⁹ Harp serial number 6027, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 182.

⁶²⁰ Pierre Erard, *The Harp in its Present Improved State*, cover page. Appendix A provides a pictorial example of the amplifying stand.

⁶²¹ *Argus* (6 December 1856) (Trove 7141275), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/7141275> (accessed 9/04/2011).

'cheap'.⁶²² The next harp offered for sale in 1861, by Mr D. Buist and son of 25 George Street, was priced at seven guineas.⁶²³ In light of Hall and Anderson's price, this suggests a harp in poor condition indeed. Four months later, further advertising offered that the harp was a single action Erard with a lower price of five guineas.⁶²⁴ The last harp auction in 1862, offered 'a harp by Erard and also a cottage pianoforte; both first class instruments' and was to be found at the warehouse of Mr W. P. White and Co., at 10 Elizabeth Street.⁶²⁵

There were a further three harps identified in the *Harp Stock Books* which had not been revealed by newspaper research. On 18 September 1858, a Mr C. Huxtables purchased what was described as an 'old patent, imitation maple, oil gold harp' (serial number 6130), which was forwarded to a Mr Brett Esq, in Sydney. The second harp (serial number 6177) was purchased on 8 December 1856 by a Mr C.R. Marshall in Sydney, with the third harp (serial number 6185) bought on 24 May 1860 by Andrew Sutherland Esq, a resident in Melbourne. The last harps were described as Maple Gothic, oil gold and when placed in the drawing room added to the décor and social standing of the three gentleman purchasers. The common thread for the Erard harp sales, either by owners leaving the country or as an imported sale, was the status of their purchaser or vendor. Those residents leaving the country to return home could afford to do so, while the residents who attended auctions of imported goods were sufficiently well-heeled to be able to afford what was a high status instrument.

9.2 Light entertainments

The following section examines the harp's role in light entertainment during these early, post-Bochsa years. The popularity of quadrille parties expanded in the colonies, as it did in Europe, to the point where they became a fixture on the population's social calendars. The choice of instrumentation for these quadrille parties depended largely on the nature of the event and the availability of players. As discussed in Chapter Five, harp was an integral part of a quadrille band that also featured violin, flute, piccolo, or cornet, in any

⁶²² *Sydney Morning Herald* (7 September 1861) (Trove 13068084), 10, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13068084> (accessed 9/03/2011).

⁶²³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (20 April 1861) (Trove 13056264), 14, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13056264> (accessed 15/03/2011).

⁶²⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (24 August 1861) (Trove 13068684), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13068684> (accessed 13/03/2011).

⁶²⁵ *Argus* (19 Sept 1862) (Trove 5722331), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5722331> (accessed 17/03/2011).

combination. During the years prior to 1856 documentation points to seven only events featuring light entertainment that included harps, Australia-wide. After 1856, this style of social entertainment dramatically increased to thirty-one light entertainment events.

In Sydney between 1858 and 1864 there were eleven harp events, including quadrille band performances, parties and excursions. The first advertisement on 13 March 1858 noted the availability of band musicians: 'QUADRILLE BAND – Music provided for picnic and excursion parties, with violin, piccolo, and harp'.⁶²⁶ At this time, the settlers' entertainment spectrum was broadened by an increasing number of visiting bands from abroad, which along with new music also provided a variety of new cultural experiences. In 1859 a visiting group, called the European Sax Horn, provided their services for quadrilles, balls, bazaars, excursions and dinner parties, with a contact address noted as 8 Union Street, North Sydney. More importantly was the appending footnote which stated that 'small parties attended with Violin, Harp, and Cornet'.⁶²⁷ Continuing with this same popular combination of instruments, the next visiting group, the London Quadrille band, advertised themselves available for engagements and offered three musicians, playing violin, harp and cornet.⁶²⁸ This practice of combining violin, harp and cornet continued with the appearance of the Sydney Volunteer String band in 1860. They advertised their availability to work in either the town or the country, offering their services for 'moderate terms'.⁶²⁹

The following year, 1861, there was a large scale family excursion arranged by a Mr Grocott. He had hired 'the favourite steamship *Victoria*, for a special trip to the Hawkesbury River'. The ship was to depart the wharf at 2pm where 'an excellent band, consisting of harp, cornet-a-piston, first violin, second ditto [violin], piccolo, and sax-horn, will play from the time of departure until 12 pm'.⁶³⁰ This five piece band played for an excessive amount of time, providing the dance music for this event. Detailed programs were provided to the patrons with the list of quadrilles, polkas and other dances that the musicians performed. In 1862, arriving from Otago, New Zealand, a

⁶²⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (13 March 1858) (Trove 13007499), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13007499> (accessed 17/06/2011).

⁶²⁷ *Empire* (24 September 1859) (Trove 60406539), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60406539> (accessed 17/06/2011).

⁶²⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald* (22 September 1860) (Trove 13046303), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13046303> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶²⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (8 September 1860) (Trove 13045569), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13045569> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶³⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (7 March 1861) (Trove 13053739), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13053739> (accessed 18/06/2011).

violin, harp and piccolo band advertised to obtain work for the Queen's Birthday celebrations.⁶³¹

Quadrille parties continued to be fashionable during subsequent years. The popularity of the harp as the main instrument with violin, flute/piccolo or cornet was noted in three advertisements. The first was advertised as 'quadrille parties can engage violin, harp and cornet'.⁶³² To book these players for any social occasion in 1861, enquiries were to be directed to 13 Clarence Street, near Wynyard Square. Both the second and third advertisements were in 1864, and required musicians to play for similar social functions. The first, on 14 June, advertised that a violin and harp group were 'wanted ... for a small quadrille party to work' on a regular basis for two nights a week suggesting 'Tuesdays and Saturdays'.⁶³³ The second function preferred a violin and harp, with either a flute or cornet, for a 'Soiree at the Oddfellows Hall'.⁶³⁴

In Melbourne, employment opportunities were similar. An advertisement on 20 June, 1857 was 'WANTED an engagement for a clarionet and harp player. Apply HARP, office of this paper'.⁶³⁵ This was the first mention in Australia of a clarinetist working with a harpist. Social entertainment was not only positioned in city regions, but also spread to outlying country areas as seen by the next advertisement. In Ballarat, a settlement region distanced some seventy miles from Melbourne, two musicians were required for a function on 30 September 1857. This was advertised as 'WANTED a Violin and Harp, to engage for some time. Apply at Great Britain Hotel'.⁶³⁶ Perhaps work opportunities were scarce in Melbourne, as further advertising noted other musicians able to travel to country regions to obtain work. Three players on violin, harp and cornepean advertised their availability as 'can have a permanent engagement up country'.⁶³⁷ In Melbourne, during the next five years, harp and violin appeared to be the most popular combination. In 1859 Zeplin and Sons advertised their services as a

⁶³¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (23 May 1862) (Trove 13229082), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13229082> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶³² *Sydney Morning Herald* (26 October 1861) (Trove 13061956), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13061956> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶³³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (14 June 1864) (Trove 13096882), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13096882> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶³⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (17 November 1864) (Trove 13103552), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13103552> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶³⁵ *Argus* (20 June 1857) (Trove 7133890), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/7133890> (accessed 17/06/2011).

⁶³⁶ *Star* (30 September 1857) (Trove 66044492), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/66044492> (accessed 17/06/2011).

⁶³⁷ *Argus* (12 October 1859) (Trove 5689793), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5689793> (accessed 17/06/2011).

‘celebrated QUADRILLE BAND’.⁶³⁸ Their success most likely prompted the next four advertisements where a harp and violin duo was requested. The first noted ‘HARP and VIOLIN WANTED (dance music), for Thursday evening, 20th’.⁶³⁹ The second, a school assembly on 26 March, 1861, and the third, was for a quadrille party at the Argyle, in Lygon Street.⁶⁴⁰ The following year, the fourth request was from the First Fitzroy Quadrille Club on 29 April where they preferred a harp and violin duo to perform at the Rifle Brigade Hotel in Brunswick.⁶⁴¹

Perhaps as a measure of the increased competitiveness that went hand in hand with an expanding pool of available musicians, advertisements changed tack. As pricing became an important part of the selection process, no longer were the bands randomly selected, but were invited to tender for events. On 15 May 1862, this competitiveness was seen as, ‘TENDERS WANTED, for a BAND consisting [of] the following instruments ... Violin, piccolo, harp, and cornopean’.⁶⁴² The Ball was at Woodend, in Melbourne, and musicians were required to tender five days prior to the event. Two points arise here: either the number of harp players had dramatically increased or, more likely, the groups used the same harpist which, given that no other names mentioned save for the aforementioned Zeplin, is entirely possible. The next tender on 17 June was, ‘MUSIC WANTED – TENDERS REQUIRED for two MUSICIANS, harp and violin, to attend concert and ball of the A.O.F. Court Gisborne’.⁶⁴³ On 31 December four musicians playing violin, harp, cornet and flageolet were required for the New Year's Day celebration.⁶⁴⁴

As the years passed, more harp bands arrived in Australia. A visiting English band comprising of harp, flageolet and cornopean was available to perform for balls and

⁶³⁸ *Argus* (12 November 1859) (Trove 5691646), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5691646> (accessed 17/06/2011).

⁶³⁹ *Argus* (20 November 1860) (Trove 5693552), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5693552> (accessed 17/06/2011). In 1860, Burnham Cottage in Wellington Street, St Kilda, had a large room or hall which catered for dancing.

⁶⁴⁰ *Argus* (26 March 1861) (Trove 5698767), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5698767> (accessed 18/06/2011). At this function a harp and violin duo was required to play at Scots Grammar School in North Melbourne.

⁶⁴¹ *Argus* (29 April 1862) (Trove 5714032), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5714032> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶⁴² *Argus* (15 May 1862) (Trove 5714845), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5714845> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶⁴³ *Argus* (17 June 1864) (Trove 5749751), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5749751> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶⁴⁴ *Argus* (31 December 1864) (Trove 5734664), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5734664> (accessed 18/06/2011). Flageolet is a very small flute-like instrument resembling a recorder but with four finger holes on top and two thumb holes below.

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/209289/flageolet> (accessed 11/02/2014).

picnics.⁶⁴⁵ Both visiting bands and local musicians were required to apply by tender for work. An advertisement by the 'Demonstration Committee' in 1862 required a band, consisting of a harp, violin and cornet, to perform at a ball.⁶⁴⁶ In May 1863, offering their services 'on moderate terms' was a trio consisting of a harp, violin and cornet.⁶⁴⁷ In the same year, on 20 November a 'MUSICIAN WANTED, to play harp or pianoforte' was advertised and, as has been noted here, this points to the doubling capability of many harpists in the colonies at the time.⁶⁴⁸

The common practice of harp and violin players working together was shown again by a Melbourne violinist's 'desire to JOIN a HARP PLAYER, professionally' on 13 February 1864.⁶⁴⁹ This duo preference was again noted in the following year, on 17 January 1865, with 'WANTED, HARP and VIOLIN PLAYER, for evening party'.⁶⁵⁰ On 29 March 1866, this line up was called for: 'VIOLIN and HARP are open to ENGAGEMENT'. And again in August, where 'two PERSONS, who play harp and violin are required at the Canterbury Casino' and, finally on 2 December for a Boxing Day function.⁶⁵¹ It seems that Zeplin, who in 1859 had introduced this popular combination – was correct in doing so.

In all colonial regions local and visiting harpists made money by offering light entertainments. Tasmania was no exception. In 1862, a minstrel band of Germanic extraction arrived in Hobart, and was described as two violin players and a young girl who 'plays a small harp with considerable effect'.⁶⁵² The harp, although small, could have been an Erard harp.⁶⁵³ Arriving from Melbourne on board the *Tasmania* the *Mercury* noted that their performance:

⁶⁴⁵ *Argus* (29 November 1862) (Trove 6481514), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/6481514> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶⁴⁶ *Argus* (18 December 1862) (Trove 6481916), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/6481916> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶⁴⁷ *Argus* (29 May 1863) (Trove 6486142), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/6486142> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶⁴⁸ *Argus* (20 November 1863) (Trove 5739422), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5739422> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶⁴⁹ *Argus* (13 February 1864) (Trove 5744132), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5744132> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶⁵⁰ *Argus* (17 January 1865) (Trove 5747119), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5747119> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶⁵¹ *Argus* (29 March 1866) (Trove 5787940), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5787940> (accessed 18/06/2011). *Argus* (29 March 1866) (Trove 5787940), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5787940> (accessed 18/06/2011). *Argus* (22 December 1866) (Trove 5781772), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5781772> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶⁵² *Mercury* (27 September 1862) (Trove 8811081), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8811081> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶⁵³ The smallest Erard harp stood no taller than 5ft.2ins. See Appendix A.

is really excellent, imbued as it is with the almost inherent talent of their country in all that pertains to music. The young girl occasionally diversifies the instrumental performance with a favourite song ... accompanied by the violins, with that taste which is almost peculiar to German performers.⁶⁵⁴

Leaving the Hobart residents with a taste of Germanic culture, the trio continued touring to Launceston where their minstrel performance was described as:

a small band of strolling Germans, consisting of two men and a woman have been enlivening the streets of Launceston with music. ... and the woman sings, at the same time playing an accompaniment on the harp.⁶⁵⁵

There was no documentation as to their repertoire, only their nationality. On 20 May 1863, an advertisement noted a string band consisting of violins and harp under the leadership of Mr P. Linn (see Figure 9.3).



Figure 9.3. The Plain and Fancy Dress Ball.⁶⁵⁶

Two important points arise from this advertisement. The first is that the ball was arranged to celebrate the Royal wedding of the Prince of Wales and the Princess Alexandra of Denmark, and thus maintained a connection to the social calendar of events occurring abroad. The second is that such was the importance of the event that it required a presumably reputable string band to travel from Melbourne to Tasmania.

In South Australia a touring group, the Marriott Brothers, presented a unique entertainment style during 1863 to 1866. With an Italian background, the brothers performed duets on violin and harp, presenting a cultural program consisting of operatic, comic and sentimental songs. Not only did they perform in Adelaide, but they

⁶⁵⁴ *Mercury* (27 September 1862) (Trove 8811081), 5.

⁶⁵⁵ *Launceston Examiner* (13 November 1862) (Trove 41457054), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/41457054> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶⁵⁶ *Cornwall Chronicle* (20 May 1863) (Trove 2196869), 6, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2196869> (accessed 18/06/2011).

also travelled to outlying country regions. In Auburn they gave two performances: the first on 29 September 1863 was for the Northern Agriculture Society show; the second in December saw them providing music between each toasting for a social function.⁶⁵⁷ Returning to Adelaide in 1864 they played at the anniversary dinner of the Court Concord, which was held at the Ship Inn, Port Adelaide on 23 February.⁶⁵⁸ Enjoying playing to the residents in the Adelaide Hills, the brothers gave a musical performance at Goble's Inn, in Meadows. The large crowd enjoyed the performance on 29 March 1864, which was described by 'much merriment and elicited general applause'.⁶⁵⁹ The review for their next performance in March indicated the success of these concerts as 'the masterly manner in which the harp was handled by the elder, and the violin by the younger, proves their musical talent to be of no mean order'.⁶⁶⁰ At Nairne their performance on 22 April was described as 'selections on the harp and violin from various operas, interspersed with some excellent singing'.⁶⁶¹ The standard of their next concert, however, had apparently deteriorated. This performance, held in Lush's Hotel, Port Elliot on 10 May 1864 was appreciated for its instrumental prowess, but not its vocal quality. The Marriot brothers did not perform again for another year, with their final performance in Adelaide on 6 July 1865 noted 'some excellent music on the violin and harp, played by two Italians [which] added greatly to the harmony of the evening'.⁶⁶² Their performance at the first anniversary dinner of the Hindmarsh Rifle Club had been well received.

⁶⁵⁷ *South Australian Register* (29 September 1863) (Trove 31828536), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31828536> (accessed 18/06/2011). Here, the Marriot brothers meandered through the showgrounds playing to the passing crowd. *South Australian Register* (2 December 1863) (Trove 31830548), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31830548> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶⁵⁸ *South Australian Register* (23 February 1864) (Trove 31833383), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31833383> (accessed 18/06/2011). On this occasion they organised the musical portion of the evening's entertainment, which included several operatic and National airs. They concluded the evening's entertainment with *Rule Britannia*.

⁶⁵⁹ *South Australian Register* (29 March 1864) (Trove 39123491), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/39123491> (accessed 18/06/2011).

⁶⁶⁰ *South Australian Register* (29 March 1864) (Trove 39123491), 3.

⁶⁶¹ *South Australian Register* (22 April 1864) (Trove 31835732), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31835732> (accessed 18/06/2011). This performance was held in the large room at the Millers' Arms.

⁶⁶² *South Australian Register* (6 July 1865) (Trove 31851381), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31851381> (accessed 18/06/2011).

9.3 Summary

This chapter has identified another fifty-six Erard harps to have arrived in Australia. When added to the fifty-three harps documented to have arrived prior to 1856, this brings to one hundred and nine the total Erard harps present in Australia at the time. This total highlights the popularity of the Erard harp, and acknowledges that their presence in Australia relates directly to Bochsa and his insistence on purchasing and playing this particular harp. These harp sales confirm that harp music-making playing was no mere fad, but was indeed entrenched firmly in the musical and educational life of colonial Australia. The chapter has highlighted the subtle yet significant shift of the harp out of the concert hall and into popular, light entertainment venues, and with that the increased employment opportunities on offer for Erard harp players. The thirty-one documented light entertainment performances point to the pivotal role played by the Erard in band contexts.

The following and final chapter for the current study documents concert performances in the aftermath of Bochsa's death. It does so by not only detailing the harpist performances on Erard harps playing Bochsa repertoire, but also with the introduction of the next generation harp players. With their appearance in concerts the Erard harp and Bochsa partnership had travelled across the world and, in thirty-six years, had established a harp community in a colony, where music-making was integrated in a social and professional music environment.

Chapter Ten: Concert performances of Bochsa repertoire: 1856-1866



Figure 10.1. 'Favourite March: In Imitation of a Military Band at a Distance'.⁶⁶³

The partnership between Bochsa and Erard had started earlier in 1817 on Bochsa's arrival in London when, in conversation with Pierre Erard, he chose to represent Erard's double action harp as the instrument for the future. This unique partnership had touched many people at concert venues around the world, including his final resting place, Australia. While the previous chapter focussed on light entertainments, the current chapter documents those harpists – visiting and resident – who extended the Erard-Bochsa partnership through concert performances. Those performances featured Bochsa compositions and arrangements played, naturally enough, on an Erard harp. The chapter concludes by acknowledging those Australian-born harpists, who extended Bochsa's legacy through their performance and teaching activities.

10.1 Visiting harpists

Nine concert harpists visited Australia between 1856 and 1866. Three of them continued their world tours after performing in Australia. The *Harp Stock Books* noted that six of the harpists visiting Australia had purchased harps in London prior to their

⁶⁶³ Source: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.mus-an21485473> (accessed 10/04/2011). Digital collection - music, National Library of Australia. This Bochsa work was performed by an Australian-born harpist, Alice Molteno, on an Erard harp.

departure, several made multiple purchases. These harps will be documented within the discussion related to the harp player.

For the Australian audiences the arrival of visiting musicians was doubtless a welcome relief from the mundanity of their daily lives. While the working classes benefited from the light entertainments documented in the previous chapter, the upper classes retained an appetite for concert performances. Advertisements and critiques built up the impression of a threefold impact on the lives of concert goers – that of anticipation, the concert itself and, in the form of subsequent advertisement making reference to previous performances, reflection. The anticipation period commenced from the first concert advertising, which could be many months in advance of the event. News of forthcoming concerts highlighted who was to be the next performer and what the residents could expect by way of style or variety of performance. As was shown in the case of Bochsa's arrival, this anticipation created intense excitement. With the concert day finally upon them, reviews duly noted those who attended, what they wore, and so forth. Reviews of those concerts often then made comparisons with previous ones – the quality of the performances, the repertoire and future prospects.

Bochsa had made the public aware of an Erard harp's versatility by his performances in the 'old' country from 1817. Now in the 'new' country, harp performances were often compared to the high standards Bochsa had set, as was noted in concert reviews. Alongside word of mouth publicity, it was the newspaper's role to convey the news of an upcoming performance to the musically devoid residents, and with this in mind the news of two English harp players forthcoming arrival, Copley and Brooks, was greeted with much enthusiasm. These two gentlemen contributed widely to Australian performances, with their direct association to Bochsa pedagogy and the Erard harp. They were both capable harp teachers, as was shown in the Chapter Eight.

On arrival Copley performed light music, accompanied by the pianist Mr Emanuel. They advised that they were 'open to receive engagements' via the music seller Johnson and Co.⁶⁶⁴ The fee for a duo performance was £3. 3s, and for an additional cost of £1 11s. 6d, a violinist Mr Davies could be added.⁶⁶⁵ Perhaps the commercial venture either was not as successful as Copley had first hoped, or he

⁶⁶⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (23 March 1857) (Trove 12993282), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12993282> (accessed 14/05/2012).

⁶⁶⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (30 May 1857) (Trove 28631905), 10, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/28631905> (accessed 14/05/2012).

realised that he was squandering his talents. Whatever was the case, Copley turned his back on the light entertainment genre and embraced the concert stage.

Copley's first concert appearance was in a benefit concert following Lavenu's death in 1859.⁶⁶⁶ (Lavenu had earlier studied with Bochsa.) On this occasion Copley performed alongside resident professional players, including William Stanley, Henry Marsh, and Ernesto Spagnoletti. Graeme Skinner has suggested that Spagnoletti was a member of an opera company formed by Bochsa, which had toured England prior to Bochsa's departure in 1839.⁶⁶⁷ Copley's next performance in the Exchange Concert Room was organised by a Mrs Chester. This concert, under the patronage of the Governor General and Lady Denison, gave Copley the opportunity to perform a harp solo composed by Bochsa.⁶⁶⁸ Although, the Bochsa composition was not named, this concert indicated the social importance of Copley's performance by the presence of the regal party and the Australian gentry. In 1862 a concert review favouring Copley reported his performance as 'a solo on the harp by Mr. E.H. Copley, [was] also enthusiastically received'.⁶⁶⁹ Copley, a Chatterton pupil, had established his musical position in Sydney as a capable and much admired harp performer.

Copley performed in the Orpheonist Society's first concert for the 1862 season.⁶⁷⁰ The program featured a Bochsa quartet arrangement of a Bellini air 'Tutto e sciolto,' written for harp, piano, flute and cello. On the same program, an aria sung by Mrs Bridson, 'Ah, che assorto' by Venzano, was arranged by Copley with an accompaniment for harp and piano. A feature of Bochsa's pedagogy was mastering the skill of arranging music, a skill which Copley now included in many of his concerts. On 19 October 1863, at the Sydney Masonic Hall, Copley provided the harp accompaniment for the singer Lucy Escott's rendition of Glover's 'The Blind Girl to her

⁶⁶⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (9 August 1859) (Trove 2862835), 1,

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2862835> (accessed 14/05/2012).

⁶⁶⁷ Spagnoletti (1804-1862) Professor of music, vocalist, organist, composer, arrived in Sydney 1853.

Graeme Skinner, 'Austral Harmony, S-T', <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 14/06/2013). William Stanley (1820-1902), was a Professor of music, pianist, organist and composer. Graeme Skinner, 'Austral Harmony, L-M',

<http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 14/06/2013). Henry Marsh was a pianist, importer, and as mentioned in Chapter Three was harpist Stephen's brother.

⁶⁶⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald* (12 November 1859) (Trove 13033061), 13,

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13033061> (accessed 15/05/2012). This concert was also advertised in the *Empire* (12 November 1859) (Trove 64092802), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/64092802> (accessed 15/05/2012).

⁶⁶⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (3 January 1862) (Trove 13055091), 10,

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13055091> (accessed 15/05/2012).

⁶⁷⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (12 November 1862) (Trove 13236978), 1,

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13236978> (accessed 5/07/2011).

harp'.⁶⁷¹ As choir director, his involvement with St Philip's church provided a venue for his numerous concerts, which in turn gave him the opportunity to present his own compositions alongside works by Bochsa. A concert review on 11 November 1863 noted that 'the harp solo by Mr. Copley was most rapturously applauded, which being encored, Mr. Copley gave Bochsa's Grand March'.⁶⁷² Bochsa had written numerous 'Marches', for example, the 'Russian Grand March', the 'Grand Polish Cavalry March', 'Mexican March', to name a few. Advance advertising for Copley's performances noted that 'from the popularity and ability of Mr. Copley the concert is sure to be a great success'.⁶⁷³ The review that followed acknowledged that he played 'several compositions upon the harp' and that he 'appeared to have great mastery'.⁶⁷⁴

During 1866 Copley introduced a child violinist, Frederick Molteno, to musical audiences in Sydney. Copley played the harp accompaniments for Frederick's Sydney concert performances, and at that time Copley may have provided harp tuition to his sister Alice (see below).⁶⁷⁵ During the next concert on 28 April 1866, Copley played the 'Fantasia' composed by Bochsa, alongside harp solos written by Chatterton and his own pieces.⁶⁷⁶ The popularity and success of that concert saw Copley proclaimed 'one of the best harpists in Australia'. The content of the review included that 'as might be expected Mr. Copley's performance on the harp was one of the principal features of the entertainment'. Copley performed four harp solos during what he described as his 'grand harp recital', opening the concert with the Bochsa 'Fantasia'. The review noted that 'the entertainment closed with the beautiful harp solo by Mr Copley, whose perfect instrumentation on this exquisite instrument caused a feeling of regret that more opportunities of hearing him are not afforded'.⁶⁷⁷ Copley, by presenting Bochsa and Chatterton works in his Sydney concert performances, had continued the harp music-making legacy established earlier by the Bochsa and Erard harp partnership. He

⁶⁷¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (19 October 1863) (Trove 13087621), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13087621> (accessed 15/05/2012).

⁶⁷² *Empire* (11 November 1863) (Trove 60551341), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60551341> (accessed 13/04/2011).

⁶⁷³ *Empire* (3 February 1864) (Trove 60565179), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60565179> (accessed 20/05/2012).

⁶⁷⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (4 February 1864) (Trove 30935895), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/30935895> (accessed 20/05/2012).

⁶⁷⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (29 March 1866) (Trove 13128811), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13128811> (accessed 20/05/2012).

⁶⁷⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (31 July 1866) (Trove 13134711), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13134711> (accessed 20/05/2012).

⁶⁷⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald* (1 August 1866) (Trove 13134775), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13132775> (accessed 20/05/2012).

remained in Australia, residing in Woolloomooloo, Sydney until his death in 1874, aged forty four.

Mr T. H. Brooks arrived from New Zealand as part of a world concert tour, an activity also undertaken by Bochsa in 1839 and, as has been documented here, many Bochsa and Chatterton students. On 31 January 1860 Brooks gave his first concert performance in Hobart.⁶⁷⁸ Advertised as ‘The Celebrated Harpist’, he was recognised as an exceptional harp player, with reviews offering that his ‘performances are said to be unrivalled’.⁶⁷⁹ On this occasion other guest performers were Carl Schmitt, Rosina Caradini and Julius Buddee.⁶⁸⁰ Brooks performed on his own Erard double action harp, one of a number he had purchased in London. His first Erard (serial number 2822), was the instrument he used to complete his studies at the Royal Academy of Music in London.⁶⁸¹ His next harp purchase in 1849 was the new model Erard Gothic harp (serial number 5948), which he had subsequently sold the following year to a Mrs Mortimer in Brighton, England.⁶⁸² Brooks may have preferred playing the smaller Grecian double action harp, as his next purchase, prior to departing London, was another Grecian harp (serial number 3730) as noted on the *Harp Stock Books*.⁶⁸³ The smaller size of the Grecian would have made it more suited to his increasing travels as a performer, in that it would have been easier to manoeuvre transport between venues, hotels, and the various modes of travel that were encountered when touring.

In Brooke’s first Australian concert, the program included two solo harp pieces, and three duets for harp and piano.⁶⁸⁴ Brooks, having learnt his compositional skills from Chatterton, displayed the Bochsa style of extemporising on a theme. The result was a substantial work comprising a number of variations, and two of his own solo harp pieces ‘Irish Air’ and ‘My Heart and Lute’ with variations. This was followed by a

⁶⁷⁸ *Hobart Town Mercury* (30 January 1860) (Trove 19469645), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/19469645> (accessed 22/06/2011).

⁶⁷⁹ *Cornwall Chronicle* (10 March 1860) (Trove 65989980), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/65989980> (accessed 24/06/2011).

⁶⁸⁰ Wilhelm Carl Schmidt (- 1900), was a violinist, conductor, teacher and composer. Graeme Skinner, ‘Austral Harmony, S-T’, <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 26/06/2013). Rosina Caradini, a soprano singer, was born in Hobart on 27 August 1844 and died in South Yarra, Victoria in 1932. Graeme Skinner, ‘Austral Harmony, C-D’, <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 26/12/2013). Julius Buddee (1823-1890), Professor of music, German. Graeme Skinner, ‘Austral Harmony, A-B’, (accessed 25/06/2013).

⁶⁸¹ Harp serial number 2822, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 2, 141.

⁶⁸² Harp serial number 5948, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 174.

⁶⁸³ Harp serial number 3730, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 2, 245.

⁶⁸⁴ The solo works were described as themes and variations written by Brooks. There were three duets for harp and piano. They were ‘Overture Tancredi’, and the ‘Overture to Agnese’ by Paër and the Bochsa duo.

Bochsa arrangement named ‘Duo Concertante – Duo de Camera’, with Buddee playing piano for these performances.⁶⁸⁵ The next concert advertised again ‘with the valuable assistance of Mr. Buddee’, presented the Bochsa composition titled ‘Duo for Harp and Piano’.⁶⁸⁶ During these concerts Brooks had played the works of other composers with the violinist Mr Schmitt. Their partnership continued with their next stop, Launceston, where they acquired the services of the pianist Robert Sharpe for their performance at the Cornwall Assembly Rooms on 10 March 1860.⁶⁸⁷ The reflective nature of critiques flagged at the beginning of the current chapter is evidenced in the notice for the Launceston concert, which drew attention to their Hobart appearance:

The performances are said to be unrivalled, whilst the noble sounds to be evoked from that sweetest of instruments the harp, will attract all who care for lovely music at the hands of so eminent a harpist as Mr Brooks.⁶⁸⁸

The Launceston review described Brook’s harp solo as tasteful, with the audience requesting an encore. On this occasion he played ‘The Campbells are Coming’, extemporising on the theme with a series of variations. At this time, the reviewer offered a comparison between Brooks and Bochsa as:

Mr. Brooks, although not possessing the rapid and brilliant execution of Bochsa or Chatterton, is a harpist possessing great musical taste and skill, and his harmonics are the most perfect we have ever heard.⁶⁸⁹

The reviewer perhaps had heard both Bochsa and Chatterton in London, and was therefore, on this occasion, able to make this comparison to Brook’s playing. Departing Launceston, Brooks travelled to Melbourne, but owing to inclement weather his concert on 23 May 1860 was poorly attended. He was only in Melbourne for a brief period before announcing his farewell concert to be held on 5 June. Again this concert was not well attended, which may have prompted his relocation to Sydney.

In June 1860 Brooks arrived in Sydney where the previously discussed harpist, Coblely, had been active for three years. An early announcement for Brook’s forth

⁶⁸⁵ Curtis had performed two Duo Concertantes in 1842 (see Chapter Five).

⁶⁸⁶ *Hobart Town Mercury* (24 February 1860) (Trove 19471737), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/19471737> (accessed 24/06/2011).

⁶⁸⁷ Robert Sharpe was active in Australia 1859-1863. He was an organist, pianist and composer. Graeme Skinner, ‘Austral Harmony, S-T’, <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 26 June 2013).

⁶⁸⁸ *Cornwall Chronicle* (10 March 1860) (Trove 65989980), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/65989980> (accessed 24/06/2011).

⁶⁸⁹ *Launceston Examiner* (15 March 1860) (Trove 38999677), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/38999677> (accessed 26/06/2011).

coming concert was advertised on 25 June 1860 as ‘The Harp’ – which attests possibly to the easy familiarity the instrument now enjoyed. The advertisement reminded readers of the Courtly associations of the harp: ‘Under the immediate patronage of his Excellency the Governor-General and Lady Denison – Mr. T.H. Brooks, the celebrated harpist will give a concert. Full particulars will be duly announced’.⁶⁹⁰ Included in the *Empire* on 14 July was a discussion on the musical celebrities visiting Sydney, which mentioned that Brooks had ‘gained a high reputation in the old country, and one which has stood the test of years’.⁶⁹¹ Brooks had spent his early childhood and study years in Britain, and subsequently had performed there on numerous occasions.

Australian audiences were fortunate to be able to witness the skilled performances of Brooks, a harpist trained in the Bochsá style, playing Bochsá repertoire on an Erard harp. On the day of the concert, 17 July 1860, the complete program was advertised, thus tempting the audience with what was to come.⁶⁹² The following day, the review asserted that Brooks had played his own variations of a well-known tune ‘Believe me if all those endearing young charms’. The review gushed that:

he was a complete master of his instrument. His modulation is truly exquisite; and his artistic execution of the numerous successive variations of the air were brilliant in extreme, and called forth a loud burst of well deserved approbation.⁶⁹³

Brook’s performances showed his excellent technique, compositional skills, and talents as an improviser. The review by mentioning modulation had emphasised further Brooks’ use of the pedalling capabilities of the Erard double action harp and his ability to pedal with ease. Among his many compositions Brooks had written a ‘Fantasia’ – fast becoming his most popular composition – which he had based on Bochsá’s ‘Fantasia’. The reader is reminded of Cobley performing the Bochsá rendition of ‘Fantasia’ in his Sydney performance during 1866.

Brooks, having been so well received at the last concert, was invited to join the Benefit Concert arranged by Mr Coulon on the following evening.⁶⁹⁴ As a late addition to this concert, Brooks performed only two works: a harp solo and a duet with the

⁶⁹⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (25 June 1860) (Trove 13042300), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13042300> (accessed 26/06/2011).

⁶⁹¹ *Empire* (14 July 1860) (Trove 60413281), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60413281> (accessed 26/06/2011).

⁶⁹² *Sydney Morning Herald* (17 July 1860) (Trove 13043080), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13043080> (accessed 26/06/2011).

⁶⁹³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (18 July 1860) (Trove 13043159), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13043159> (accessed 26/06/2011).

⁶⁹⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (18 July 1860) (Trove 13043159), 5.

pianist Mr Wilson. The concert director was Charles Packer, who later became the pianist accompanying Brooks in succeeding concerts. (As mentioned earlier, Packer had purchased an Erard harp (serial number 3729), and had known Bochsa and worked with him many years earlier in London).⁶⁹⁵ On 28 July 1860, Brooks played in the first of two concerts presented by the Sydney Philharmonic Society. These performances were held in the Great Hall of the Sydney Exchange. The review of the second concert again included a comparison between Brooks and Bochsa, noting that as ‘we remember to have heard the celebrated Bochsa, and we have heard no performer who could be compared to him’.⁶⁹⁶ Given that, as has been shown here, Bochsa had not performed in Sydney, one assumes that the writer had heard him perform abroad. By comparison, the *Empire* stated correctly that they had not heard Bochsa play in Sydney. This was discussed in the ‘Musical notes of the week’ as:

Bochsa, one of the matadors on this instrument, was not heard here, we may safely say that Mr. Brooks is the best performer heard in Australia ... it will not be denied that he would be considered a very admirable executant anywhere.⁶⁹⁷

Although Brooks was noted as an exceptional harpist, Bochsa’s reputation outlived that of Brooks. At this concert Brooks played an encore piece ‘French March’, which Skinner suggests was ‘probably Bochsa’s Favourite March in imitation of a military band’.⁶⁹⁸ The description of the work as a ‘band dying away and the tones dissolving in the distance’, was one used to portray Bochsa’s ‘March’ on many occasions.⁶⁹⁹ Between November 1860 to January 1862 Brooks performed in five concerts, playing several of his own compositions, including the already mentioned ‘Irish Air’, in addition to a ‘Polonaise’ and a recently composed literary reminiscence ‘A Night with Tom Moore’.⁷⁰⁰ During 1862 Brooks joined the Masonic Order, as was indicated by his honorific, Brother Brooks. A concert at the Freemasons Hall was advertised on 7 March 1862 and, as if to celebrate Brooks’ ongoing success, the advertisement acknowledged

⁶⁹⁵ Charles Packer was one of the friends reunited with Bochsa in Sydney in 1855, on Bochsa’s arrival to Australia (see Chapter Seven).

⁶⁹⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (21 August 1860) (Trove 13044689), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13044689> (accessed 5/03/2011).

⁶⁹⁷ *Empire* (28 August 1860) (Trove 60497081), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60497081> (accessed 23/06/2011).

⁶⁹⁸ Skinner in discussion about Brook’s performance. Graeme Skinner, ‘Austral Harmony, A-B’, <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 26/06/2013).

⁶⁹⁹ *Empire* (28 August 1860) (Trove 60497081), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60497081> (accessed 23/06/2011).

⁷⁰⁰ *Empire* (28 August 1860) (Trove 60497081), 5.

that Brooks had employed a booking agent, identified as Mr Simpson.⁷⁰¹ The concert review on 12 March 1862 again described Brooks in positive terms.⁷⁰²

Brooks next concert was one of a series of three. In the first concert the pianist, Monsieur Boulanger, was deemed to have given an ‘artistic performance’ to a highly appreciative Sydney audience. On 11 March, the second concert, a solo performance by Brooks – touted as a ‘well-known and highly accomplished harpist’ – was adjudged ‘another intellectual treat’ for the large number of people attending this event.⁷⁰³ The third concert given by a Signor Cutolo, and assisted by Brooks, was attended by the wife of the New South Wales Governor, Lady Young. Here, the review observed that Brooks ‘performances on the harp were repeatedly encored’.⁷⁰⁴ On 5 June 1863, Brooks performed in a charity event in aid of the Asylum for Destitute children, with all the local talent available at this time. The event, held at the Prince of Wales Theatre, was flagged as ‘undoubtedly one of the grandest entertainments ever given in the colony’.⁷⁰⁵ This was the last mention of Brooks performing in Australia. From his arrival in Hobart, to this final concert in Sydney, Brooks had received excellent concert reviews and personal reports. He had played Bochsá compositions and arrangements alongside his own works, and he had included Bochsá’s style of extemporising on many occasions. Brooks had continued the Bochsá and Erard harp legacy in colonial Australia.

In 1855, Miss Juliana King (1845-1866), daughter of Edward King (who was previously noted as a harp teacher in Chapter Eight), gave her inaugural singing debut in Melbourne, billed as the ‘Infant Sappho’, owing to the fact she was nine years old.⁷⁰⁶ As a singer, King continued regular performances in Melbourne and Ballarat for several years.⁷⁰⁷ On relocating to Adelaide in 1863, King presented her first documented harp performance at a concert held in White’s Assembly Rooms. At this time, King sang

⁷⁰¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (8 March 1862) (Trove 13225496), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13225496> (accessed 23/06/2011).

⁷⁰² *Empire* (12 March 1862) (Trove 60510581), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60510581> (accessed 26/06/2013).

⁷⁰³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (21 March 1862) (Trove 13226164), 7, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13226164> (accessed 23/06/2011).

⁷⁰⁴ Edward Boulanger (1829-1863) arrived in Australia in 1855. Graeme Skinner, ‘Austral Harmony, A-B’, <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 22/08/2013). Cesar Cutolo (1825/26-1867) arrived in Melbourne in 1858 and then relocated to Sydney. Graeme Skinner, ‘Austral Harmony, C-D’, <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 22/08/2013).

⁷⁰⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (5 June 1863) (Trove 13079511), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13079511> (accessed 23/06/2011).

⁷⁰⁶ Graeme Skinner, ‘Austral Harmony, K-L’, <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 22/08/2013).

⁷⁰⁷ *Argus* (28 July 1860) (Trove 5686941), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5686941> (accessed 1/07/2011).

‘The Blind Girl to her Harp’ to her own harp accompaniment.⁷⁰⁸ Following this successful concert, a visiting troupe with the unlikely name the American Frikell, who had heard King’s accomplished performance, extended her an invitation to participate in their forthcoming Adelaide concert season.

The American Frikell troupe’s performance presented a culturally diversified style of entertainment for the colonial residents. The performance combined musical items with ‘theatrical elements of mystical illusion’, as the preceding advertising foretold. The troupe had been assembled by Washington Simmons, a necromancer, whose speciality was that of ‘deceiving the eye and bewildering the brain of the spectator by simple force of sleight – of – hand’.⁷⁰⁹ On 16 March 1863, the troupe introduced ‘the magic of music and the sorcery of song’.⁷¹⁰ King provided this magic with her harp and singing performances, while a Mr B. White played violin and the grand piano. King’s material, although not overly original, included her previous song ‘The Blind Girl to her Harp’, in addition to ‘O mio Fernando.’ On King’s third appearance she introduced the Bochsá harp solo, ‘The Night March’, which with the description the ‘band dying away and the tones dissolving in the distance’ appeared to be a renamed ‘French March’.⁷¹¹ The concert was repeated on the following night and again included King’s performance of the ‘The Night March’. Bochsá’s music and the Erard harp had been presented in a performance – with a difference – allowing the audience to experience ‘such varied amusements’ where they were ‘so delighted with that taste of quality’.⁷¹² King, accompanying her singing and playing her harp solo, had performed on an Erard harp. Her father Edward had, as mentioned in Chapter Nine, owned an Erard harp (serial number 6077). In addition, the *Harp Stock Books* reveal two Gothic double action harp purchases by King (serial numbers 4742 and 6027).⁷¹³

⁷⁰⁸ *South Australian Register* (22 January 1863) (Trove 50175364), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/50175364> (accessed 1/07/2011). The concert was organised by Poussard and Douay.

⁷⁰⁹ The concert was held in White’s Assembly Rooms in King William Street. *South Australian Register* (16 March 1863) (Trove 50179114), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/50179114> (accessed 1/07/2011).

⁷¹⁰ *South Australian Register* (16 March 1863) (Trove 50179114), 2.

⁷¹¹ *Empire* (28 August 1860) (Trove 60497081), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60497081> (accessed 3/07/2011).

⁷¹² *South Australian Register* (16 March 1863) (Trove 50179114), 2.

⁷¹³ Harp numbers 4742 and 6027 respectively, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 53 and 182.

The American Frikell touring troupe departed Adelaide to continue the world-wide tour, while as Skinner notes ‘King died at sea on 11 January 1866’.⁷¹⁴

Following the American Frikell troupe’s Australian departure, other national groups added to the diversity of entertainment by transferring music from their cultural upbringing to the Australian stage. Not surprisingly, the varying styles of performance all presented an association to either Bochsá or the Erard harp or both, thus continuing their partnership in colonial Australia, post-Bochsá. In the previous chapter, the current study documented an example of Germanic influence with the performance of an itinerant band as they toured Tasmania. By contrast there were a number of harpists in Victoria who were actively engaged in performing as part of the ever increasing Welsh community.

The Welsh harpist Llewelyn Thomas (c.1840-??) commenced performing in Ballarat during 1861. Llewelyn was the brother of the renowned harpist John Thomas (1826-1913), who at this time was the Harp Professor at the Royal Academy of Music in London. Llewelyn’s connections to both Bochsá and Erard came by way of his brother John, who had studied with Chatterton.⁷¹⁵ On 8 March 1861, Llewelyn pointedly advertised to ‘the ladies of Ballarat and its vicinity’ that he had received a ‘new harp, sent by his patron in London’ and that the harp he had brought out with him to Australia was now ‘at the disposal of the public’.⁷¹⁶ Llewelyn was arranging a raffle for the harp, and at this time reminded the ‘ladies and gentry who visited the Royal [Hotel] during his engagement’ that they had heard the harp and were thus ‘able to judge what is a sweet-toned, and well finished instrument’.⁷¹⁷ Tickets for the raffle were 10s. 6d. each and could be purchased at his upcoming performance at ‘the Fire Brigade Hotel’. By acknowledging the clientele for Erard harps as being upper class ladies and gentry, Llewelyn had pitched his notice appropriately. However, what was of more importance here was the mention of a patron in London. The *Harp Stock Books* indicate that it was indeed his brother John who had arranged for an Erard harp (serial number 4103) to be sent to Llewelyn in Australia (see Figure 10.2). This double action harp, built in March 1828, had been purchased on 15 October 1860.

⁷¹⁴ Graeme Skinner, ‘Austral Harmony, K-L’, <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 26/04/2014).

⁷¹⁵ Roslyn Rensch, *Harp and Harpists* rev. ed., 71.

⁷¹⁶ *Star* (8 March 1861) (Trove 66337810), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/66337810> (accessed 2/05/2011).

⁷¹⁷ *Star* (8 March 1861) (Trove 66337810), 3, (accessed 2/05/2011).

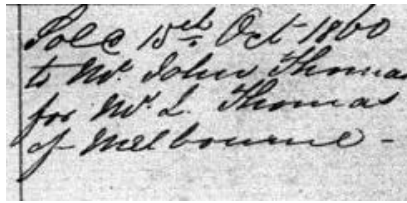


Figure 10.2. Erard harp (serial number 4103).⁷¹⁸

It was likely that the proceeds of this raffle were for Llewelyn's personal financial gain, as no other suggestion was offered. Llewelyn was noted as participating in Welsh music community events on several occasions, and performed in both Ballarat and Melbourne. In Melbourne he was gazetted as 'that really clever young performer upon the harp'.⁷¹⁹

In Sydney on 16 November 1861, a Mr Morgan (dates unknown) an apparently blind harpist, was advertised as the 'celebrated Welsh harpist', whose expertise was in performing harp solos that were derived from original English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh melodies. The solo pieces he enlarged upon by playing variations.⁷²⁰ As had been noted, Bochsa himself had included extemporising in all his performances, a skill which was now commonly copied by his students. Morgan, on finding that the Welsh community was centred in Williamstown, a suburb on the south side of Melbourne, relocated there so as to perform in the local community activities, such as a celebration for St. David's Day, held on 3 March 1864.⁷²¹

The third Welsh harpist, Mr John Williams (dates unknown), was also a blind harpist, and a resident in Williamstown. He had arrived in Australia earlier in 1858, but for reasons unknown only commenced public performance five years later, on 22 December 1863. A Welsh community event in Ballarat was reviewed as follows:

Nearly the whole of the proceedings were in Welsh, and very few other than Welsh people were present ... Mr Williams, the blind harper from Williamstown, and Mr Llewellyn Thomas, were of course intelligible to all ears.⁷²²

Both Williams and Llewellyn had travelled to Ballarat to participate in this national activity. Williams composed Welsh harp music, and performed in numerous concerts.

⁷¹⁸ Harp serial number 4103, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 2, 277.

⁷¹⁹ *Star* (24 December 1863) (Trove 72512409), 1s, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72512409> (accessed 2/05/2011).

⁷²⁰ *Empire* (16 November 1861) (Trove 60483161), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/60483161> (accessed 2/05/2011).

⁷²¹ *Argus* (3 March 1864) (Trove 5745117), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5745117> (accessed 2/05/2011).

⁷²² *Star* (28 December 1863) (Trove 72512476), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72512476> (accessed 2/05/2011).

On 11 January 1865 he accompanied a Welsh choir and included a ‘Fantasia’ and several solos on the harp, deemed to be ‘executed with spirit and taste’.⁷²³ In 1866 he gave a performance of several harp solos in the Cambria Vocal Union concert, one ‘principally confined to Welsh music’ before a ‘fashionable and numerous’ audience including Brigadier-General Carey ... accompanied by Mrs Carey and suite’. The concert held in the Melbourne Exhibition Building was a ‘great success and well received by its audience’.⁷²⁴ Prior to his Australian arrival, Williams had purchased a Gothic Erard double action harp (serial number 6111) and had the harp sent to St. Kilda in Melbourne during 1858.⁷²⁵ The three Welsh harpists had not only provided the Welsh community with new music and Erard harp performances, but also had extended the colonial residents’ cultural awareness of a broader spectrum of national music.

During 1864, in a coastal region south of Adelaide, an Erard harp was featured in a number of concerts. The harp player was Mrs Charles Lowe and the town Port Elliot, a seaside community where music and recitations were an integral part of the community’s performance calendar. Here the reader is reminded that Annette Horn, daughter of Henry Horn, had married Mr Charles Lowe in 1863, and had relocated to Port Elliot at that time.

Lowe played her harp to enhance her husband Charles’s lecture presentations. On 29 April 1864, the celebration of the Tercentenary of the birth of Shakespeare was held at the district schoolroom, where Lowe ‘discoursed some sweet and stirring music upon the harp – an instrument which that lady seems perfectly to understand’.⁷²⁶ She had written a composition entitled ‘The harp restrung at Shakespeare’s grave’, which she sang to her own harp accompaniment.⁷²⁷ The Shakespearean entertainment continued over several days with the performance following held in Port Elliot on 2 May. The Chairman, Mr J. Hindmarsh introduced Lowe as follows:

She performed in splendid style ‘The Volunteers March’, on the harp – an instrument which, though considered a very difficult one, was nevertheless

⁷²³ *Brisbane Courier* (11 January 1865) (Trove 1266821), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/1266821> (accessed 12/04/2012). Although recorded in a Brisbane newspaper, this information was titled ‘Victoria’, and was a collation of extracts from the Melbourne *Argus*.

⁷²⁴ *Ballarat Star* (2 June 1866) (Trove 112862608), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/112862608> (accessed 14/04/2012).

⁷²⁵ Harp serial number 6111, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 3, 190.

⁷²⁶ *South Australian Register* (29 April 1864) (Trove 39122195), 3.

⁷²⁷ The beginning words were ‘New strung, my harp, beloved harp’, *South Australian Register* (2 May 1864) (Trove 391211033), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/391211033> (accessed 12/03/2011).

handled by that talented lady with the greatest ease and musical precision. At the close of the performance of this piece, the performer was greeted with loud and prolonged applause.⁷²⁸

Lowe was a capable harpist, which was not surprising considering her training and family connections to Bochsá and the Erard harp – her father Henry was Bochsá's colleague in London. An article published a few days later confirmed that Lowe's harp was indeed an Erard harp.⁷²⁹ Lowe's father had purchased many Erard harps as identified earlier, but what is not clear is whether any of his harps had journeyed to Australia, and perhaps were now part of Lowe's possessions. The article described Lowe's harp as 'an exquisite harp, made by Erard' and that her performance of the 'Volunteer March' represented:

alternative advancing and receding music; and measured tread of the soldier, the distant drum, the mingling cymbals, and approaching band were depicted with extremely good effect.⁷³⁰

During the next four years, Lowe continued to compose and arrange music to accompany her husband's lectures.⁷³¹ On 12 February 1866 the *South Australian Register* review made reference to her performance of a Bochsá arrangement as follows:

The gem of the evening, however, was the performance of French march on the harp, arranged by Bochsá – a highly successful imitation of the effect of a band of martial music.⁷³²

At this concert Lowe played an encore piece, which naturally enough was another Bochsá arrangement, 'The Copenhagen Waltz with variations'. In April, Lowe again performed Bochsá's 'French March' alongside the Welsh air 'Ar hyd y nos' and the

⁷²⁸ *South Australian Register* (2 May 1864) (Trove 391211033), 3, (accessed 12/03/2011).

⁷²⁹ *The Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London* revealed earlier that Lowe's harp (that is, Miss Annette Horn) was an Erard double action with serial number 3465.

⁷³⁰ *South Australian Register* (6 May 1864) (Trove 31836287), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31836287> (accessed 12/03/2011).

⁷³¹ *South Australian Register* (27 May 1864) (Trove 31837095), 6, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31837095> (accessed 12/03/2011). 'Mrs Lowe again presented her harp accompaniment to verses that have been prepared by the lecturer. The music had been adapted for the occasion by the lady'. The next lecture at Port Elliot was on 9 January and documented that the 'members of the St Jude's choir and the Goolwa glee club executed trios and a solo. Mr Lowe delivered his lecture with Mrs Lowe supporting the music on harp and piano which included some sacred and secular subjects'. *South Australian Register* (9 January 1866) (Trove 8783879), 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8783879> (accessed 12/03/2011).

⁷³² *South Australian Register* (12 February 1866) (Trove 41019578), 3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/41019578> (accessed 12/03/2011). The reader is reminded of the multiple naming of Bochsá's 'French March', with the identical description repeated of many occasions extending to his 'Night March', 'Volunteer's March' and the original 'Favourite March: In Imitation of a Military Band at a Distance' (see Figure 10.1).

French air ‘Ah vous dirai je, maman’ at the Cavalry Fete at Higginsbrook. During the performance an incident occurred when, having broken a string, she continued on the piano.⁷³³

In 1865, the Sydney colonial settlers experienced another cultural treat with the arrival of Signor Abecco (dates unknown), an Italian tenor and accomplished harp performer. On 18 February 1865 Abecco sang ‘Kiss me Good Night, Mother’ in a joint concert with a touring group, the Christy’s Minstrels.⁷³⁴ This touring group advertised as ‘the veritable and original’ company and as being ‘patronised by Her Most Gracious Majesty’, had departed from Southampton and toured through ‘British India, Ceylon/Burmah, Java and China’ en route to Australia.⁷³⁵ In following performances, Abecco embellished his singing by providing his own harp accompaniments. The *Sydney Morning Herald* reviewed his performance as ‘Signor Abecco is one of the very best we have heard. As an instrumentalist, Signor Abecco renders efficient service on the harp’.⁷³⁶ Continued praise was offered in *Bell’s Life in Sydney*, acknowledging that ‘Signor Abecco added to his vocal triumph by his accompaniments on the harp’. Further details as to his expertise included that he was, on that ‘charming instrument, evidently a most proficient manipulator’.⁷³⁷ Although Australian advertising had not commented on the harp Abecco selected to play, there was evidence that Abecco travelled with a double action harp. On 10 May 1867, the *Nelson Evening Mail*, a New Zealand local newspaper, revealed that Abecco ‘was compelled to play on a single action harp ... as his double action instrument’ had gone ahead to his next destination, which was Hokitika.⁷³⁸

Understanding the importance of Abecco’s contribution to the troupe’s performances, the Christy’s Minstrels now trumpeted Abecco’s appearance as the

⁷³³ *South Australian Register* (27 April 1866) (Trove 28786938), 6, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/28786938> (accessed 12/03/2011).

⁷³⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (18 February 1865) (Trove 13107724), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13107724> (accessed 18/03/2011). Minstrelstry, or a troupe of minstrels presenting music, song and dance was becoming a popular form of entertainment in Australia at this time, with printed songs sold following the performances available from shops such as Grocott’s or Mason’s bookstalls. Australian Variety Theatre: Popular Entertainment Culture, 1850-1893 <http://ozvta.com/genres/> (accessed 17/02/2013).

⁷³⁵ *South Australian Register* (13 May 1865) (Trove 39129231), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/39129231> (accessed 12/03/2011).

⁷³⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (21 February 1865) (Trove 13097816), 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13097816> (accessed 12/03/2011). Abecco opened this morning concert performance by singing the overture.

⁷³⁷ *Bell’s Life in Sydney and Sporting Chronicle* (25 February 1865) (Trove 65463126), 2/3, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/65463126> (accessed 12/03/2011).

⁷³⁸ *Nelson Evening Mail* (10 May 1867) <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=NEM18670510.2.8&e=-----10--1----0--> (accessed 13/11/2013).

‘Sensational Balladist and Harpist’.⁷³⁹ At every concert Abecco sang to his own harp accompaniments and included his solo harp performance of the ‘Lays of many Lands’. Abecco’s now famed performances were presented to audiences in Melbourne, Adelaide, Launceston and Hobart. Shortly after returning to Melbourne in August 1865, Abecco embarked on a series of solo concerts while the Christy’s Minstrels returned to London. At these solo concerts he included his usual repertoire, in that it was noted that he ‘sang a few ballads, and played his famous harp solo, “Lays of many Lands,” with rich effect’.⁷⁴⁰ Spreading his fame across Australia, Abecco gave concerts in all regional centres before arriving finally in Perth prior to leaving the colony in 1866. New Zealand was his next destination. The *Argus* of 22 May 1861 published, in what was a first during the post-Bochsa period, an orchestral list, one that identified a Mr Seabrooke as the orchestral harpist for a grand concert held in the Exhibition Building in Melbourne.⁷⁴¹ (The complete program with the orchestra list is found in Appendix C).

This section has examined the harpists who performed classically-oriented concerts, and has identified their association to Bochsa and the Erard harp. The concerts represented, for the colonial gentry, a continuation of the concert experience to which they had been accustomed in Europe. The diversity of performances available by the many and varied touring groups added not only to their social enjoyment, but also to their cultural understanding of diverse musical experiences and related nationality of the troupes. Following on from this, the next and final section reveals the continued legacy of Bochsa and the Erard harp, which became more evident by the Australian-born harpists appearance in concert performances.

10.2 Australian-born harpists

On arrival in colonial Australia, visiting and resident harpists had taught the harp ‘accomplishment’ to many young players. The current study has shown that the earliest documented harp teacher was Mrs MacLeod in 1838, and that the professional teachers, Marsh, Prout and Curtis were actively engaged in teaching from 1840 onwards, and as

⁷³⁹ *South Australian Register* (13 May 1865) (Trove 39129231), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/39129231> (accessed 12/03/2011).

⁷⁴⁰ *Argus* (17 October 1865) (Trove 5782111), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5782111> (accessed 12/03/2011).

⁷⁴¹ *Argus* (22 May 1861) (Trove 5700414), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5700414> (accessed 3/05/2012). This was a charity event with the proceeds intended to aid the widows and orphans of the 40th regiment who had fallen in New Zealand.

such produced harpists who were to come of age as performers from the mid-1850s. These teachers, in using Bochsa's pedagogy, repertoire and performance practices, all based on their Erard harps, ensured the continuation of the Erard-Bochsa legacy in the next generation of harpists. That continuation is confirmed by the knowledge that during this period eight Erard harps were imported into Australia.

Marsh, identified as a key exponent for the teaching of Bochsa's pedagogy, harp performer, and as Erard harp importer from 1842, played a vital role in establishing the next generation of Australian harpists. His harp technique and use of Bochsa's repertoire formed the basis of his teaching style, one passed on to his own students. Marsh's own legacy is flagged in the following advertisement, dated 11 April 1865, for the Melbourne Philharmonic society's yearly first subscription concert, held in the Exhibition Building. The evening feature a first performance by a Marsh pupil (see Figure 10.3):

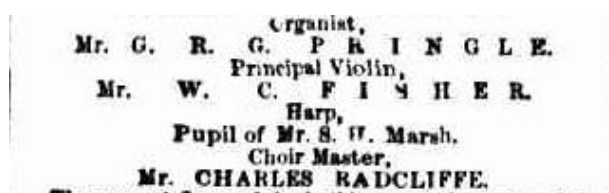


Figure 10.3. Melbourne Philharmonic first subscription concert advertisement.⁷⁴²

Although the student above remained unnamed, another concert program identified Marsh's student as a Miss Rainsford (1853-??).⁷⁴³ On 1 September 1865 at a concert arranged for the Melbourne Orphan Asylum in the Eastern Hill Drill room, a Miss Mortley sang 'The Blind Girl to her Harp', with a harp accompaniment played by Rainsford. The review described that 'this young lady apparently not even twelve years of age, and a pupil of Mr. S. H. Marsh, was warmly encored'.⁷⁴⁴ This young lady performed on an Erard harp and was accustomed to playing Bochsa repertoire. The *Harp Stock Books* indicate that a Rainsford purchased an Erard harp, however, the details for this particular entry are unclear due to the deterioration of the original document.⁷⁴⁵

⁷⁴² *Argus* (11 April 1865) (Trove 5736926), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5736926> (accessed 6/02/3011).

⁷⁴³ *Argus* (1 September 1865) (Trove 5772897), 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5772897> (accessed 16/03/2011).

⁷⁴⁴ *Argus* (1 September 1865) (Trove 5772897), 5.

⁷⁴⁵ Harp serial number unclear, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*.

With the introduction of the next harpist, Miss Alice Edith Molteno (1857- ??), the joint legacy of Erard and Bochsa was made evident. The Molteno children had begun performing at early ages. Frederick, the violinist was only six and was called the ‘infant musician’, while his sister Alice, aged eight, played harp. On 7 December 1865, a concert given by the Melbourne Philharmonic introduced these young players to the colonial residents.⁷⁴⁶ On their arrival in Sydney, the aforementioned Edwin Copley provided the harp accompaniment for Frederick’s concert, which was held on 27 March 1866.⁷⁴⁷ Following the Sydney performance, the Molteno family travelled to Adelaide where Alice continued her harp studies with Henry Hughes. As Hughes had purchased two Erard harps (serial numbers 3266 and 3941) in London, Molteno would have played on an Erard harp at her lessons.⁷⁴⁸

In Adelaide on 29 September 1866, advertising commenced for Molteno’s forthcoming participation in a Grand Miscellaneous Concert, where she was gazetted as the ‘Australian juvenile harpist’.⁷⁴⁹ The concert on 1 October 1866 under the ‘special patronage on Lady Daly’, was held in White’s Assembly Rooms, King William Street. Here the nine year old Molteno played two solo harp pieces, and accompanied herself singing. The two solos were ‘Favourite March: In Imitation of a Military Band at a Distance’ composed by Bochsa and Weber’s ‘Last Waltz’. The ‘March’ was a popular choice and was, as has been shown here, a favourite among harpists, one that carried various titles. The second work she performed had a special attachment to Bochsa, in that the ‘Last Waltz’ had been played as part of the requiem for Bochsa’s funeral service in 1856. Molteno’s concert review made much of the Courtly credentials of the audience, and juxtaposed this with an awareness of the Erard-Bochsa partnership and its continued vitality.⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁶ *Argus* (7 December 1865) (Trove 5766216), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5766216> (accessed 21/04/2011).

⁷⁴⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald* (27 March 1866) (Trove 13128679), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/13128679> (accessed 20/05/2011). Copley may have provided some harp instruction to Molteno during her short stay in Sydney. As the study has shown, it was a common practise to acquire skills from the resident musician, or travelling harpist.

⁷⁴⁸ Harp serial numbers 3266 and 3941, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 2, 190 and 258.

⁷⁴⁹ *South Australian Register* (29 September 1866) (Trove 41021562), 1, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/41021562> (accessed 23/05/2011).

⁷⁵⁰ Skinner notes ‘Alice Edith, nine years of age, and a pupil of Henry Hughes’. Graeme Skinner, ‘Austral Harmony, H-J’, <http://www.graemeskinner.id.au/australharmony.html> (accessed 23/03/2014). Skinner reveals that Molteno lost her harp at sea while travelling from Adelaide to Launceston.

10.3 Summary

Identification of the nine visiting harpists in this period has confirmed that the Bochsa and Erard harp partnership was very well entrenched in colonial Australia. The newly arrived harpists had, in some way or another, crossed paths with Bochsa and continued to expose Bochsa's repertoire to Australian audiences. In most cases they also followed his example and played on an Erard harp. Two harpists noted in this chapter, Cobley and Brooks, capitalised on their connection to Bochsa, and promoted the Erard harp as a superior instrument. They both performed Bochsa's compositions and arrangements, with Brooks continuing Bochsa's habit of extemporising in his performances. Visiting touring groups offered a variety of culturally diversified performances to the upper classes, and harpists often took the spotlight through solo performances of Bochsa repertoire. Stephen Marsh, as Bochsa's protégé, had over the years extended Bochsa's outstanding reputation by not only the inclusion of Bochsa repertoire in teaching, but also by his ability to emulate his teacher's performance style within his concert performances. Marsh's commitment to Erard harp also echoed Bochsa's position as agent for Erard. Like many other harpists identified in the current study, Australian-born harpists emerged, replacing their teachers in concert performances and teaching environment – the natural progression of the next generation.

Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten have documented the Erard-Bochsa legacy subsequent to his death in 1856. Chapter Nine showed that the number of Erard harps in Australia had increased substantially, and with Chapter Ten brings to approximately one hundred and nine the number of Erard harps to have arrived in Australia during the thirty-six year period under review – 1830-1866. The number of Erard harps had far out-numbered any other harp-makers harps, with only one Stumpff, one Barry, one Schweisso and two Egan harps identified by sales advertisements in newspapers at this time.⁷⁵¹

⁷⁵¹ The total number of Erard harps was obtained from the sales/imports equalling seventy-seven (or more), and thirty-two visiting harpists identified (with Erard harps) as teachers, performers or both. In addition, there were numerous schools, institutions and governesses that offered harp tuition, and although the teacher remained unnamed, some or all of them may have owned Erard harps, thus the number of Erard harps may have been greater than the one hundred and nine identified above.

Conclusion

The study has identified and evaluated documentary evidence attesting to the role and impact of the Erard-Bochsa relationship on harp music and music-making in Australia during the period 1830-1866 – that is, from the documented date of the first Erard harp in Australia to the emergence of Australian-born, youthful Erard performers. Before reconsidering the principal findings of each chapter it is helpful here to revisit key historical considerations leading up to the arrival in Australia of the Erard harp and the subsequent, albeit all too brief, visit by Bochsa to Australian shores.

The Erard harp's success and popularity had commenced in the late eighteenth century and continued to thrive in Europe throughout the nineteenth century. Roslyn Rensch describes the immediate significance of the Erard as follows: 'the superior construction and tone of the pedal harps marketed by Erard soon made other forms of the instrument obsolete'.⁷⁵² Pierre Erard concurred, boasting that 'Erard's harps speak for themselves, and have proved on trial to answer in any climate'.⁷⁵³ The robustness of the instrument's design, coupled with its favour among Europe's ruling elite, all but guaranteed its transplantation to Australia during the first waves of migration here.

The success of Sébastien Erard's fourchette mechanism lay in its ability to allow harpists to play easily in all keys. The current study has highlighted the advantages of the fourchette mechanism alongside Erard's other design advancements: a stronger body; string gauging that offered greater volume; and decorations that made the harp aesthetically pleasing and thus desirable both as an instrument and a household acquisition. Erard's superior harp design was emphasised by inscriptions on harps showing Royal approval, which were appropriately changed with each new crowned monarch. During the nineteenth century, many harp-makers were acknowledged as copying his basic structural design, in addition to using Erard's successful fourchette mechanism, but their harps could not include Royal endorsement.

Of equal importance, an exceptionally brilliant and entrepreneurial harpist was needed in order to present such a successfully developed and innovative pedal harp to a world-wide audience. The finest harpist of the nineteenth century was Nicolas-Charles Bochsa and by his actions, the Erard harp was exposed to many people from London, Europe, and America to the new developing colony, Australia. The current study has

⁷⁵² Roslyn Rensch, *Harp and Harpists*, rev. ed., 150.

⁷⁵³ Pierre Erard, *The Harp in its Present Improved State*, 15.

highlighted Bochsá's expertise in performing and pedagogy. As Richard Davis notes, 'his contribution to the advancement of the instrument was comparable to that of Liszt, for the piano, and Paganini, for the violin'.⁷⁵⁴ Bochsá's commitment to Erard was confirmed in the fact he chose only to perform on an Erard harp, wrote music for Erard's newly patented harp, and acted as exponent and agent for the harp company. The current study has documented the interaction between these two major forces in the nineteenth century harp-world. That interaction, through the agency of the harp-maker Sébastien and his nephew Pierre Erard, and the harpist and composer Bochsá and his disciples, has been shown to be of pivotal importance to the development of harp music-making in colonial Australia.

Musical activity in the early days of the colony was limited. Roger Covell suggests that 'it would have been difficult for the pioneers who came freely to Australia to find a country less suitable for any kind of musical domestication'.⁷⁵⁵ To compensate for the seemingly hostile and desolate environment encountered by arriving settlers, those same settlers brought with them items of social value and familiar comfort, that is, items that were representative of the former lifestyle experienced in the homelands. The property that accompanied the pioneers was thus a reflection on their personal social status. To that end Geoffrey Lancaster has shown that the first piano to arrive in Australia belonged to Surgeon Worgan (the first fleet doctor on the *Sirius*). The current study likewise has shown that the first pedal harp – an Erard – arrived here as part of the goods and chattels of the Honourable Sir Francis Forbes and his family, in Sydney around 1824.

It was courtesy of the arrival in Australia of Bochsá's disciples that colonial harp music-making activities commenced. Bochsá had instigated a teaching regime, one developed from his day – to – day instruction as a private harp teacher in London from 1817, and as Professor of Harp at the Royal Academy of Music from 1822 to 1827. This instructional method he compiled as *The First Six Weeks, or Daily Precepts and Examples for the Harp*, published by Goulding and D'Almaine in London. Bochsá believed that by strictly adhering to his method a basic understanding of harp technique was achievable within a six week period. The students who diligently followed his method became exceptional harpists in their own right, with many of them making the

⁷⁵⁴ Richard Davis, *Anna Bishop*, 29.

⁷⁵⁵ Roger Covell, *Australia's Music*, 1.

journey to Australia. One such student was Bochsa's protégé, Stephen Marsh, who not only established Bochsa's pedagogy and repertoire in colonial Australia, but also played a vital role as an importer of Erard instruments.

The importance of the Erard-Bochsa partnership in colonial Australia is evidenced through the social and cultural transference from Europe. By transplanting the cultural values from the 'old' world and by blending into the 'new' environment – a theme entwined throughout the current study – this impacted every area of the colonists' lives. This included harp pedagogy as an 'accomplishment', and harp performance in both 'high art' and light entertainments. Not only were social customs found in the settlers' daily lives to maintain familiarity, but also for the women folk it served to overcome the thoughts of homesickness and the isolation found in the new environment. As Thérèse Radic suggested:

the parlour ... is seen as a women's sphere, a place of preserved memories, pianos, afternoon teas, tedium, respectability ... Which is to say the shrine of the exile and the emigrant, in which the woman is the keeper of social custom...⁷⁵⁶

Turning now to key chapter findings, the first section (Chapters One and Two) reviewed the Erard harp and Bochsa's involvement within the development of nineteenth century pedal harp music-making. The investigation dealt with the broader context on the Erard harp development by understanding Sébastien Erard's career as inventor of the double action pedal harp. Chapter One addressed the organological features that were necessary to modernise harp designs and so align the instruments with the demands of nineteenth century music – in particular the not unreasonable desire for a harp capable of playing in any key. This harp needed to keep abreast of writings by 'modern' composers; it needed to be capable of being deployed in both symphony orchestras and solo concert performances, as well as meeting performer demands for increased volume, timbral contrast and ease of playability. Sébastien's inventiveness achieved this goal by creating the fourchette mechanism, in addition to other features as examined in the study, which culminated in a unique and socially acceptable musical instrument. With his popular harp now flourishing in high society Europe, Sébastien's entrepreneurial skills saw manufacture shift from Paris to London, and with two functioning workshops commenced a highly successful profitable family run company able to compete with other harp-makers production. As established in this

⁷⁵⁶ Thérèse Radic cited in Skinner, 'Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition', 11.

chapter, to have a champion in the form of a celebrated performer was deemed vital to the company's ongoing success, and thus began the relationship between Bochsa and the superior double action Erard pedal harp.

Chapter Two detailed Bochsa's life journey as key exponent for the Erard harp. His commitment to Erard saw him compose studies and pieces intended for performance on Erard's double action harp. The chapter outlined Bochsa's career from his eccentric childhood, one of concert performing and composing at a young age, to his harp studies in Paris with Naderman, (a course he cut short due to exceptional abilities), and further afield into the professional world as performer, teacher, composer and concert entrepreneur. Many historians, including William Flood, John Sainsbury and more recently the harpists, Roslyn Rensch and John Marson, have written descriptions extolling Bochsa in both positive and negative tones. All noted that in addition to his musical genius, he had highly developed entrepreneurial skills. He acquired wealth through two avenues, the first being his concerts performances, teaching, and publication of repertoire and instruction books, the second by marrying into the gentry.

The first section established the Erard-Bochsa partnership. The next section (Chapters Three, Four, Five and Six) focussed on the transplantation of the Erard-Bochsa partnership into Australia. Chapter Three explored the reasons why the Erard harp travelled to Australia by the understanding of the social standing of the Erard-Bochsa partnership in Europe. That standing was transplanted to Australia, where the partnership emerged in the salon which, as Michael Chanan suggests:

was the locus where music became a commodity which could be exchanged for social status ... the status-conscious professional class sought to emulate the tastes and materialistic ostentation of the wealthy aristocracy...⁷⁵⁷

The Erard harp's arrival in Australia was documented by tabling archival evidence, in the form of newspaper notices and the original *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London* records, dated from 1807. Empirical data, presented in graphical charts, showed that the number of Erard harps arriving in Australia was far greater than that of any other harp-maker, with forty-four Erard harps traced during the twenty five year period prior to Bochsa's Australian visit. In this regard the role of Stephen Marsh as an importer was shown to be invaluable. Erard harps were also listed as part of the 'household furniture' of residents returning home. Some of the harps – both incoming

⁷⁵⁷ Michael Chanan, cited in Lancaster, *The Role of the Piano*, 160.

and outgoing, survived better than others in the harsh Australian conditions, variations that came to be reflected in their sale prices.

Chapter Four acknowledged that the Erard harp was not a fad, but was an important commodity with a strong educational and performance presence. As such, harp accessories which included strings, music and repairs were essential. With this in mind many music sellers and importers increased trading of harp related goods and services. A trend, which had commenced earlier in England, of producing commercial quantities of concert repertoire immediately after given performances, also found its way to Australia. Evidence was also presented of students returning from Europe following further studies there.

Chapter Five highlighted the pivotal role of the Erard harp in education. The chapter began with an examination of the Erard harp's role in what was the European educational practice known as the 'accomplishment'.⁷⁵⁸ Newly arrived harp teachers introduced the 'accomplishment' experience to young women, either privately or in educational institutions. The majority of harp teachers were females who had little or no teaching qualifications and thus relied on their communication and etiquette skills, qualities they had acquired through their own 'accomplishment' studies.⁷⁵⁹ The study revealed the large number of private schools and institutions for both boarders and day students. Although it was revealed as common-place that mothers and daughters ran these centres in their homes, in institutions those professional teachers who were employed to teach the harp as an 'accomplishment' were generally male and presented as 'masters' of the instrument. With the continued use of the Erard harp and Bochsá methodology and repertoire, harp playing as a social 'accomplishment' thrived in the Australian colonies.

Chapter Six continued the 'old' to the 'new' theme by documenting concert performances alongside light entertainments. The chapter identified the concert repertoire, following the usual presentation of ballads and opera excerpts, by focussing on the Bochsá music played by his disciples from 1830 to 1855. In addition to Bochsá's solo harp and ensemble compositions and arrangements, the study documented Marsh's performance of Bochsá's 'Grand Fantasia' accompanied by a complete orchestra. Grand performances such as these were received with enthusiasm by the colonial residents,

⁷⁵⁸ Marjorie Theobald, 'Mere Accomplishments?' cited in *Women Who Taught*, Prentice and Theobald eds., 71-91.

⁷⁵⁹ Pederson, cited in *Women Who Taught*, Prentice and Theobald eds., 40.

with the upper echelons attending functions often for the social status such events attracted. With harp music activities catering for a broader spectrum of residents, the harpist emerged in varying light entertainment settings, including quadrille bands, parties, and balls. While the second section concerned the transplantation of the Erard harp to Australia, and examined its role in education and performance, the third section (Chapters Seven, Eight, Nine and Ten) documented the critical importance of this transplantation.

Chapter Seven described how Bochsa's arrival in Australia was a much anticipated event for the Sydney residents. The stories of his forthcoming visit, (including a hoax advertisement proclaiming his arrival – four months premature) spread across Australia. With the arrival of the clipper *Kit Carson* on 3 December 1855, the *Sydney Morning Herald* was one of many to trumpet Bochsa's arrival as part of Madame Anna Bishop's entourage. On arrival in Sydney, Bochsa immediately commenced preparations for his Australian debut. This involved preparing concert programs, which included his compositions and the performance arrangements themselves. The latter included venue selection, publicity notices, sourcing the accompanying orchestra from the local Sydney talent, and overseeing the activities of the concert manager Torning. These advertisements provided the prospective audience with the knowledge of performance content, and offered the Courtly credentials and descriptive accolades that both Bochsa and Bishop had received during the many years performing and touring. Bochsa had spent the previous sixteen years travelling the world as concert harpist, director and arranger for Madame Anna Bishop and, more importantly as exponent for the Erard double action harp.

The study identified that Bochsa's concerts featured opera excerpts, and selected songs arranged or composed by Bochsa for Bishop. Reviews of the four concerts were positive and reflected Bochsa's abilities as organiser, negotiator and performer. As Bochsa's health declined his former student Marsh stepped in to assist. While attending rehearsals for a planned fifth concert, which was to be a performance of *Norma*, Bochsa collapsed and subsequently passed away in Sydney, on 6 January 1856 – less than a month after his arrival. Acknowledgement of this great musician was articulated by the public response on the funeral day and the size of the cortege that led its way to Camperdown Cemetery in Sydney.

The acknowledgement of Bochsa's reputation and contribution to world-wide music-making was now visible in Australia. Chapter Eight detailed Bochsa's presence

in educational advertisements and reviews of visiting harp players' concerts. A harpist's ability was judged on their connection to Bochsa, either as a disciple, or through their proclaimed use of his methods and repertoire. Whether the advertised Bochsa link was real or imagined is of little importance, rather it is their desire to benefit through association which is telling. Chapter Nine highlighted the Erard's participation in the increasing popularity of light entertainments, which saw small musical groups travelling from the main towns to country regions in order to cater to the rising demand for more informal forms of entertainment. The chapter also confirmed that during the thirty-six year period under review over one hundred Erard harps arrived in Australia, and that Erards far out-numbered other harps. Chapter Ten continued to trace the legacy of the Erard-Bochsa partnership by outlining the concert performances that occurred in this period. A further nine harpists performed Bochsa's repertoire in concert performances across Australia, with many using the preferred Erard harp. The *Harp Stock Books* identified the harpists' purchases in London. Two key exponents, Copley and Brooks ensured the continuance of the Erard-Bochsa partnership by their connection to a Bochsa disciple and use of Bochsa repertoire in their concert performances.

This final chapter presented the next generation of harpists as accomplished and professional harpists. These harpists were now capable and willing to present the skills they had learnt from the earlier teachers in concert performances, and so the cycle of instruction continued. Marsh, as a key exponent for Erard harp, had taught many students in Australia, as did many of Bochsa's disciples. Those second generation pupils were positioned to perform with Erard harps and to play Bochsa repertoire. The Erard-Bochsa partnership, which had commenced earlier in Australia in 1830, was now firmly part of Australian harp music-making.

This study has served to answer the question why and how the Erard harp came to arrive in Australia. Central to that is the recognition that the imprint of personality of a performer is inseparable from the instrument with which they are identified. The study finds that Erard harps, so popular in Britain and Europe, likewise secured an important place in the musical and social life of colonial Australia. In so doing it shows that the values attached to the instrument and its repertoire can be interpreted as cultural markers pointing to the aspirations – social and cultural – of the society into which they are transplanted. The settlers were entertained by a variety of touring groups, with one of the most significant being the Bochsa/Bishop entourage. Bochsa's style of harp playing, pedagogy, compositions and arrangements and championship of the Erard harp

continued to be felt in Australia during the decade following his death. In providing an early documentary history of the Erard-Bochsa relationship, and its transference to the Australian context, the study has exposed the impact of that relationship on harp music-making in Australia from 1830 to 1866, a legacy that, through the continued use of Bochsa's repertoire, pedagogy and Erard instruments themselves, is still felt today.

Appendices

Appendix A: Erard harp

Single action design⁷⁶⁰



Harp (serial number 55) (1806) 41 strings: Harp Chaillot, author's harp.

Double action harp design⁷⁶¹



Harp parts with French terminology: Harp (serial number 2214) (1816)

⁷⁶⁰ Source: Roslyn Rensch, *Three Centuries of Harpmaking*, published in conjunction with the exhibition of the same name, Eighth World Congress in Geneva, 21-28 July 2000, 95. Photograph of author's Chaillot single action harp (serial number 83) (1818). This harp is a copy of an Erard (photo taken 27/05/2014).

⁷⁶¹ Source: John Marson, *The Book of the Harp* (Buxhall: Kevin Mayhew, 2005), 137. Photograph of author's Erard harp (taken 27/05/2014).

Patents

Groll's patent 3059⁷⁶²

A.D. 1807, July 13 – No 3059.

GROLL, Charles. 'Improvements upon harps'.

'Instead of raising each of the strings of a harp through the interval of a semitone (whenever required) by means of one single order, rank, or arrangement of divisions, by means of forks, hooks, rings or similar well-known contrivances', the patentee uses two such arrangements 'for the purpose of raising each said strings (whenever required) through the intervals of two semi-tones'. He also causes the intended effect of the said divisions to be produced at pleasure 'by fit and appropriate machinery adapted to the pieces which constitute the said orders, ranks, or arrangements of divisions, and communicating with certain pedals'.

In order that the strings of the harp may be tuned with more certainty and precision, and may continue longer in tune, he fixes upon the pin which is to receive the string a racked wheel, into which an endless screw works, and produces a slow, steady, and firm motion.

Erard Patents

Patent no. 2016⁷⁶³

A.D 1801, October 17 – No. 2016

ERARD, Sébastien – 'Improvements in the construction of harps and pianofortes, both large and small, and which improvements may also be applied to all kinds of instruments where keys are used'.

Part 1. Relates to pianos.

Part 2. Mechanism for forming the semitones; it is placed under the arm of the harp and worked by a pedal; it presses the strings so as to reduce the length of the vibrating surface.

Patent no. 2502⁷⁶⁴

A.D 1801, May 16 – No. 2502

ERARD, Sébastien – 'Improvements in the construction of 'Harps and pianofortes, both large and small'.

The improvements consist in a newly invented mode of rendering the harp capable of modulating into every usual or practicable scale of music, by immediately rendering the tone or pitch of all the chords or strings of the same name or denomination either flat,

⁷⁶² Source: Tony Bingham, *Patents for Inventions: Abridgements of Specifications Relating to Music and Musical Instruments A.D.1694-1866* (London: Bingham, 1984), 52.

⁷⁶³ Source: Tony Bingham, *Patents for Inventions: Abridgements of Specifications Relating to Music and Musical Instruments A.D.1694-1866* (London: Bingham, 1984), 28.

⁷⁶⁴ Source: Tony Bingham, *Patents for Inventions: Abridgements of Specifications Relating to Music and Musical Instruments A.D.1694-1866* (London: Bingham, 1984), 40.

sharp, or natural, at pleasure, by the instantaneous operation of a lever, treadle, or other suitable instrument of communication from the hand or foot, so as to alter the tension of the said strings, and also of tuning each several chord or string with greater certainty and precision than has hitherto been down’.

Patent no. 3170⁷⁶⁵

A.D 1801, September 24 – No. 3170

Erard, Sébastien – ‘Improvements upon pianofortes, large and small, and upon harps’.

1. Relates to pianos.
2. Apparatus fixed within the neck of the harp, for the purpose of giving the requisite motion at one and the same time to the axis of the stopping apparatus applied to all the strings of any one and the same note or denomination, in order that the whole of any such notes may be rendered flat, sharp, or natural at once, as may be required.
3. An improved damper for the harp.

Patent no. 3332⁷⁶⁶

A.D. 1814, May 2 – No 3332

ERARD, Sébastien – ‘Further improvements on pianofortes and harps’.

These consist of,

1. Improvements in the internal machinery and pedals of harps (ante No. 3170) concerning which changes sufficient instruction may be derived from the drawings hereunto annexed ... compared with the drawings annexed to the specification of my said former Patent.
2. Apparatus for producing the semitones. ‘A chord or string of a harp attached at the top to the tuning pin, and bearing against a bridge pin, passes clear downwards without any other contact or pressure between the bridge pin and its lowest extremity, and in this state it will give its lowest or flattest note’. By the action of the pedal a forked piece is made to revolve and firmly touch the chord, thereby producing the next semitone above the former, viz., the natural note. By a second action of the pedal another fork embraces the chord, which being still shorter than before gives the second semitone above that of the open string, viz., the sharp note.
3. To allow more space for the hand in the interval between the neck and the belly of the harp, the machinery for the upper notes is removed to the side farthest from the hand, by causing the bars regularly preceding from the connection with the pedals respectively to terminate each in a lever proceeding from an arbor across the instrument, the communication or upper part of the bars being carried from another lever proceeding from the same arbor, but nearest the side of the instrument farthest from the hand.

⁷⁶⁵ Tony Bingham, *Patents for Inventions: Abridgements of Specifications Relating to Music and Musical Instruments A.D. 1694-1866* (London: Bingham, 1984), 55.

⁷⁶⁶ Tony Bingham, *Patents for Inventions: Abridgements of Specifications Relating to Music and Musical Instruments A.D. 1694-1866* (London: Bingham, 1984), 60.

4. An adjustment for the fulcrum of the pedal.
5. The pins of harps and pianos are inserted in a collar and socket to make them smoother and easier in motion.
6. A damper for the harp fixed on a spiral spring, and regulated by a piece with projecting arms.

Patent no. 3835⁷⁶⁷

A.D. 1814, August 4 – No 3835

ERARD, Sébastien – ‘Improvements in musical instruments’.
[No Specification. Letters patent printed.]

Patent no. 4670⁷⁶⁸

A.D. 1822, April 24 –No 4670

ERARD, Pierre – (*Partly a communication*) – ‘Improvements on harps’.

These refer to Sebastian Erard’s harp, for which reason the present invention is designated ‘Sébastien Erard’s Patent Improved Harp’. One of the principal objects of the invention is to give as much strength and stability as possible to the neck of the harp, so as to prevent derangement to the mechanism, and this is done by bringing down the wooden part of the neck on a level with the lower edge of the back plate for a certain distance at the treble. The improvements are,

A method of forming and fixing the main arbors to prevent their shaking endwise.

Another contrivance for the same purpose, and for, at the same time, securing the disc at the end of the arbor.

‘An index or indicator’ is applied to the pillar of the harp for the purpose of showing at a glance the key in which the harp has been put, ‘the formation and decomposition of the scales which are complete upon the instrument, and establishes a sort of connection or resemblance between the instrument and the characters on the music paper’.

Mechanism to be applied to the sliders for working them in a manner corresponding with the scales marked on the external plate.

A new contrivance for enabling the harp to stand equally well in an inclined position as upright. Two iron bars slide through the hinder feet of the instrument into the base of the pedestal.

A method occasionally adopted of forming the notches for the pedals partly in the base or pedestal and partly in the body or case.

A newly contrived stop to vary the tone.

[Printed, 1s.6d. Drawings, London Journal (*Newton’s*), vol. 6, p. 303.]

⁷⁶⁷ Source: Tony Bingham, *Patents for Inventions: Abridgements of Specifications Relating to Music and Musical Instruments A.D.1694-1866* (London: Bingham, 1984), 76.

⁷⁶⁸ Source: Tony Bingham, *Patents for Inventions: Abridgements of Specifications Relating to Music and Musical Instruments A.D.1694-1866* (London: Bingham, 1984), 90.

Patent no. 6962⁷⁶⁹

A.D. 1835, December 18. – No 6962.

ERARD, Pierre – (A communication.) – ‘Improvements on harps’.

The object of the invention is to incorporate certain improvements with the double action harp of Sébastien Erard (No 4670), to produce a more harmonious, powerful and effective tone, giving to the instrument at the same time an easier touch. ‘In order to give to the harp a freer and stronger vibration, the length of vibrating sounding board along the inclining line of the bridge or of that part of the sounding board where the strings are attached to it, is extended from the usual length of 4 feet (or thereabouts), to very nearly 4 feet 4 in., and on such extended length of sounding board a new scale is set out for the holes, by which the strings are attached to the sounding board, leaving greater spaces between the holes in the sounding board, and consequently between the strings, than usual, and also admitting of more strings than usual’.

The improvements in the mechanism consists in the application to every note, in one or more of the octaves, of a double crank instead of a single crank, for transmitting (by means of two connecting rods) the motion of the lower forks (those affecting the sharp stops upon the strings) to the upper forks (those affecting the natural stops). ‘Such double cranks may be altered in their proportions and shapes as their position and arrangement on different parts of the harp may require, but in all cases each double crank has two distinct joint pins for the two connecting rods instead of only one joint pin for both those rods’.

An improvement on the index or indicator described in No. 4670, by which ‘the usual arrangement of the pedals in Sebastian Erard’s patent double-action harp, is not disturbed ... whereas for applying my former index in the pedals required to be arranged in a different and unusual order. This consists in mechanism which establishes a correspondence between the pedals in their usual order, and the sliders of the index in their own proper or suitable order’.

[Printed 1s. Drawings.]

⁷⁶⁹ Source: Tony Bingham, *Patents for Inventions: Abridgements of Specifications Relating to Music and Musical Instruments A.D.1694-1866* (London: Bingham, 1984), 118.

Erard's Brevet⁷⁷⁰

BREVET.

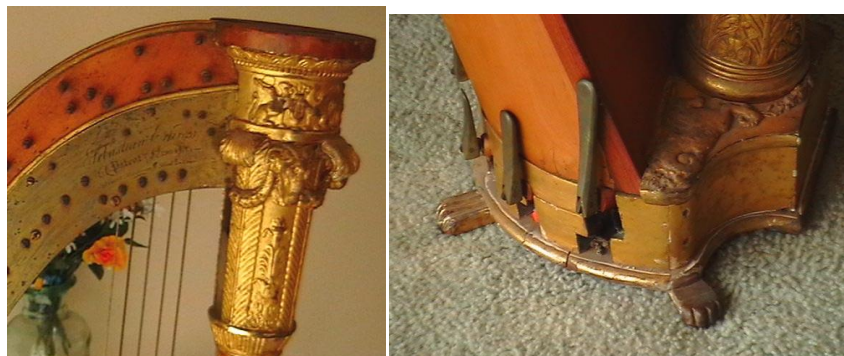
This day, the 5th of February, 1785, the King being at Versailles informed that M. Sebastien Erard has succeeded by a new method of his invention to improve the instrument called a forte-piano; that he has even obtained the preference over those made in England, which he makes a commerce in the City of Paris, and his Majesty wishing to fix the talents of M. Erard in the said city, and to give him testimonies of the protection with which he honours those who, like him, have by assiduous labour contributed to the useful and agreeable arts, has permitted him to make, to cause to be made, and to sell in the City and faubourges of Paris, and wherever it may seem to him good, forte-pianos; and to employ there, whether by himself or by his workmen, the wood, the iron, and all the other materials necessary to the perfection of the ornament of the said instrument without his being liable on this account to be troubled or disturbed by the guards, synaics, and adjutants of the corporation and committees of arts pretext whatever; under the conditions, nevertheless, by the said M. Erard of conforming himself to the regulations and ordinances concerning the discipline of journeymen and workmen, and of not admitting into his workshops any but those who shall have satisfied the aforesaid regulations. For assurance of his will his Majesty has commanded me to expedite to the aforesaid M. Erard the present Brevet, which he has chosen to sign with his own hand, and to be counter-signed by me, Secretary of State, and of his commands and Finances.

Signed, LOUIS,

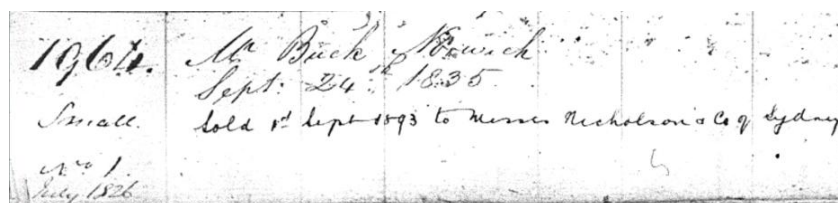
Countersigned, LE BARON DE BRETEUIL.

⁷⁷⁰ Source: Pierre Erard, *The Harp in its Present Improved State: Compared with the Original Pedal Harp* (London, 1821), 2.

Erard single/double action harp, serial number 1964⁷⁷¹



Erard Harp Stock Book entry for harp (serial number 1964)⁷⁷²



⁷⁷¹ Photographs courtesy of harp's owner, David Kempster, South Australia (email 23/08/2011).

⁷⁷² Source: Harp serial number 1964, *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 2, 40.

Names of Erard workers⁷⁷³

Mr Scott made the belly boards and Mr Bamford provided some wood including beech and dale with the transport carriage costs itemised. Mr Bouruignor made string boxes and also lining for the cases. The green bias was supplied by Mr Lonsdale. Varnishing harps was Mr Reilly's task while Mr Tillyard gilded the harp and Mr Collier carved the eagles. The metal workers comprised Mr Philips who flattened the brass, Mr Mick Carroll who supplied iron pins, with Mr Bond and Mr Bennett the iron mongers. Mr Colleman and Mr Lydiatt shared working the machines and making the springs. Mr Sporting supplied wire and Mr Sainsbury's job involved steel and casting brass. Mr Dockie made screws. Mr Jensbury used steel to make the pedals while Mr Atdolphi was the engraver. Workers providing household items included Mr Hailes the candle maker, Martin the porter and Priddy the oilman. Mrs Horn's household bills' fortnightly expenses varied from £2 to £3. Miscellaneous costs incurred included coach bills for harp transportation and carriage of wood and for Sébastien Erard's expenses when in London. Accessories were music stands and music stools stuffed for comfort. Mr Row provided the stationery. Mr Kreikman joined the team in 1809 making 145 belly boards at 12d each.

Erard harp inscriptions and pictures

Grecian double action harp (serial number 2214) (1816)⁷⁷⁴

*Maker to HRH the Princess Charlotte of Wales to his Most Christian Majesty
King of France and to all the Emperors of all the Rufias*



⁷⁷³ These details obtained from The Erard *Harp Stock Books*, during the study period, February 2011 to April 2014. Source: *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*, vol. 1, 26-62.

⁷⁷⁴ This Erard Grecian harp belongs to the author.

Grecian double action harp (serial number 4618) (1832)⁷⁷⁵

Sebastian Erard, Harp and Pianoforte maker in Ordinary to her Majesty and the Royal Family



Empire double action (serial number 2437)⁷⁷⁶

Maker to HRH the Princess Charlotte of Wales to his Most Christian Majesty King of France and to all the Emperors of all the Russias



French Gothic double action harp (serial number 4873)⁷⁷⁷

Erard 13 Rue du Mall, PARIS



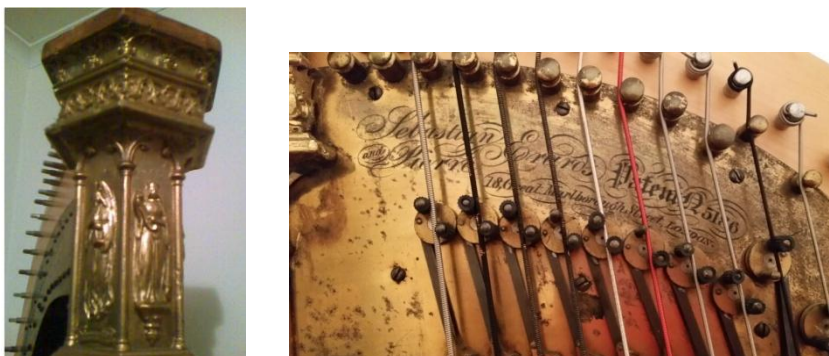
⁷⁷⁵ Harp photograph kindly donated by Linky Muller, Gold Coast (mobile phone 23/09/2013).

⁷⁷⁶ Harp photographs kindly donated by Jacquie Spring, Melbourne (30/05/2014).

⁷⁷⁷ Harp photographs kindly donated by Pam Raines, Melbourne (mobile phone 14/07/2013).

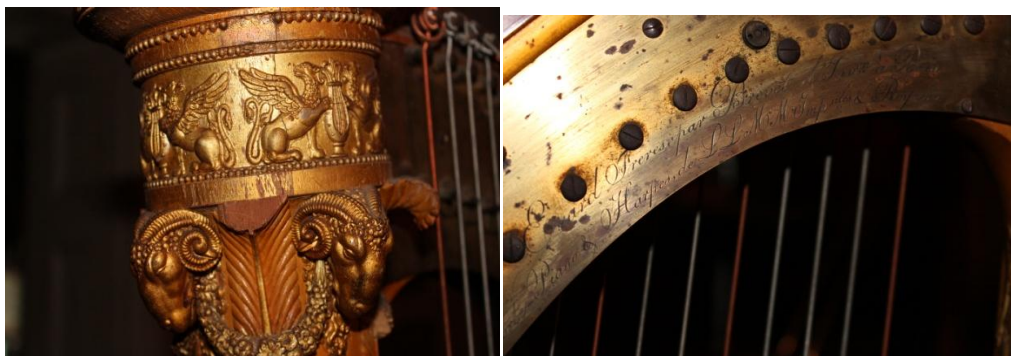
English Gothic double action harp (serial number 5186)⁷⁷⁸

Sebastien and Pierre Erards Patent No 5186, 18, Marlborough Street, London.

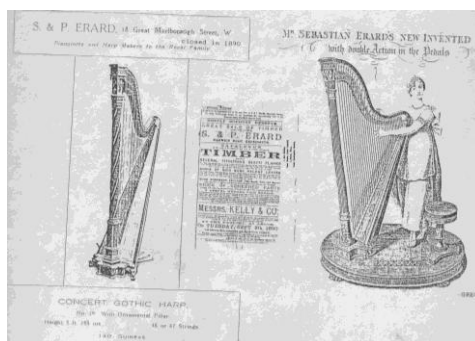


French Single action harp (serial number 273) (1812)⁷⁷⁹

Erard frères par Brevet á Paris, Pianos and Harpes, de LLM Imperales & Rufias



Amplification stand for an Erard harp⁷⁸⁰



⁷⁷⁸ Harp photograph kindly donated by Kathy George, Adelaide (10/03/2014).

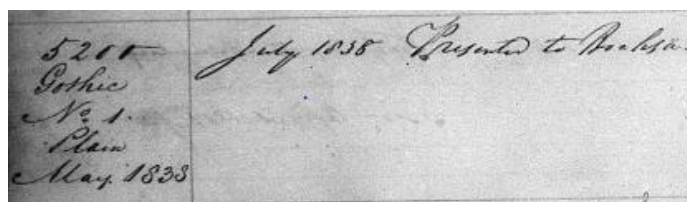
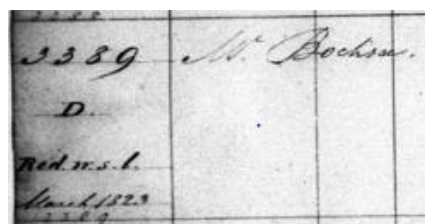
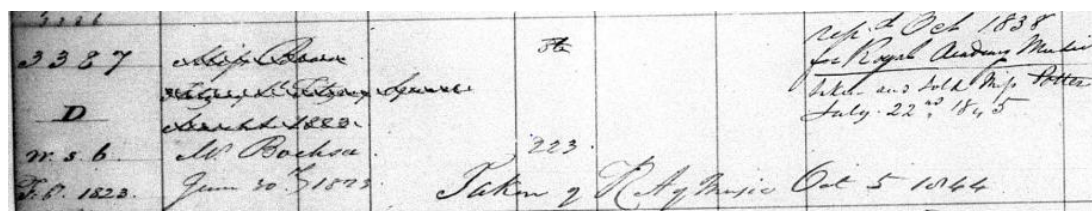
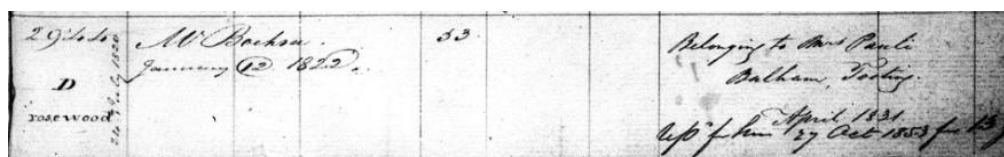
⁷⁷⁹ Photograph by kind consent of Stewart Symonds, instrument collector, Sydney (5/09/2012).

⁷⁸⁰ Source: Pierre Erard, *The Harp in its Present Improved State: Compared with the Original Pedal Harp* (London, 1821), preface.

Appendix B: Bochsa

Bochsa's Erard harp purchases⁷⁸¹

Harp number	Date	Description	Other information
2944	12 January 1822	D	
3086	April 1822	D	
3294	1 July 1822	D 'wsb' royal border	2 Bryanston St ⁷⁸²
3387	30 June 1823	D 'wsb'	Royal Academy
3389	March 1823	D red 'wsb'	
5200	July 1838	Gothic model plain no.1	The Erard firm in London presented this harp to Bochsa



⁷⁸¹ Source: *Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London*.

⁷⁸² This is an address associated to Bochsa, and possibly his place of residence in London.

Bochsa's Australian Concert Programs

The program for Bochsa's first Australian concert⁷⁸³

PRINCE OF WALES THEATRE.—SATURDAY EVENING, December 11, 1855.—Mr. A. Torring respectfully informs his friends and the public, that the First Grand Night of the celebrated Cantatrice, Madame ANNA BISHOP, will take place on SATURDAY-EVENING, December 11, 1855, when this world-renowned Artist will make her First Appearance in Australia, in one of her far-famed Lyric Entertainments, will sing some of her most favourite and popular Songs and Ballads, and perform, in appropriate dramatic costume, the admired Druidical Scene from Bellini's tragic Opera of NORMA, with scenery, choruses, auxiliaries, &c., introducing the obéd'œuvre "Casta Diva;" concluding with a Tableau of Mexican Life! introducing the popular and humorous Cantata, LA PARADITA (La Promenade), sung by Madame Anna Bishop in Costume, in the costume of a Mochacha (Mexican woman of the middle class.) The above quaint "Mochacha" has been sung nightly with immense success by Madame A. B. in Mexico, Havana, New York, and all the principal cities in the United States. BOCHSA, the Director and Manager of Madame A. B.; Composer and First Harpist of her Majesty Queen Victoria, Life Governor of the Royal Musical Academy of England, ex-director of her Majesty's Italian Opera House, and of the San Carlo, at Naples, will direct and conduct the Complete Grand Orchestra and preside at the pianoforte.

Leader of the Orchestra Mr. Gibbs

Programme.—Part I.—CONCERT:

Overture—[Verdi] first time—Orchestra
 Recitative—"Care Companion," cavatina—"Come per me Ferruccio"
 (Bonnamy's)—Madame Anna Bishop
 German selection—Orchestra
 English Ballad—"Home, Sweet Home" (Sir H. Bishop)—
 Madame Anna Bishop
 Irish Ballad—"The Harp that once through Tara's Halls" (Moore)
 Madame Anna Bishop, accompanied on the pianoforte by Mr.
 Bochsa
 Chaconne Française—Invitation à la Danse—"Je suis la Bayadère"
 (Bochsa)—Madame Anna Bishop.

Part II.—Scene in dramatic costume,
 For the first time in Sydney, the entire overture of Norma—
 Full orchestra.
 The majestic Druidical Scene from Bellini's NORMA, with
 proper scenery, choruses, auxiliaries, &c. Norma (the high priestess
 of the pagan god Esus, in Gaul, anno mundi 5694), Madame Anna
 Bishop.

Selection.

Pageant Chorus—"Norma Cometh"
 Recitative—"Sedulous Votiva"—Norma
 Recitative—"Say them, how long must we endure!"—Orchestra
 and Chorus
 Recitative—"Her Crimes"—Norma
 Invocation to the Moon—"Gentle Goddess"—Norma
 Recitative—"Rites are ended"—Norma
 Cavatina—"To Norma's arms returning"—Norma, with chorus.
 A characteristic fantasia on Mexican melodies, for the orchestra,
 arranged by Bochsa, and introducing the humorous and quaint
 Mexican Cantata, LA PARADITA (the Promenade) sung in Costu-
 mes, by Madame Anna Bishop, in the national costume of a
 Mochacha (a Mexican girl of the middle class), see Companion,
 page 4.

Words of the Songs, translations of the foreign scenes for the
 evening, price 6s., and also an interesting biography of Madame
 Anna Bishop and Bochsa, price 1s. 6d., to be had at the box office
 and in the Theatre.

On Madame Anna Bishop's nights the prices will be as follows.
 Dress circle and parquette, 10. 6d.; upper boxes, 5s.; pit, 3s.;
 gallery, 1s. Private boxes holding ten, each £7 10s., or single
 tickets, 15s. No half price. Performance to begin at 8 o'clock.
 No free list except the press.

⁷⁸³ Source: *Sydney Morning Herald* (22 Dec 1855), Trove 28638217), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/28638217> (accessed 12/01/2011). The second concert was a repeat of the first concert, with the inclusion of the national anthem *God Save The Queen*.

PRINCE OF WALES THEATRE.—THIS EVENING.
MADAME ANNA BISHOP will make her third appearance in Australia in her far-famed Lyric Entertainments, with some of her most favourite and popular Songs and Ballads, and perform in appropriate dramatic costume, for the first time in Australia, part of the first act, and the entire second act of Donizetti's admired melo-dramatic opera of LINDA OF CHAMOUNI. To conclude with the VISIT OF THE MEXICAN BOY TO MADRID, and sing "La Catatumba." On account of the present indisposition of M. Bochsa, Mr. Stephen Marsh has been kind enough to direct the complete grand orchestra.

PROGRAMME.—PART I.—CONCERT.

Overture—"La Gazza Ladra," Rossini.
Recitativo—"Sorta d' la notte," Cantabile, "Ernani involami,"
Cavatina, "Tutto sprezzo," (Ernani), Verdi—Mme. Anna Bishop.
Selections—Orchestra.
The Irish Emigrant—Ballad—"I'm sitting on the Stills, Mary."—Mme. Anna Bishop.
Waltzes—Orchestra.
Scotch ballad—"John Anderson, my Joe,"—Mme. Anna Bishop.
Irish ballad—"Last Rose of Summer," T. Moore—Mme. Anna Bishop.

Part 2.—Scenes in dramatic costume.

Introduction—Orchestra.
Part of the first, and the whole of the second act, including the Grand Mad Scene, of Donizetti's LINDA OF CHAMOUNI, in English, first time in Australia. Linda (the maid of Chamouni), in a French court costume of 1760, Mme. Anna Bishop; Pierotto (friend of Linda, a Savoyard peasant), Mrs. Guerin; Antonio (father to Linda), Mr. Milne; Madelina (her mother), Mrs. Gibbs. In the above beautiful music, Madame Anna Bishop always introduces the favourite English ballad composed for her by Mr. Lavoye.

After which, first time, THE MEXICAN BOY AT MADRID! "La Catatumba," a Mexican song, sung by Madame Anna Bishop in Mexican language, in the picturesque dress of a Charro.

⁷⁸⁴ Source: *Sydney Morning Herald* (27 Dec 1855), (trove 18638330), 1. <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/18638330> (accessed 12/01/2011).

PRINCE OF WALES THEATRE.—Under the direction and management of Mr. A. Forning. The greatest new direction yet offered.

Mr. FORNING, ever anxious to meet the spirit of the age, and depression of the times, has succeeded in prevailing on Madame Anna Bishop to reduce the prices of admission as follows:—dress circle and parquette, 7s. 6d.; upper boxes, 4s.; pit, 2s.; gallery, 1s.

The fourth grand night of the Nightingale of the World, Madame ANNA BISHOP, who will appear on SATURDAY, 29th December, in her fourth entertainment, comprising new songs, ballads, and perform in character, Bellini's far-famed **SOMNAMBULISM FINALE!** from his masterpiece "La Sonnambula," and Rossini's ever popular scene from **TANCREDI**, with scenery, appointments, auxiliaries, &c., &c.

N. C. Boehsa, the director and manager of M^{rs}. A. B., composer and first harpist of her Majesty Queen Victoria, life governor of the Royal Musical Academy of England, &c., &c., will direct and conduct the complete grand orchestra.

Mr. Marsh will accompany the ballads on the pianoforte.

PROGRAMME — PART I. — CONCERT.

Boehsa's new whimsical overture for full orchestra, intitled **THE PAST AND THE PRESENT!** blending together classical strains of great composers, and sketches from the present popular Ethelberg, &c., melodies, (first and only time).

1. Irish ballad, "Oft in the Stilly Night"
(T. Moore) M^{rs}. Anna Bishop.
2. Solo, cornet Mr. Wheeler.
3. Scottish ballad, "Jock o' Hallowden," ... M^{rs}. Anna Bishop.
4. Orchestra.
5. Brilliant Finale, "A la Valse," from
Donizetti's L'Elisir D'Amore ... M^{rs}. Anna Bishop.

PART II. — Scenes in dramatic costume.

The whole of the last scene of the third act of Bellini's **SOMNAMBULA!** with scenery, appointments, auxiliaries, &c. Aminta, M^{rs}. Anna Bishop (with the celebrated Rondo); Elvino, her betrothed, Mr. J. Howson; Count Rodolpho, Mr. Holloway; Teresa, mother of Aminta, Mrs. Gibbs. In the above impressive scene, Aminta is in a trance, and what she says in a dreaming state shows clearly that she is faithful to her dear Elvino, and worthy to be his bride.

Rossini's admired scene from the far-famed Opera **TANCREDI**. Recitative, "O Patria," Cavatina, "Di Tanti Palpiti." Tancredi, Madame Anna Bishop—in her gorgeous costume of a Crusade Warrior.

The performance commences with a Follie Comedy, in one act, intitled **THE MAID WITH THE MILKING PAIL.**

Assistant-manager, Mr. T. S. BELLAIR.

Performance to begin at eight o'clock; carriages to be ordered at half-past ten. No half price. No free list except the Press.

⁷⁸⁵ Source: Sydney Morning Herald (29 Dec 1855), (Trove 12974333), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12974333> (accessed 12/01/2011).

Bochsa's music that was performed in Australian concerts by harpists resident and visiting during 1830 to 1866

'Tis the last rose of Summer', Wallace singing to her own accompaniment
Irish Air, 'Savourneen Deelish', Bushelle singing to her own accompaniment Concertante',
Curtis and Duly, harp and flute duo
'Quartet', Curtis, Duly, Richard Curtis, and Howson, harp, flute, cello and piano
'Concertante', Curtis and Howson, harp and piano
Arranged Bellini's opera piece from *La Somnambula*, Duly, Howsen, Howsen sr., Curtis, flute,
piano, cello and harp
God Save The Queen, Curtis and Howson, harp and piano
God Save The Queen, Prout and Rosalie Deane, harp and piano
Arranged 'Cavatina' from Donizetti's Opera *Torquato Tasso*, Curtis, other players unnamed,
harp, piano, flute and cello
Two quartets, Prout and Mr Imberg, harp and piano
Arranged 'Quartet' from *La donna dell lago*, Marsh, Prout, Wallace, and Deane, harp, piano,
flute and violoncello
'Duo Concertante: Italy and Ireland', Marsh and Wallace, harp and flute
Rule Britannia Marsh and Prout, harp and piano,
'Hark! I Hear The Vesper Bell' & *God Save The Queen*, Prout and Marsh, piano and harp
'Grand Fantasia', Marsh
'Aria varie', De Storr and Carrandini, harp and violin
'Morceau', De Storr and Sloper, harp and saxe-horn
'Partant pour la Syria', De Storr, harp
'Duo for Harp and Piano', Hall and Linger, harp and piano
'Forse un Destin', Horn and Linger, harp and piano
Quartet Bellini 'Tutto e sciolto', Copley, Bridson, Sussmilcht, gentleman amateur, harp, piano,
flute and cello
'Grand March', Copley
'Duo Concertante-Duo de Camera', Brooks and Buddee, harp and piano
'Duo for harp and piano', Brooks and Buddee
'French March', Brooks
'The Night March', Juliana King
'The Volunteers March', Annette Lowe
'French March', Annette Lowe
'March at a Distance', Alice Molteno

Concert program for Seabrooke

First documented orchestral harpist ⁷⁸⁶

MUSICAL UNION.
GRAND CONCERT.
 In aid of the Fund for Relief of the Widows and Orphans of the Soldiers of the 48th Regiment who have fallen in New Zealand, will be given in the EXHIBITION BUILDING, TUESDAY EVENING, MAY 23, Under the patronage of His Excellency Sir Henry Barkly, K. C. B., and Lady Barkly, Major-General Frick, C. B., Colonel Pitt, Captain Hall, Captain Pitt, the Officers Commanding Corps, and the Victorian Volunteers. Programs will consist of Overture—"Boy Blue" . . . Mendelssohn. **FIRST WALPURGIS NIGHT,** And Mr. Henry Leslie's **JUDITH.** All for the first time in Victoria. (The latter work composed expressly for, and performed at, the Birmingham Musical Festival, Sept. 1863.) **Principal Vocalists:** Madame STUTTFORD, Mr. HARPOCK, Mr. BAUMONT, And Mr. E. KAYE. **Principal Violin . . . Mr. A. J. LESLIE.** **Conductor . . . Mr. O. E. G. FRINGLE.**

LIST of the ORCHESTRA:

First Violins.	Flutes.
Messrs. Leslie, A. J.	Messrs. Johnson, F.
Edwards	Dean.
Fischer	Oboes.
Levy	Messrs. Barnidge
Peters	Mortimer,
Schubinger	Charleson.
Smith	Messrs. Johnson
Zepha.	Clark.
Second Violins.	Messrs. Hanson.
Messrs. Ryder	Messrs. Winterbottom, J.
Fredman	Horn.
Lewis, H. E.	Trumpets.
Lewis	Messrs. Richardson
Megson	Wallentin.
Fringle, A.	Horns.
Putman	Messrs. Kohler
Spensley.	Vans.
Violas.	Grann.
Messrs. Thomas	Horn, J.
Cummins	Trombones.
Hines	Messrs. Horn, E.
Imed	Hunsberrin
Jolly.	Corrington.
Violoncellos.	Ophacials.
Messrs. Bond	Mr. Hore.
Jones	Double Drum.
Kerr	Mr. Telford.
Moulagun.	Snare Drum.
Double Basses.	Mr. Mullens.
Messrs. Hardman	Bass Drum.
Gover	Mr. Lismignel.
Peters	Harp.
Thorne.	Mr. Seabrooke.

Chorus of 100 Performers.
 Tickets—Floor, 6s.; gallery, 3s. 6d.

Enlarged section for harp entry

Harp.
 Mr. Seabrooke.

⁷⁸⁶ Source: *Argus* (22 May 1861) (Trove 5700414), 8, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5700414> (accessed 3/05/2012).

Appendix C: Harpists and Sellers in Colonial Australia –*Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London, entries relevant to Australia*

The following list identifies the harpists who were active in Australia during the period under review. The harp player is noted as a teacher and/or performer. Many of the teachers taught multiple instruments. The harp player who was revealed as solely playing or teaching harp is identified thus *. There were sixty-five harpists identified. This number does not include the unnamed governesses.

- 1836 **Mrs Kesterton**, Hobart.*
- 1837 **Mrs Mary MacLeod**, Adelaide.* Erard harp purchase; 4600.
- 1838 **Mrs Pierson**, Sydney.*
- 1838 **Mrs Taylor**, Sydney.
- 1839 **Miss Wallace**, Sydney.* Pupil of Chatterton: Erard harp purchase; 5724.
- 1839 **Mrs Curtis**, Sydney.* Erard harp purchase; 2728.
- 1840 **Mrs Maria Prout (Marsh)**, Sydney.*(see Marsh for Erard harp purchases).
- 1840 **Miss J. Auld**, Sydney.*
- 1840 **Mrs Stanley**, Sydney.*
- 1840 **Mr Charles Packer**, Hobart.* Colleague of Bochsa: Erard harp purchase; 3729.
- 1842 **Mr Stephen Marsh**, Sydney.* Pupil of Bochsa: Erard harp purchases; 1730, 3114, 3197, 3312, 4050, 4628, 5094, 5196.
- 1842 **Mrs Cousins**, Sydney.*
- 1845 **Mrs Elisabeth Blunden**, Adelaide.*
- 1848 **Mrs Whitbread**, Sydney.
- 1850 ? **Mrs Margaret Turner Clarke**, Sydney.* Married Captain John Wilkie.
- 1850 **Mrs Jamieson**, Adelaide.
- 1850 **Mrs Poingdestre**, Melbourne.
- 1852 **Mr Frederick Packer**, Hobart.* Colleague of Bochsa. Erard harp purchase; 3957.
- 1852 **Mrs Norman**, Melbourne.* Pupil of Chatterton.
- 1852 **Mrs Harriet Fiddes, (nee Miss Cawse)**, Melbourne, Sydney, then Melbourne. Erard harp purchase; 468.
- 1853 **Mr Edwards**, Melbourne.
- 1853 **Madame De Storr**, Sydney.* Pupil of Bochsa. Erard harp purchase; 4886.
- 1853 **Mr H W Buxton**, Melbourne.* Pupil of Chatterton.
- 1853 **Mr Tapfield**, Hobart.* Erard harp purchases; 4869 and 5560.
- 1853 **Mr George Chapman**, Melbourne.
- 1853 **Mrs and Miss Staniforth**, Sydney.
- 1854 **Miss Annette Horn**, Adelaide.* Erard harp purchase; 3465.
- 1854 **Miss Hall**, Adelaide.* Erard harp purchases; 2655 and 3084.
- 1854 **Vorherr family**, Adelaide.*
- 1854 **Mr Rington**, Melbourne.
- 1854 **Mr Thomas King**, Melbourne. Erard harp purchase; 6027.
- 1854 **Mr Edward King**, Melbourne. Erard harp purchase; 6077.
- 1855 **Mrs Waller**, Sydney. Erard harp gift.
- 1855 **Mr Bumbey**, Melbourne.

- 1855 **Mr Caddy**, Adelaide.*
 1855 **Mr Bochsa**, Sydney.*
 1856 **Mr Young**, Melbourne.*
 1856 **Mrs Naegueli**, Sydney.* Pupil of Bochsa.
 1857 **Mr E.H. Coble**, Sydney.*
 1857 **Mrs Harvey**, Sydney.
 1857 **Mrs and Miss Pilkington**, Melbourne.
 1858 **Miss Bennett**, Melbourne.
 1859 **Mrs McGill**, Melbourne.*
 1859 **Mrs Huey**, Launceston.
 1860 **Mr T. Brooks**, Hobart then Sydney.* Erard harp purchases; 2822, 3730 and 5948.
 1860 **Miss West**, Sydney.*
 1861 **Mr Seabrooke**, Melbourne.*
 1861 **Miss Hutchinson**, Melbourne.*
 1861 **Mr J. M. Morgan**, Sydney.*
 1861 **Mr Llewellyn Thomas**, Ballarat.* Erard harp purchase 4103.
 1863 **Miss Juliana King**, Adelaide.* Erard harp purchase; 4742.
 1863 **Marriott brothers**, Adelaide.
 1863 **Mr Sweetman**, Melbourne.*
 1863 **Mrs and Misses Hudson**, Launceston.
 1863 **Mr John Williams**, Ballarat.* Erard harp purchase; 6111.
 1865 **Signor Rafaelo Abecco**, Sydney.*
 1865 **Miss Rainsford**, Melbourne.* Erard harp purchase; 513?
 1866 **Mrs Marchand**, Brisbane.*
 1866 **Miss Alice Edith Molteno**, Adelaide.*
 1866 **Mr Henry Hughes**, Adelaide. Erard harp purchases; 3266 and 3941.

Erard harp sales summary

The following list identifies in chronological order, the person, company or auctioneer associated to a sale of an Erard harp.

- 1830 Thomas Icely**, Sydney.
1834 J. and D. Robertson, Tasmania. Harp lost at sea, harp number 1382.
1836 Francis Forbes, Sydney. Identified as first Erard harp arrival c. 1824, harp number 909.
1836 William Wallace, Sydney. Importer.
1837 J. E. Manning, Sydney. One case and harp in cargo manifest.
1837 P. Murphy, Sydney. Listed as harp maker.
1838 Mrs Waples, Sydney. Imported from England a double action harp.
1839 W. Russell, Hobart. Sale of Erard double action harp.
1840 Mr Blackman, Sydney. Unnamed harp.
1842 Mr Stephen Marsh, Sydney. Harp teacher, performer and importer of Erard harps.
1843 Stephen Marsh, Sydney. Two Erard harps.
1844 Stephen Marsh, Sydney. Selling a Maplewood double action harp by Erard, also three more patented double action harps in Gothic and Grecian style by Erard.
1845 Mr J Williams, Hobart. Piano maker selling Erard single action harp.

- 1846 **John Bayley Darvall**, Sydney. Selling Erard double action harp.
- 1846 **Mr H Mayne**, Sydney. Erhard (earlier spelling of Erard).
- 1847 **Robert Bostock**, Launceston. Selling Erard harp.
- 1848 **Dr Dawson**, Sydney. Selling a double action harp by Erard.
- 1848 **Mrs Lord**, Sydney. Selling a harp by Erard, number 5719.
- 1850 **Were, Todd and Co.**, Adelaide. French Erard harps. Importer.
- 1850 **Mr Johnson**, Sydney. Importer, an Erard Gothic harp.
- 1851 **Francis and Cohen**, Melbourne. Importer.
- 1852 In Sydney, two harps for sale: an Erard double action number **4886** and an Erard single action number **618**.
- 1852 **Mr Leffler**, Launceston. A single action harp by Erard.
- 1853 **W.J. Johnson and Co.**, Sydney. Importers. A double action Erard harp.
- 1853 **Mr R. Cox**, Melbourne. W. J. Absalon and Co. used as auctioneers.
- 1853 **Mr Rushworth**, Sydney. Mr Mort used as an auctioneer.
- 1853 **Johnson**, Sydney. Importer.
- 1853 **Messrs. Purkis and Lambert**, Sydney. Auctioneers.
- 1854 **Mr W. Parker**, Sydney. Mr Sparks used as an auctioneer.
- 1854 **Joseph Wilkie**, Melbourne. Importer.
- 1854 **G.T. Light**, Adelaide. Double action Erard harp.
- 1854 **Messrs. Marsh and Co.** Sydney. Importer.
- 1855 **J.H. Challis**, Sydney. Edward Salamon used as an auctioneer.
- 1855 **William Walker Jr.**, Sydney. Edward Salamon used as an auctioneer.
- 1855 **William King**, Sydney. Importer. Unknown number of harps.
- 1855 **Symons and Perry**, Melbourne. Four Erard harps.
- 1856 **Philpott**, Melbourne. Auctioneer.
- 1858 **J.B. Clarke**, Sydney. Grecian Erard harp.
- 1858 **Sandon**, Sydney. Erard harp.
- 1859 **Edward Stephens**, Adelaide. Erard harp. Wicksteed, Botting, Townsend and Co. used as auctioneers.
- 1859 **Peck's Music Repository**, Sydney. Importer.
- 1860 **G. Washington**, Perth. Erard harp.
- 1860 **Henry Wooldridge**, Adelaide. Wicksteed, Botting, Townsend and Co. used as auctioneers. Harp number 2214.
- 1860 **Henry Jefferies**, Sydney. Robert Muriel used as an auctioneer.
- 1860 **John Adams**, Launceston. Mr Weedon used as an auctioneer.
- 1861 **F.H. McDonnell**, Melbourne. Mr Stubbs used as an auctioneer.
- 1861 **Samuel Tapfield**, Hobart. Erard harp
- 1861 **Hall and Anderson**, Sydney. Importer.
- 1861 **D. Buist and son**, Sydney. Importer.
- 1862 **W.H.Glen**, Melbourne. Erard harp
- 1862 **John Smith**, Sydney. Messrs. Walter Bradley and Co. used as auctioneers.
- 1862 **W.P. White and Co.**, Melbourne. Importer.
- 1863 **Captain Bancroft**, Melbourne. Mr Stubbs used as an auctioneer.
- 1864 **G. Millar**, Melbourne. Mr Stubbs used as an auctioneer.
- 1864 **Mr HD Cockburn**, Melbourne. Erard harp.
- 1865 **Edward King**, Melbourne. Beauchamp and Rocke used as auctioneers.
- 1865 **John Williams**, Hobart. Messrs. Burn and Co. used as auctioneers.
- 1866 **Captain Dane**, Melbourne. Erard harp number 6188, Mr Stubbs used as an auctioneer.

Harp Stock Books for the Erard Firm in London entry relevant to the study, identified on microfilm copy

5935 Australia

5935 Sold 30th March 1852
 No. 1 Mr. Alexander W. of Bangor
 Maple Goshie Bookkeeping, for Australia
 Sold March 30th to Mr. H. Harwood
 July 1850 of 4, London Place Brighton

6130 Brett to Sydney

6130 Sold 1st September 1850 to Mr. C. Scrutable, P. Newport
 de Patent Invention - Map. Scrutable, Devon &
 Oct 1850 forwarded to Mr. Brett - Sydney.
 Repts for Mr. Brett to 1850
 for 3 journals

5948 Brookes

5948 Mr. Col. Brookes Oct. 28. 1850.
 No. 3 Pilham Villa, Stannington
 Maple Goshie
 Finished Mr. Mortimer, Bloomsbury Place
 August 1850 Brighton

3730 Brooke

3730	John Brooke Post 2 nd 253	Maple Goshie 1850	Repts for Mr. Brooke for 2 vols
D	Maple Goshie 1850	August 11 th 1850	
Yellow			
July 1850			

468 Miss Cawse

468 Miss Cawse
 67 - 81
 Miss Cawse
 20, St. James's Place
 London W.C. 1850

2675 Chatterton

2675 Mr. Chatterton House 140
 D 34, York Place, Greenway 1820.
 April 30. 1850
 22. 6. 1850

3969 Chatterton

3969	Mr. Chatterton	140	Repts for him
D	34 York Place, Greenway, Feb		April 2 nd 1850
Grey	April 25. 1850		for 2 - -
April 1850			

618 Mrs Esten

618 Mrs Esten
 77-14
 1-15
 2-10
 Paid to the family

3726 Forbes

3726	1846	1847	Bought from Mrs Forbes seven for £ 5.00 Aug 1846
D	1846	1847	

909 Sofia Grant

909 Sofia Grant
 15 May 1807
 Mr Grant for Miss Sophia Grant
 77 14
 Paid on the 12 June 1807
 a check on Mr Lefevre 709 Wren Hill - 77 14

2655 Hall

2655	1819	1819	Repaired July 18 th 1819 for Mr Broadwood for the same as for Mr D. Gandy for do. do.
D	1819	1819	

3084 Miss Hall

3084	1821		Miss Hall 8 George Street April 6. 1821.
D	1821		

2655 Miss Hall

2655	1819	1819	Repaired July 18 th 1819 for Mr Broadwood for the same as for Mr D. Gandy for do. do.
D	1819	1819	

6012 Hobart Town

6012	1852	1853	Sold 3 rd Sept 1853 for Mrs & Stammers & Son of Barge Yard, & shipped to Hobart Town
D	1852	1853	

780 Henry Horn

June - 780 Henry Horn
 D
 D^r B. G. G. G.

1511 Henry Horn

1511
 D
 1832

3241 Henry Horn

3241
 D
 1832

4141 Henry Horn

4141
 D
 June 1832

4652 Henry Horn

4652
 D
 1833

4763 Henry Horn

4763
 D
 December 1833

4917 Henry Horn

4917
 D
 April 1835

5170 Henry Horn

5170	M ^r . Horn, Canterbury Villas Decr. 16 th 1845
D	
Dec ^r . 1837	

3465 Miss Horn

3465	Miss Horn London October 29 th 1820
D	
Small, paper furnished Oct ^r . 1822	

3266 Henry Hughes

3266	H. P. Hughes Esq ^r Bank St. W. London April 30 1822
D	
Hand 29 1822	

3941 Henry Hughes

3941	H. P. Hughes Esq ^r Cathedral, Surrey November 1 1827
Som	
Grey burn?	
Aug ^r 1827	

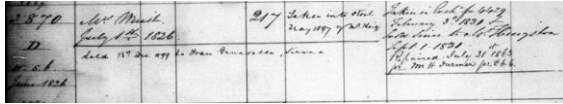
3583 Miss King

3583	Miss King 8 South Street, Holborn July 26 th 1824	254	Repaired 25 th Dec ^r 1832 By Miss Chapman Downshire Hill Hampstead
D			
July 26 th 1824			
July 25 th Nov 1825 to S. Madam Esq ^r . repaired then Malvern 1826			
			taken of Miss J. Southwell of when she bought it last

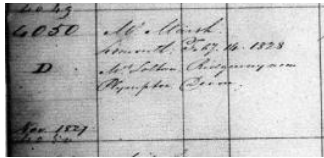
4742 Miss King

4742	M ^r . Cohen Nov ^r 16 th 1833 Returned and sold Miss King, Esq ^r Holywell August 25 th 1839
D	
maple Sept ^r 1833	

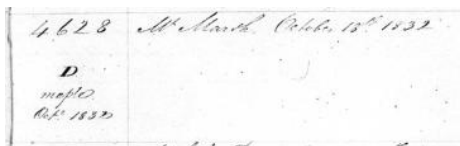
3870 Stephen Marsh



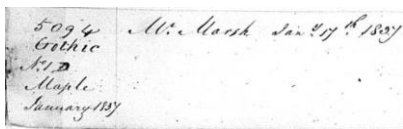
4050 Stephen Marsh



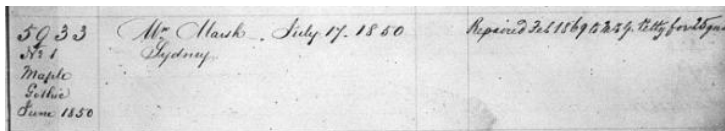
4628 Stephen Marsh



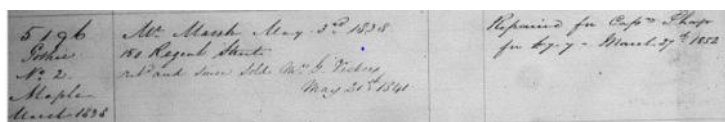
5094 Stephen Marsh



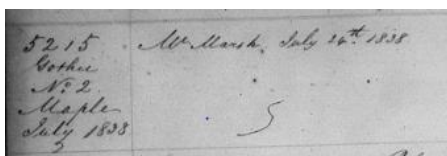
5933 Stephen Marsh



5196 Stephen Marsh



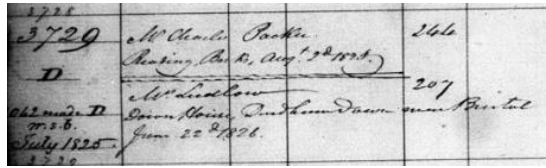
5215 Stephen Marsh



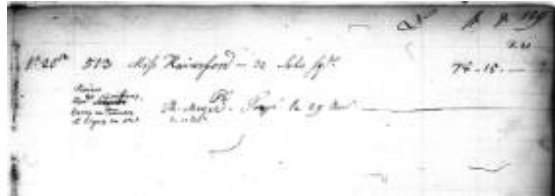
5466 Stephen Marsh's import to Sydney



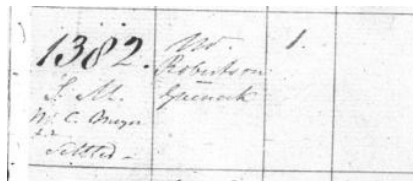
3729 Mr Charles Packer



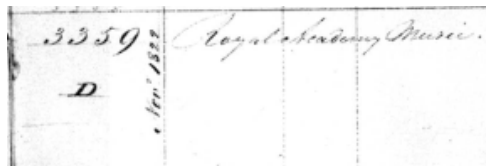
513 Miss Rainsford



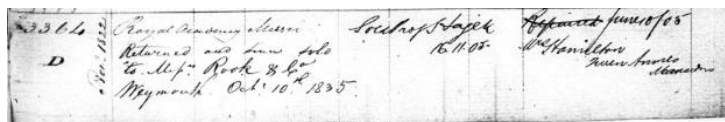
1382 J and D Robertson



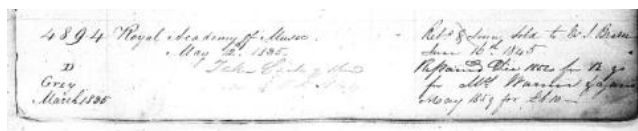
3359 The Royal Academy of Music, London



3364 The Royal Academy of Music, London



4894 The Royal Academy of Music, London



6177 Erard harp sent to Sydney



6185 Sutherland to Australia

6185
No. 1
Maple
No. 1
May 1857

Sold 2nd^{ly} May 1860 to
Wm. Sutherland Esq
of Melbourne, Australia

By July 1869 for Miss Nettie Cole
for Special Reference of 1/4th for
Wm. Sutherland Esq.

4869 Mr Samuel Tapfield

4869
D
Resumed
Nov. 1854

Mr. S. Tapfield Dec. 21st 1854

5560 Mr Samuel Tapfield

5560
D
No. 1
No. 1
No. 1

Mr. S. Tapfield, Esq. Esq
in Hong Kong and Canton

Refused 3rd March 1858
for Mr. S. Tapfield Esq.

4103 John Thomas bought for Llewelyn Thomas in Melbourne

4103
D
March 1858

Mr. J. Thomas
April 26, 1858

186

Sold 15th Oct. 1860
to Mr. John Thomas
for Mr. L. Thomas
of Melbourne -
27th Aug. 58

2623 Walker

2623
D
No. 1
No. 1

Mr. W. Walker
Canton and S. Hill
19 January 1859

18

Refused and then
sold to Mr. J. N. Walker
Kilby, July 13th 1860

5051 Walker

5051
D
July 1856

Mr. Walker, Esq. Esq
No. 1, 27th 1850
See May 11th 1857, & Mr. S. Walker Esq.

180

Taken in full payment Jan 25th 1856 of
Mr. Walker
See May 11th 1857, & Mr. S. Walker Esq.

Mr. BAKER PORT
No. 1, BANK
CHURCH CLERK, STAMFORD - Tel. No. 3579
QUEENSTOWN

5925 Walker

5925
No. 1
Maple
No. 1
April 1850

Mr. Walker - March 25, 1851
Southgate House, Southgate

5724 Wallace

5724
No. 1
Maple
No. 1
January 1846

Sold 14th July 1858 to
Mr. J. A. Wallace, Esq. Esq
Cairn, Pyar, Steamers, &c. Es.

4117 Wilkie to Melbourne

4117	M. S. P. Coll.	171			4000 25 th March 1863. 1/2 lb. James' 2/4 lb. stone for Ed. in buying 6 lb. stone 7.
D	Rep. James' 2/4 lb. stone 7.				
small gold cross	Jan 5 th 1878				
May 1825	From James' 2/4 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7.	79			Rep. James' 2/4 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7.

4657 Wilkie to Melbourne

4657	Rep. James' 2/4 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7.				Take 15 th Aug. 1863. 1/2 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7.
D	Rep. James' 2/4 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7.				
yellow	From James' 2/4 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7.	119			
Jan 9 1830	From James' 2/4 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7.				

6073 Wilkie

6073	Sold May 25 th 1852 to the Rev. W. Huntington of Lincoln				No. 549 taken in 1870 for 2/6
1851	Walter or Thomas				5/10 in 1870 for 2/6
Maple Gothic	From James' 2/4 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7.				May 25 th 1852 for 2/6
D	From James' 2/4 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7.				July 16 th 1870 for 2/6
1853	From James' 2/4 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7.				July 16 th 1870 for 2/6

2354 Miss Williams purchase. (Bochsa student in London)

2354	Miss Williams	160			Rep. of Miss Williams in Aug 1853 for 20 gds
D	Abingdon North				
Red	25 June 1847				

6111 John Williams of Melbourne

6111	Sold 16 th November 1858 to No. 1 Mr. William Orr, H. Wilkie				
D	Maple Gothic Melbourne.				
March					
1858					

2214 Mr Henry Wooldridge

2214	Rep. James' 2/4 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7.				119
D	Rep. James' 2/4 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7.				
	5 th Aug 1846				

5913 Mrs Young

5913	Mr Young August 13. 1850				Rep. James' 2/4 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7. 1/2 lb. stone 7.
No. 1	Kensington, Swickham				for Miss Young for 5 gds
Maple					
D					
January 1850					

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